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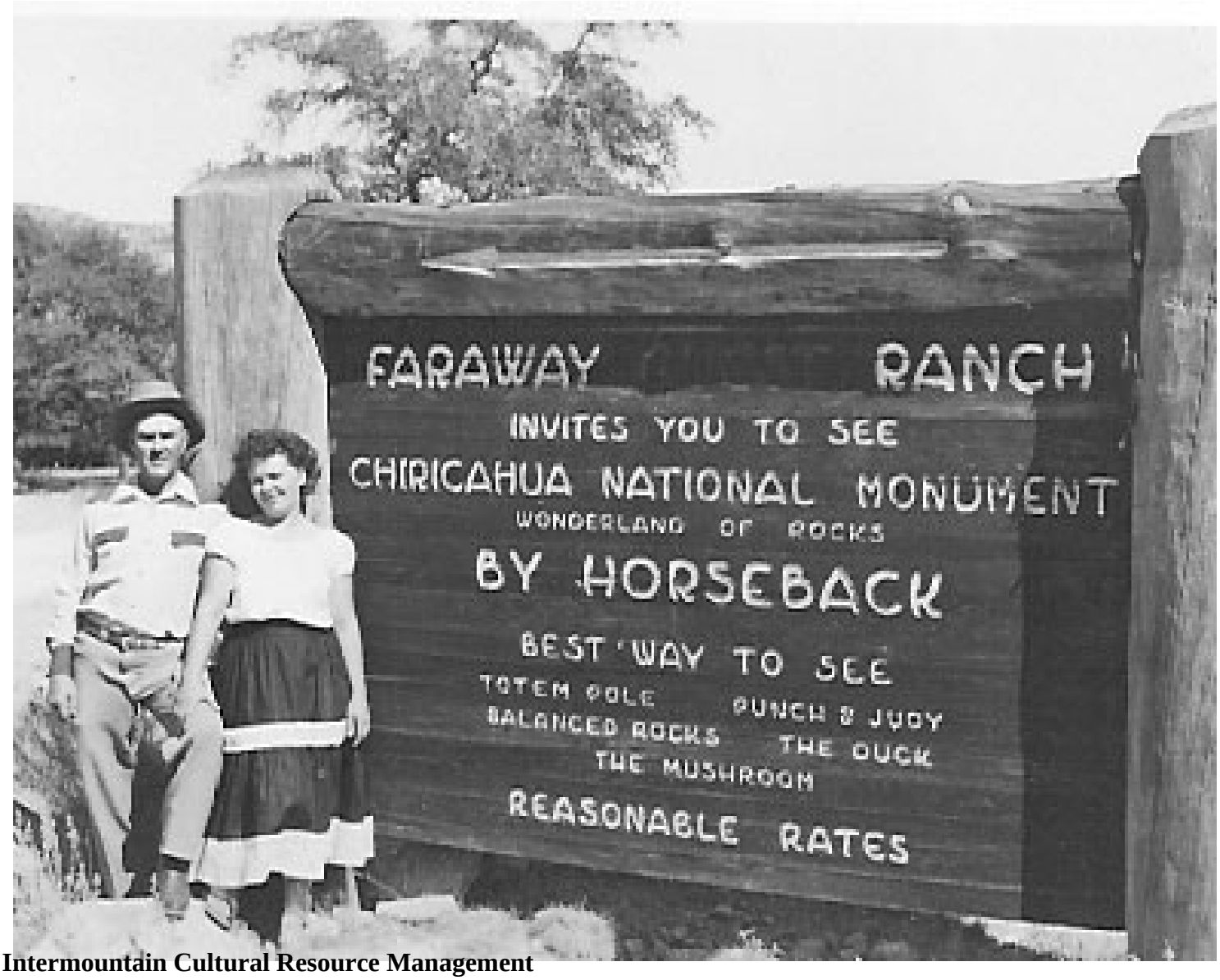
CHIRICAHUA NATIONAL MONUMENT
Faraway Ranch Special History Study



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INTRODUCTION

"Context in interpretation -- Every historical park should answer three basic questions through its interpretive program--what happened, why it occurred, and what it means. . . . Efforts need to be increased to provide context and meaning."[1]

Faraway Ranch--long an active homestead, ranch and guest ranch—now plays out its days as a historic feature within Chiricahua National Monument, in southeastern Arizona. Even before the National Park Service acquired the property in the late 1970s, the staff recognized the historical importance of the property. Since then, the monument has performed a yeoman's service studying the ranch, preserving it, and interpreting it. The extensive collection of papers and material artifacts have been catalogued, preserved and made accessible to researchers; archival architectural drawings of the structures have been delineated; and studies have been published on a variety of topics including archeological remains, the army occupation of the property during the Indian wars, the historic landscape, and the appropriate furnishings to interpret the home and ranch. Visitors now tour the home and ranch, learning about the Erickson and Riggs families and the history of the property. But the quest for information on Faraway Ranch and its residents continues.

The observation that begins this introduction, made during a National Park Service conference, pinpointed the three goals for this historic resource study: what happened, why it occurred, and what it means. This does not imply that all answers to all three questions are included. Any event can be viewed from multiple—perhaps innumerable--perspectives; each perspective would provide a new explanation of what happened, why it occurred, and what it means. Faraway Ranch could be interpreted under any number of themes, and each would provide new insight into the history of that place. For practical purposes, we have chosen four perspectives--or contexts--from which to view the ranch. These contexts help us better understand the complex history of the ranch. But if truly successful, the contexts will also provide information that we can we carry with us, to help us understand our broader history. The ranch can be used as a lens through which we can view the past, as a vehicle through which we can gain a better understanding of history.

This study is organized in five chapters. The overview chapter presents a chronological description of the lives of the people related to Faraway Ranch.

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[1] "Discovery 2000," *Morning Report*, September 12, 2000.

Each subsequent chapter discusses the ranch within a theme: the federal presence in the West, women, tourism and guest ranching, and ranching.

To provide a background to the Faraway story, this study begins in Sweden, the birthplace of Emma Peterson and Nels (later Neil) Erickson, then proceeds through their separate migrations to the United States in the 1870s, their wedding, and their acquisition of the homestead that would later become part of Chiricahua National Monument. Their two daughters, Hildegard and Lillian, began operating a guest ranch in the family home in the late 1910s, dubbing it Faraway Ranch; Lillian and her husband Ed Riggs subsequently operated the business during the heyday of dude ranches. After the death of Ed, 62-year-old Lillian, then blind and almost deaf, continued operating the ranch/guest ranch for over two decades, until her death in the late 1970s.

It was a delight getting to know each member of the Erickson/Riggs family. Any one of them on his or her own would make an absorbing study; each possesses a character that stands out from the papers that recorded their lives. But together, the family members form a fascinating mosaic that represents many stories of the West: immigration, ethnicity, gender, disabilities, class, commerce, settlement, conservation, warfare, displacement of indigenous peoples, government, and urban/rural issues to name a few.

We often think of past events as being inevitable, or destined. We fall into the trap of thinking that there was only one way that history's story could have played out, and that there was a linear progression along the historical path. However, it quickly becomes apparent in the Faraway story that there was nothing linear about the route that the historical characters took in their lives. Decision points were reached repeatedly: should Neil Erickson stay in the army to become an officer, or leave the army? If he left the army, should he stay in the West or move back East? Should he live in the city or in the country? Thirty-five years later, Lillian Erickson faced the choice of pursuing a writing career in California, or returning to the family homestead. Should she marry Ed Riggs? Should he move to California to be with her? Should he pursue ranching, or a career as a mechanic in town? Each time a decision was made, the person took a fork in the road, which then led to another fork, and another. The resulting story was only one out of innumerable scenarios that may have occurred.

The majority of the research material for this project came from the Faraway Ranch Collection. This extensive collection provides an amazing array of information about two generations of the Erickson/Riggs family. For the most part, the family members had an understanding of the importance of their personal histories, and so they recorded it and saved it. Sometimes while reading through their personal papers, I seemed to have conversations with the family members. Lillian Erickson Riggs, especially, would seem to address my questions. While I sorted though the mountain of material I

wondered which of the bits and pieces would be most relevant, which were an accurate portrayal of the past. From Lillian's diary, she echoed my questions: "How may we evaluate the truth? How know the false from the true? Those things which were of so much importance a little while ago have almost fallen into oblivion. Events which seemed of small importance when they happened stand out like monuments and are never forgotten."[2] Even the National Park Service staff of six decades ago "talked" to me through their records. While scanning the monument's monthly reports for information about the ranch, I found an entry: "We have two reports from Bill this month. Due to some oversight, the December report got lost in the shuffle and we are setting the record straight by putting it in here a month late. Otherwise, the historian, fifty years from now, in searching these records might think Bill and the Chiricahua camp sat around and loafed during December."[3] And on another occasion, while reading Lillian's diary, when I wondered why a blind woman would so faithfully type entries in her diary--a record that she would never be able to read--she answered that her companion Pat Grigg "used to say that the entries were for posterity. . . . Perhaps [the next generation] may find something here of interest some thirty or forty years hence."[4] And on another day, she observed, "Just now it seems of small note to record the happenings of the last few days. Fifty years hence, it may be significant. If any of the doings of us common folks are ever significant."[5] I wonder if she ever envisioned the stream of documents that have been produced as a result of the Faraway Ranch papers.

Several comments are in order regarding the mechanics of the study. The Faraway Ranch manuscript collection has been expertly organized by the archivists at the National Park Service's Western Archeological and Conservation Center in Tucson. However, because the papers are so extensive, it can still be difficult to pinpoint the location of certain specific items. I have thus made liberal use of footnotes; the notes can be used as

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[2] Lillian Riggs, diary, May 26, 1961, Faraway Ranch Collection, series 2, folder 59, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, Arizona.

[3] The note was signed F.P., undoubtedly Frank "Boss" Pinckley, superintendent of Southwest Monuments, "Southwest Monuments Monthly Report," January 1938.

[4] Lillian Riggs, diary, December 26, 1955, Faraway Ranch Collection, series 2, folder 53, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, Arizona.

[5] Lillian Riggs, diary, October 18, 1955, Faraway Ranch Collection, series 2, folder 53, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, Arizona.

an additional vehicle to access the archival collection. Except in the first footnote in each chapter, I use FRC to reference the Faraway Ranch Collection at the Western Archeological and Conservation Center, in Tucson, Arizona.

The manuscript material used in this study--such as hand-written stories, diaries and typed drafts--invariably contained a sprinkling of spelling, punctuation and grammatical errors. When quoting these materials, I was faced with the need to use “sic” excessively, thereby spotlighting the inadvertent errors. I became concerned at the unnecessary emphasis on these points, which could be distracting to the reader. Thus, when quoting such material, I have taken the liberty to correct most errors in spelling and punctuation. On a few occasions, I have corrected grammar only to the extent to make the quotations reasonably readable. The Erickson family seemed to be rather casual in the spelling of people's names: in his early life, Neil used both Nels and Nils; Hildegard frequently was spelled Hildegarde, and her daughter's name was sometimes spelled Emmajoy and at other times Emajoy. For each person, I have chosen one spelling to use consistently in this study.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF FARAWAY RANCH

[Need to choose one of these quotes – or use another one.]

"History, although sometimes made up of the few acts of the great, is more often shaped by the many acts of the small."

Mark Yost

History's "two eyes are geography and chronology."

James A. Garfield

Faraway Ranch possesses an amazing sense of place, and it has seized the affections of the many guests who have visited. Set in the basin and range province of southeastern Arizona, the ranch is situated at the western base of the Chiricahua Mountains, now part of Chiricahua National Monument. One travels across miles of near desert to reach the seeming oasis with its green vegetation shading the summer sun. Once there, the visitor is inclined to linger in the green valley with its sloping canyon walls. Indeed, the power of the site caused two generations of the Erickson family to stay here for close to a century. The family operated the property as a ranch and a guest ranch, but above all, the Faraway Ranch served as their home.

One might start the story of Faraway Ranch in Sweden in the 1850s. In that decade two babies were born who would meet each other over twenty years later--not in their homeland, but almost 5,500 miles away. They would meet in the southwestern United States, and would eventually move to what became Faraway Ranch. But before they got there, they each followed interesting paths.

EMMA PETERSON

May 24, 1854 marks the birth date of Emma Sophia Peterson, one of 6 children. The child's father served as an officer in the Swedish Army; in that country the family occupied "what was known as the better class," which provided a certain level of comfort and status to the family.[1] This awareness of her respected class status made a strong impression on the girl, and this self-image continued through her life. When her mother died giving birth to the woman's seventh child, Emma's father hired a housekeeper, two maids

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[1] Emma Erickson, Flagstaff, to Mr. Browne Landone, New York, August 3, 1923, Faraway Ranch Collection, series 1, folder 75-78, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, Arizona. Cited hereafter as FRC. The 1880 U.S. census showed Peterson's birth year as 1855. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, FamilySearch, <www.familysearch.org>.

and three man servants to care for the children and the household.[2] After two years, Emma's father married the housekeeper, Christina, and the couple produced four more children.[3] Emma did not get along well with her stepmother (who had an "unconquerable temper"), and by the time the girl had become a teenager, it became clear that the two disagreed on the direction that Emma's future would take. The young, headstrong girl wasn't about to bend to the will of her stepmother, and she decided that it was time to leave her childhood home. Emma's older sister and brother had previously emigrated from Sweden to the United States, and Emma chose to start her new independent life in that country. She secretly asked for money from that brother, and when it arrived, she wrote to her father, away on military duty, to ask him to meet her at the station so she could say good-bye before she left the country. In 1873, at the age of 19, Emma Peterson accompanied a Swedish family to United States, to join her sister in Chicago. She disembarked in the U.S. not knowing the English language.[4]

After arriving in Chicago, Peterson found a job working as a servant. After toiling in Chicago for five years, she happened to meet a couple that lived with their 3 children in a small town in Colorado. The couple offered a position in their household to Peterson, the young woman accepted the offer, and moved to the new state. After working for them for two years, Peterson moved to Colorado Springs, Colorado, to work as a cook in another household. Less than a year later, a friend had arranged for a maid's position for Peterson, working for the commander at Fort Craig, New Mexico Territory. Once again, Peterson moved--a move that would impact her life. Not long after Peterson arrived in 1883, the commander was transferred out of Ft. Craig, and Major John Kemp Mizner moved into the house; Emma stayed with the house and began working for Mizner. Meanwhile, Peterson's friend who had arranged for her job at Fort Craig married a Sgt. Hyman. Peterson spent much of her free time in the Hyman home.

NELS ERICKSON

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[2] Emma described her mother as "a lovely, but delicate lady, on whom the burden of bearing and caring for six children evidently was too much and she died after giving birth to the seventh child." It is notable that Emma thought her mother so delicate, in spite of the fact that she was able to bear six children.

[3] Emma S. Erickson, “[Untitled: Autobiographical],” 10 January 1946, FRC, series 4, folder 2.

[4] Emma Erickson, Flagstaff, to Mr. Browne Landone, New York, August 3, 1923, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78.

Meanwhile, our other Swedish native--Nels Erickson--had been traveling his own path since his birth on April 22, 1859. Erickson's class status was much different from Peterson's since he was the first child of a poor farm family. When Nels was 10, his father, Erik Nilsson, emigrated from Sweden to the United States. There he obtained a job on the Northern Pacific Railroad, and while there was killed by Indians; Nels was 12 years old and his father's death made a big impression on him. In addition, since Nels was the oldest child, much of the responsibility for the support of the family fell to him.[5]

After spending his teen years working in Sweden, Erickson decided that his future lay in America, so in 1879 he left Sweden as a stowaway. After an adventurous trip, he arrived in Massachusetts, where he worked a while for his uncle, an earlier immigrant. Erickson changed jobs several times, and then by 1881 took a position in a sugar factory. The working conditions there were so unbearable that he decided to talk to an Army recruiter to learn about the opportunities in the military. The same day that he stopped into the recruiting office he found himself signed up, and on his way to New York. Because of his memory of his father's death, he volunteered for a position where the army was fighting Indians. As a result, within a few months he was stationed at Camp Ojo Caliente, in southwestern New Mexico Territory, in the midst of the war on the Apache Indians.[6] The camp was located about 35 miles west of Fort Craig, where Peterson would live, with the San Mateo Mountains separating the two forts. In the early spring of 1882, Erickson's troop was ordered to go on the Apache campaign conducted by Col. George Forsyth; by this time the immigrant was a sergeant.[7] During the next year and a half, Erickson marched to various locales in New Mexico and Arizona; although apparently stationed at Fort Craig in spring 1883,

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[5] Neil Erickson, [Untitled: Coming from Sweden, 1879], FRC, series 4, folder 3; Neil Erickson, “A Brief Account of the Experience of Neil Erickson During the Apache Campaign of 1882 . . .,” 2 November 1935, FRC, series 4, folder 11; Emma Erickson, Flagstaff, to Mr. Browne Landone, New York, August 3, 1923, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78. Nels' mother was Nilla Perrson. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, FamilySearch International Genealogical Index, <www.familysearch.org>.

[6] Neil Erickson, [Untitled: Coming from Sweden, 1879], FRC, series 4, folder 3; Neil Erickson, “A Brief Account of the Experience of Neil Erickson During the Apache Campaign of 1882 . . .,” November 2, 1935, FRC, series 4, folder 11; Emma Erickson, Flagstaff, to Mr. Browne Landone, New York, August 3, 1923, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78; and Neil Erickson to Lillian Erickson, July 22, 1922, FRC, series 1, folder 101-106.

[7] Neil Erickson, “A Brief Account of the Experience of Neil Erickson During the Apache Campaign of 1882 . . .,” 2 November 1935, FRC, series 4, folder 11.

during the summer of 1883 the troop was on the Gila River in Arizona Territory.[8]

While Erickson was on the Gila, Emma Peterson arrived to work at Fort Craig. During her frequent visits with her friend, "Mrs. Hyman constantly talked about a very nice Swedish boy" who was stationed at the fort, but was then out in the field, and would come back in the fall of 1883.[9] One evening Sergeant Hyman asked Peterson to go see his wife, saying that she wanted to see Peterson very badly. Peterson later recalled, "Well, who should I meet there but Sergeant Erickson!"[10] Although the soldier did not impress Peterson at first, they continued to see each other at gatherings at the Hyman's.

In June 1884, an army reorganization caused Col. Mizner and the 4th Cavalry to leave Ft. Craig. He asked Peterson if she would come along to work for him at Ft. Huachuca, Arizona Territory, the post he was ordered to command. Peterson agreed to the move. By that time, she and Erickson had become well acquainted, and she specifically asked for him to be assigned to be her driver. Mizner accommodated the request, and on the trip, Erickson proposed marriage. However, Peterson declined the offer, saying that she could not marry an enlisted man, but if he would become an officer she would reconsider the proposal. Erickson apparently vowed to do so. The soldier's company did not go Fort Huachuca, but rather marched to other locales in the territory, so Erickson and Peterson began a relationship based on letter writing. Erickson penned his love letters in Swedish, and called his beloved "Emmy." He signed himself Nels, although by that time he had adopted the name Neil for use in the United States. Thus began the couple's new life in Arizona Territory.

ARIZONA

The area that is now southeastern Arizona is a basin and range province--a near-desert with elongated mountain ranges running in a roughly parallel north-south orientation, separated by flat arid or semiarid basins. The

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[8] Eula Lee Murray Riggs, “Eula Lee Murray Riggs’ Account of Ed Riggs Family History,” n.d., Acc. 1721, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, Arizona. Cited hereafter as WACC.

[9] Emma Erickson to Jess Stanley Hutchison, June 1, 1943, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78; [Neil Erickson, 1927?], FRC, series 1, folder 101-106; and Eula Lee Murray Riggs, “Eula Lee Murray Riggs’ Account of Ed Riggs Family History,” n.d., Acc. 1721, WACC.

[10] Emma Erickson to Jess Stanley Hutchison, June 1, 1943, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78.

largest of these mountain ranges is the Chiricahua range, just inside the eastern boundary of the current state; falling to the west edge of that range is the Sulphur Springs Valley. The junction of this range and valley would become the setting for Faraway Ranch.

Southeastern Arizona had been the home of the Apache Indians since before the Spanish first saw them in the 1540s. Because of the strength of the Apache hold on their home, the Spanish made few attempts to settle the area that was their northern frontier. The Spaniards did establish a presidio in 1752 at Tubac and moved it four years later to Tucson, and Jesuits did establish a missionary presence, but these isolated spots did not attract Spanish settlers. However, at the shift to the Mexican era in the 1820s, ranching and mining opportunities encouraged several hundred Mexicans to move to the area now in southeastern Arizona. Some of these pioneers resided along the San Pedro River, in the Mexican state of Sonora. These isolated Mexican settlements, however, had been placed in the Apache territory, and so they had to face the anger of the native residents for invading of the area. Indian attacks forced out most of the colonists by the mid 1840s, and the region returned to the control of the natives. However, at the end of the Mexican War in 1848, the land north of the Gila River became part of the United States. It operated under military rule until 1851, when that jurisdiction was replaced by the creation of New Mexico Territory, which included most of present-day Arizona. With the Gadsden Purchase in 1853, the U.S. acquired the remainder of Arizona, south of the Gila River, including the future site of Faraway Ranch; this also became part of New Mexico Territory. Ten years later, Arizona Territory was created as an entity separate from New Mexico Territory.[11] Although the official U.S. census of 1860 identified 4,040 Indians and 2,421 whites in Arizona, others estimated that in 1864 about 30,000 Indians lived in Arizona, compared to 4,573 others in the population.[12] The legal juggling of ownership and jurisdictions seemed irrelevant to the Apaches, who retained the same possessive attitude about their homelands. But the U.S. decided that rather than retreating, as the Spanish and Mexicans had done, the military would wage war against the natives; the so-called Apache Wars began in the 1850s and continued for three decades.

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[11] The federal government created 13 western territories between 1861 and 1888. Arizona became a territory in 1863, the third western territory to become so during this era of territorial establishment.

[12] U.S. Census Bureau, <www.census.gov/population/documentation/twps0056/tab17.pdf>, accessed February 21, 2003; and Christiane Fischer, "A Profile of Women in Arizona in Frontier Days," *Journal of the West* 16, no. 3 (July 1977) citing Howard Lamar, *The Far Southwest, 1846-1912*, 1966, pages 436-437.

In the midst of the wars, mining dominated the economy of the territory. The silver mines at Tubac were re-opened in 1856. Rich gold and silver deposits were later discovered along the Colorado River and in the interior mountains. The non-Indian population in the territory increased to 9,581 in 1870. Tombstone became a boomtown due to a silver discovery in 1877; this attracted both eastern and foreign investments, as well as the Southern Pacific Railroad, which ran from Yuma to Tucson to El Paso, roughly following the route of present-day Interstate 10 in southeastern Arizona. The white population increased four-fold in the 1870s, with over 35,000 residents by 1880. By the late 1880s, the value of mined copper surpassed silver and gold. Major producing areas in southeastern Arizona included Bisbee, Clifton-Morenci, and Globe. The copper companies and railroads dominated local and territorial politics. Also in the last decades of the nineteenth century, a livestock industry prospered. Large successful ranches in southeastern Arizona included the San Rafael, the Empire, and the Sierra Bonita ranches.[13]

The Apache wars continued and by 1875, about 5,000 Apaches had been taken onto the San Carlos Reservation in east central Arizona. However, the natives did not submit quietly to staying on the reservation, and not all tribal members had been captured. Over the next decade, the continuing raids by the non-reservation natives combined with the reoccurring outbreaks from the reservation made the region dangerous for Euro- and Mexican-Americans.

It was to this setting that Emma Peterson and Neil Erickson arrived in the territory in 1884. Only two months after arriving at Ft. Huachuca, Col. Mizner was transferred again; Peterson began operating a boarding house at Ft. Bowie.[14] Meanwhile, Erickson continued to spend much of his time in movement, since his company patrolled the region. He frequently volunteered to go to Ft. Bowie for supplies and mail, and would take the opportunity to visit Emma while at the fort.

After Peterson had recommended that he become an officer in order to marry her, Erickson started working with a tutor to study to become an officer. However, he soon learned more about how men became officers, and he realized how slim the chances were for him to gain that status. He dropped the idea, and tried to convince Peterson that there were many other opportunities available to him outside of the military.

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[13] Howard R. Lamar, ed. *The New Encyclopedia of the American West* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 45, 46; and U.S. Census Bureau, <www.census.gov/population/documentation/twps0056/tab17.pdf> accessed February 21, 2003.

[14] Erickson to Peterson, August 4, 1884, Acc. 1776, WACC; and Acc. 1776, WACC.

After decades of fighting, the war ended when Apache leader Geronimo surrendered on September 4, 1886. In the next few weeks, Peterson purchased a house in Bonita Canyon, about ten miles south of Fort Bowie, which would become the basis of the Faraway Ranch house. Shortly after he learned of her purchase, First Sergeant Neil Erickson was discharged from the army on October 10, 1886; his discharge came five years after he had enlisted, and only five weeks after Geronimo's surrender. Once Erickson shed his status of enlisted soldier, Peterson finally agreed to become engaged.[15]

That October, while Peterson continued to live at Ft. Bowie,[16] Erickson moved to the house that his fiancée had purchased in Bonita Canyon.[17] He didn't last there long. One day he came into Ft. Bowie to visit Peterson, and while there he went to the sutler's store. There he met some miners who dazzled him with stories about how much money that a person could make by running a boarding house in their new mining camp. Emma later recalled, "He was excited and that was the first time in my life I ever saw my hubby excited." He immediately decided to pursue the opportunity, left for Volcano City, in Grant County, southwestern New Mexico, near the Volcano Mine, stopping at Deming to buy 2 tents, in which he set up his business.[18]

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[15] Eula Lee Murray Riggs, "Eula Lee Murray Riggs' Account of Ed Riggs Family History," n.d., Acc. 1721, WACC; Emma Erickson, Flagstaff, to Mr. Browne Landone, New York, August 3, 1923, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78; Emma S. Erickson, "[Untitled: Autobiographical]," 10 January 1946, FRC, series 4, folder 2; and FRC, series 20, folder 1.

[16] Emma Erickson, Flagstaff, to Mr. Browne Landone, New York, August 3, 1923, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78. Later, her granddaughter stated that at the time Peterson was married, she was cooking at the old Vulcan Mine, near Wickenberg, in the boarding house. Eula Lee Murray Riggs, "Eula Lee Murray Riggs' Account of Ed Riggs Family History," n.d., Acc. 1721, WACC. It is possible that Riggs was confused by the fact that just after Emma and Neil married, they lived near the Volcano mine, New Mexico, in a mining camp.

[17] Louis Torres and Mark Baumler, Historic Structure Report, Historical and Archeological Data Sections: A History of the Buildings and Structures of Faraway Ranch, Chiricahua National Monument, Arizona (Denver: National Park Service, Denver Service Center, 1984), 13 citing "Autobiographical notes by Neil Erickson, 1927;" Emma Erickson, Flagstaff, to Mr. Browne Landone, New York, August 3, 1923, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78. Neil Erickson, "A Tribute to Mrs. Mary B. Riggs," ca. 1935, FRC, series 5, folder 15.

[18] Evansville may have been either a nearby town or an alternate name for the mining camp. Emma Erickson, Flagstaff, to Mr. Browne Landone, New York, August 3, 1923, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78.

About 2 months later, Erickson and Peterson both traveled to Tucson, where they were married by an Episcopalian minister in the Cosmopolitan Hotel on January 25, 1887.[19] Neil wanted Emma to remain in Tucson until he built a house for them at Volcano City, but the bride suspected that something was amiss, so in the latter part of March she arrived at the mining camp. When Emma examined the accounting books, she discovered the poor condition of Neil's business; the bride decided that her new husband possessed a poor business sense, and that he placed little value on money. She repeatedly brought out these issues throughout their marriage. While Neil built them "a nice 2-room house, with good windows and doors," Emma took charge of the business and they "tried it out until there was no more business."[20]

The newlyweds next moved to Lordsburg (and/or possibly Deming), New Mexico, where they operated the Arlington Hotel; many of their customers were railroad men. It apparently was during the time that they were living in Volcano City or Lordsburg/Deming that they traveled to Fort Bowie/Apache Pass for the birth of their first child, Lillian Sophia, on February 9, 1888. However, in spite of the joy that this addition to their family must have brought, running the hotel was not their ideal situation. After a bad experience there, Emma was “sick of the town and the town business.” They decided “to move out in the country to Sulphur Springs Valley.”[21]

BONITA CANYON

When the Ericksons moved to their house in Bonita Canyon in July 1888, they were not the first white settlers in the area. In spite of the dangers during the Apache wars, several white settlers had established themselves in the locale that would become the Erickson home. The couple's nearest

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[19] Emma later observed, "I married a man I loved and who also loves me. He is true-blue; has no bad habits, only a little self-indulging." Emma Erickson, Flagstaff, to Mr. Browne Landone, New York, August 3, 1923, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78.

[20] Emma Erickson, Flagstaff, to Mr. Browne Landone, New York, August 3, 1923, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78; and Quit Claim Deed, May 9, 1887, FRC, series 15, folder 3.

[21] Emma S. Erickson, “[Untitled: Autobiographical],” 10 January 1946, FRC, series 4, folder 2; Emma Erickson, Flagstaff, to Mr. Browne Landone, New York, August 3, 1923, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78; Neil Erickson, correspondence, April and May 1888, FRC, series 2 Folder 2. At the Arlington hotel they also sold meal tickets to a people (most of whom were men) in a variety of occupations,: engineer, printer, fireman, foreman, and helper. April and May, 1888, FRC, series 9, folder 1-2.

neighbors were the Staffords, whose cabin was a short distance east of the Erickson home. The year 1880 served as a benchmark in the lives of Ja Hu Stafford and his 15-year-old wife Pauline Madsen Stafford. That year they were baptized as members of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints, moved to Arizona Territory, and homesteaded the lower Bonita Canyon. Their first surviving child was born five years later, and their family continued to grow until they had five children, who lived in their two-room cabin. Ja Hu patented his homestead claim in May 1888. Although he originally raised stock and farmed, his orchard and garden eventually provided his chief income. He sold vegetables from his garden at Fort Bowie. His 2-acre orchard included fruit trees such as apples, apricots, peaches, persimmons, and pears.[22]

The Ericksons' next closest neighbor in Bonita canyon was Louis Prue. He had served in the U.S. Army, reportedly acting as a scout under General George Crook.[23] After being released from the army, he settled in the Sulphur Springs Valley/Bonita Canyon area in the spring of 1879, reportedly the first white settler in that locale. Prue built a stone blockhouse in which to store food and for protection from Apaches, in case of an attack. He

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[22] Names of the children were Mary Pansy, Anna Mae, Ruby Evelyn, Tom, and Clara Clementine. "Col." Jay Hu Stafford Collection, Acc. 1700, WACC; Stafford Family History Collection, Acc. 1756, WACC; Emma S. Erickson, "[Untitled: Autobiographical]," 10 January 1946, FRC, series 4, folder 2. They also had a baby who died at birth, named Reveille because reveille was being sounded on a bugle at the time of the birth. Cindy Hayostek, "Bonita Canyon Reflections," *Cochise Quarterly* 19, no. 1 (Spring 1989): 37; and Ervin Bond, *Cochise County, Arizona: Past and Present* (Douglas, Arizona: Ervin Bond, 1982), 46. Their cabin is located just west of the Silver Spur Meadow and east of the Faraway ranch house. The Stafford homestead consisted of the 160 acres in the S1/2 S1/2 of Section 26, Township 16 South, Range 29 East, Gila-Salt River meridian. <www.glorecords.blm.gov/patentsearch/>. At least one source places Pauline's marriage age at 12. For additional information on the Stafford family, see Dewey Livingston, *A Pioneer Log Cabin in Bonita Canyon: The History of the Stafford Cabin, Faraway Ranch Historic District, Chiricahua National Monument, Arizona*, Historic Resource Study (San Francisco: National Park Service, 1994).

[23] Information from back of a photograph of Prue owned by Tombstone Courthouse State Historic Park, hanging on the main floor in 1979. Acc. 1700, WACC. Crook served as commander of the Department of Arizona in 1871 to 1875; he was then transferred to the Department of the Platte. General August Valentine Kautz replaced him in Arizona. Crook was again stationed in Arizona from 1882 to 1886; he was then replaced by his rival General Nelson Miles. One of Crook's hallmarks was his extensive use of Apache scouts in fighting the Apaches.

established a cattle ranch, and used the waters from Bonita and Pinery Canyon creeks for his stock.[24]

Some of the Ericksons' only other neighbors were the members of the Brannick Riggs family, who had moved to the area in 1879. They lived about three miles west of the Ericksons.[25] In all, Brannick and Mary Riggs had 11 children. The oldest was Thomas Jefferson Riggs, whose son Edward would later marry Neil and Emma's daughter Lillian.[26] The Riggs ranch expanded as the family did, and became an important presence in the valley. Their homestead became known as the Riggs Settlement. For a time, the Riggs hosted the local post office, named Brannick (or Brannock), which was established August 16, 1887 and discontinued April 1, 1891.[27] The Ericksons would thus have been frequent visitors to the Riggs ranch in those early years.

The first night that the Erickson family--including five-month-old Lillian--all stayed at Bonita Canyon, they slept outside, blissful at their new home. During the night two enormous crashes resonated through the darkness, terrifying both Neil and Emma. They couldn't fathom the cause of the

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[24] Norma Lee Riggs later established a ranch on the Prue homestead. The house she used as a bunkhouse was probably Prue's original house. Acc. 1700, WACC; Neil Erickson, "Some Facts about (Bigfoot) Massai," n.d., FRC, series 4, folder 7. Prue didn't receive a patent on his homestead until 1891, indicating that he probably filed his claim between 1884 and 1886. His 160 acres occupied the W1/2 NE1/4 and the E1/2 NW1/4 of section 33, Township 16 South, Range 29 East, Gila-Salt River meridian. <www.glorecords.blm.gov/patentsearch>.

[25] Superintendent Forrest Benson, Jr., Supervisory Park Ranger James A. Randall, and Jerry J. Brown, "Area History: Chiricahua National Monument," November 1956, Acc. 145, WACC, Tucson. Brannick Riggs received the patent on his land in 1888; it consisted of three parcels comprising the NW1/4 Section 30, Township 16 South, Range 29 East, Gila-Salt River meridian. <www.glorecords.blm.gov/patentsearch>.

[26] Brannick had married Mary Elizabeth Robbins in 1856, when he was 28 and she was 18. The next year Thomas was born. Ronald A. Cawthorn, <http://frontpage.caninet.com/rcawthorn>. Other early settlers are named in "The Riggs Settlement," a newspaper clipping from the Pioneer and Progress edition of a newspaper with no date or title, Miscellaneous Faraway Information, Acc. 1726, WACC, and also in "Riggs Family History", Acc. 1700, WACC.

[27] Will C. Barnes, *Arizona Place Names*, Bulletin vol. 6, no. 1, January 1, 1935 (Tucson: University of Arizona), 61.

horrible sounds, until daylight broke, and they saw 30 yards away the huge branches from a Black Oak lying on the ground.[28]

Due to their indebtedness from their business ventures, Neil knew that he needed to take jobs that would pay him cash. He was constantly on the move, working for neighbors in nearby towns, doing mostly carpenter or mechanical work. Neil constructed barns, bookcases and cupboards in neighbors' homes, and built counters and shelves in the stores in Willcox.[29] Meanwhile, Emma stayed at their home in Bonita Canyon, raising Lillian, and taking care of their new orchard and a few cattle. The couple decided to move their two-room house that Neil had built near the Volcano Mine, and planned to attach it to their Bonita Canyon home. However, Neil first went to Bisbee to take on some carpenter work. In the mean time, someone took it upon themselves to move the Erickson's New Mexico home to near Lordsburg. This upset Emma considerably, and she again pointed out the evidence that her new husband possessed poor judgment, which repeatedly caused them to lose money or goods.[30] Emma later observed, "Hubby has the ability to do many things; has inventive genius; but no use for money. Says: 'Money is the root of all evil.' And enumerates the crimes committed for the sake of money. I tell him he is right; but we can't get along without the cussed stuff." Emma once took out an insurance policy on the Bonita canyon property, but had to discontinue it because Neil refused to "pay for the support of a lot of idle men."[31]

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[28] Neil Erickson, “Our First Night in Bonita Canyon,” 1931, FRC, series 4, folder 9.

[29] "Hubby is an excellent mechanic and carpenter. Can make anything out of wood; in fact, a cabinetmaker." Emma Erickson, Flagstaff, to Mr. Browne Landone, New York, August 3, 1923, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78; and Lillian Riggs to Richard Y. Murray, June 8, 1972, FRC, series 1, box 9, folder 243-253.

[30] They planned to move the house using a 4-horse team and with the help of a friend who owned a 6-mule team. Emma Erickson, Flagstaff, to Mr. Browne Landone, New York, August 3, 1923, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78. Neil later referred to their property at Steins Pass, which is about 17 miles southwest of Lordsburg, and about five miles south of the Volcano Mine. Neil Erickson to Emma Erickson, August 5, 1892, FRC, series 1, folder 79-100. Steins Pass Post Office existed from 1888-1904, though the town lasted well into the twentieth century. It is possible that the Erickson's house had been on that property. Many original buildings still exist at this ghost town, which is being restored by the current owners.

[31] Emma Erickson, Flagstaff, to Mr. Browne Landone, New York, August 3, 1923, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78.

Neil knew that he could not support his family on the homestead in the canyon. Although they had some cattle, a garden, and the beginnings of an orchard, the property did not make them self-sufficient. Neil realized that to financially support his family, he had to obtain regular wage-earning work. He moved to Bisbee, the copper mining boomtown over 70 miles southwest from their home. There he built an adobe house for himself, and he constructed houses to sell. Neil built the first "good houses in Bisbee," declared his unknown biographer, probably one of his daughters.[32] He then obtained a job with the largest employer in town, the Copper Queen Consolidated Mining Company, primarily working at the smelter. He lived in Bisbee for much of the time from late 1890 to late 1894;[33] during those years, Neil visited home when he could. His brother, John, also lived intermittently at their homestead, helping the family.

In May 1890, Neil and John were both at the ranch, digging a well near the house and walling it. Three and four years earlier, the last of the Apache Indians had been either placed on guarded reservations or sent to the East. However, one day a male and female Indian, keeping out of sight, had traveled into the area, robbed a ranch house in Pinery Canyon, and killed a Prue calf along the way. When Prue warned Neil that Indians were coming, Neil responded "Let them come, we are here first." Meanwhile, Ja Hu Stafford had found a moccasin track in Bonita Canyon and realized a horse was missing. Even though he didn't know about the other signs, the track alarmed him so much that he warned his neighbors and alerted the army at Fort Bowie. The troops moved into the area to look for the Indians; the man was reputed to be Massai, the Apache who had escaped from a train while being removed from Arizona. Neil and Prue (and perhaps Stafford) joined the soldiers in the hunt. They followed the man's and the horse's tracks from the place where he killed the calf over a low hill to what is now called Rhyolite Canyon, at the point about where the National Park Service headquarters buildings are now located. From there the tracks went up the canyon, and about ½ mile up from the mouth the tracks met up with those of the woman. She then rode the horse and the man walked up the brushy and boulder-strewn canyon. They continued to another canyon, now called Massai, which branches to the left. Up that canyon, on top of the ridge is the huge boulder overlooking the canyon, behind which the couple camped. The settlers, fearing that Indians may have intentionally lured them away from their homes, returned to protect their families. The Indians were not found, but reportedly the woman turned up at the San Carlos reservation.[34]

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[32] "[Untitled, about Neil Erickson]," n.d., Faraway Ranch Collection, series 4, sheet 1 of 6.

[33] Neil Erickson, "Some Facts about (Bigfoot) Massai," n.d., FRC, series 4, folder 7; and FRC, series 2, folders 2-3.

[34] Neil Erickson, "Some Facts about (Bigfoot) Massai," n.d., FRC, series 4, folder 7; and Lillian Riggs, "Early History of Chiricahua National Monument,"

This foray into Rhyolite Canyon may have been one of the first times that the settlers had entered that canyon. Being preoccupied with tracking the Native Americans, and maneuvering through the tangled undergrowth and boulders in the canyon, they failed to appreciate the unusual rock formations in the area. But according to Erickson family lore, this event marks the first time that someone associated with the family ranch entered what later became known as the Wonderland of Rocks and Chiricahua National Monument.[35]

The next year, in 1891, Emma delivered the couple's second child. Neil and Emma named the baby boy Lewis Benton Erickson; the family called him Bennie while he was a boy, and Ben when he matured. Meanwhile, Neil continued to live and work in Bisbee. His letters to Emma clearly expressed his unhappiness with the situation: "It is a great pity that we can not be so fixed so as to live together, this life is so short that I don't see why in the name of the Great Creator we can not enjoy this life when we have it. I do believe that if I shall have to live apart from you and the ones I love the best, I shall before long go mad, I tell you I am not far from it now."[36] Although they visited each other from time to time, this was not adequate for him. "If you knew, Emmy dearest, how miserable I am and have been ever

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28 July 1953, FRC, series 4, folder 20. The identity of the Indians have not been verified. Although the family lore states quite clearly that the man was the notorious Massai, Apache accounts question that claim. They indicate that Massai's home territory was in New Mexico's Black Range, and that his wife's people were Mescaleros, who were not at the San Carlos reservation. Alden Hayes, *A Portal to Paradise* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1999), 176. This story deserves additional research and analysis of the mythological qualities of the family story.

[35] Lillian Riggs, "Early History of Chiricahua National Monument," 28 July 1953, FRC, series 4, folder 20. In her handwritten draft (mislabeled as Neil's folder 13) Lillian stated, "Without doubt they were the first white men ever to set foot in this strange garden." That sentence was removed from her typed version of Lillian Riggs, "The Wonderland of Rocks, Chiricahua National Monument: A Brief History," n.d., FRC, series 5, folder 27. Lillian also obliquely referred to a miner from Scotland who had photographed the rocks earlier. Lillian's version of the story also placed the three white settlers alone in the hunt, neglecting to mention the soldiers that Neil described in his account. Neil Erickson, "Some Facts about (Bigfoot) Massai," n.d., FRC, series 4, folder 7; and FRC, series 2, folders 2-3.

[36] Neil Erickson to Emma Erickson, March 10, 1893, FRC, series 1, folder 79-100.

since you left you would surely been back here before now."[37] "I get so lonesome that lonesome is no name for it," he wrote to her.[38]

Neil worried about Emma and their children while he was away from them, and the family worried about him. He wrote to Emma, "You can tell Lillian that she does not need to be afraid that I shall get married again."[39] At one point in late 1892, he asked if Emma had heard any news about Indians, and said that he had heard that soldiers had driven them into Mexico. "However, have John and Stafford to ever be on the lookout for them. It is fearful to have you in the mountains and the red-devils out, but should you hear of any immediate news of them go to Mr. Prue's ranch and stay together so you will be out of danger."[40] Only a month later, Prue died when he fell from a horse. Neil remembered the 49-year-old as "a good friend and a neighbor" and was pleased to hear that the neighbors "fulfilled his last wish and laid him to rest under the oak on the hillside" at the mouth of Bonita Canyon. [41] Prue was buried "where he could watch his cattle go to water."[42] Tragedy struck the canyon again the next year. In 1894, Pauline Stafford died in childbirth; the newborn baby died a few months later. Her widower Ja Hu continued living at their cabin, and raised their five children, with the help of his neighbor Emma Erickson.[43]

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[37] Neil Erickson to Emma Erickson, August 3, 1892, FRC, series 1, folder 79-100.

[38] Neil Erickson to Emma Erickson, August 14, 1891, FRC, series 1, folder 79-100.

[39] Neil Erickson to Emma Erickson, March 23, 1893, FRC, series 1, folder 79-100.

[40] Neil Erickson to Emma Erickson, November 18, 1892, FRC, series 1, folder 79-100.

[41] Neil Erickson to Emma Erickson, December 23, 1892, FRC, series 1, folder 79-100.

[42] Typed note, no date, no source. Acc. 1700, WACC.

[43] "'Col.' Jay Hu Stafford Collection," Acc. 1700, WACC; Stafford Family History Collection, Acc. 1756, WACC; Emma S. Erickson, "[Untitled: Autobiographical]," 10 January 1946, FRC, series 4, folder 2; and Dewey Livingston, *A Pioneer Log Cabin in Bonita Canyon: The History of the Stafford Cabin, Faraway Ranch Historic District, Chiricahua National Monument, Arizona*, Historic Resource Study (San Francisco: National Park Service, 1994), 24.

Emma was not immune from ill health herself, and a long-term disability started during her pregnancy with their third child. Because Neil was so lonesome in Bisbee, Emma decided to move there, open a boarding house and earn enough money to build a house in Bisbee. "I went full of ambition and pep," she later recalled, and brought a stove, dishes and a maid with her. Neil, however, would not permit her to start a boarding house. Although she had always enjoyed good health, she contracted what Emma called malaria, which she believed came from the Bisbee water.[44] She returned to Bonita Canyon, where in a short time she recovered. Neil built a house for the family in Bisbee; Emma claimed that it was "the first decent house that was erected there: six large rooms, clothes closets, kitchen and pantries. We intended it for our own home, and built it very substantially" with maple floors, large windows and blinds. Emma and their two children again moved to Bisbee, where she quickly got sick. Once again, Emma had to return to the ranch to recuperate, and she vowed to never go back to Bisbee to live until the water supply was improved. About that time, Emma's ankle began causing problems; she believed that she sprained it, and "had nothing done for it." Her health so concerned Neil that he decided it was time to leave Bisbee and move home, so he sold the new house for $800, against Emma's objections. She criticized him for being "foolish" for selling so cheaply, as she insisted that the house was worth over $2000, and that they could have rented it for $60 a month, which "would have kept us in comfort on the ranch." He responded that if he hadn't come home, that Emma would have died. "I'm too tough to die," she shot back. This episode so irritated her that she felt strongly about it twenty years later.[45] Such disagreements became common between the couple, with Emma being the more critical of the pair.

Emma's health continued to deteriorate, as her limbs began to swell, which a nurse diagnosed as being due to Emma being pregnant. However, the swelling and discomfort increased so much that she couldn't walk around the

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[44] Malaria was a serious problem in parts of southeastern Arizona, and so Emma may indeed have contracted the disease in Bisbee. <http://alic.arid.arizona.edu/sonoran/documents/hastings/alc_arroyo.html>. However, we now know that humans get malaria from the bite of a malaria-infected mosquito, rather than from bad water, so Emma was confused about the source of malaria. Even so, the water in Bisbee may have transferred an affliction to her that she misdiagnosed as malaria. In 1900 Bisbee still had no sewers or municipal water system. Privies and stables contaminated the drinking water because of their proximity to wells. Wastes often flushed directly into roads and gullies, causing human excrement to spread across yards and down hillsides. Carlos Schwantes, *Bisbee: Urban Outpost on the Frontier* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1992), 33.

[45] Emma Erickson, Flagstaff, to Mr. Browne Landone, New York, August 3, 1923, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78.

house without holding onto things. Nonetheless, she successfully delivered a healthy baby girl, Helen Hildegard, on April 22, 1895. The family affectionately called her Baby into her teens, then shifted to the name Hildegard. Six weeks after the birth of the baby, Emma still had not recovered, so she went to Hot Springs and while there learned to walk on crutches.[46] Later she was diagnosed with arthritis; Emma's legs continued to bother her for much of her life, and she was sometimes described as being crippled with arthritis.[47] The sight in her left eye also deteriorated. Although it was probably a coincidence, she blamed a thorn from a gooseberry bush that got in her eye, making it inflamed and sore for some time. About two years later, she saw black specks in her vision, and in 1899 her sight disappeared in that eye."[48]

The medical profession at that time had not yet developed much scientific information on which to base decisions. As did many Americans at the time, the Ericksons sought out solutions to their medical problems from anyone who offered hope. And since the family's home was distant from any urban areas, much of their medical advice came through mail order. For instance, in 1899-1900, Neil sent subscription funds to Helen Wilmans of the Mental Science Headquarters for a home course regarding Emma's health. And in 1900 Emma sent money to the S.A. Weltmer School of Healing, which promoted the concept that your body is the external expression of your thoughts and that "what we believe is what controls us."[49] Later, Emma became a member of Browne Landone's "Empire of Spiritual Creation," for a fee. Emma gushed to him, "I think you are a wonderful man, and the cures you have made are most wonderful, and I herewith enclose a money order for $20.00."[50]

By 1900 the need for money again forced Neil to return to Bisbee. Neil's sister also lived in Bisbee, and her family often visited the Ericksons at the homestead, where their children enjoyed playing with each other.[51] As

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[46] Emma Erickson, Flagstaff, to Mr. Browne Landone, New York, August 3, 1923, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78.

[47] Lillian recalled that Emma was "very ill from arthritis" after Hildegarde was born. "I had to assume more responsibility than most children." Lillian Riggs, "Summary of Westward into the Sun," [ca. April 1960], FRC, series 1, box 9.

[48] Emma Erickson, Flagstaff, to Mr. Browne Landone, New York, August 3, 1923, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78.

[49] FRC, series 1, folders 278-282, 305-311.

[50] Emma Erickson, Flagstaff, to Mr. Browne Landone, New York, August 3, 1923, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78.

[51] Hildegard Hutchison, "Children Playing," n.d., FRC, series 4, folder 17.

during Neil's earlier Bisbee residence, the Erickson family members saw each other as often as they could, but that wasn't often enough to satisfy them. Finally, in 1903, Neil obtained an appointment as a forest ranger with the U.S. Forest Service. The position was ideal for the family, since he was able to use the family home as his office.

Lillian later fondly remembered her childhood with memories of warm times. "When Dad came home from town he always brought us something and made us happy. And Mamma always had the house full of good smells and good things to eat when we came in." When Lillian was out looking for their horses and came in late, she was afraid that her mother would be worried about her, but Emma always said, "No, I didn't worry about you. I knew God would take care of you." Emma would say the same thing when Neil was overdue on one of his ranger trips, when Lillian was inclined to worry. Lillian later summed up that time as "Happy days; happy years; and a firm foundation in all the things worthwhile."[52]

EDUCATING THE CHILDREN

Emma took on the responsibility of teaching the three children in their early years, and she taught them to read, write and count. After the children had passed seven-years-old, they attended the local grammar school, El Dorado School, located a couple of miles from the Erickson home at the Riggs Settlement.[53] As was common at the time, local schools went up only to eighth grade. Neil and Emma wanted their children to continue their education, so the couple decided to send them away to school; since Emma's brother Charlie lived in Galesburg, Illinois in a ten-room house, that locale became their destination.[54]

In the fall of 1901, when Lillian was 13, she traveled alone to Galesburg, Illinois to attend her last year of grammar school. Even though Emma and

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[52] Lillian Riggs to Emma and Neil Erickson, November 1, 1933, FRC, series 1, box 9.

[53] The school was located on the Riggs family's old home ranch, where Brannick Riggs opened it in 1882 as a private school for his family. Miss Eula Lee Murray taught at the school for one year, until she married Brannick Riggs' son, Thomas Jefferson Riggs. She later gave birth to Edward Murray Riggs, who was destined to marry Lillian Erickson. After Miss Murray left the school, Cochise County School District 16 took over its operation. "Riggs Family History," Acc. 1700, WACC.

[54] Emma S. Erickson, "[Untitled: Autobiographical]," 10 January 1946, FRC, series 4, folder 2.

Neil had apparently planned for her to stay at Galesburg and go directly into high school, Lillian returned home after one school year, and stayed home for two years.[55] Lillian later explained that she returned and stayed home because of financial reasons, and because of Emma's health, but Emma later explained that Lillian was homesick.[56] Whatever the reasons, 16-year-old Lillian again boarded the train for Galesburg in the fall of 1904, to attend high school.[57] While in Galesburg, she fell in hopelessly in love (as a teenage girl can) with an older man: her minister. She dreamt for five years that he would return her feelings, but nothing came of her fantasies.[58] In spite of this distraction, she dedicated herself to the pursuit of her education, and when the 18-year-old returned to Arizona in the spring of 1906, she had graduated from high school, having completed four years of study in two years.[59] That autumn she obtained an elementary school teaching position at Wilgus, about 15 miles southwest of the Erickson home.[60] In the next few years, she taught school in the area, including holding a position at Paradise.[61] During this period of teaching, Lillian, not yet 20 years old, began losing her hearing

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[55] Neil Erickson to Emma Erickson, June 13, 1902, FRC, series 1, folder 101-106.

[56] Lillian Riggs, "Summary of Westward into the Sun," [ca. April 1960], FRC, series 1, box 9; and Emma S. Erickson, “[Untitled: Autobiographical],” 10 January 1946, FRC, series 4, folder 2.

[57] Neil Erickson, diary, FRC, series 2, folder 4; and Lillian Erickson, diary, series 2, folder 42.

[58] Lillian Erickson, diary, July 1905-June 1906, FRC, series 2, folder 43-44.

[59] Diary, Lillian Erickson, July 1905-June 1906, FRC, series 2, folder 43-44; Diploma, 1 June 1906, FRC, series 12, folder 13; Lillian Erickson, diary, June 6, 1955, FRC, series 2, folder 53; and Lillian Erickson to Registrar of Smith College, October 19, 1908, FRC, series 1, box 9, folder 243.
Back at home after being gone for almost two years Lillian had a crisis regarding her religion; she wanted to openly practice her Christian faith at home, but “Papa does not want me to ask a blessing when he is home. . . . I dream of a home where family worship will be a beautiful feature. I am sorry it can’t be here.” Lillian Erickson, diary, June 19, 1906, FRC, series 2, folder 44.

[60] Lillian Erickson, diary, March 23, 1907, FRC, series 2, folder 44. The Wilgus post office was discontinued in 1911. The school district was in Township 18 South, Range 28 East.

[61] Lillian Erickson, diary, March 19, 1911, FRC, series 2, folder 47.

In the fall of 1908, it had come time for Ben and Hildegard to move to Galesburg: 17-year-old Ben to enter high school and 13-year-old Hildegard to attend eighth grade.[62] However, this time Emma decided to move to Galesburg with them, to look after their welfare while they were in school.[63] Lillian accompanied the trio to Galesburg, to help Ben and Hildegard get settled. While there, she consulted with Dr. Ryan regarding her hearing; he diagnosed her with catarrahal deafness.[64] After a month, Lillian returned to Arizona to live.[65] Her responsibilities, since Emma was gone, included cooking and keeping house for Neil and two forest rangers that boarded with them during this time.[66] One of them, Lee Harris, captured Lillian's heart, and she spent many happy months dwelling on this new focus of her affection. Once again, however, it seems that the object of her affections did not return her feelings. In addition, though Lillian wanted to attend college, Harris had discouraged her in that pursuit; though she wrestled with this conflict in her mind for a while, she eventually succumbed to his persuasion and decided not to attend college.[67] But when Harris moved out of the Erickson home, any relationship that they may have had seemed to dissolve, and Lillian resolved to go to college.[68]

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[62] Lillian Erickson, diary, August 1908, FRC, series 2, folder 45.

[63] Neil Erickson, September 2, 1908, FRC, series 8, folder 23-31.

[64] Lillian Erickson, diary, September 12, 1908, FRC, series 2, folder 45. Catarrah, or catarrh, refers to the inflammation of a mucous membrane. In 1912, the Michigan School for the Deaf listed the affliction as causing deafness in 4 of their 322 students. The medical understanding of causes for deafness at that time was not sophisticated; the school also attributed deafness to brain fever, a cold in head, congestion of the brain, cutting teeth, gathering in the head, lung fever, hurt at birth, and sickness. Michigan School for the Deaf, "Causes of Deafness," Livingston County GenWeb, <www.livgenmi.com/1912MIdeafschool~causes.htm>.

[65] Lillian did not look forward to returning to Arizona “to toil alone . . . and fight, fight, fight to establish a Sunday School. . . . I must make a success of Sunday School at home. I must rise to the occasion. I must fight, fight , fight for Christ our King. . . . “ She lamented that she would be a poor soldier for the King “if I cannot conquer that obstacle--the obstacle of indifference. . . . A Sunday School at home never has been a success but <u>it will be</u>.” Lillian Erickson, diary, September 9, 1908, FRC, series 2, folder 45.

[66] Lillian Riggs, "Summary of Westward into the Sun," [ca. April 1960], FRC, series 1, box 9.

[67] Lillian Erickson, diary, April 6, 1909 and May 6, 1909, FRC, series 2, folder 46.

[68] Lillian Erickson, diary, July 31, 1909, FRC, series 2, folder 46.

In the fall of 1911, 23-year-old Lillian returned to Galesburg, this time to attend Knox College. Hildegard accompanied her, to attend her third year of high school.[69] Ben had decided after a year or two of high school to work instead, and the U.S. Forest Service had hired him; he also worked at the family homestead.[70] Even though Emma wanted him to finish his high school education, Ben may have found his destiny in other directions.[71] After the girls lived in Galesburg together for two years, Hildegard had finished high school, and Lillian had finished two years of college.[72] She had debated whether to take a two-year or four-year course in college, and had set her sights on a four-year track.[73] However, the situation at home had again required her to return to Arizona after two years.[74] She had taken private lessons and hoped to graduate with the class of 1914, but instead she took her place in the graduating class of 1915 at Knox College.[75] She apparently was able to accomplish this feat through additional private lessons, since she taught at Wilgus during the 1913-1914 school year, and possibly taught at Bowie during the 1914-1915 school year.[76]

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[69] Neil Erickson to Lillian and Hildegarde Erickson, August 25, 1911, FRC, series 1, folder 101-106.

[70] Ben Erickson, “Interview between Ben Erickson . . .,” 28 January 1970, Acc. 1455.

[71] Emma Erickson to Lillian and Hildegarde Erickson, January 18, 1912, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78.

[72] Lillian Erickson, diary, March 24, 1913, FRC, series 2, folder 48.

[73] [Emma Erickson to Lillian and Hildegarde Erickson], n.d. ca. 1912?, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78.

[74] Lillian Riggs, "Summary of Westward into the Sun," [ca. April 1960], FRC, series 1, box 9.

[75] Lillian Riggs to "Classmates and Friends," [1965?], FRC, series 1, box 9; and Certificate, series 12, folder 27.

[76] Lillian Erickson, diary, June 3, 1914, FRC, series 2, folder 48; and Hildegarde Hutchison , [ca. August-September 1931], FRC, series 1, folder 128-153, fiche 55. At some time in her teaching career she also taught at Turkey Creek. Bond, 46; and Eula Lee Murray Riggs, “Eula Lee Murray Riggs’ Account of Ed Riggs Family History,” n.d., Acc. 1721, WACC.

During that time she also traveled east, hoping to have her "hearing cured." She noted in her diary, “If I get my hearing back again I will be happy.”[77] Unfortunately, the treatment did not remedy her condition. Following her parents' tendency to seek mail order health advice, Lillian subscribed to the services of Susanna Cocroft, originator of the Physical Culture Extension Society. Cocroft wrote to the young woman regularly, giving her specific instructions on how to lose weight, be poised, exercise, build up her vitality, etc. Through her dedicated efforts, Lillian did lose weight during this time. But Cocroft drew the line at advising Lillian regarding her deafness. "I realize your hearing is of great importance in your teaching and would advise you to go to some good Aurist and while natural means may be of great benefit, one who makes a specialty of this trouble should be able to get at the cause of the deafness more quickly and relieve it sooner."[78]

The Erickson family experienced both urban and rural lifestyle during the first decades of the century. In the mid-1910s the members of the Erickson family were all based in the family homestead area. Although Arizona became a state in 1912, “poor roads, relatively late settlement, and long distances separating ranches and towns" contributed to "frontier-like conditions" that continued to exist in Arizona well into the early twentieth century.[79] In 1910, about two-thirds of the territory's population was rural, a figure that remained stable for over three decades, until after World War II.[80] However, all members of the family had also spent time in urban areas, predominately Bisbee and Galesburg. Thus they had been exposed to larger mixes of people, attitudes and values. Their perspectives would have been influenced by that exposure.

In 1917, the U.S. Forest Service transferred Neil away from his location in Chiricahua National Forest, and thus away from the family homestead. Emma moved with her husband to the new assignment. The three younger Ericksons, all in their 20's, took over running the small ranch.

The year 1917 marked an important turning point in the history of the Ericksons' ranch. That year, Hildegard began serving meals and boarding

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[77] Lillian Erickson, diary, June 3, 1914, FRC, series 2, folder 48.

[78] Susanna Cocroft, Chicago, to Lillian Erickson, May to July, 1915, FRC, series 1, folder 50-56.

[79] Mary S. Melcher, “Tending Children, Chickens, and Cattle: Southern Arizona Ranch and Farm Women, 1910-1940,” Ph.D. diss., Arizona State University, 1994, 2.

[80] US Census Bureau, "Urban and Rural Population: 1900 to 1990,” <http://landview.census.gov/population/censusdata/urpop0090.txt>, released October 1995.

guests during weekends at the family home. This seemingly small service evolved over time to become an important source of income for the family and indeed became the vehicle through which so many people came to know and love the ranch. Even the name Faraway Ranch came from this business at the family home. Soon after Hildegard started her business, Lillian stopped teaching and joined her sister in managing the new enterprise. Only a year after the startup, the neighboring Stafford homestead came up for sale. Ja Hu Stafford had continued to live at his cabin until 1913, when he died at the age of about 79.[81] The Erickson sisters purchased the property in 1918 to add to their ranch and guest ranch business. Both businesses grew modestly while the sisters managed them, up until Hildegard's marriage to Jess W. Hutchinson in 1920. At that time, Hildegard left the family home, and Lillian took over management. Also about that time, Lillian began visiting Ed Riggs, and old boyfriend who had attended local schools with her.

ED RIGGS

Riggs was born Sept 2, 1885, in the Sulphur Springs Valley to Thomas Jefferson Riggs and Eula Lee Murray Riggs. Ed's father had been the oldest of 11 children of Mary Elizabeth Robbins Riggs and Brannick Riggs, the patriarch of an important regional ranching family.[82] After Ed's birth, his immediate family soon moved to Goodwin Canyon on the San Simon side of Apache Pass.[83] Ed's mother died when Ed was about 4 years old; after that, Ed and his brother Charles were raised by their grandparents.[84] The children's father married a second time in about 1895; it was not a happy marriage. Thomas then married Anna May Stafford on April 25, 1905.[85] The

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[81] Acc. 1700, "Col." Jay Hu Stafford Collection, WACC; Acc. 1756, Stafford Family History Collection, WACC; and Emma S. Erickson, "[Untitled: Autobiographical]," 10 January 1946, FRC, series 4, folder 2. Perhaps Stafford was no longer a practicing member of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints, since a Methodist minister conducted his funeral service. Ja Hu's daughter later married the minister. Acc. 1756, Stafford Family History Collection, WACC.

[82] Ronald A. Cawthorn, "The Cawthorn, Gouthwaite, Hannigan, Topping, Saxby, and Gower Families," <http://frontpage.caninet.com/rcawthorn>; and Vynette Sage, transcriber, "The Riggs Cemetery," from information that was supplied to the Arizona Death Records, Volume 3, by Charles H. Field, Jr. of Douglas, Arizona, <www.mycochise.com/riggs.html>.

[83] Lillian Riggs, "Edward Murray Riggs," ca. 1951, FRC, series 4, folder 19.

[84] Thomas J. Riggs, diary, November 26, 1890, FRC, series 2, folder 60.

[85] Thomas J. Riggs, diary, August, 1891, and an undated entry, FRC, series 2, folder 60.

boys attended the El Dorado district school, and then attended the University of Arizona. Ed then went to Valparaiso University in Indiana. He hoped to earn an engineering degree at Purdue, but the requirement of tending the family ranch drew him home.[86]

In 1908, Ed married Gaye Moore, of San Angelo, Texas, and set up a small ranch. That enterprise ended with falling cattle prices and rising mining and automobile activities. Riggs began working at the mine at Dos Cabezas as a mechanic in the powerhouse, and also maintained the manager's cars. He then worked at a smelter in Douglas and opened a garage there. Over time, Riggs became a Mason, joined the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, and was one of the “President’s Hundred” of the National Rifle Association. Ed and Gaye had two children, Eula Lee, and Edward Murray, Jr. (later called Lee and Murray), before Gaye died in 1917 of small pox. Gaye's sister, Maye Fokes, took over the care of the two children, and Riggs closed his garage and enlisted in the army during WWI.[87] After the war he re-entered the garage business, first owning a garage, then later working at a friend's garage. Lillian later claimed, "Ed made a good living and supported, to a great extent, the family of his sister-in-law, who still cared for Lee and Murray."[88] In fact, Ed was deeply in debt, and was depressed about it.[89]

WONDERLAND OF ROCKS

It was during those post-war years that Lillian and Riggs began seeing each other. They often visited each other's homes, and Riggs aided Erickson at her guest ranch, where she served meals and boarded guests. In 1921, the dating couple pushed into what was called the Right Hand Canyon, a tangled,

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[86] Lillian Riggs, “Edward Murray Riggs,” ca. 1951, FRC, series 4, folder 19.

[87] Eula Lee Murray Riggs, “Eula Lee Murray Riggs’ Account of Ed Riggs Family History,” n.d., Acc. 1721, WACC; and Lillian Riggs, “Edward Murray Riggs,” ca. 1951, FRC, series 4, folder 19. The first large mine in the Dos Cabezas area was developed in 1878, but mining was sporadic over the next half century. One of the boom periods covered the years 1907-1918, during the time that Ed Riggs worked at the mine. Bond, 48. An alternate spelling was Dos Cabezos. Since 1919, the 100 top competitors in the President's Match, a high power rifle competition, have been known as the "President's Hundred."

[88] Lillian Riggs to Anne and Murray Riggs, March 1, 1950, FRC, series 1, box 9.

[89] Ed Riggs to Lillian Erickson, n.d. but possibly ca. 1921, FRC, series 1, folder 238-242.

boulder-strewn area impossible for horses to walk through. There they were amazed to find remarkable rock formations only a short distance from Faraway Ranch. Lillian dubbed this area the Wonderland of Rocks, and it would later become Chiricahua National Monument.

While Ed explored their newly discovered region, Lillian decided to pursue her interest in writing, and spent the summer of 1922 in Los Angeles, taking classes to improve her skills.[90] But at the end of the summer, she returned to Riggs, and married him on February 26, 1923.[91] Ed turned over his house to Maye and her family, while he and his children, Eula Lee and Murray, moved to Faraway Ranch.

A grassroots effort to promote the Wonderland of Rocks gathered strength in 1923, peaking with a visit from Governor George W. P. Hunt in July. He supported the effort to recognize the U.S. Forest Service site, and on April 18, 1924, President Calvin Coolidge proclaimed the area a national monument.

The designation of Chiricahua National Monument shifted Faraway Ranch into a new era. With the flow of tourists passing by their door, the Riggses were able to tap into a larger customer base. Since no other restaurant or lodging was available in the immediate vicinity of the new park, Faraway Ranch dominated the market. Throughout the 1920s, the couple promoted the guest ranch, and at the same time expanded their cattle ranching operation.

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[90] Riggs suffered from stomach problems, which caused him to desperately seek remedies. During the summer of 1922, he began a milk diet, during which he drank 3 quarts of milk a day, and apparently nothing else. He lost weight but he was “almost certain of getting rid of some of my stomach trouble.” During one 10-day period of this regime, he had eaten only one sandwich and a piece of pie, both of which upset his stomach, "so now I am sticking by my milk," he testified. Ed Riggs to Lillian Erickson, September 7, 1922, and September 12, 1922, FRC, series 1, folder 238-242. Riggs probably was familiar with fasting through what has been called the greatest fitness craze of the early twentieth century. The 1901 publication of *Perfect Health: How to Get It and How to Keep It* by Charles Courtney Haskell had prompted the fad. R. Marie Griffith, "Apostles of Abstinence: Fasting and Masculinity During the Progressive Era," *American Quarterly* 52, no. 4 (December 2000): 599-600.

[91] Lillian and Hildegard each wore Emma's wedding dress for their own weddings. Emma donated the dress to the Pioneers' Historical Society Museum. "Story of Dresses . . .", May 1963, FRC, series 1, box 9, folder 243-253.

Shifts in the family's lives came in the late 1920s. Ed's father, Thomas, died in December 1926.[92] The following year, Ben married Belle Underwood. In December 1927, Neil retired, when he was 68 and Emma was 73.[93] The couple moved back to their home ranch to live with Lillian, Ed, Murray and Eula Lee. Soon after, the elder couple purchased some property in a subdivision of Rio Del Mar Country Club, in Aptos, California, on the north side of Monterey Bay.[94] However, they continued to live at Faraway for several years, until they moved to California to live with Hildegard. At that time, Neil's asthma grew worse, and he sought treatments for it. In 1931, he tried care from a chiropractor, combined with fasting except for consuming 48-56 ounces of orange juice per day. This regime lasted about three weeks; although we have no indication of whether Neil was satisfied with the results, Emma thought the outcome would have been better Neil had continued with more treatments.[95] After a time, the Ericksons returned to Faraway, but moved to California again in 1933; they first stayed with Hildegard in Sanger, then moved to Oakland (where Emma thought "the traffic is somewhat terrible, so I was always uneasy every time Dad was out walking for fear he might get run over"). Next, they lived in an apartment in Los Gatos. After this year of roving, they again returned to Faraway.[96]

A DOWNWARD SPIRAL

The Depression years brought more changes to Faraway Ranch. Two of the more noticeable changes both involved Chiricahua National Monument. First, the road to the park was paved in 1934; for Faraway this meant that it was easier for park visitors--and Faraway guests--to access the region. In addition, the federal government leased 10 acres of the Riggs's property to use as a Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camp. During its years of

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[92] "The Riggs Cemetery," transcribed by Vynette Sage from information that was supplied to the Arizona Death Records, Volume 3, by Charles H. Field, Jr. of Douglas, Arizona. www.mycochise.com/riggs.html

[93] Neil received a pension of $30 per month. Certificate, FRC, series 12, folder 21.

[94] FRC, series 14, folder 3; and FRC, series 1, folder 207-213.

[95] Emma Erickson to Lillian Riggs, July 16, 1931, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78. This treatment was probably based on Dr. Edgar Ward's theory that asthma and bronchitis were caused by intestinal toxemia. Neil ordered Ward's Diet Chart through the mail in 1931. FRC, series 1, folders 278-282, 305-311. See also the discussion of fasting in footnote above.

[96] Emma Erickson to Mrs. W.H. Pierce, March 14, 1934, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78.

operation, the camp was home for some 200 young men. Financially, the presence of the CCC at the national monument was a boon to the Riggs, since Ed was hired as a trail foreman; this brought in regular income during the tight economic period. At the same time, the couple continued their cattle ranching enterprise; the ranch had expanded to almost 8,000 acres of patented and leased land. Meanwhile, Murray attended military school in San Diego. Eula Lee graduated from Knox College in 1932, and returned to the ranch to teach at the El Dorado School. She left that job to work at Faraway in 1933-34. A family friend observed, "Lee Riggs is a wonder: sings beautifully, and cooks as well, and milks cows, takes good care of the ranch, does her work as well; any one should be proud of little Lee."[97] The young woman married Hunter Stratton in October 1935. He was a civil engineer who would work at Chiricahua National Monument in 1939-42.[98]

The year 1937 represented a benchmark in Neil and Emma's lives. On January 25, they celebrated their fiftieth wedding anniversary at a large party that Lillian organized. Over 200 guests joined the couple to rejoice in their long union. Soon, however, their joy was clouded as Neil's health began to fail; he spent time in a hospital in El Paso, writing love letters to Emma in Swedish. Meanwhile, the elderly woman also suffered heath problems. Her leg continued to bother her, which she attributed to rheumatism; she took bathing treatments, which did not help, frustrating the woman. Her doctor determined that she had broken her hip. Lillian wanted to wait to tell Emma (since Neil was in the hospital), so the doctor simply told the older woman to keep her weight off of her right leg and to start using crutches again, as she had years before. At the same time, Emma put herself on a milk diet to aid in her treatment. Ed was also suffering from his own health problems at this time, and chose to fast to improve his condition. Though Neil had been released from the hospital, he soon had a relapse and was re-admitted for treatment.[99]

Neil was unable to recover, and passed away on October 18, 1937, at the age of 78, in Lordsburg, New Mexico. He was buried at the mouth of Bonita Canyon where years earlier he had planted some cypress trees to mark his

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[97] Nora Stafford to Hildegard Hutchison, May 30, 1934, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78.

[98] Eula Lee Murray Riggs, "Eula Lee Murray Riggs' Account of Ed Riggs Family History," n.d., Acc. 1721, WACC.

[99] Lillian Riggs to Neil Erickson, [May 10, 1937], FRC, series 1, box 9; Emma Erickson to Neil Erickson, April 15 and May 10, 1937, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78; Beulah Erickson to Lillian Riggs and Neil Erickson, May 5, 1937, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78; and Emma Erickson to C.O. Anderson, December 31, 1937, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78.

desired resting place. Hundreds of friends gathered for his funeral.[100] The man had led a remarkable life spanning the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Lillian later noted: “There are two things that I wish to be remembered and emphasized . . . about my father, Neil Erickson. He loved his adopted Country and served Her well, five years with the U.S. Cavalry, twenty-five years with the U.S. Forest Service. He came to Arizona as a young man to fight Indians to avenge the death of his father who years before had been killed by the Indians. At the end of his Army Service no one was a greater friend to the Indians than my father. He said: ‘The Indians were only fighting for their country, and that if anyone ever tries to take it away from me now, I will fight for it too.’”[101]

Emma also believed her husband had been an extraordinary man: "All who knew Neil Erickson knew that he was one of the most honorable, upright and honest men, and always did help those who were in need."[102] The widow planned to build a museum or a monument for the man, built of stone "so it will be indestructible." In the planned museum she wanted "a great bookcase which will hold all of dad’s treasured things” such as his books and magazines. Emma instructed Lillian to begin collecting materials for the museum. Apparently, this monument to Neil never came to be.[103]

After a short time, Emma moved to Sanger, California to live with Hildegard. There the doctor evaluated her hip condition and indicated that at Emma's age (84) there was very little that could be done, since he couldn't put her in bed long enough for the cartilage to grow back on the hip socket. He recommended that Emma should exercise and that massage would be helpful. Hildegard wanted her mother to get a wheel chair; the elder woman stubbornly refused.[104]

When the CCC left Chiricahua National Monument, Lillian and Ed named the former CCC area "Camp Faraway" and opened it to groups, offering dormitory-style accommodations with cots. They also opened "Camp

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[100] Southwest Monuments Monthly Report, October 1937, Acc. 1777, WACC.

[101] Lillian E. Riggs to Mr. Murray, 29 May 1972, Acc. 1726, Miscellaneous Faraway Information, WACC.

[102] Emma Erickson to C. O. Anderson, December 31, 1937, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78.

[103] Emma Erickson to Lillian Riggs, September 8 and September 22, 1938, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78.

[104] Hildegard Hutchison to Lillian and Ed Riggs, October 1938, FRC, series 1, folder 128-153; and Emma Erickson to Lillian Riggs, September 22, 1938, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78.

Faraway Lodge," a former CCC building with partitioned rooms and beds. Both the camp and the lodge opened in the summer of 1940, managed by a lessor. The new venture was not overly lucrative; but at the same time, their cattle ranching business was the most successful it had ever been. In 1941, they owned at least 300 head of cattle.

Their fortune turned in 1942, when Lillian lost her sight. The affliction struck Lillian hard, especially since she had great difficulty hearing. It took time for her to adjust her life so that she could continue with the activities that she enjoyed. Ed offered support in any way that he could, and she came to rely on him for things she could no longer do. But to add to the difficulties, Ed's health began to deteriorate, due to a heart condition and arthritis. About this time, Emma returned to live at Faraway. Almost 90 years old, blind in one eye, in a wheel chair, and her hearing declining, Emma needed support herself.[105] Lillian took special care of her mother and included her in all her activities. She celebrated Emma's birthday each year with a party that included the elder woman's friends and neighbors. Emma's mind continued to be sharp, and she kept up an extensive correspondence with her family and friends; in one year, for example, she wrote over 200 letters.[106] Ed did what he could during this time to help both Lillian and Emma. Lillian later recalled, "Ed was so good and always kind. After the loss of my sight, he was so considerate and so good to both Mother and me. Mother could not read for herself . . . Ed read by the hour to us and was always ready to take Mother for those automobile drives which she so loved.[107]

By the mid 1940s, Ed and Lillian decided to pull out of the guest ranch business. In 1945, they sold a portion of the Stafford homestead acreage, containing the Camp Faraway/Faraway Lodge to William Sprague, the man who had been leasing the property and operating the lodge for several years. As part of the sale, the Riggses agreed to a 10-year noncompete requirement, and so closed Faraway Ranch as a guest facility. While the Riggses continued running their cattle ranch--with the help of hired hands--Sprague opened his newly acquired facility under the name "Silver Spur Ranch."

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[105] One source indicated that Emma used a wheel chair since about 1937, although a more reliable source showed that she was not in a wheelchair in 1938. Another indicated that she didn't start using a chair until about 1946. Lillian Riggs, "Summary of Westward into the Sun," [ca. April 1960], FRC, series 1, box 9; Emma Erickson to Lillian Riggs, September 22, 1938, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78; and Lillian Riggs, [November 1952], FRC, series 8, folder 4-5.

[106] FRC, series 9, folder 4.

[107] Lillian Riggs, [November 1952], FRC, series 8, box 26, folder 4-5.

Now that they had divested the guest ranch business, the Riggses recognized that they needed to either train someone to take over the cattle ranch, or sell the property. They appealed to several family members. At that time Ed's son Murray was working in the assembly division of an aircraft plant in New York, and was recently married. Murray and his wife Anne--who then were expecting their first child--happily agreed to come to Faraway to work.[108] Less than two months after their arrival, Ed suffered a cerebral hemorrhage, and died four days later, on June 29, 1950, at the age of 64. Messages of condolence came streaming in to Lillian, noting Ed's "sunny disposition and never failing friendship."[109] Nonetheless, the shock wave from her beloved husband's death continued to sweep over Lillian for years. She fell into a deep depression, feeling hopeless about her situation.

Less than five months later, while Emma was having her hair done at a beauty parlor,[110] she suffered a cerebral hemorrhage. The 96-year-old woman soon died, on December 12, 1950. This pushed Lillian even deeper into a depression; she couldn't bear to face a future without the two most important people in her life. Her blindness and difficulty in hearing compounded the situation. She somehow managed to survive a day at a time, and continued living at the ranch. A year later Lee moved to the ranch with her husband Hunter Stratton; they stayed for two years. In late May 1955, Ben's wife Belle died,[111] and only a month later, in early July, Lillian observed the fifth anniversary of Ed's funeral. "It has been pretty tough and the end is not yet in sight. How long, O Lord, how long? . . . Soon will be the Fourth [of July]. How different from those happy ones we used to have. Now there is no real happiness anywhere, or so it seems to be."[112]

About that time Lillian Riggs considered retiring and moving to a retirement home for the blind. Instead, she went back into the guest business when her noncompetition agreement expired in 1955. Riggs once again began renting cottages and rooms in the main house, and also began serving meals again. The interaction with her guests helped to somewhat reduce Lillian's feeling of

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[108] Murray and Anne Riggs to Lillian Riggs, September 14, 1949, FRC, series 1, folder 237; and Hildegard Hutchison to "Ones at Faraway," March 22, 1950, FRC, series 1, folder 128-153.

[109] H.W. Williams, Vice President Bank of Douglas, July 6, 1950, FRC, series 1, folder 32-39.

[110] "She had beautiful hair and it was our joy and pride to have it looking its best. Snow white, thick and wavy, I always loved Mother's hair." Lillian Riggs, [November 1952], FRC, series 8, box 26, folder 4-5.

[111] Lillian Riggs, diary, June 6, 1955, FRC, series 2, folder 53.

[112] Lillian Riggs, diary, July 2, 1955, FRC, series 2, folder 53.

isolation. However, after several years, she decided to scale back on her involvement with the operation, and leased the cottage business.

In 1958, Ben married Ethel Keller, whom he had met while she was a guest at the ranch. Riggs was delighted at the union, and was also happy that the couple moved to a cottage at Faraway. Seeing her brother happy again lifted her own spirits, and she enjoyed having Ben around the ranch. After a few years, the couple moved into their new home, near Faraway.

SOLACE

The most important thing that happened to Lillian Riggs in the years after the death of her husband and mother came in early 1960, when J.P. (Andy) Anderson joined her staff. Anderson quickly became Riggs's friend and confidant; the woman seemed to come to life again, and Anderson enjoyed being with her and working on the ranch. Though he continued to be her employee for the next 17 years, it is obvious that they shared much more of their lives than that status would imply; in time they shared a special love. He satisfied her needs so consistently that she came to rely on him as if he were an extension of herself.

Through the 1960s, Lillian's guest business operated sporadically: sometimes open and operated by Riggs and Anderson, sometimes closed, sometimes operated by a manager. Finally, she closed both the meal service and the cottage rentals in 1970. She did continue rent rooms to a few close friends who came for extended stays. At the same time, however, Riggs continued to run her cattle operation. While not handling as many cattle as she once did, at 81 years old, she had over 70 head of cattle.

Even so, Riggs knew that it was only a matter of time before she reached the end of her life. She gave instructions for her funeral services to Anderson: she wanted to be buried in her wedding dress. Since she planned to die at home, she wanted her services to be in the living room of her home, (not graveside and not in the Westlawn Chapel, although if Ben or Ethel preferred the Lutheran Church she would accept that). However, fate stepped in, and after suffering a heart attack in 1974, she found herself in the hospital, not at home. Riggs suspected her death was at hand; she added an addendum to her instructions, says that her choice for a living room service should be changed to the Methodist Church in Willcox since she could not die at home.[113] While Riggs was correct in believing that she would not die at home, her death did not come for another three years. In the interim, she spent much of the time from June 1974 to December 1974 in the Willcox

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[113] Lillian Riggs to Andy Anderson, December 17, 1972, and addendum July 23, 1974, FRC, series 1, box 9, folder 243-253.

hospital, and then moved to the nursing home unit of the Willcox Hospital.[114] Although there were times when she did not know anyone, Anderson spent many hours by her bedside, holding her hand so she knew that he was there.[115] Lillian Riggs died on April 26, 1977, at the age of 89. Her brother Ben died soon after at the age of 87, on September 30, 1978, and Hildegard also died at about that time at about 83 years of age.[116]

The National Park Service acquired the Faraway Ranch in June 1979, bringing the land in a circle back to the federal government. The home ranch has been preserved, and is open to the public.

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[114] Andy Anderson to Shelley Richey, June 26, 1976. FRC, series 1, folder 17-20.

[115] Hildegard Hutchison to Andy Anderson, August 9, 1976, FRC, series 1, folder 128-153.

[116] Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, “Family Search,” www.familysearch.org.

THE FEDERAL PRESENCE IN THE WEST

"There are thousands more federal employees in the West than there are cowboys."
Wallace Stegner[1]

The rugged individual of the American West is the icon that represents the region. His independence and self-reliance are the characteristics that define him. (He is, of course, a male.) This individual may be seen as a lone wolf. Together—in the popular imagination--these individuals conquered the West. These images have permeated popular culture, such as films and novels, as well as history books. These stories have made it appear that the history of the West is simply a collection of such individuals.[2]

This impression is erroneous because the American West "is a creation not so much of individual or local efforts, but of federal efforts. More than any other region, the West has been historically a dependency of the federal government."[3] It has been, in fact, the federal government that has defined, determined and shaped the history of the West. The relationship between the West and the federal government has been central to the history of the region. Extensive federal involvement--along with extensive injections of money--have been integral components of all facets of Western development. "Federal goodwill . . . has been one of the West's principal resources."[4]

One need only to look at a map of the country, with the federal land highlighted, to understand the strong presence of the government in the West. Every state of the far West (the Montana-New Mexico tier westward) is more than 29 percent federally owned, whereas every state to the east contains less than 12 percent federal land.[5]

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[1] Wallace Stegner, *The American West as Living Space* (Ann Arbor, 1987), 78.

[2] Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Mothers and Soldiers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States*, (Cambridge, 1992), 42-43; quoted in Karen R. Merrill, "In Search of the 'Federal Presence' in the West," *Western Historical Quarterly* 30, no. 4 (Winter 1999) 454.

[3] Richard White, *"It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own:" A History of the American West*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991) 57.

[4] Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1987), 138.

[5] Michael P. Malone, "Beyond the Last Frontier: Toward a New Approach to Western American History," in *Trails: Toward a New Western History*, ed. Patricia Nelson Limerick, Clyde A. Milner II, and Charles E. Rankin (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1991), 149.

In Arizona, almost 85% is the land is federally owned or in tribal hands. Only 17% of Arizona lands are owned by individuals or corporations.[6]

"During the nineteenth century, the federal government was essentially a facilitator of western growth. . . . It made resources available for private appropriation, investment, and development."[7] The federal government explored and mapped the region through its surveys, conquered the native peoples, removed the natives to reservations, and policed the region with the military. The government built roads, subsidized railroads (through massive land grants), distributed federal lands to the public, and confirmed and protected mining claims. It established territorial governments through which the federal government governed the new settlers.

The federal government played a central role in the nineteenth-century West; this pattern continued in the twentieth century, and the government became even more active in the region. Federal activities included withdrawing and managing federal lands and resources (including grass, timber, oil, and recreational space), building dams (for irrigation, electricity, flood control and recreation), subsidizing New Deal public works, expanding defense spending during World War II and the Cold War, destroying predatory animals, subsidizing state highway building and taking part in regional planning through the creation of a national highway system.[8]

Many people have held beliefs that straddled the perceptions of western independence vs. federal participation, most not recognizing the region's contradictions and its ironies. Senator Barry Goldwater, for instance, "lauded individual initiative and derided federal interference while lobbying vigorously for defense contracts and federal reclamation in Arizona."[9] Others have recognized this dichotomy. In 1947, author Bernard DeVoto described the western attitude toward government as "get out and give us more money."[10]

Viewing the history of the West with the role of the federal government exposed leads to a very different story than that of rugged individuals independently

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[6] Kerwin L. Klein, "Frontier Products: Tourism, Consumerism, and the Southwestern Public Lands, 1890-1990." *Pacific Historical Review* 62, no. 1 (February 1993): 39-71. 43, citing *Arizona Statistical Review, 44th Annual edition, September 1988* (Phoenix, 1988), 74.

[7] Carl Abbott, "The Federal Presence," in *The Oxford History of the American West*, Clyde A. Milner II, Carol A. O'Connor, and Martha A. Sandweiss (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 470.

[8] Merrill, 450; Limerick,*The Legacy of Conquest,* 138; and Abbott, 470 and 475.

[9] Merrill, 458.

[10] Bernard DeVoto, "The West Against Itself," *Harper's Magazine* (January 1947), 8; quoted in Merrill, 458.

conquering the region. The Erickson/Peterson/Riggs family lives were interwoven with the federal government throughout their residence in the West. They present an excellent case study of the many ways that the federal government and the Westerner have a symbiotic relationship. It is notable that the family members were involved in so many of the various types of federal activities: Neil Erickson fought the Indian Wars while enlisted in the U.S. Army; Emma Peterson Erickson benefited from the presence of federal monies while working at Fort Craig, Fort Huachuca, and Fort Bowie; Neil and Emma claimed federal land through the Homestead Act and the Enlarged Homestead Act; Neil administered a newly created forest reserve and helped the U.S. Forest Service evolve as a force in the West; Ed and Lillian Riggs played instrumental roles in obtaining national monument status for the "Wonderland of Rocks;" Ed supervised New Deal recruits while employed as trail boss for the Civilian Conservation Corps; and the family eventually sold the land back to the U.S. government.

THE U.S. ARMY IN THE WEST

The seeds of Neil Erickson's association with the U.S. Army began not in the West, but in the St. Paul, Minnesota area. At that time, Neil--then known as Nels--was 12 years old, and living in Sweden. But the boy's father had emigrated from his home to the United States, where he obtained employment with the Northern Pacific Railroad. The federal government--in an effort to encourage constructing a railroad from Lake Superior to the Pacific Ocean--gave public lands to the railroad to lay the tracks, and granted an additional 40 million acres (an area slightly smaller than Washington state) to raise capital. The land grants came in the form of alternate square miles; this checkerboard pattern of ownership is still obvious today on maps of many Pacific Northwest forests.[11] While the Swedish immigrant worked on the railroad about 150 miles from St. Paul, Indians killed him. This tragedy marked young Nels, and he carried its memory with him.

In time, Nels himself followed his father's migration to the United States; there he found employment in a Massachusetts sugar factory in 1881. Erickson loved to tell stories, and so naturally while working there, he shared his life story with his Irish co-worker, including the story of his father's death. The Irishman told Erickson that "right at that time the American army was out fighting Indians." Apparently that information did not have an immediate impact on Erickson. But his intolerable working conditions at the sugar factory soon prompted him to consider other options. As Erickson later recalled, "Well I didn't have much real notion of becoming a soldier until one day after working in the sugar factory, where it was so hot, all we wore were shoes without tops and a barley sack about the waist. I decided to find out about the army." Erickson went to talk to a recruiter, but was

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[11] Derrick Jensen and George Draffan with John Osborn, *Railroads and Clearcuts: Legacy of Congress's 1864 Northern Pacific Railroad Land Grant* (Spokane, Washington: Inland Empire Public Lands Council, 1995).

promptly sworn into the army, and was immediately shipped to New York, without having even enough time to return to his boarding house to collect his belongings. Accepting his new position in life, Erickson apparently recalled his father's demise at the hands of Indians. He volunteered for an assignment where the army was fighting Indians; Erickson was assigned to the 4th Cavalry, Troop E and was stationed at Camp Ojo Caliente, in southwestern New Mexico Territory, by Christmas 1881. In the early spring 1882 his troop was ordered to go on the Apache campaign conducted by Col. George Forsyth.[12]

Apache Indians had been in the region since before the 1540s, when the Spanish encountered them in present-day southern Arizona.[13] During that Spanish era, there were few European settlers in the region between the settlements on the Rio Grande River in New Mexico and the California coast; it was too remote and too much under the control of Indians. However, in the 1820s, the beginning of the Mexican era, the area of present-day southern Arizona experienced a surge of mining activity, ranching and population growth. The population of Tucson and Tubac, then the two largest settlements in present-day Arizona, increased dramatically to 465 and 303, respectively, by 1831. Almost all of the so-called Spanish land grants in Arizona--nearly all of which are south of the Gila River--date to this expanding era of 1820 to 1833.[14] Many Mexican colonists were attracted to the San Pedro River (which flows through Benson today).

The settlers, however, had to withstand attacks by the small bands of Apaches that raided Mexican settlements. By the 1840s, "Apache and Comanche raiders had contributed more than any other Indian groups to create a climate of fear and pessimism that extended throughout northern Mexico." Among the most powerful subtribes of Apaches were Chiricahuas, who lived in the rugged mountains of southwest New Mexico and southeast Arizona. The tribe was mobile (utilizing

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[12] Neil Erickson, "A Brief Account of the Experience of Neil Erickson During the Apache Campaign of 1882 . . .," 2 November 1935, Faraway Ranch Collection, series 4, folder 11, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson. Hereafter cited as FRC.
Emma later recalled that Neil was in charge of drilling all the new recruits who came to the post. Emma Erickson to Jess Stanley Hutchison, June 1, 1943, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78. Camp Ojo Caliente was located west of Fort Craig and about eighteen miles north of the present town of Winston. Troops were stationed there, until 1882, because of actions of the Apaches. Robert W. Frazier, *Forts of the West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965) 101.

[13] Martyn D. Tagg, with contributions by Mark F. Baumler and Linda J. Pierce, *The Camp at Bonita Cañon: A Buffalo Soldier Camp in Chiricahua National Monument, Arizona*, Publications in Anthropology No. 42. (Tucson: Western Archeological and Conservation Center, 1987), 22.

[14] David J. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 183.

Spanish-introduced horses) and nomadic; they lived in temporary villages, and subsisted on wild plants and animals. "Indians slaughtered or ran off livestock, destroyed or appropriated crops, and rendered mining a risky occupation. They captured women and children and killed men. Everywhere, travelers felt unsafe, even near sizable cities like Chihuahua. Indeed, once outside a Mexican settlement, the traveler for all practical purposes entered Indian territory."[15]

The Mexican settlers were not able to withstand the attacks by the resident Apaches. By the mid-1840s, the natives had driven out most of those colonists. As a result, the Mexican population of Arizona south of the Gila River actually declined during the Mexican era (1821 to 1848).[16]

The Apaches did not function as one cohesive nation. Indeed, the Chirichuas were one of six distinct Apache tribes, and the Chiricahuas were further divided into three bands: Southern, Central and Eastern. The Southern band, also known as the Pinery Apache, hunted, gathered and raided primarily in northern Sonora and Chihuahua, Mexico. Noted members of this band later included Geronimo and Chato. The Central band, whose leaders included Cochise, ranged throughout southeastern Arizona and southwestern New Mexico. The Eastern band ranged in western New Mexico.[17]

Furthermore, Apaches did not recognize a central government or political structure and instead operated in small community groups. The groups thus acted independently, so at any one time some groups may have been at peace with the Mexicans, while other groups were not, and at the same time some Apache groups may have been at war with each other. This enabled the Mexicans to utilize the so-called peaceful Apaches, or *Apaches de paz*, as allies against other Apache groups. Thus the story was not simply a binary model of "Indians vs. whites." For instance, a 57-man volunteer militia that rode out of Tucson to fight Apaches in 1834 included 20 *Apaches de paz*, in addition to 10 Pima Indians; over half the company members were thus Indians. In another instance, in the 1840s, a Mexican military officer stated that the only thing that saved the soldiers stationed at Tubac from annihilation at the hands of the Apaches were the *Apaches de paz*, who lived nearby.[18]

By the time of the Mexican-American war and the end of the Mexican era in the late 1840s, Indian peoples retained control over much of the far northern frontier of Mexico. With the 1853 Gadsen Purchase, the United States acquired southern

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[15] Weber, 87.

[16] Weber, 184.

[17] Howard R. Lamar, ed. *The New Encyclopedia of the American West*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 39.

[18] Weber, 117, 109.

Arizona. The relationship between the Apaches and the Euro-American settlers continued in the same pattern as had been established during the Spanish and Mexican eras.

As historian Richard White has observed,

> The ultimate conquest of most of the West was military, undertaken by the United States Army. There's a mythic version of the conquest of the West that asserts conquest took place by armed settlers, that it took place, in some places, by cowboys who moved in to graze cattle. Most of this is absolute nonsense. The actual conquest of the West was carried out by the United States Army. It took place through a systematic positioning of troops, at one time or another, all over the West.

He also noted the great economic impact of the military. Neighboring

> New Mexico in the 1850s started a very long Western tradition: the economy came to depend on military spending for U.S. troops. . . . The estimates were that just below ten percent of all the money in circulation in New Mexico came from military spending. As Colonel Edwin Sumner commented, the truth is that the only resource of this country is the government's money.[19]

In southern Arizona, conflicts between the tribes and the newly arrived United States government increased and erupted into the so-called Apache wars, which lasted from the 1850s until 1886. The U.S. Army occupied the area by establishing and manning a number of forts in southeastern Arizona territory; from seven to ten forts operated in that quadrant in the 1860s-80s. About 1,200 military troops manned these forts.[20] Together with the forts in southwestern New Mexico, these installation and troops demonstrated an intense concentration of military force.

In 1869, President U.S. Grant announced his "Peace Policy"—the government's new method of conquering Indian America. The initiative utilized a "humanitarian rationale resting on military force, [which] proved lethally effective."[21] Under this policy, Native Americans were to be placed on reservations, but instead of simply isolating them as had been done previously, the tribes would be assimilated into Euro-American culture. This assimilation would occur through education and the

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[19] Richard White, "Context of Settler Communities," in *Settler Communities in the West: Historic Contexts for Cultural Resource Managers of Department of Defense Lands*, Robert Lyon, ed. (Denver: National Park Service, Rocky Mountain Region, 1994), 25-26.

[20] Patrick Hamilton, *The Resources of Arizona*, "under the authority of the legislature" np, 1881, <http://southwest.library.arizona.edu/reaz/front.1_div.1.html>.

[21] Brian Dippie, "The Visual West," in Milner, 690.

introduction to agricultural practices; the government would provide food and supplies until the tribes were self-sufficient. Operating under this policy, the U.S. Army--represented by General George Crook and his soldiers--used military tactics to round up 5,000 Apaches by 1875 and placed them on the San Carlos Reservation in east central Arizona.[22]

During the first half of the 1880s, the Chiricahua Apaches held at San Carlos Reservation resisted staying on the reserve. This led to frequent outbreaks, resulting in continued warfare between the army and the Apaches. In the spring of 1882, Col. George Forsyth, in charge of six troops of the U.S. cavalry--including Neil Erickson--, was in the field on the line of the Southern Pacific Railroad, between the stations of Separ and Lordsburg, in the New Mexico territory. A group of "renegade" Apaches lived 20 to 50 miles south of the Mexican border, in the Sierra Madre Mountains. They would stealthily make their way northward to the border, cross it at night and raid area ranchers. They rarely spent more than one night within the U.S., but would quickly cross back over the border to Mexico. During that time the military was concerned that these Apaches would try to enter the San Carlos Reservation, to convince the reservation Indians to break out and return to Mexico with them. The troops were directed to prevent that from occurring.[23] Nevertheless, in April 1882, Chato, Naiche, Geronimo, and Chihuahua, along with a war party of about 60 men, broke into the reservation and convinced (or abducted) Loco, head of the Warm Springs Apaches (also known as the Mimbreño or Eastern Chiricahua Apaches), and his people to leave with them. Forsyth was ordered in pursuit; Neil Erickson was one of the soldiers under his command in this effort.[24] Those Apaches ambushed Erickson and his troop in Horseshoe Canyon, on the eastern flank of the Chiricahua Mountains.[25] After over two hours of firing, the Indians faded away into the mountains. By autumn 1882, Neil Erickson's troop movement had taken him to Fort Craig, New Mexico Territory; during the summer of 1883 the troop was on the Gila River in Arizona Territory, then in the fall of 1883 they returned to Fort Craig.[26] It was during his time at Fort Craig that he met Emma Peterson.

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[22] *Dictionary of American History*, revised edition, vol. 1 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976), 142.

[23] Gen. George A. Forsyth, "An Apache Raid," n.d., FRC, series 4, folder 14.

[24] [Neil Erickson, 1927?], FRC, series 1, box 5, folder 101-106, fiche 47.

[25] Neil Erickson, as told to Leonard M. Cowley, "Trailing the Apache," August 1931, *Our Army*, FRC, series 4, folder 12.

[26] Eula Lee Murray Riggs, "Eula Lee Murray Riggs' Account of Ed Riggs Family History," n.d., Acc. 1721, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson. Cited hereafter as WACC.
Fort Craig's role was to provide protection from roving bands of Apaches and to guard the north-south route along the Rio Grande River; it was abandoned in 1885. Frazier, 98.

While Erickson was earning his salary an employee of the federal government, Peterson worked as a housekeeper and servant for the Fort Craig commanding officer, thus earning her income indirectly from the federal government. Since the army was the "single largest purchasing and employment agency in the Southwest, it benefited a wide assortment of civilians." [27] The Swedish woman is an example of the civilians who gained from the federal presence in the Southwest.

Peterson had moved to Fort Craig to work for Lt. Col. Henry Martyn Lazelle, who had been the commander of the fort since December 1882.[28] Located in southwest New Mexico, Fort Craig was about 30 miles south of Socorro, and four miles from the village of San Marcial. When Peterson reached Socorro, the town was booming, due to the construction of the Santa Fe Railroad.[29] The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe had received a generous land grant from the federal government to encourage the construction of the line. When Lazelle was transferred out of Fort Craig, Peterson worked in the same house for Major John Kemp Mizner, who commanded a company of the 4th Regiment of Cavalry.[30] Mizner's wife had gone East and

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[27] Darlis A. Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers: Military Supply in the Southwest, 1861-1885*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989), xiv.

[28] Lt. Col. Henry M. Lazelle was on the expedition for the survey of the Northern Pacific Railroad from May to November 1871, so he may have been in the area when Indians killed Neil Erickson's father. Lazelle had served in the army during the Civil War; in that capacity he had commanded the regiment against Mosby's Guerillas, and had received brevet major for gallant and meritorious services in action near Culpepper, Virginia. After his duty related to the railroad survey, he then became commander of Fort Sully, Dakota in the late 1870s; from there he was sent to the Black Hills to build Fort Meade. From 1879 to 1882 he served as commandant of cadets at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. He later became a colonel and subsequently retired in 1894. *Records of Living Officers of the United States Army* (Philadelphia: L.R. Hamersly & Co., 1884), 339; and Heitman, Francis B., *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, vol. 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903), 620.

[29] The resident Pueblo Indians abandoned the Socorro area during the Pueblo Revolt in 1680 and the area remained in the Apache domain until the 1800s, when the Spanish settled the area to protect the historic Camino Real, the road connecting Santa Fe and Mexico City. By the late 1850s about 600 people lived in Socorro, but the boom began in 1880 when the Santa Fe Railroad arrived and the population jumped to 4,000. Boom times continued in the 1880's and early '90's with extensive mining in the mountains and hills, and smelters to handle the ore, along with farming, ranching and extensive mercantile activities. "A Brief History of Socorro," <www.socorro.com/city/7History.html>.

[30] Emma Erickson to Jess Stanley Hutchison, June 1, 1943, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78. Mizner graduated from the U.S. Military Academy at West Point in 1856. After

apparently a Captain Haskil moved in with Mizner; Emma kept house for the two officers.[31]

Erickson and Peterson met at Fort Craig, through a common military friend. In time, Erickson spent his free evenings visiting with the young woman. When the night guard came around calling the hours, at the house where the couple was visiting he would call softly, "Nine o'clock and Neil is well."[32]

In June 1884, the 6th Cavalry, which had been posted at forts in Arizona, was relieved from duty in Arizona, and was ordered to exchange stations with the 4th Cavalry. The companies of the 4th were to leave their current posts (including Fort Craig) and take post at forts Huachuca, Bowie, Lowell and McDowell.[33] Col. Mizner was ordered to command Fort Huachuca; he asked Peterson if she would continue

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being on duty at forts Leavenworth and Laramie, he served in the Civil War. During that encounter he earned brevet major for gallant and meritorious services at the battle of Corinth, Mississippi, brevet lieutenant colonel for gallant and meritorious services in action at Panola, Mississippi, and brevet brigadier general for gallant and meritorious services during the war. After the war he guarded surveying parties involved in building the Northern Pacific Railroad, and served in Texas and in Indian Territory. He was transferred to New Mexico in 1881. Mizner had become a major in 1869; he became a lt. colonel in 1886, then a colonel. In 1890 he succeeded Col. Benjamin H. Grierson as commander of the 10th Cavalry, the African-American regiment. Mizner became a brigadier general in 1897, the same year that he retired. He died in 1898 and is buried in Arlington National Cemetery. *Records of Living Officers of the United States Army* (Philadelphia: L.R. Hamersly & Co., 1884), 121; and Heitman, Francis B., *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, vol. 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903), 718.

[31] Emma S. Erickson, "[Untitled: Autobiographical]," 10 January 1946, FRC, Series 4, folder 2. Some inconsistencies exist in descriptions of Emma Peterson's position at Fort Craig regarding whom she worked for when, and whether the officers' wives and children were present. However, combining the versions plus referring to military sources, this interpretation seems to be accurate. See Emma Erickson to Jess Stanley Hutchison, June 1, 1943, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78; Emma S. Erickson, "[Untitled: Autobiographical]," 10 January 1946, FRC, Series 4, folder 2; Eula Lee Murray Riggs, "Eula Lee Murray Riggs' Account of Ed Riggs Family History," n.d., Acc. # 1721, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson; and No author [Hildegard or Lillian Erickson?], "[Untitled, about Neil Erickson]," FRC, Series 4, folder 1.

[32] "[Untitled, about Neil Erickson]," FRC, series 4, folder 1.

[33] Rodenbough, Theo. F. and William L. Haskin, ed. *The Army of the United States* (Governor's Island, New York: Military Service Institution of the United States, 1896; reprint, New York: Argonaut Press Ltd., 1966), 218.

her employment with him by moving to the post.[34] After consulting with a friend, an officer's wife, Peterson decided to go. The colonel was very accommodating to Peterson, and provided his buggy and a fine horse for her travel, and arranged for Erickson to be her driver.

During that move, Neil was devoted to looking after Peterson's needs. He "drove her in a single buggy" and "her tent was always the first one up."[35] Even so, Peterson turned down Erickson's marriage because she would not marry a soldier-–an enlisted man--but she suggested that he study for an officer's commission. Though Erickson wanted to stay with the woman he loved, Erickson's troop did not go at Fort Huachuca; instead, the couple was separated in mid June 1884 at Steins Pass**.** His troop then traveled to Fort Lowell near Tucson, then on to Fort McDowell in July.[36] They then continued to other forts in the territory and to assignments in the field. One such assignment involved successfully intercepting a band of Mexican soldiers who had mutinied and headed for the United States in the Yuma area.[37]

Meanwhile, Erickson considered Peterson's ultimatum regarding becoming an officer. Although he wanted to please her, he understood that the path to becoming an officer would not be easy. He wrote to her,

> The only way for me to get [shoulder epaulettes] is to go through a war because it would take about four or five months for me to go through enough school to become good through examination. There are many young men who have sat at West Point for five years and not done anything else but study, and still don't become accepted into the service as second Lieutenant. . . . I want to seek higher education in the spring in order to attain the goal which you have laid out for me, but I beg you Beloved Emma, not to look at me with contempt if I don't attain this goal.[38]

After Erickson's troop arrived at Fort McDowell, he followed through and engaged a private tutor. However, his responsibilities in the Army soon prevented him from studying. Nonetheless, he investigated the opportunity for him to become an

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[34] Still operative today, Fort Huachuca is located at present day Sierra Vista, about fifteen miles north of the Mexican border. Established in 1877, it was intended to protect settlers and travelers from the Apache Indians. Frazier, 9.

[35] "[Untitled, about Neil Erickson]," FRC, series 4, sheet 1 of 6.

[36] Neil Erickson, FRC, series 2, folder 1; and Erickson to Peterson, July 7, 1884. Acc. 1776, WACC. Fort McDowell was near Phoenix, which had a population of just over 2,000 in 1880. www.ci.phoenix.az.us/citygov/history.html

[37] [Neil Erickson, 1927?], FRC, series 1, box 5, folder 101-106, fiche 47.

[38] Erickson to Peterson, July 27, 1884. Acc. 1776, WACC.

officer, but everything he learned turned him away from that career path. He discovered that to be a candidate one had to be appointed by the President. He also found out that many soldiers had submitted applications, and that the first in line were that year's eighty graduates from West Point. His troop commander had recommended a fellow soldier in the 4th Cav. but the soldier still had not received a promotion. Neil realized that he would have to wait another five years, and that even then he could still not achieve officers' status. Although Peterson continued to push him on the topic, the Swede resisted. "To answer your question concerning officers, I will say that I gave up hope a long time ago," he responded. "Dear Emmy, I will not waste my time in the army when I can be free and go as I please. And here in this country there are many other places which suit me better than that one you so very much will have me fill."[39]

In 1885, tensions were high in the southwest regarding the Apaches at San Carlos Reservation, and the army feared a revolt. In April, the army brought into Arizona Territory the 10th Cavalry--the segregated African-American regiment--to increase the number of troops on hand. On the night of May 17, 1885, about 150 Chiricahua men, women and children escaped from San Carlos Reservation, successfully fleeing south into Mexico. Geronimo led them, and accompanying him were other experienced warriors such as Natchez, Chihuahua, Mangus, and Old Nana.[40]

General George Crook devised a strategy to return the escapees to the reservation. First, he relied extensively on Apache scouts to track their fellow tribesmen, as he had done in the past. He thus continued the technique utilized by the earlier Mexicans, who relied on the "peaceful Apaches." In this complex system of alliances, while the U.S. Army was fighting the enemy Apaches, the scouts were conducting their own inter-tribal warfare. Second, Crook secured trails and waterholes along the border to prevent raids and to protect the local settlers. Without access to water, Crook reasoned that the Apaches could be kept in Mexico until their capture.[41] To ensure that the Apaches stayed in Mexico, troops were stationed in detachments along the border. Crook explained:

> To each detachment was assigned five Indian scouts to watch the front and detect the approach of the hostiles. These troops were stationed at every point where it was thought possible for the hostiles to pass. Every trail, every waterhole, from the Patagonia Mountains [between Nogales and Sierra Vista, Arizona] to the Rio Grande [in south-central New Mexico] was thus guarded. . . . In addition to this a second line was similarly established in rear of the front,

[39] Erickson to Peterson, January 12, 1885. Acc. 1776, WACC.

[40] Tagg, 31, 33.

[41] Tagg, 33.

> both to act as a reserve, and to prevent the passing of any hostiles who might elude the vigilance of the first line.[42]

Neil Erickson's Troop E was active in this pursuit, and was detailed at Fort Huachuca, and then Mud Springs until the end of the Apache campaign. Crook placed the 10th Cavalry in the second line of defense, near springs and passes. One such location was a small spring in Bonita Canyon, the future site of Faraway Ranch.

The first troop of 10th Cavalry soldiers--sometimes referred to as buffalo soldiers--arrived at Bonita Canyon in September 1885. The location must have been important to the Apaches, since it offered the only pass through the Chiricahua Mountains. In addition, the active spring in the canyon provided reliable water in a semi-desert environment. The troop established a typical army camp, including tents for the soldiers, a kitchen tent, and a stable, while the officers stayed in an existing cabin. During their first month there, Apaches--who had eluded Crook's soldiers--stole horses from ranchers in Whitetail Canyon, just north of Bonita Canyon. After the troop unsuccessfully chased the Indians for the next several weeks, the camp became quiet, and life there must have touched on being boring. The major duty of the troops seems to have been acting as couriers for the southern mail service out of Fort Bowie, which was about 12 miles north of the canyon and was headquarters of the U.S. Army's Department of Arizona. Other points along this mail route included White's Ranch (about 10 miles south of Bonita Canon), Mud Springs (where Neil Erickson was stationed for some time) and Cloverdale, New Mexico (the southern terminus).[43]

Meanwhile, the army continued to press on Geronimo and his allies. In early 1886 the Indian leader communicated that he wished to speak directly with Crook, and as a sign of good faith, turned over Nana and a number of other Indians to the army as hostages. Nana expressed a desire to see his wife, who was at San Carlos Reservation. Erickson, who was a duty sergeant at the reservation at that point, was given the assignment to escort the elderly woman to the prisoner; he successfully completed his task, in spite of having to spend a night camping en route.[44]

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[42] Brigadier General George Crook, *Resume of Operations against Apache Indians, 1882-1886*, (n.p.: 1886; reprinted as *Crook's Resume of Operations against Apache Indians 1882 to 1886*, London: Johnson-Taunton Military Press, 1971); quoted in Tagg, 34.

[43] Tagg, 44. It is likely that the Mud Springs where Erickson was located was about 40 miles south of Lordsburg, New Mexico, and about 25 miles north of Cloverdale. There is also a Mud Spring, New Mexico about 115 miles north-northeast of Fort Bowie, and a Mud Springs Ranch about 25 miles northwest of Lordsburg.

[44] Neil Erickson, as told to Leonard M. Cowley, "Trailing the Apache," August 1931, *Our Army*, FRC, series 4, folder 12. An alternate version is that General Crook had brought Nana's wife to Erickson's E troop while they were camped near Erie's Mud

The meeting between Geronimo and Crook in March 1886 served as an important benchmark in the war. After meeting for two days a few miles south of the Mexican border at Canon de los Embudos, Geronimo surrendered to Crook. However, within days Geronimo and a group of his followers escaped. Days later, General Crook tendered his resignation, due to mounting criticism for failing to re-capture the Chiricahuas. In April, the commander of the army appointed Brigadier General Nelson A. Miles as the new Commander of the Department of Arizona.

In spite of the change in command, few changes occurred at the Bonita Canyon camp. During that spring and summer, the Bonita canyon troops were occasionally ordered to picket--or patrol--the surrounding territory. For instance, on May 5, 1886 the commanding officer was ordered to "have a couple men sleep at Riggs Ranch every night" for protection.[45] Ed Riggs, Neil Erickson's future son-in-law, had been born the previous September; it is possible that the 8-month-old was at the family's ranch while the soldiers were guarding it. During that summer of 1886, settler Louis Prue began supplying the camp at Bonita Canyon with fresh beef. His ranch was near the mouth of the canyon. Apparently Ja Hu and Pauline Stafford sold part of the produce from their orchard and vegetable garden to the soldiers of the camp. The couple, some of the earliest white settlers of the Sulphur Springs Valley, had moved to the canyon five years earlier than the Tenth Cavalry. Remnants of their fruit-tree orchard are still extant.[46]

Also during the 10th's tenure in Bonita Canyon, the soldiers decided to build a monument, possibly as an activity to fill in the empty hours. The stone masonry structure included a large block inscribed "In memory of Jas. A. Garfield." The structure is commonly called the Garfield Monument, in reference to James A. Garfield, 20th president of the United States, who was both inaugurated and assassinated in 1881. In addition, the smaller stones that made up the monument were also engraved, primarily with names and initials, most of which can be tied to men in the 10th. The tiered structure was about ten feet square at the base, and about that same height.[47]

Springs Ranch. Erickson escorted the woman from there, utilizing an army ambulance. Alden Hayes, *A Portal to Paradise* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1999), 162.

[45] Tagg, 45.

[46] Tagg, 47, 52.

[47] By 1920 the monument had deteriorated extensively. Although Neil Erickson tried to interest the both the government and Garfield family in restoring the monument, he was unable to obtain assistance. As an alternative to disintegration, Lillian and Ed Riggs asked Neil if they could disassemble the structure and use the stones to build a fireplace in their home at Faraway Ranch. Reluctantly, Neil approved the plan, and the engraved stones were moved to the house. Today, the 60 stones comprise what is called the Garfield Fireplace. The base of the

Meanwhile, the Geronimo Campaign had not prevented Neil Erickson and Emma Peterson from pursuing their relationship. Both had moved since their courtship journey, due to their federal connections. Erickson had followed troop movements throughout southeastern Arizona and southwestern New Mexico. Meanwhile, Major Mizner had served as commander at Fort Huachuca from June to September 1884, and then he was directed to go to St. Louis. Peterson then moved to Fort Bowie, where she managed a boarding house, thus continuing to economically utilize the military presence.[48] Fort Bowie served as the military staging and supply center during the Apache conflict, and employed about one hundred civilians, in addition to having approximately 200 soldiers stationed there. Erickson volunteered frequently to go to that fort for supplies and mail, and would visit Emma while there.[49]

The fall of 1886 brought numerous changes. In a culmination of a 17-month campaign, an exhausted Geronimo and the remainder of his group surrendered to General Miles in September 1886. Miles took Geronimo to Fort Bowie, where Peterson saw him as a prisoner. The 10th Cavalry abandoned the camp at Bonita Canyon on September 15, 1886, one year after it was established. During its existence, it was occupied at various times by troops E, H and I, and from 40 to 100 men were stationed there.[50] A month after Geronimo's surrender, on Oct 10, 1886, Erickson was discharged from the army, as a first sergeant, at Fort Huachuca. Only then did he and Peterson become engaged.[51]

During Erickson's term in the army, his attitude towards Indians had shifted. He later told his son, Ben, "Before I got through I was more in sympathy with the Indians than I was with the white man."[52] Decades later, Neil wrote,

> I do not blame the Indian for going on the warpath. As I look back over the fifty years since the campaigns in the '80's, I would say that there were plenty

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monument was discovered during a 1986 archeological survey. For a more detailed history and description of the monument, see Tagg, 59-75 and 94-96.

[48] Fort Huachuca, http://usaic.hua.army.mil/history; and "Register of Guests, Fort Bowie Hotel, Miss Emma Peterson, Proprietress", December 25, 1885-April 17, 1886 [on one page] FRC, series 2, folder 2.

[49] Leavengood, 4.

[50] For a more extensive history of the camp at Bonita Canon, see Tagg.

[51] Eula Lee Murray Riggs, "Eula Lee Murray Riggs' Account of Ed Riggs Family History," n.d. Acc. 1721, WACC; Emma S. Erickson, "[Untitled: Autobiographical]," 10 January 1946, FRC, series 4, folder 2; and FRC, series 20, folder 1.

[52] Ben Erickson, "Interview between Ben Erickson . . .," 28 January 1970. Acc. 1455, WACC.

> of excuses for their attitude toward the whites. Not for one minute do I condone the depredations and outrages they committed, but there are many things which can drive even civilized men to despair.[53]

Neil also stated,

> I can tell you now though, that if I had known as much about Indians then as I do today after seeing how they were treated by the Government and the [Indian] agents, I think I would have deserted the United States army and gone with the Apaches. Those Indians got a raw deal. They were hunted from mountain to mountain and when they went on reservation they starved. The agents sold the supplies intended for the Indians. It was a bad business.[54]

HOMESTEADING

In 1862, Congress passed an act that greatly impacted settlement in the West. The Homestead Act was designed to distribute public lands to citizens, or intended citizens, who owned less than 160 acres. Aside from minor filing fees, the only compensation required was residence, cultivation, and improvement. It was an immensely popular measure, with almost two million entries being made nationally. However, satisfying the requirements were not as easy as some had believed them to be, since only an estimated 783,000 entries were actually patented, a default rate of about 60%.[55] In Arizona Territory, even fewer homestead claims resulted in a transfer of title.[56]

To file a claim, and eventually successfully patent, a few rather simple rules had to be followed. The entry had to be made by a citizen, or a person who intended to become a citizen. A woman could apply for a homestead, and a single woman's rights were not forfeited upon marriage. However, a husband and wife could not both hold separate unfinished claims.[57] After filing the claim, the person was

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[53] Neil Erickson, as told to Leonard M. Cowley, "Trailing the Apache," August 1931, *Our Army*, FRC, series 4, folder 12.

[54] Benton, C.B. "Sgt. Neil Erickson and the Apaches: With a Description of Fort Craig." Page 130. In *Westerners Brand Book*, Westerners Los Angeles Corral. Westerners Los Angeles Corral: Los Angeles, 1948.

[55] E. Wade Home, *Land and Property Research in the United States*, (Salt Lake City: Ancestry, Inc., 1997), 140.

[56] Patrick Henderson, "The Public Domain in Arizona: 1863-1891" (Ph.D. diss., University of New Mexico, 1965), 81.

[57] It is estimated that women comprised 10 to 15 percent of the homesteaders in some states in the early twentieth century. Milner, 307.

required to begin living on the claim within six months, and live there for five years. Also during the residency, the claimant had to build improvements and cultivate the land. If at the end of five years the claimant could prove that he or she had successfully met the requirements--and had paid the $18 in administrative fees--the U.S. government would grant title to the homesteader. Alternately, after fourteen months of residency, a claimant could "prove up" by paying $1.25 per acre.[58]

At the time that Emma Peterson was living in Fort Bowie, “an old settler” came to her house and told her that he owned “the most beautiful place in Bonita Canyon that [she] could wish to see.” He suggested that she might want to look it over and might want to buy the cabin. She agreed to see the locale and found that he had not exaggerated, fell in love with the area, and decided to buy the house.[59]

Apparently, the old settler was Mr. Newton, who had built a two-room cabin on government land in Bonita Canyon.[60] Newton was living there when the 10th U.S. Cavalry was ordered to camp at Bonita Canyon. When the troops arrived, Newton decided he could earn some money. As Emma later related, "Of course he had a place on which he and his wife were living; well, he sold that place to a captain, a small house with two rooms in it.” Capt. Charles Cooper of the 10th U.S. Cavalry occupied the cabin during the Geronimo campaign of 1885-86.[61] Cooper’s daughter, Birdie, gathered information for a book while living there, which was published in 1924 under the title *When Geronimo Rode*.[62] Peterson explained that

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[58] Hone, 140-145.

[59] Emma S. Erickson, “[Untitled: Autobiographical],” 10 January 1946, FRC, series 4, folder 2.

[60] Neil Erickson later gave the construction date of the cabin as 1884. Neil Erickson Homestead Application 1171 for Section 27, T16S, R29E, patented November 22, 1894; Tucson, Arizona; General Land Office; Records of the Bureau of Land Management, Record Group 49; National Archives, Washington, DC.

[61] “A tent was erected to serve as a kitchen and dining room with a negro woman in charge. The present site of Faraway’s ranch house is the exact place where Captain Cooper’s cabin stood and the tent kitchen stood where the ranch yard now is." [Lillian Riggs], “Faraway Ranch: The Gateway to the Wonderland of Rocks.” *Hoofs and Horns*, October 1934. After the surrender of Geronimo, Captain Charles Cooper, leading a detachment of H Company, forced the surrender of a small party of Apaches under Mangus.

[62] She published the book under her married name, Forrestine Hooker; she had married a scion of Colonel Henry Hooker, who had founded the large and successful Sierra Bonita Ranch at the north end of the Sulphur Springs Valley. She apparently obtained much of the information for her book from General Nelson A. Miles' book *Personal Recollections and Observations*. Charles B. Gatewood to Neil Erickson, December 22, 1926, FRC, series 1, folder 118.

when Emma arrived, "Of course I could not buy the land [from Newton] as it was government land. But . . . I bought this home from Mr. Nuton [Newton]."[63]

Emma then traveled to the Government Land Office in Tucson to file a homestead claim for the 160 acres around the Newton cabin. When informed that only one family member could file a claim she decided to let her husband-to-be claim the land instead.[64]

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[63] Emma S. Erickson, "[Untitled: Autobiographical]," 10 January 1946, FRC, series 4, folder 2; and Neil Erickson, "Our First Night in Bonita Canyon," 1931, FRC, series 4, folder 9. Emma introduces a conundrum when she said that Newton sold the cabin to the captain, but that she also bought the cabin from Newton. Neil indicated that Cooper "occupied" rather than purchased the cabin, which would resolve the problem.

At least two secondary sources identified J.H. Stafford as the man who sold the cabin to Emma. Half a century later, Lillian explained that Captain Cooper sold the cabin to neighbor J.H. Stafford, and that later Stafford, while visiting Fort Bowie, told of the place he had bought in Bonita Canyon near his own home, and that Peterson then purchased the cabin from Stafford. [Lillian Riggs], "Faraway Ranch: The Gateway to the Wonderland of Rocks." *Hoofs and Horns*, October 1934. However, since both Emma and Neil clearly stated that Newton was the man who owned the cabin, and Emma clearly stated that she purchased the cabin from Newton, it seems likely that Newton is the correct person.

It is not known what happened to Newton after he sold the cabin. Ben Erickson later recalled the explanation he had heard: "The story goes" that Newton was a deserter from the Army. He got wind that neighbor Louis Prue had turned him in. "So when they went up there to get him, they found his trail, he done left the cabin and took off south east . . . as far as I know they never did know where he went." Ben Erickson, "Interview between Ben Erickson . . .," 28 January 1970, Acc. 1455, WACC. If this story is true, it seems that Newton was either courageous or foolish to rent his cabin to an army captain while the army occupied that area, and to later visit Fort Bowie to entice Emma to but his house, while being wanted by the army for desertion.

[64] Emma described the transaction in three slightly different ways in her autobiography, but in all three instances she indicates that she did actually make the initial claim on the homestead: "Of course I could not buy the land [from Newton] as it was government land. But I made application for the 160 acres." Also, "Before I got married I had filed on a 160-acre homestead; it was all you could get at that time. Besides that the government was very stingy about their land, and would only permit one member of a family to hold land that you had filed on." And also, "My homestead that I had I thought would be embarrassing to my husband so I had him to file on it." Emma S. Erickson, "[Untitled: Autobiographical]," 10 January 1946, FRC, series 4, folder 2.

Neil Erickson was discharged from the army on October 10, 1886; that fall, while Peterson lived at Fort Bowie, Erickson lived in the cabin that Emma had purchased, building fences and making improvements.[65] After marrying in January 1887, they tried business enterprises elsewhere, but eventually moved to Emma's cabin in Bonita Canyon. By the time they moved to there, in July 1888, Emma and Neil had enlarged both their family and their house. Their first-born child, Lillian, had been born five months earlier. Also, Neil had added a room to the old Newton place.[66] In December of 1888, Neil traveled to Tucson to file on the homestead for the property surrounding their cabin.[67] At that time, as required by the law, he swore that he planned to become a United States citizen, and renounced his fidelity to the king of Sweden.

After moving in, the couple continued to make improvements to the homestead. They dug a well, and then used the stones they'd removed from the well excavation to build a stone house, they raised a garden, and they ran a few cattle, but they made little money.

Making a living at the ranch was difficult. The ranch "was never self-supporting. Mr. Erickson always had to work at outside jobs, and they were very poor."[68] Fortunately for Neil, his father had been a carpenter, and Neil had inherited his tools and his skills. Neil began working as a carpenter for neighbors, but ultimately decided that to earn a living he had to move to Bisbee, more than 70 miles from the ranch; he spent much of late 1890 to late 1894 there.[69] In January 1894, while

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[65] Louis Torres and Mark Baumler, *Historic Structure Report, Historical and Archeological Data Sections: A History of the Buildings and Structures of Faraway Ranch, Chiricahua National Monument, Arizona*, (Denver: National Park Service, Denver Service Center, 1984), 12, citing Emma to Landone, August 3, 1923, FRC, Box 102; and Torres, 13.

[66] Neil Erickson, "Our First Night in Bonita Canyon," 1931, FRC, series 4, folder 9.

[67] The 160 acres that Neil Erickson claimed consisted of the S½ of the SE¼ and the S½ of the SW¼ Section 27 T16S R29E of Gila and Salt-River Meridian in Arizona Territory. Neil Erickson Homestead Application 1171 for Section 27, T16S, R29E, patented November 22, 1894; Tucson, Arizona; General Land Office; Records of the Bureau of Land Management, Record Group 49; National Archives, Washington, DC. Neil was one of 353 people who filed a homestead claim in Arizona under the Homestead Act in 1888, the largest number of claimants up to that time. Of them, only 42 received their final certificate on the land, and an additional 34 people commuted the claim to cash. Patrick Henderson, "The Public Domain in Arizona: 1863-1891" (Ph.D. diss., University of New Mexico, 1965), 226.

[68] Eula Lee Murray Riggs, "Eula Lee Murray Riggs' Account of Ed Riggs Family History," n.d. Acc# 1721, WACC.

[69] The first mineral discoveries at Bisbee were made in 1877 by troops from Fort Bowie. By 1880, 400 people—mostly young, single men—had flocked to the mining

testifying regarding his homestead claim, Neil estimated that he had spent a total of about two years of the previous 5-1/2 years away from the homestead to make a living. A homestead claimant could be absent for a total of only six months during any year, and could not maintain a residence elsewhere.[70] Even so, Neil received the patent on his 160-acre homestead claim in 1894.[71] He also experienced another involvement with the federal government about that time: Neil became a citizen of the United States in November 1893.[72] During the time that Neil lived in Bisbee, Emma lived on the homestead with their 2 children.

With the birth of his third child in spring 1895, Neil sold his Bisbee house and moved back to ranch. However, by 1900 the need for money forced Neil to return to Bisbee. He was frustrated with the situation and wanted to sell the ranch. He probably didn't realize that the federal government would soon present him with another opportunity, this time to earn money while living at the ranch.

U.S. FOREST SERVICE, AND MORE HOMESTEADING

The "quiet revolution"[73] in the West began in 1891, the year of the first forest withdrawals, when the federal government began to withdraw its federal lands from

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camp; that same year the Copper Queen Mine was capitalized for $2.5 million. After hitting the large copper ore body in 1884, the mine--owned by Phelps, Dodge and Company--became the second largest copper producer in the West (after Butte, Montana). As the wealth generated by the Copper Queen increased, so did the population of Bisbee. The population in 1899 was 4,000; when the town incorporated in 1902 it consisted of about 8,000 people; and the all-time high population occurred in 1918, when about 25,000 people lived there. In the early 1900s it was the largest city in Arizona. Carlos A. Schwantes, ed., *Bisbee: Urban Outpost on the Frontier*, (Tucson: Universiy of Arizona Press, 1992), 6, 10, 15.

[70] Neil Erickson Homestead Application 1171 for Section 27, T16S, R29E, patented November 22, 1894; Tucson, Arizona; General Land Office; Records of the Bureau of Land Management, Record Group 49; National Archives, Washington, DC.

[71] Although Neil finished the paperwork for the patent in January, 1894, the title was not officially transferred to him until November 22, 1894. Neil Erickson Homestead Application 1171, final certificate 645 for Section 27, T16S, R29E, patented November 22, 1894; Tucson, Arizona; General Land Office; Records of the Bureau of Land Management, Record Group 49; National Archives, Washington, DC.; and Bureau of Land Management, "Records of the General Land Office," <www.glorecords.blm.gov/PatentSearch/>.

[72] Citizenship certificate, November 1893, FRC, series 12, folder 8.

[73] White, 391.

distribution in large quantities. Although there had been a few previous examples of federal withdrawal of land, such as Yellowstone National Park, the federal reserves marked a major shift in the direction of land management. Previously the federal government had been distributing public lands to private corporations and the general public as quickly as possible. The concept of reserving some land for perpetual government ownership was contrary to previous patterns of thought, and it upset numerous people.

The revolution in federal land policy was guided by "an elite cadre of professional bureaucrats. . . . Among these, the most prominent and influential was Gifford Pinchot." In 1898, Pinchot became the chief of the Department of Agriculture's Division of Forestry; from there he "launched one of the most ambitious and successful careers in American conservation history." When he started in his position, Pinchot had only eleven employees, and all of the forest reserves were under the Department of the Interior; "the division was without forests to manage."[74]

Theodore Roosevelt, destined to become a pivotal figure in the conservation movement, became president in 1901. The powerful progressive leader was committed to protecting the remnants of a "vanishing wilderness landscape."[75] At the time he entered office, the federal government possessed 41 million acres in reserves.[76] Roosevelt took steps to change the situation. He quickly started creating more forest reserves and enlarging Pinchot's staff; by 1902, 179 people were working for Pinchot. Then in 1905--in a landmark shift in bureaucratic organization--Roosevelt transferred the 63 million acres of forest reserves from the Department of the Interior to the Department of Agriculture's Bureau of Forestry.[77] The bureau, under Gifford Pinchot's leadership, became the U.S. Forest Service, and the forest reserves were re-christened national forests. By the time Roosevelt left office in 1909, the country had 151 million acres in national forests, an almost four-fold increase.[78]

The conservation movement was an integral component to the Progressive movement, which in turn was crucial in the development of the professional land management philosophy of the federal government. Conservation was "an effort on the part of leaders in science, technology, and government to bring about more

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[74] William Cronon, "Landscapes of Abundance and Scarcity," in *The Oxford History of the American West*, Clyde A. Milner II, Carol A. O'Connor, and Martha A. Sandweiss (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 608.

[75] Cronon, 609.

[76] Abbott, 473.

[77] Cronon, 609.

[78] Abbott, 473.

efficient development of physical resources." The proponents were so committed to the conservation ethic that it has been called the "gospel of efficiency."[79]

[79] Abbott, 472, 473.

Pinchot posited the central goal of conservation as, "The greatest good for the greatest number for the longest time."[80] Translated to a practical application, Pinchot's goal was "scientific management to ensure a sustained yield of timber as a lasting contributor to national growth and the stability of local economies."[81] Conversely, like other progressives, Pinchot and Roosevelt believed that the "greatest villain was the waste of resources. . . . To waste resources, to use them inefficiently, was to steal from future generations."[82]

Pinchot staffed the Forest Service with progressives who were committed to the "gospel of efficiency," which was spread from the top down by dedicated professionals. Young men who hoped to become professional foresters often were educated at schools "more or less inspired by German traditions" such as Cornell, Ann Arbor, Biltmore and Yale. "Energized by an elite *esprit de corps* and a vision of . . . public service, the young foresters fanned out across the western landscape with a goal of managing public forests so that frontier abundance could be saved from scarcity and could last forever."[83]

Neil Erickson--veteran of the Apache campaign--stepped into this progressive atmosphere in July 1903, when he began his career as a forest ranger.[84] Since he was not educated as a professional forester, he didn't fit into that category of employee. Instead, he earned his place in the Forest Service through his experience. An early employee in southeast Arizona pointed out

> the Forest Officers in the early days of the Land Office regime were a motley collection of humanity. It stood to reason that the Forest Reserves could not be administered in the field without the presence of at least some men who had an intimate knowledge of the country and were able to take care of themselves and their horses, could stand severe physical hardships, live under any conditions, prepare their own food, talk the language of the natives, and engage in combat when the occasion arose. In fact, these were men 'with bark on,' as Teddy Roosevelt was wont to describe them.[85]

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[80] Cronon, 610.

[81] Abbott, 473.

[82] Cronon, 610.

[83] Cronon, 610.

[84] Neil Erickson, Diary, FRC, series 2, folder 3.

[85] Edwin A. Tucker and George Fitzpatrick, *Men Who Matched the Mountains: The Forest Service in the Southwest*, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, Southwest Region, 1972), 3, 5 citing Fred Winn Collection, Museum of the Arizona Historical Society, Tucson.

Certainly Erickson's experience in the army provided him with the very skills that were described. That era, until about 1916, has been described as the frontier or pioneer phase of the Forest Service in the Southwest. During that time, a small number of professionally trained foresters (mostly from the East) supervised a larger number of untrained and mostly uneducated forest staff, most of who had come from the West or Southwest.[86] A staffer from that time later recalled, "It was period of tremendous crusading spirit . . . a lot of those fellows that had the crusading spirit didn't know anything about Forestry. They were ex-cowboys and lumberjacks and all that sort of thing."[87] We can assume that Neil affirmed the goals and philosophy of the organization, since he worked for the Forest Service until his retirement 24 years later.

A series of reserves were created in Arizona between 1902 and 1908; Chiricahua Forest Reserve was among the first, being established on July 30, 1902. Early in 1903, Charles T. McGlone, the first employee, came to the forest, in the position of forest supervisor; his headquarters were in Willcox. Several months later, one year after the forest's establishment, Erickson started his new job as the reserve's first ranger, on July 8, 1903.[88]

The position was ideal for his situation. Erickson had lamented the need to live so far from his family in order to earn additional income. In his new position, Erickson maintained his office at the ranch--which was bordered on the north, east and south by the forest reserve--although an old cabin at Barfoot Park was actually Ranger Headquarters. In addition, he earned a reliable $60 per month.[89] On the negative side, Erickson had to be on the mountain range on a horse, away from the

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[86] Baker, 157. In 1908, the Southwestern Region employed about 36 full-time professional staff (who administered the regional office and 17 national forests) and a field force of almost 200 rangers and assistant rangers. Baker, 168.

[87] Baker, 158 quoting Jesse Nelson.

[88] J.J. Wagoner, "History of the Cattle Industry in Southern Arizona, 1540-1940," *University of Arizona Bulletin: Social Science Bulletin no. 20*, vol. 23, no. 2 (April 1952), 75; Neil Erickson, diary, FRC, series 2, folder 3.

[89] Emma Erickson, Flagstaff, to Mr. Browne Landone, New York, August 3, 1923, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78. Barfoot Park is southeast of present day Chiricahua National Monument. It was typical at the time to have the ranger headquarters where the ranger lived. Not until 1907-09 did the Forest Service begin to build ranger stations. Robert D. Baker, Robert S. Maxwell, Victor H. Treat and Henry C. Dethloff, *Timeless Heritage: A History of the Forest Service in the Southwest* (College Station, Texas: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, 1988), 28.

family ranch, for a month or six weeks at a time.[90] However, the ranch was his home base to which he always returned.

In general, a ranger's duties at that time were to "protect the forests, enforce the regulations, settle disputes between local persons and interests, and generally be a good neighbor."[91] Neil's specific activities as ranger at Chiricahua covered the gamut, including surveying and mapping, examining mining claims, fighting fires, and issuing grazing permits; timber sales and trail construction were two notable activities.[92] For instance, he marked timber for a sawmill in the area, and had timber sales at Tex Canyon and at Cave Creek. Neil also put a trail down in the head of Rucker Canyon, which earned the name of Erickson Pass through rather ignoble means. As Ben Erickson later recalled, "The only place you could go through . . . had to go up between two bluffs, [and] right in the middle of this little pass there was a Pinyon tree. If you didn't watch your old horse, he might get your knees. This old horse, this fellow from Washington was riding . . . the horse leaned over and scraped the hide off his knee. He said, 'Well, this is Erickson Pass, nobody but a damn Swede would put a road through a place like this.'" The area went by that name for years, until the trail was re-routed. The pass name was then changed to Painted Rock.[93] Neil's responsibilities also included being an official weather observer, with the rain gauge, thermometer and other instruments being installed at the ranch. When he was away, the family made regular observations for him.[94]

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[90] Ben Erickson, "Interview between Ben Erickson . . .," 28 January 1970. Acc. 1455, WACC.

[91] Baker, 145. "Your principal duty will be regular patrol service, which consists of riding through the Reserve to protect it from fire and trespass, posting fire warnings and notices of Reserve boundary line . . .; you will also be expected to look after the needs and cases of free use of timber to be cut from Reserve lands . . . you are enjoined to be vigilant [regarding forest fires], use every means to prevent further destruction of the forest timber by this known enemy of the Forest." Tucker, 9, quoting McGlone's letter of instructions to the new employee Erickson. An aspect of carrying out those duties involved simply patrolling the forest, forest rangers were to ride horseback to patrol as much of their range as possible, and they were encouraged to make trips when they had "nothing in particular to do except see the country." Baker, 162 quoting Stanley F. Wilson.

[92] FRC, series 8, box 20.

[93] Ben Erickson, "Interview between Ben Erickson . . .," 28 January 1970. Acc. 1455, WACC.

[94] Forest Supervisor to Forester, September 29, 1908, FRC, series 8, folder 4-13. Associated assignments included being assistant Fish and Game Commissioner for the counties of Cochise and Santa Cruz, a state special deputy game warden and a state deputy game warden. Certificates, FRC, series 12, folders 14, 16. These

In spring 1909, Erickson had an assignment to survey Fort Bowie Military Reservation, a place he had frequented during his military tenure.[95] This assignment presents us with an interesting image of two aspects of Erickson's life with the federal government: a nineteenth-century soldier fighting Apaches, and a twentieth-century forest ranger mapping federal property.

For all the miles that Erickson traveled for his job, he kept two horses: one to ride and one to pack. He paid for their feed from his salary. Neil was especially fond of the horse he called Old Tom; "They were known all over the range as Neil and Old Tom." Over time, the horse's health had diminished, and the day came when he was down and couldn't get up. Knowing what had to be done, but unable to bear doing it himself, Erickson asked his neighbor Tom Stafford to shoot Old Tom. Neil "sat on the back porch with the tears streaming down his face after he heard the shot that ended Old Tom's life." [96]

Erickson did not always agree with his supervisors, and as a result experienced a career crisis in 1907-1908. After becoming extremely frustrated with his situation, Erickson wrote to Gifford Pinchot, complaining about management, and reporting on mismanagement of a forest fire in Horseshoe Canyon (where he had been ambushed by Apaches 25 years earlier). When asked for an explanation, Charles McGlone, the forest supervisor over Erickson responded to Pinchot in a measured but critical manner. Erickson, he explained,

> has always shown a disposition to court favors with Inspectors and Service Specialists in the field by boasting of "self" and what he hath wrought, but I have never heard of him saying a good word for any other member of the local force. . . . He is the only man of our local force who has complained to me of every other man on the force and as I do not believe all the others to be wrong and him right I prefer to accept his complaint against me rather than practice his ideas of management as he either tends to promote disorder or wants to reign supreme. . . . The tenor of his report on the fire which consists principally of "I sent," "I instructed" and other self-important phrases. . . shows a disposition to be authoritative and self-important, of which, with seeming regret, his brother forest officers have mentioned to me.

The forest supervisor continued to explain that he had received "many complaints from citizens of every locality in and near the forest expressing their dislike for

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assignments came as a result of the official cooperation in game protection between the Forest Service and the State of Arizona. Baker, 152.

[95] Neil Erickson, "[Untitled: On Lynching]," November 1933, FRC, series 5, folder 14.

[96] Hildegarde Hutchison, "The Story of Old Tom [and other Reminiscences]," ca. 1950, FRC, series 4, folder 17.

Ranger Erickson and the boasting way and self-important manner in which he approaches them." The supervisor also offered his opinion that Erickson's

> propensity for "kicking" and fault-finding is possibly due to education which must result from the ill-chosen, questionable, political literature of his selection. . . . I feel that I have studied his eccentricities until I know them and feel that I can successfully use him in the Service if he will lay aside his un-american spirit.

However, he also added, "I have naught to say against Ranger Erickson's work. I regard him as a good efficient officer in many lines of duty."[97]

Not to take the charges sitting down, Neil pointedly defended himself, and wrote again to the Washington office. In response, Overton Price, the associate forester in Washington, pointed out that Erickson had previously been informed that "absolute harmony among Forest officers is essential . . . and since you are not inclined to act upon the suggestion of this office and Supervisor McGlone in this respect," Price requested that Erickson submit his resignation.[98]

Erickson refused to comply with this request, and instead asked that an inspector investigate his work. As a result, such an investigation was conducted. Associate Forester Price relayed the contents of the inspector's report to Erickson: "You have failed entirely to work in accord with your superior officer and have gone so far as to solicit complaints against his administration . . . Your attitude toward the public has been abrupt [and] officious" and that other actions have been inappropriate. Since Neil had refused to resign, "the only course open is to recommend your dismissal from the Forest Service." Price gave Neil 15 days to answer the charges and show why he should not be dismissed.[99]

Apparently, Erickson was able to answer the charges sufficiently, for he remained in the employment of the U.S. Forest Service. However, his supervisor's career took a turn. Less than a month after Neil received Price's recommendation for his dismissal, Erickson received a letter from his supervisor advising him that McGlone had resigned from the forest service. He explained that the inspector's report "was adverse to my actions in several cases" and that after "this matter was settled," McGlone had been instructed to transfer to a different forest. McGlone decided to resign instead.

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[97] Charles McGlone, Forest Supervisor, to The Forester, September 27, 1907, FRC, series 8, folder 3.

[98] Overton W. Price, Associate Forester, to Neil Erickson through Supervisor McGlone, December 4, 1907, FRC, series 8, folder 3.

[99] Overton W. Price, Associate Forester, to Neil Erickson through Supervisor McGlone, March 3, 1908, FRC, series 8, folder 3.

McGlone's departure did not create an entirely pleasant work environment for Erickson. His temporary supervisor repeatedly expressed dissatisfaction with Neil's work. For instance, his supervisor charged: "It is an utter impossibility to determine with any degree of certainty from your mining claim reports, which of the claims are located on our administrative site." In addition, "As you failed to show bearings and distances as well as sizes of witness trees or rocks for locating the Forest Service monuments it will be necessary for you to secure this information."[100] Neil, in turn, claimed that the charges were manufactured against him.[101] Apparently this administration also passed, and Erickson continued working for the forest service.

As time passed, Erickson was not the only family member employed at the forest. Neil's son, Ben, also worked with the Forest Service, beginning in the spring of 1909. He ran telephone line, worked as a fire lookout for one year, and was a packer for three or four years.[102] In addition, Ed Riggs--Neil's future son-in-law--worked as a young man for a year or two with the U.S. Forest Service at Chiricahua National Forest.[103]

As part of an ongoing process of consolidation, in June 1917 the Chiricahua National Forest was added to the Coronado National Forest.[104] At the same time--and probably related to that reorganization--Neil was transferred to Cochise Stronghold in the Dragoon Mountains (about forty miles west of the Erickson homestead, on the west side of the Sulphur Springs Valley). That area had been part of Chiricahua National Forest, so its name changed to Coronado National Forest during the merger. Neil had worked in the Chiricahua National Forest for 14 years based at his home. Emma moved with Neil to his new assignment.

The Ericksons did not abandon their home when they moved; indeed, Neil seized an opportunity to enlarge his homestead through a new government homestead law. Westerners had demanded a vehicle through which they could acquire larger amounts of land. Much of the West was unsuitable for 160-acre homesteads, or even the 320-acre homesteads on nonirrigable lands that were allowed by the Enlarged Homestead Act of 1909. Lands that were appropriate for these smaller tracts had mostly been claimed by the early twentieth century, and stock raisers needed a larger land base to survive and prosper. In response, Congress passed

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[100] Acting Forest Supervisor to Neil Erickson, June, 20, 1908, FRC, series 8, folders 4-13.

[101] FRC, series 8, folders 23-31.

[102] Ben Erickson, "Interview between Ben Erickson . . .," 28 January 1970. Acc. 1455, WACC.

[103] Lillian Riggs, "Edward Murray Riggs," ca. 1951, FRC, series 4, folder 19.

[104] Wagoner, 75.

the Stock Raising Homestead Act in 1916, which allowed 640-acre units that had been designated by the U.S. Geological Survey as chiefly valuable for grazing and raising forage crops, contained no merchantable timber and was not susceptible to irrigation. In addition, people who had acquired land under the 1862 Homestead Act could make additional entries that could bring their total to 640 acres. Accordingly, in June 1917, Neil Erickson filed a petition for the designation of 240 acres north and northwest of his original homestead to be designated as stock-raising lands. However, funding deficiencies limited the government agencies from administering the act, and the first application wasn't accepted until November 1917, eleven months after the passage of the act. But in 1918, 45,000 applications were approved.[105]

Neil entered his claim on 240 acres on December 11, 1918, which would give him a total of 400 acres acquired from the federal government. During the five-year period from 1919 to 1924 he grazed about 10-15 head of cattle on the 240 acres, being enclosed by about 1-3/4 miles of 4-wire fence. At the same time he planted crops on about eight acres of his original homestead. Neil provided final proof on his stock-raising claim in March 1924, and the federal government transferred the title to him on November 18, 1924.[106]

The younger generation also had associations with the federal government around that time. Both Ben Erickson and Ed Riggs (Neil's future son-in-law) served in the army during World War I.[107] While this involvement with the federal government

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[105] Experienced stockmen criticized the act, which they claimed cut up the open range in tracts that were too small, and would lead to untrained settlers damaging the range. By 1925 both the Department of the Interior and the Department of Agriculture advocated repealing the act and replacing it with some form of regulation of public rangelands. This movement eventually led to the passage of the Taylor Grazing Act of 1934. U.S., Public Land Law Review Commission, *History of Public Land Law Development*, by Paul Wallace Gates, (Washington, D.C.: 1968; reprint, Washington, D.C.: Zenger Publishing Co., 1968), 516-519, 522.

[106] Neil Erickson Stock Raising Homestead Entry 035343 for Sections 21 and 27, T16S, R29E, patented November 18, 1924; Phoenix, Arizona; General Land Office; Records of the Bureau of Land Management, Record Group 49; National Archives, Washington, DC. Neil's land consisted of E1/2SE1/4 Section 21, T16S R29E and N1/2S1/2 section 27, T16S R29E, Gila-Salt River Meridian.

[107] The U.S. involvement in the war spanned April 1917 to November 1918. Ed enlisted in the army in December 1917, became an engineering officer, and was in charge of repaired and salvaged damaged planes. He returned to the U.S. from France in May 1919. Ben's term in the army was short and came near the end of the war: from September to December 1918. David H. Wallace, *Furnishings at Faraway: Historic Furnishings Report, Faraway Ranch, Chiricahua National Monument, Arizona* (Harpers Ferry, West Virginia: Harpers Ferry Center, National Park Service, 1986), 20-21, 25.

did not take place in the West, as Neil's military career had, the war deeply affected the lives of Westerners. However, in spite of his time away, Ben was able to patent his own homestead claim, directly south and adjacent to Neil's original homestead. He utilized the enlarged Homestead Act of 1909, which allowed citizens to claim 320 acres of land that could not be easily irrigated. In addition, soldiers were permitted to deduct their active military duty from their residency requirements, which in 1912 had been reduced to three years.[108] In 1919, a year after Ben returned from the army, the federal government transferred the land to him.[109] He then claimed an additional 280 acres under the Stock Raising Homestead Act of 1916, which he patented in July 1921. At that time, Ben owned 600 acres of former public land, directly south of Neil's land.[110] Hildegard was not so successful in her attempt to acquire land. Although she filed a homestead claim, she was so busy with the home and guest ranch that she couldn't live on her claim. She was thus unable to acquire the property since the federal government requires residency on the homestead claim.[111]

Meanwhile, when the Neil and Emma arrived at Cochise Stronghold, they found the house unacceptable. Neil rebuilt the house and when the government would not provide a bathtub, Erickson made a cement bathtub. After successfully completing that task, the forest service sent him on a temporary assignment in New Mexico to build a six-room house for a forest ranger there. Neil also built five quarters for forest officers at Portal (on the east side of the Chiricahua Mountains) and a number of lookout towers on top of the mountain.[112]

After seven years at the Dragoons, Neil began his last phase of his federal employment by transferring to Cliffs Ranger Station ten miles from Flagstaff, where he was "in charge of the cliff dwellings" in what is now Walnut Canyon National

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[108] Hone, 141, 143.

[109] Ben L. Erickson's land was in T16S R29E and consisted of NENE section 33, and W1/2NW, the SENW, the SWNE, the N1/2SW, and the NWSE of section 34. Bureau of Land Management, "Records of the General Land Office," <www.glorecords.blm.gov/PatentSearch>.

[110] This land was in T16S R29E, section 34, and consisted of the E1/2E1/2, the SWSE, the NWNE, and the NENW. He thus owned almost all of section 34. Ben's last name was misspelled as Errickson on the patent document. Bureau of Land Management, "Records of the General Land Office," <www.glorecords.blm.gov/PatentSearch/>.

[111] Hildegard Hutchison , [ca. August-September 1931], FRC, series 1, folder 128-153.

[112] Emma Erickson to Jess Stanley Hutchison, June 1, 1943, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78.

Monument. Although Neil was the official ranger, Emma saw most of the visitors; in the summer of 1923 they had over 7,000 visitors.[113]

Although Neil "loved the work and would not leave it,"[114] he did eventually retire in December 1927, at the age of 68 from the position of Assistant Forest Ranger of Coconino National Forest. At the end of his career, he had the second longest time in federal service in the Forest Service district, when combining his military and Forest Service employment. In addition, he was one of the few remaining men in the Forest Service who had come over from the Department of the Interior when the forests were transferred to the Department of Agriculture in 1905. The district forester noted that Neil had seen and "been a party to the development of the forest work in the Southwest from the very beginning."[115] In 1932, the National Board on Geographic Names approved the recommendation of the U.S. Forest Service that a certain peak in the Chiricahua Division be named Erickson Peak in honor of Neil. This designation commemorated Neil's services to the federal government's work in that region as both a "pioneer soldier" and forest ranger; it was especially notable since the board typically did not approve naming a place in honor of a living person.[116] When Neil died at the age of 78 in October 1937, the U.S. Forest Service conducted the funeral ceremony, according to Neil's wishes. Forest Supervisor Fred Winn gave an address at the ceremony and his wife Ada sang a song at it. "Two buglers blew taps, one echoing the other."[117]

CHIRICAHUA NATIONAL MONUMENT

The area later called the “Wonderland of Rocks” and Chiricahua National Monument was very close to the Erickson ranch, but its beauty escaped detection for many

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[113] Neil Erickson, [Untitled: Coming from Sweden, 1879], n.d., FRC, series 4, folder 3; and Emma Erickson, Flagstaff, to Mr. Browne Landone, New York, August 3, 1923, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78. In 1923 Neil's salary was $130 per month.

[114] Emma Erickson, Flagstaff, to Mr. Browne Landone, New York, August 3, 1923, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78.

[115] District Forester to Neil Erickson, November 28, 1927, and Forester to Neil Erickson, November 22, 1927, FRC, series 8, box 20.

[116] Frank Pooler, Regional Forester, to Neil Erickson, March 9, 1932, FRC, series 1, folder 293; and FRC, series 1, folder 101-106. The peak is in Township 19 South, Range 30 East.

[117] Leavengood, 14; and Lillian Riggs to Mr. and Mrs. Fred Winn, U.S. Forest Service, October 25, 1937, FRC, series 1, box 9. Ada Pierce Winn was an accomplished singer of widespread reputation who sang at many important occasions in the Southwest.

years. Undoubtedly the Chiricahua Apaches knew of the area since they had lived in the mountains of southeast Arizona. In 1890, two Indians--possibly Apaches Massai and his wife--took a route up Rhyolite Canyon to a canyon that branches to the left, now called Massai. Up that canyon, on top of the ridge is the huge boulder overlooking the canyon, behind which the couple camped.[118] This route had gone through a part of the Wonderland--then called merely Right Hand Canyon by white settlers. Tracking the couple were army troops and three local ranchers: Neil Erickson, Louis Prue and Ja Hu Stafford. It is believed that they were the "first white men ever to set foot in this strange garden."[119] However, as Neil's daughter Lillian later described, "fear of what might have happened to [his wife Emma at the hands of Apaches] . . . blinded [Neil's] eyes to all but the easiest path through the tangled undergrowth. Thus, this land of Wonder Rocks had escaped detection."[120]

As brushy and rocky as the Rhyolite/Right Hand Canon was, it got worse over the subsequent years. "Tough blackjack oak and gnarled madrone were laced together by poison ivy and Virginia creeper making a tangled mass through which no man on horseback could penetrate. Summer rains of cloudburst proportions filled the creeks with boulders among which no horse could find a footing. The canyon sides, precipitous as they were, might have afforded a way in. But rock slides at convenient distances blocked the way." The area offered nothing for ranchers. "Cattle cannot eat rocks. And no cowboy ever walked where he could ride. So, as no horse could penetrate the first brushy barriers, the Wonderland was safe."[121]

Ed Rigg's first exposure to the Wonderland of Rocks came when he was 15, in about 1900. He and young Ben Erickson had climbed to the top of Sugarloaf Peak. Ed was so impressed with what they saw from the peak that when they returned from the hike, he told Lillian and others, "It was some of the most wonderful

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[118] Lillian Riggs, "Early History of Chiricahua National Monument," 28 July 1953, FRC, series 4, folder 20. For more information on the Massai journey, see the chapter on local and regional history.

[119] Lillian Riggs, [mislabeled as Neil Erickson], FRC, series 5 folder 13.

[120] Lillian Riggs, "The Wonderland of Rocks, Chiricahua National Monument: A Brief History," n.d., FRC, series 5, folder 27.

[121] Lillian Riggs, "The Wonderland of Rocks, Chiricahua National Monument: A Brief History," n.d., FRC, series 5, folder 27; see also draft mislabeled as Neil Erickson's, FRC, series 5 folder 13. Lillian also stated that about the turn of the century, "Then came a man from the rocky coast of Scotland to mine in the adjacent hills. . . . This man did not need the horse. . . . This man wandered far and marveled much. To a few of his friends he spoke of what he had seen. He took pictures also. But what camera can depict a Niagara or do justice to a Grand Canyon?" At this time, it is not known to whom Lillian is referring.

country he had ever seen, and he wanted to see more of it."[122] Ben, who was only about nine years old at the time, was less impressed. He reported that all they had seen was "Just rocks." He did allow that there were "An awful lot of them and bigger 'n houses. Little lanes between them." However, even though the existence of the geological feature was then known, Neil Erickson was "too busy trying to make a living for his family in a new land to be especially concerned with rocks, even unusual ones."[123] It would be another 20 years until Ed Riggs got into the canyon to do any exploring.

By the hunting season of 1921, Lillian Erickson was operating the Erickson home as a guest ranch named Faraway Ranch.[124] She was romantically involved with Ed Riggs, who spent a great deal of time at the ranch. A party of hunters headed by Joe Sexton of Douglas was staying at the ranch, and with Ed Riggs they headed into the lower reaches of Right Hand Canyon.[125] There, Sexton shot a deer, but only wounded it. He and his friend followed the wounded buck until dark then they had to return to Douglas.

Riggs didn't like to leave a wounded animal, so he decided to look for it the next morning. He asked Lillian if she wanted to go along, and she gladly accompanied him. Lillian later recalled: "We took our horses and rode as far as we could, which was only half a mile from the mouth of the canyon. Ed soon picked up the trail of

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[122] Lillian Riggs, "Early History of Chiricahua National Monument," 28 July 1953, FRC, series 4, folder 20. See a similar version in Lillian Riggs, "Inquisitiveness, Vision and Energy Gave the World the Wonderland, Chiricahua National Monument," n.d., FRC, series 5, folder 22.

[123] Lillian Riggs, "Inquisitiveness, Vision and Energy Gave the World the Wonderland, Chiricahua National Monument," n.d., FRC, series 5, folder 22.

[124] In more than one later reminiscence, Lillian placed the discovery of the Wonderland of Rocks in 1922 or 1923. Lillian Riggs, "The Wonderland of Rocks, Chiricahua National Monument: A Brief History," n.d., FRC, series 5, folder 27; and Lillian Riggs, "Early History of Chiricahua National Monument," 28 July 1953, FRC, series 4, folder 20. However, the couple had already found the Wonderland of Rocks before the summer of 1922. Ed Riggs to Lillian Erickson, July 26 and 27, 1922, FRC, Series 1, folder 238-242.

[125] During that season, Ed's role was to get up before dawn, feed the horses, milk the cows, make a gallon of coffee and a breakfast of ham and eggs, and bake the biscuits that Lillian had prepared the night before. He then guided the hunters into the forest, carrying the lunches that Lillian had prepared for them. Lillian, meanwhile, stayed at the ranch to care for the ladies of the party and prepare for the return of the hunters. Lillian Riggs, "Inquisitiveness, Vision and Energy Gave the World the Wonderland, Chiricahua National Monument," n.d., FRC, series 5, folder 22.

the deer. It was marked by the blood from the wound. We followed it for a couple of miles, perhaps a little more. About noon we had reached a place opposite the Totem Pole, although it was not named that at the time." They spotted the deer, but it ran away and they were not able to pick up the trail again. Lillian later recalled, "My husband asked me if I would like to go onto Sugarloaf and come down over the rocks as he had done when he had first seen the area so many years before. I was anxious to see what was in there too."[126]

They continued upward, and went through the canyon that the Apache couple--as well as Neil, Stafford and Prue--had gone through decades earlier. From the side of that canyon they spied "a most unusual rock," which was egg shaped but perfectly balanced on the small end. They continued the long hike around the base of Sugarloaf, and returned to the ranch after dark.

> "That was our first view of the country now known as Rhyolite Canyon, the area where Totem Pole, the Duck's Head, the Cannon, and other outstanding features stand. . . . After seeing what this country had to offer in a scenic way, we decided that it should be opened up so that our guests could ride into it, and we could enjoy it. So, on the days when work was not very heavy at the ranch, Ed and I took our horses and our axes and lunch, and rode into the canyon. He, with his big axe, cut down the big trees, and I, with my little axe, cut down the small ones. Each day we worked as far as we could; then we returned to our horses and came home. The next day we rode our horses over the newly cut area and cut still farther. This way the horses made the trails after we had cut out the brush. In this way Ed and I opened up a trail as far as the Totem Pole."[127]

While exploring and working on the trail, Lillian named the Wonderland of Rocks and gave many of the individual formations names.[128]

An interesting aspect to Lillian's explanation of the "discovery" of the Wonderland of Rocks, and the subsequent trail building, is that she does not mention that the land lay within Coronado National Forest, and that until a few years earlier Neil Erickson had been the a forest ranger for that area. It is curious to consider that Neil had jurisdiction over the future national monument for fourteen years, and apparently never investigated that particular area. At some point, the Riggses began discussing their trail building with the forest service, and gained permission to do

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[126] Lillian Riggs, "Early History of Chiricahua National Monument," 28 July 1953, FRC, series 4, folder 20.

[127] Lillian Riggs, "Early History of Chiricahua National Monument," 28 July 1953, FRC, series 4, folder 20. A similar version of the couple's first excursion into the Wonderland of Rocks can be found in Lillian Riggs, "The Wonderland of Rocks, Chiricahua National Monument: A Brief History," n.d., FRC, series 5, folder 27.

[128] Leavengood, 10.

so. Nevertheless, one wonders what the U.S. Forest Service thought about private citizens building trails in the national forest.[129]

Ed "always had a curiosity to see what lay beyond the hill," so he explored more of the region. He began taking a camera with him and photographed many of the interesting features, and also asked an amateur photographer to take some panoramic pictures.[130] Ed and Lillian set up four frames of photographs; they sent one to the county fair in Douglas, as well as one to each of the Chambers of Commerce in Bisbee, Douglas and Phoenix.[131]

The photographs at the Douglas fair caught the eye of Dr. J.J. P. Armstrong. Armstrong came to visit and became so enthusiastic that he came out "Sunday after Sunday" to explore, often bringing photographer M.E. Irwin with him. Armstrong and Riggs went into all the canyons, discovering Natural Bridge and Echo Canyon. Armstrong encouraged Ed to open trails to those areas, which he did. Lillian noted that "Ed was not a graduate engineer, but he had a very practical knowledge of engineering," and the routes that he laid out continued to be used by the National Park Service in later years.[132]

Armstrong was quite impressed with the area, and took on the cause of promoting the area to the public. The Douglas American Legion Post adopted the goal to make

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[129] "Faraway Ranch: The Gateway to the Wonderland of Rocks." *Hoofs and Horns*, October 1934. "I am very glad to receive your sketch map and to learn you are getting ready to start work on the Cut-off Trail. I feel sure that the Forest Service will be ready to do its share of the work within a very short time." Forest Supervisor [Hugh Calkins], Coronado National Forest, January 29, 1924, FRC, series 1, folder 293. Researching the U.S.F.S. records was beyond the scope of this project, but those records may prove to be interesting regarding the history of Chiricahua National Monument.

[130] Ed Riggs to Lillian Erickson, July 26, 1922, FRC, series 1, folder 238-242. Ed invited Mr. McCormick, a young man who worked for Douglas Drug, to take the photographs. "He takes wonderful pictures." Ed suggested sending them to Lillian while she was in Los Angeles, and having her get them enlarged.

[131] Lillian Riggs, "Early History of Chiricahua National Monument." FRC, series 4, folder 20.

[132] Lillian Riggs, "Edward Murray Riggs," ca. 1951, FRC, series 4, folder 19; Lillian Riggs, "Early History of Chiricahua National Monument," 28 July 1953, FRC, series 4, folder 20; and Ervin Bond, *Cochise County, Arizona: Past and Present* (Douglas, Arizona: Ervin Bond, 1982), 47. Jas. J. P. Armstrong, a physician and surgeon, occupied an office in the Meguire Building in Douglas. He and his wife, Marie Louise, lived at the Gadsden Hotel, where the rate was $1.50 to $4.00 per day. 1920 Douglas City Directory, transcribed by Vynette Sage. Cochise Genealogical Society,<www.mycochise.com/dougctydir1920ab.html>.

the area a national monument, and to get Arizona Governor Hunt involved in the effort.[133]

In late July 1923 Dr. Armstrong called Ed and Lillian to inform them that before Governor George W. P. Hunt would decide if he would support the idea of a national monument, he wanted to visit the Wonderland of Rocks--in less than two weeks. A state of mild panic came across the ranch. The trail was constructed only as far as the Totem Pole; there were 2-1/2 miles of trail still to be built. The remaining area--in what is now known as Upper Rhyolite Canyon-- was “some of the roughest country . . . that we had found yet.” Ed and Lillian called on Ben, on Ed’s relatives, and on their neighbors for help in finishing the trail, and the work began immediately. “It took real trail work--pick and shovel work--as well as the cutting of trees.” But within a matter of days, one mile “of brush, slide rock” and bluffs had been molded into a trail. The remaining 1-1/2 miles was at the top and could be ridden over without a trail.[134]

On the greatly anticipated day, August 5, Governor Hunt arrived by car with his party consisting of newspapermen and photographers, and businessmen from Douglas, Phoenix and Bisbee--60 people in all. Area ranchers provided horses, and the troop, including Hunt in his starched white linen suit, rode off into the Wonderland of Rocks. It rained intermittently for most of the day, and when the group returned to the ranch that afternoon, Ed observed that they were "a wet bunch I can tell you but well pleased with what they had seen. Lillian's good dinner and a good roaring fire soon put everyone back to better than normal."[135] Gov. Hunt "promised to lend his influence to make the area a national monument."[136] There were probably great cheers at the announcement, and a celebration among the participants. But it seems that Lillian saw a different side of the rainy day’s events. She noted that when the governor’s entourage rode into the canyon, “Mother Nature wept. Another of her sacred temples was hence forth to be

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[133] Leavengood, 11.

[134] Lillian Riggs, “Edward Murray Riggs,” ca. 1951, FRC, series 4, folder 19; Lillian Riggs, “Early History of Chiricahua National Monument,” 28 July 1953, FRC, series 4, folder 20; and Ed Riggs to Emma and Neil Erickson, August 7-20, 1923, FRC, series 1, folders 238-242.

[135] Ed Riggs to Emma and Neil Erickson, August 7-20, 1923, FRC, series 1, folders 238-242.

[136] Lillian Riggs, “Early History of Chiricahua National Monument,” 28 July 1953, FRC, series 4, folder 20; and Leavengood, 11.

desecrated by the feet of Man."[137] "Her beloved Land of Wonder Rocks would never belong to her alone again. Her tears fell abundantly."[138]

Governor Hunt's support of the effort proved to be auspicious. On April 18, 1924, President Calvin Coolidge proclaimed the area to be a national monument. The proclamation noted, "certain natural formations, known as 'The Pinnacles,' within Coronado National Forest, in the state of Arizona, are of scientific interest."[139] Stating that there was scientific interest allowed the president the authority to establish the monument, under the Antiquities Act of 1906.[140]

Chiricahua was one of eight national monuments that Coolidge created in 1924. This number tied Theodore Roosevelt's 1908 record for the most national monuments created in one year up to that time. The area remained in the jurisdiction of the owning agency, the U.S. Forest Service. The agency hired Ed to work with Andrew Clark to make a topographic map of the area and lay out trails. Because Ed was thoroughly familiar with the terrain in the new monument, he was superbly qualified for the tasks, and this experience served him in the future.

The relationship between the Erickson/Riggs family thus entered a new phase. The only easy access to the new monument went through the Faraway Ranch, and for a while, the Riggses knew more about the resource than did government employees. In addition, since the ranch provided the only lodging and meals in the area, park managers--and visitors--depended on Faraway. And, of course, the guest ranch drew its customers from the park visitors. Lillian later observed, "Without the park and our advertising it and ourselves, the ranch would be nowhere."[141]

The federal government initiated new management of the monument in 1933. In that year, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed two executive orders that transferred all national monuments, national parks, national cemeteries and similar

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[137] Lillian Riggs, "Edward Murray Riggs," ca. 1951, FRC, series 4, folder 19.

[138] Lillian Riggs, "The Wonderland of Rocks, Chiricahua National Monument: A Brief History," n.d., FRC, series 5, folder 27.

[139] FRC, series 22, folder 2.

[140] Although it was beyond the scope of this study, more research on the campaign to make the area a national monument could provide interesting information. For instance, did newspapers report about the fair in Douglas; the papers of the American Legion Post may provide information about how and why they took on the task; what did newspapers report about Hunt's visit; the papers of the governor may reveal why national monument status was proposed instead of state or national park status; and who did Hunt contact regarding the proposed monument (the congressional delegation or the president?).

[141] Lillian Riggs to Hildegarde Hutchison, August 27, 1931, FRC, series 1, box 9.

properties from the Departments of Agriculture and War to the Department of the Interior. As part of this reorganization, Chiricahua National Monument was transferred from the Forest Service to the National Park Service.[142] There, the monument came under the jurisdiction of Frank "Boss" Pinkley, superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments.

The construction of the Bonita Canyon Road spanned both administrations. While under forest service administration, construction began on the Bonita Canyon Road, as a Bureau of Public Roads project. Surveyors began in 1931, and utilized the facilities at Faraway Ranch while there. Construction was then completed on the first four miles--from El Dorado School to Bonita Canyon--under 11 small contracts. In 1933, the next 2.7 miles, to Bonita Park, were constructed, and then the remaining 2.5 miles were completed the next year. The completion of the road called for a celebration, since the road was essential to providing visitor access to the monument (and Faraway). The National Park Service hosted well-attended dedication ceremonies on Sept 3, 1934 at Massai Point.[143]

In 1938, President Franklin Roosevelt expanded the boundaries of Chiricahua National Monument by over 6,000 acres. The eastern boundary was extended about half a mile, to enclose Massai Point. The south and north boundaries were also pushed out about half a mile. The greatest difference occurred in the northwest part of the park, where five sections of land were added. The change resulted in the boundary of the monument adjoining the north side of the land that Neil had acquired in 1924; thus the mile and a half north of the Erickson property was national park land. In addition, the acreage that had been the Stafford

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[142] As early as 1906, the Chief Forester Gifford Pinchot had argued that the national parks should be transferred to the Forest Service. The agency had continued to argue for this transfer through the 1920s and into the 1930s. When Executive Order 6166 was issued, Department of Agriculture officials objected. Although the executive order became effective on August 10, 1933, the Agriculture Department's resistance delayed the actual transfer of jurisdiction of its 15 national monuments. Continued opposition affected the transition to NPS. Once transferred, the reorganization more than doubled the number of NPS units, from 67 to 137, and--with the addition of dozens of historical areas--greatly diversified the previous inventory of natural parks. Regarding the reorganization, historians have stated, "It is clear that no event in NPS history, save the passage of the Enabling Act itself, had a more profound impact on the National Park System and the agency that administers it." For more extensive information on the topic, see Harlan D. Unrau and G. Frank Williss, *Administrative History: Expansion of the National Park Service in the 1930s*, ([Denver: National Park Service], 1982). A more concise discussion can be found in [Barry Mackintosh], *The National Parks: Shaping the System*, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1991), 24-43.

[143] Superintendent Forrest Benson, Jr., Supervisory Park Ranger James A. Randall, and Jerry J. Brown, "Area History: Chiricahua National Monument," November 1956, Acc. 145, WACC.

homestead, which Lillian and Hildegard had acquired, was now within the boundaries of the monument. They now owned an inholding within Chiricahua National Monument, which would have ramifications for decades to come.[144]

THE GREAT DEPRESSION

Civilian Conservation Corps

When Franklin Delano Roosevelt took the oath of the office of president on March 4, 1933, the country was in the depths of the Great Depression. He dedicated himself to pulling the country out of the economic depression, and immediately initiated a variety of programs toward that goal. One of those initiatives involved the conservation of natural resources through the employment of young men. Five days after his inauguration, on March 9, Roosevelt held a meeting that included the secretaries of agriculture, interior and war, where he presented his ideas.

> President Roosevelt's primary goal for the program was to take unemployed youths out of the cities and build up their health and morale while contributing to the economic recovery of the country. Not only would they receive wages for their work, but money would also be sent to their dependents so that the program would provide benefits to the greatest number of people. The work was to restore the enrollees to physical health and increase their confidence in themselves and the nation. A secondary goal of the program was to effect needed conservation measures on forest, park, and farm lands. A related goal was to provide the nation with increased recreational opportunities.[145]

Roosevelt sketched out the framework for the program: the army would recruit 500,000 men and run conditioning camps for them; the men would then be transferred to the Departments of Agriculture or Interior, who would oversee the actual conservation work. The president asked that a draft bill be submitted to him by that evening; the outline of the bill was brought to him by 9 p.m.

The bill was introduced in Congress on March 13, but was immediately withdrawn for modifications. The revised version "stipulated that the unemployed could work for the prevention of forest fires and for soil erosion, flood control, removal of undesirable plants, insect control, and construction or maintenance of paths, tracks, and fire lanes on public lands. In return, those enrolled in this program would be provided with appropriate clothing, daily subsistence, medical attention,

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[144] President, Proclamation. "Excluding certain lands from the Coronado National Forest and adding them to the Chiricahua National Monument, Arizona" June 10, 1938.

[145] John Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service, 1933-1942: An Administrative History*, (n.p.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1985), 126.

hospitalization, and a cash allowance." It was introduced in Congress on March 21, and in ten days--only 22 days after presenting his proposal--Roosevelt signed the bill into law, on March 31, 1933. As the president signed the bill, "he commented that he would like to see the program begin in two weeks." He also set a goal of having 250,000 youths employed by July 1.[146]

The act officially called the program Emergency Conservation Work (ECW), however the press insisted on calling it the Civilian Conservation Corps. The popular label was used so extensively that the name was officially changed in 1937 to the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC).[147]

The Departments of Agriculture, Interior, Labor and War hurriedly organized the program during the weeks after the 1933 bill's passage. Their ultimate roles remained much the same as Roosevelt originally planned. The Labor Department recruited the hundreds of thousands of young men, while the army conditioned the men, and operated and supervised the work camps. The U.S. Forest Service (in the Agriculture Department) and the National Park Service (in the Interior Department) were the primary administrators of the conservation work program. The Forest Service managed the work program in national, state and private forests, while the NPS managed the work in national and state parks. Although the departments did not meet the two-week deadline set by the president, the National Park Service did open its first three camps on May 11, 1933, less than six weeks after the bill's enactment. The four departments did meet the July 1 goal of having 250,000 recruits.[148]

After its initial burst of growth, the ECW program continued to expand; in March 1934 NPS had a total of 61 camps in national parks and monuments, while in October 1934, there were 102 camps in NPS areas.[149] It was during this summer of expansion that the ECW camp at Chiricahua National Monument was established.[150] The ECW program reached its peak in 1935, when Roosevelt issued a directive to employ 600,000 workers, doubling its size. The park service was given permission to employ up to 150,000 men in both national and state parks.[151]

Within the NPS, an organizational structure was established and additional personnel were hired. The Washington Office approved projects and provided quality control. These administrators carefully reviewed the proposed projects to

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[146] Paige, 7, 8, 13.

[147] Paige, 11.

[148] Paige, 15, 16.

[149] Paige, 19.

[150] Paige, 182.

[151] Paige, 21.

determine if they were appropriate and met the standards that had been established. For instance, horse and hiking trails were not to be over 4 feet wide. Meanwhile, the park superintendent administered the overall ECW program within each park. He hired a person--first called a camp superintendent and later called a project superintendent--to coordinate projects, manage expenditures, and set up daily work schedules. A foreman in turn supervised daily work crews of 40 to 50 men. Other inspectors, technical advisors and skilled workers were also utilized as needed. To put this in perspective, prior to the ECW, the entire NPS staff amounted to 6,192 people. To help administer the ECW program, by June 1935, the NPS hired another 7,422 people--exclusive of enrollees--to simply administer the ECW program.[152] Meanwhile, the army administered each camp, under a regular or reserve army officer called the camp commander. Assisted by army or civilian aides, he undertook the care and responsibility of the men while they were in the camp. This included providing meals, medical care, religious counseling and educational advising.

Originally, all camps were to be located on NPS land near the work projects. However, later the camps could be located on private lands leased by the army. Requirements for the campsite selection included "their proximity to railway and highway, the attitude of the local populace, the availability of water for the campsite, and the availability of lumber and other building materials.[153]

For the Chiricahua ECW/CCC camp, the U.S. government selected and leased a site on private land. Ed & Lillian Riggs leased to the government about 10 acres of “more or less of partially cleared grazing and forest land” located in the SE1/4 of the S1/2 of sec 26, T16S R29E.[154] This was the place where the Apache had stolen a horse from Ja Hu Stafford on his homestead in 1890. Later, Lillian and Hildegard purchased this parcel, and then, in the 1950s, the Silver Spur Ranch would stand on the same location.[155] The lease for Camp SP-12-A (later called NM-2-A) began on May 15, 1934, with annual renewals. Relations between the Riggses and the government were not always amiable regarding the camp. For instance, in an April 1937 letter, Ed protested, “The runoff from the septic tank has never been satisfactorily disposed of.” The overflow went into the creek, which was the water source for Faraway Ranch. “It is becoming dangerous to us who use the water here on the ranch," he complained. In addition, the government paid only $1 in rent each year, although the Riggses repeatedly asked for $100 per year.[156]

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[152] Paige, 21.

[153] Paige, 70.

[154] FRC, series 18, folder 3.

[155] Lillian Riggs, “Early History of Chiricahua National Monument,” 28 July 1953, FRC, series 4, folder 20.

[156] FRC, series 18, folder 3.

The recruits in the national program were primarily single men between the ages of 18 and 25, who were required to send $25 of their $30 wage check to their families. They were assigned to works camps, each with a quota of 200 men. Most men were "mustered out" after a year, although eventually enrollees were allowed to remain in the ECW for up to two years. The statistical composite of the average enrollee showed he was between 17 and 18 years old, and had been living in a six-room house with his parents and four brothers and sisters. The home had no running water, no indoor plumbing, and no telephone or electric refrigerator. The father typically had been out of work for six months of the previous two years, and the family was on the relief rolls. The enrollee had completed eight grades of schooling, and part of a ninth year, but it had taken him nearly eleven years to do it. Typically, he had worked for pay only a few months of his life. He had "a commendable belief that the CCC will teach him how to work and he likes the idea."[157]

Camp life was standardized:

> The enrollee's workday began at 6:00 a.m. with reveille. The youths then had half an hour to dress and prepare themselves for the day's work. This was followed by 15 minutes of calisthenics and a hearty breakfast of fruit, cereal, pancakes or ham and eggs, and coffee. After breakfast, the enrollees made beds, cleaned barracks, and policed the grounds. By 8:00 a.m. they were either at or on their way to work. They would work until noon, when the crews stopped for . . . lunch. The youths then worked until 4:00 p.m., when they were transported back to camp. . . . Between 5:00 and 5:30, the recruits changed into dress uniforms and presented themselves for the evening meal.[158]

In the evenings courses were taught that were "designed to assist the men in obtaining jobs after leaving the camps."[159]

In their free time, the enrollees at Chiricahua enjoyed baseball, softball, football, boxing and basketball. Baseball was especially favored, and the group formed a team that played teams from Willcox, Portal, Bowie, Douglas and other southeastern Arizona locales. Other, less structured, activities were also enjoyed. One enrollee amazed the group with his sword swallowing show, and another could walk up stairs on his hands. Even though gambling was not permitted, the young men managed to routinely play penny-ante poker. Since cash was hard to find, they would bet cigarettes, bandanas or small change. The CCCers also drove into the nearby towns to dance and drink, and it wasn't unusual for some of them to be

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[157] American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education, *The Civilian Conservation Corps* (n.p.: n.d.), 5; quoted in Paige, 79.

[158] Paige, 79-81.

[159] Paige, 85.

thrown into jail for becoming inebriated and/or causing a disturbance. Eventually overnight weekend trips were forbidden, primarily due to the high incidence of venereal diseases.[160]

At the end of the day, "Camp lights were shut off at 10:00 p.m., with taps blown 15 minutes later. At 11:00 p.m. the camp commander made a bed check to see that all enrollees were present."[161]

In addition to the typical enrollees, the NPS was also authorized to hire locally employed men (LEMs). This was a vehicle for hiring men skilled in conservation work; they served as foremen and skilled workers. The LEMs had to take a physical and be formally enrolled by the army, even though they worked for the park superintendents. They were allowed to return to their homes in the evenings. Each camp was permitted to have eight to 12 LEMs.

Ed Riggs was employed as the trail foreman for a salary of $1800, probably in the category of a LEM. He was uniquely qualified for the position, having laid out and constructed most of the existing trails in the national monument. Riggs worked under Project Superintendent William Stevenson. In addition to trail work, Riggs helped as needed; for instance, Riggs, Rex Rice (postmaster at Douglas) and other local students assisted NPS staff “in securing specimens for study.”[162] Ed also did most of the work to install a grounded circuit at Massai Point, which would be especially helpful during fire season.[163] In addition, Riggs and son-in-law Hunter Stratton helped apprehend a hunter in the monument.[164]

In 1934, Riggs and his trail workers were assigned the task of constructing the Sugarloaf Mountain horse trail. They worked steadily on the project, completing the trail itself in January 1935; however, the crew worked for an additional three months doing landscaping, rock walling, etc. before calling the project complete.[165]

While that task was undoubtedly satisfying, Riggs believed he could build a trail through the narrow, treacherous Echo Canyon. “From the road on the top of the ridge down into the park, there was nothing but solid stone and sheer bluffs. It seemed an impossible undertaking. Several engineers came out and looked over

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[160] Robert Iski, "Civilian Conservation Corps Report" Acc. 1687, WACC.

[161] Paige, 82.

[162] "Monthly Report of Supervisory and Facilitating Personnel", May 1936, Acc. 1709; and Southwest Monuments Monthly Report, June 1935. Acc. 1777, WACC.

[163] Southwest Monuments Monthly Report, April 1938. Acc. 1777, WACC.

[164] Southwest Monuments Monthly Report, June 1939. Acc. 1777, WACC.

[165] Southwest Monuments Monthly Report, January and March 1935. Acc. 1777, WACC.

the proposition and said that they did not see how a trail could ever be put through there. Ed felt that they could do it."[166] He approached Frank Pinkley, then Superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments, with the idea. Pinkley responded, "All right, you may have the job, but if you fail to put a trail through that area, just hand in your resignation. Don't wait for me to fire you!"[167] Riggs took on the challenge, and carefully planned the route. When completed, the Echo Canyon trail would lead through Echo Park and tie into the Rhyolite Trail. The Echo Canyon trail was being surveyed, in preparation for construction, while the trail crew completed work on other trails. When released from those trails, Riggs's trail crew took on Echo Canyon. By June 1935, they had completed a total of 1,800 feet, and a year later they had constructed a total of 10,000 feet on the Echo Canyon trail.[168]

The most difficult portion to construct on the Echo Canyon Trail was only a quarter of a mile long, yet required eleven switchbacks on an average minus grade of 11 percent. This section, between the Echo parking area and Echo Park, had been 90 percent solid, and approximately 600 cubic yards of rock were taken from the cuts and utilized in walls and fills.[169] The Regional Wildlife Technician reported in April 1936 that the trail work at Chiricahua deserved commendation. "The trails are being kept to a minimum width, and great care has been taken to avoid damage to vegetation and rock formations during blasting. Rock supporting walls have been carefully laid so as to give a natural appearance."[170]

There was much anticipation of the completion of the trail; the superintendent expected that "when Mr. Riggs finishes the Echo Park trail, there will be more visitors walking along that trail than on all the other trails together."[171] Finally, the Echo Point-Rhyolite Trail connection was completed in November 1936; in turn this opened the Rhyolite-Massai Point-Echo Canyon Loop.[172] The Echo Park Trail has

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[166] Lillian Riggs, "Early History of Chiricahua National Monument," 28 July 1953, FRC, series 4, folder 20.

[167] Lillian Riggs, "Early History of Chiricahua National Monument," 28 July 1953, FRC, series 4, folder 20.

[168] Southwest Monuments Monthly Report, March 1935 and June 1936. Acc. 1777, WACC.

[169] "Echo Canyon-Massai Point Loop," Acc. 1709, WACC.

[170] Southwest Monuments Monthly Report, April 1936. Acc. 1777, WACC.

[171] Southwest Monuments Monthly Report, June 1935. Acc. 1777, WACC.

[172] Southwest Monuments Monthly Report, November 1936. Acc. 1777, WACC.

been called "a masterpiece in trail engineering and a monument to its builders."[173] Riggs was justifiably proud of his accomplishment, and considered it his greatest achievement. His wife later remarked, “Echo Canyon, considered the most beautiful in all the area, stands today as Ed often remarked he wished it might—his monument.” The inscription on his grave includes: “He engineered the construction of Echo Trail. He wished this to be his monument.”[174]

Meanwhile, the national ECW program continued expanding in size until the fall of 1935, when the president's goal became reducing the size of the corps and making it a permanent organization. Roosevelt instructed the ECW director to begin reducing the number of recruits to 300,000. Reductions continued when Congress cut funding in 1938. The NPS allotment was 77 camps for national park and monument areas. Although large-scale camp reductions did not take place in 1939, NPS did continue to phase out some camps and relocated them to other areas. At Chiricahua National Monument, all CCC projects were completed and the camp was closed around June 1940.[175] It appears that lease of the CCC campsite on the Riggs property ended June 30, 1940.[176] CCC projects in Chiricahua totaled $200,000 on the road and the trail system, and $100,000 on buildings, water, sewage and campground developments.[177]

A difficult task for the NPS was inventorying and disposing of the camp equipment and buildings from these closed camps. Typically, a full inventory was made, and the items were transferred to the War Department. The NPS policy on camp buildings was that they were either to be used or torn down.[178] However, there were some exceptions to these rules, such as at Chiricahua. Ed and Lillian Riggs had persistently requested $100 per year for rent, instead of $1 per year. Since they couldn’t get more rent, the couple changed tactics and asked that at the end of the lease, that the improvements remain instead of being removed or destroyed. The government sought the opinion of the solicitor on the request; he acknowledged that leaving the improvements would be acceptable. The

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[173] Superintendent Forrest Benson, Jr., Supervisory Park Ranger James A. Randall, and Jerry J. Brown, "Area History: Chiricahua National Monument," November 1956, Acc. 145, WACC.

[174] Lillian Riggs, “Edward Murray Riggs,” ca. 1951, FRC, series 4, folder 19.

[175] Southwest Monuments Monthly Report, June 1940. Acc. 1777, WACC; and Paige, 21, 22, 26, 182.

[176] FRC, series 18, folder 3.

[177] Superintendent Forrest Benson, Jr., Supervisory Park Ranger James A. Randall, and Jerry J. Brown, "Area History: Chiricahua National Monument," November 1956, Acc. 145, WACC.

[178] Paige, 36.

government followed the opinion of the solicitor, and transferred the facility to the Riggses.[179] The family thus acquired, at no cost, 24 buildings, including five barracks, a mess hall/kitchen, an infirmary, generator houses, a blacksmith shop, a carpenter shop, etc.[180]

In 1940, the national defense program began drastically affecting the CCC program. After the fall of France in June 1940, President Roosevelt proclaimed a limited national emergency, which prepared the way for the establishment of CCC camps on military bases. CCC enrollment dropped as the higher paying defense jobs attracted young men. With the entry of the U.S. into the World War in December 1941, the NPS terminated all CCC projects that were not directly related to the war effort.

The national CCC program—by its end in 1942--had enrolled more than 2.5 million young men.[181] In a public opinion poll taken shortly after the beginning of World War II, "the CCC was ranked as the third greatest accomplishment of the New Deal program."[182] Even today, people appreciate the CCC as one of the successful and admirable New Deal programs.

Land Sale Negotiations

While Ed was working for the CCC at Chiricahua, he and Lillian were involved in discussions with the NPS regarding development on the family's land, as well as a proposed sale of the old Stafford homestead. The Riggses had made an arrangement with their son-in-law Hunter Stratton so that the younger man would build a service and store on the Riggs property adjacent to the park's campground and bordering the Bonita canyon highway.[183] They also planned to provide a camp cabin area at that locale. In June 1938, grading for the construction of the service station was about completed, and the materials were on the job.[184] However, NPS Associate Director A. B. Demaray visited Chiricahua at about that time and was not

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[179] FRC, series 18, folder 3.

[180] Lillian and Ed Riggs, October 10, 1940, FRC, series 8, folder 98.

[181] Paige, 79.

[182] Paige, 132.

[183] Southwest Monuments Monthly Report, March 1938. Acc. 1777, WACC; and Hildegard Hutchison to Lillian and Ed Riggs, October, 1938, FRC, series 1, folder 128-153.

[184] Southwest Monuments Monthly Report, June 1938. Acc. 1777, WACC.

entirely pleased with the proposed construction.[185] The park service proposed that the Riggses turn the land over to the agency and that the NPS would construct buildings upon it for the care of the tourist trade. In return for the land, the NPS offered to give a 20-year lease on the improved property to the Riggs. The Riggses had the construction work stopped while they considered the offer. Meanwhile, Stratton was without work, though he later obtained employment at the monument. Ed and Lillian decided that they were not interested in the lease arrangement, and delivered a counter offer, suggesting that the NPS purchase the 80 upper acres of the old Stafford homestead outright and make it part of the monument. Furthermore, they did not want NPS to develop the land by the road; instead they proposed that Stratton would build in an area already developed, near the Faraway Ranch.[186]

It became clear that negotiating the land deal would be difficult with the key NPS personnel being in Washington; in addition, park officials told the couple that certain Congressional action would be necessary before negotiations could be concluded. The couple decided that it would be advantageous for Lillian to go to Washington to discuss the proposition, so in the spring of 1939, she traveled to the capital city.[187]

The Riggses offered to sell the upper 80 acres for $40,000. While in Washington, Lillian learned that NPS considered the price too high and the acreage too low. The agency wanted all 160 acres of the Stafford homestead, which the Riggses resisted. Lillian returned home, without a closed deal. However, the negotiations had preceded enough that the NPS director's office ordered that an appraisal be conducted. Ed confided in Lillian, "What we will get for the eighty all depends on the board of appraisers and I have no fear but what we will get more than enough to pay all our indebtedness so we can run clean and above the board for once." However, the resulting appraisal was based on all 160 acres, and did not break out the 80-acre parcel that the Riggses wanted to sell. The value was established at $7,000.[188]

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[185] Arthur B. Demaray served as associate director from 1933 to 1940 under Director Arno Cammerer. Demaray became director in 1951.

[186] Ed and Lillian Riggs to A.F. Demaray, Washington, D.C., March 3, 1939, FRC, series 8, folder 66.

[187] Bisbee Chamber of Commerce to Senator Carl Hayden, March 30, 1939, FRC, series 1, folder 32-39; Folsom Moore of the Bisbee Daily Review to Senator Carl Hayden, March 30, 1939, FRC, series 1, folder 32-39; and Hildegard Hutchison to Lillian and Ed Riggs, April 2, 1939, FRC, series 1, folder 128-153.

[188] Ed Riggs to Lillian Riggs, April 23, 1939, FRC, series 1, folder 238-242; Lillian Riggs to Ed Riggs, April 25, 1939, FRC, series 1, box 9; A.E. Demaray, acting director NPS, [April 1939], transcribed in letter from Lillian Riggs to Ed Riggs, May 1, 1939, FRC, series 1, box 9; and May 24, 1939, FRC, series 8, box 28, fiche 111.

While Ed and Lillian were not displaying the aforementioned western attitude regarding federal government of "get out and give us more money,"[189] they did seem to be trying to get as much money from the government as they could. Their asking price per acre averaged more than ten times higher than the appraisal value.

Nevertheless, Associate Director Demaray persisted in trying to acquire all 160 acres, and Superintendent Pinkley asked Lillian for the lowest figure she would accept. "It might be," he rationalized, "that you could realize enough from the sale of the 160 acres to clear up your indebtedness and put you in a better position to proceed with a guest ranch development outside monument boundaries."[190] Lillian retorted that although selling the entire 160 acres might make sense to a lawyer in Washington, that on the ground in Cochise County it didn't make any sense. She wanted to sell only the upper 80 acres:

> The lower 80 acres of the Stafford place is an essential adjunct to the present operating unit known as Faraway Ranch. The garden plot, the orchard, two of our cottages, and most important of all, the spring that supplies the water for the use of Faraway are all located on this lower 80. It will be impossible for Faraway to function without these things. The dividing line of the two properties [i.e. the lower 80 and Faraway] is not a hundred feet from Faraway's back door, which certainly would not be an agreeable situation from either our point or that of the Park Service.[191]

In addition, a line of hills made a barrier that partially separated the lower 80 from the monument. Although Lillian had originally asked for $40,000, she was willing to come down to $15,000 for the upper 80 acres for "an outright sale, half that if the park service wished to go ahead with the hotel development and will assure us of a long time lease."[192] This price per acre was still more than four times higher than the appraised value. The NPS responded that no funds were available for the acquisition, but the director's office hoped that it would "not be too long before

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Twenty years earlier Lillian and Hildegard had purchased the 160-acre lot for $5,200.

[189] Bernard DeVoto, "The West Against Itself," *Harper's Magazine* (January 1947), 8; quoted in Merrill, 458.

[190] Frank Pinkley, Superintendent Southwestern Monuments, July 31, 1939, FRC, series 8, box 28, fiche 111.

[191] Lillian Riggs to Frank Pinckley, [August 1939?], FRC, series 8, box 28, fiche 111.

[192] Lillian Riggs to Frank Pinckley, [August 1939?], FRC, series 8, box 28, fiche 111.

some method of purchasing the land" could be worked out." [193] Apparently, this detail was never worked out, since the Riggses did not sell the upper 80 acres to the NPS. Instead, they sold that parcel to a private party six years later for $20,000; the Silver Spur guest ranch was established on that land.[194] Then in 1955 Lillian sold a portion of the remaining Stafford land to C. Theodore and Pauline Kraft; that land was subsequently sold to William F. and Mary Frances Stark in 1964. Lillian retained 53.96 acres of the Stafford property.[195]

Son-in-law Hunter Stratton (with his controversial service station proposal and subsequent employment at Chiricahua) was not the only member of the younger generation with connections to the National Park Service. In the mid 1950s, Hildegard's daughter, Emajoy, married Bob Barrel, a man she had met at Faraway. Barrel was a ranger at Chiricahua who would go on to enjoy a life-long career with NPS. Lillian observed that in talking with two NPS staff people about Emajoy and Bob being married: “They all seemed pleased, somehow, that the park service is definitely related to Faraway by marriage. Funny, but true. This is not the first time I’ve heard it.”[196] In turn, NPS Assistant Director Hillory Tolson, told Barrel that Lillian was "one of the most interesting persons" he knew.[197]

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[193] Frank Pinkley, Superintendent Southwestern Monuments, September 7, 1939, FRC, series 8, box 28, fiche 111.

[194] FRC, series 8, folder 98; and Dewey Livingston, *A Pioneer Log Cabin in Bonita Canyon: The History of the Stafford Cabin, Faraway Ranch Historic District, Chiricahua National Monument, Arizona*, Historic Resource Study (San Francisco: National Park Service, 1994), 55.

[195] Livingston, 55.

[196] Lillian Riggs, diary, April 17, 1955, FRC, series 2, folder 53. The young woman's name was often spelled Emmajoy.

[197] Emajoy Hutchison Barrel to Lillian Riggs, October 18, 1955, FRC, series 1, folder 41-46. Tolson served under NPS Director Conrad Wirth. Bob Barrel, an interpreter/naturalist, continued his career in the park service at parks such as Yellowstone, Craters of the Moon, and Carlsbad. During the peak of Mission 66, a National Park Service effort to expand park facilities--including building visitor centers with interpretive exhibits--Barrel worked in the Washington office with John Dorr, the head naturalist. Barrel served as a consulting museum specialist at Craters of the Moon, then he consulted at Grand Teton, Dinosaur, Organ Pipe and Chaco Canyon on exhibits, doing story outline and label copy. He worked at San Mateo, California for a while before the couple moved to Hawaii National Park in September 1959, where he served as interpreter. From there they moved to the Southwest Regional Office in Santa Fe, then moved back to Hawaii in 1970, when Barrel became Pacific Area Director. In that position he supervised the administration of ten park units, including Hawaii Volcanoes NP, Haleakala NP, and the U.S.S. Arizona Memorial. He remained in that position until 1980, FRC, series

This family connection with the NPS was both helpful and a hindrance to Lillian. In the late 1960s, 80-year-old Lillian researched her options regarding selling and passing on the land to the younger generation.[198] When Lillian asked Hildegard's children if they were interested in inheriting the ranch, Emajoy responded she definitely was interested in inheriting Faraway, along with her siblings Stanley and Evelyn. "Faraway is dear and precious to both Bob and me, and we'd hate to have it go to anyone else!" But the parcel of the old Stafford property could not be part of the deal. Because the land had been defined as within the national monument, it was an inholding. "Bob said he'd have to quit the Park Service before he could be an inholder! And Bob will never quit the Park Service or do it any injustice whatsoever, so my advice to you is to sell it--right now--to the Service. You can use the money, I know, and no matter what, on your death, it will become the federal government's anyway and there will be nothing [siblings] Stan, Ev, or I could do about it."[199] The agency had already acquired the adjoining Silver Spur property on the upper 80 acres of the Stafford property in December 1967, and intended to pursue Lillian's remaining acreage, the boundary of which was just east of the main house at Faraway. Treading a careful footing between family member and park service employee, Bob interpreted the situation to Lillian. Chiricahua National Monument wanted to acquire inholdings, following a nationwide NPS policy.[200] The agency was willing to buy Lillian's land, leaving her a life-tenancy

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1, folder 41-46; and "Historic Listing of National Park Officials," www.cr.nps.gov/history/history-map.htm.

[198] This was not the first time that the topic came up regarding naming an heir to the ranch. For instance, in 1947, Lillian wrote to her niece, "As for this place going out of the family: it will never do so except via your family. I am seeing to that in my will. . . . More than anything else, I want this place and the acreage adjoining it to remain in the family for generations. But I realize that every generation has it's own ideas. So I can only hope that whoever finally owns it will always love it (Very Very much). So I can only hope that whoever finally owns it will love it as Mother, Dad and I have." Neil and Lillian had wanted Faraway to go to Hildegard's son Stanley as the male heir, but he was not interested, so Lillian wrote to Evelyn, "I hope you will be the ultimate owner." Lillian Riggs to Evelyn Hutchison, August 11, 1947, FRC, series 1, box 9.

[199] Emajoy Barrel to Lillian Riggs, February 5, [1968], FRC, series 1, folder 41-46.

[200] Other dude ranches had faced the same NPS acquisition policy. Between 1950 and 1980 NPS made numerous land purchases in areas around Rocky Mountain National Park, Grand Teton National Park and Glacier National Park. Rocky Mountain NP purchases were the highest in the 1950s, while Glacier and Grand Teton parks acquired more property in the 1970s. Dude ranches acquired by Rocky Mountain National Park included Stead's Ranch (which included Sprague's Ranch), McGraw Ranch, Phantom Valley Ranch, Green Mountain Ranch, and Holzwarth's Neversummer Ranch. Borne, 194-195. Dude ranches in the Grand Teton area had been acquired in large numbers by the Snake River Land Company, formed and

interest in it. As proposed, she would retain the use of the water and of the Martha Stark, Alcor and Mizor cabins during her lifetime, but she would have to keep the cabins in the same condition. He predicted that if Lillian sold the land to a party who wanted to build on the land, the Service would try to acquire the land, and could use the power of condemnation to do that.[201] Lillian resigned herself to the situation; a few weeks later she reached a tentative agreement with the NPS to sell about 48 acres of the old Stafford homestead, including the Stafford cabin; they finalized the agreement in October 1968, at a price of $43,000. [202] She sold her remaining few acres of the Stafford homestead to the National Park Service in October 1974.[203]

The Riggs and Ericksons were integral parts of the park service family. The connection began with Lillian and Ed coming upon the Wonderland of Rocks, and their decision to promote the region, sparking the movement to establish Chiricahua National Monument. Another layer of association was added when Ed was employed at the monument and his central involvement in the construction of the trail system. The relationship fused through the Faraway guest ranch, which for decades provided virtually the only guest facilities near the monument. The ranch served as a community center of sorts, and park staff would often visit the guest ranch to socialize. The superintendents' monthly reports regularly reported on the Ericksons and Riggses, not only regarding the business aspect of the guest ranch, but on a personal level as well, including Lillian's eye treatments relating to the onset of her blindness, Neil and Emma's 50th anniversary celebration, and Neil's hospitalization in Douglas.

Ed and Lillian Riggs continued to be involved with the federal government even after their deaths. After Ed's death in 1950, the federal government honored him

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funded by John D. Rockefeller, Jr. in 1927 to buy lands for the purpose of creating the national park. Dude ranches acquired by that company included the Elbo, the Danny Ranch, the Triangle X, Hogan's fox farm, the JY and the Bar BC. John Daugherty, *A Place Called Jackson Hole: The Historic Resource Study of Grand teton National Park* (Moose, Wyoming: Grand Teton National Park, National Park Service, 1999), 231.

[201] Bob Barrel to Lillian Riggs, [archivist marked as March 15, 1968, but probably February 4 or 5, 1968], FRC, series 1, folder 47.

[202] "Offer to Sell Real Property," FRC, series 1, folder 11 and 12. The land was in the S1/2 SW1/4 of section 26, Township 16 South, Range 29 East.

[203] Livingston, 55.

by naming a peak in the monument above his home Ed Riggs Peak.[204] After Lillian's death in February 1977, no one in the family wanted the ranch. Her brother Ben approached the National Park Service about buying the ranch. During the time before authorization was received, both Ben and his sister Hildegard died. Ben's widow, Ethel, finalized the details on the purchase. On November 10, 1978 Congress passed Public Law 95-625 authorizing the expansion of Chiricahua National Monument to include Faraway Ranch. On June 6, 1979, the Park Service purchased the ranch. On August 27, 1988, the restored ranch house opened to the public.

The Erickson/Peterson/Riggs family lives were interwoven with the federal government throughout their residence in the West. They are an excellent demonstration of the impact that the federal government had on the lives of Westerners. It also provides a view of the many vehicles that carried the federal government throughout the West. The family members were involved in many of the key types of federal activities: fighting in the Indian Wars, homesteading, administering national forests, helping to create a national monument, benefiting economically from the presence of the monument, obtaining employment through a New Deal program, and eventually returning the land to the public domain.

[204] Lillian Riggs, “Edward Murray Riggs,” ca. 1951, FRC, series 4, folder 19.

WOMEN OF THE WEST AT FARAWAY RANCH

"She was fearless, independent, and stubborn. . . . She may have looked small and frail, but she was steel."

Sally Klump[1]

Stereotypes of women in the West--particularly the nineteenth-century West--were limited until recently. The images of these women could be summed up in three cliches: the prostitute, the schoolmarm and the wife. The prostitute, so the story goes, was a fallen woman, a dance-hall bad girl, who nonetheless had a heart of gold: Miss Kitty, of television's *Gunsmoke*, ever yearning for Matt Dillon, the "good man" who was always beyond her reach because of her tarnished reputation. The schoolmarm, on the other hand, was the civilizer, such as the single woman who had come West in Owen Wister's *The Virginian* to find "a man who was a man." Once she found (and corralled) that man she became the "courageous helpmate in the sunbonnet," represented by Laura Ingalls Wilder's Ma, "the supportive and enduring farm wife of the Little House books." All of these women were, of course, white Euro-Americans who had originally come from the eastern U.S. [2]

Wrapped up in these stereotypes were basic assumptions about women and their attributes. For generations, Americans believed that a "true" American woman was "a devoted mother, an unusually virtuous person who had to remain aloof from the corruption of politics, a domestic individual who labored most happily and productively within her own home."[3] The western woman was viewed as "the frail, genteel lady damaged by the harshness and isolation of the frontier."[4] These "weak-minded, physically inferior beings needed guidance

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[1] Sally Klump, "A Tribute to Lillian Riggs," newspaper title not indicated, [1977], Acc. 1726, Miscellaneous Faraway Information, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson. Cited hereafter as WACC.

[2] John Mack Faragher, "Women in Western History," in *The New Encyclopedia of the American West, ed.* Howard R. Lamar, 1230, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998; and Susan A. Hallgarth, "Women Settlers on the Frontier: Unwed, Unreluctant, Unrepentant," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 17, no. 3 & 4 (1989): 23.

[3] Glenda Riley, *Inventing the American Woman: A Perspective on Women's History (*Arlington Heights, Illinois: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1987), 6.

[4] Ruth B. Moynihan, Susan Armitage, and Christiane Fischer Dichamp, eds, *So Much to be Done: Women Settlers on the Mining and Ranching Frontier* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), xi.

from stronger and wiser people—men,"[5] who, in turn, embodied "masculine bravery, physical strength, and independence."[6] Ironically, as different as these male-female stereotypes were, people tended to believe that women acted and reacted in much the same way as men. Thus, women could be grouped in men's history, with no need to examine the experiences of women. All of these ideas limited how we could perceive of and understand women--and men--of the past, as well as the present.

Given such one-dimensional images, women were not very interesting historical characters in the story of the American West. As a result, historians--and popular culture--persistently assigned to them very minor, supporting roles, while men were given the action-packed starring roles, such as Indian fighters, cowboys, marshals and gold seekers.

However, there were many women who were uneasy about these stereotypes, and the limited role that women seemed to play in the West. Historians began using new methods to study women, and by the mid 1970s, a profusion of conference papers, articles and books began to appear. These attempted to revise the images of western women and to, at last, "add women to the history of the West."[7]

Recent scholarship has steadily replaced the old stereotypes. What has appeared is a much more sophisticated and well-rounded understanding of women in the American West. Their history is remarkably diverse, reflecting the wide variety of women and their experiences. Women were single, married, divorced, and widowed (and each status affected their lives), and they belonged to all economic and social classes. They were Native American women, Spanish-speaking Mexican-American women, African-American women, as well as the many varieties of European and Asian immigrant women. They were entrepreneurs, farmers, homesteaders and ranchers, waitresses, mail-order brides and factory workers; they were active in local and regional politics. They ranged in age from childhood through senior years. And they lived not only in the nineteenth century, but also in the twentieth-century West.

The studies have also found gender differences in men's and women's experiences. "Despite similarities of status or shared hardships . . . women necessarily developed their own specific methods of coping and adapting. . . . Women's personal and imaginative responses to the western environment differed from men's and significantly affected their own attitudes and behavior."[8]

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[5] Riley, *Inventing*, 6.

[6] Moynihan, xi.

[7] Glenda Riley, "Continuity and Change: Interpreting Women in Western History," *Journal of the West* 32, no. 3 (July 1993): 7.

[8] Moynihan, xii.

Because of this diversity among women--as well as the differences between men and women--historians have learned that there "is no single, simple interpretation that can encompass all of western women's . . . experience of settlement."[9] Women's history reflects the complexity that the human race presents, and all of the variables should be considered to understand a historical situation. For instance, two major surveys of pioneer women reached opposite conclusions. Julie Roy Jeffrey, in *Frontier Women*, found "strong continuities between western attitudes and Victorian domesticity: many pioneer women brought eastern sex-role standards west with them and refused to modify their principles even when they proved a hindrance."[10] In contrast, Sandra Myres, in *Westering Women*, "discovered a predominant spirit of adventure, nonconformity, and adaptation in the women she studied."[11] Myres cautioned that if scholars accepted "the premise that no woman could break free from nineteenth-century patriarchal ideas, they are bound to depict all pioneer women as 'reluctant' participants and frontier 'drudges.'"[12] We can find examples of both types (and many other types) of women in the West, and in fact the same individual woman can demonstrate different tendencies. The same person can act differently at different times in their life, in different places, and under different circumstances.

The women of the Peterson/Erickson/Riggs families present a classic study of flaws in the stereotypes of women. These individuals were independent, strong women who shaped their own lives and embraced the natural, active life of the Erickson/Faraway Ranch.

EMMA PETERSON MOVES WEST

While Emma Peterson was a teenager in Sweden, her teacher encouraged her to become a schoolteacher, as she was "very much fitted" for that occupation. Peterson was quite flattered with the attention and went home "all bubbling over with enthusiasm" about the idea of this career. She shared her excitement with her stepmother, who did not share her enthusiasm. Instead, she warned Peterson not to tell her father about such nonsense, because, as Emma later

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[9] Moynihan, xiii.

[10] Moynihan, xiii. See Julie Roy Jeffrey, *Frontier Women: The Trans-Mississippi West, 1840-1880* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1979).

[11] Moynihan, xiii. See Sandra Myres, *Westering Women and the Frontier Experience, 1800-1915* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982).

[12] Sandra Myers, "The Westering Women," *Huntington Spectator* (Winter 1980), quoted in Hallgarth, 23.

remembered, “she would not permit him to send me off to get the necessary training. So to myself I said ‘Well, what is mamma going to do about my schooling. Is she going to keep me home to take one of the servant’s place?’” Peterson feared a future that would keep her at home, so--even though she knew no English--she decided to move to the United States to join her sister, an earlier emigrant. In the company of a family, 18-year-old Emma moved to Chicago in 1873, where her sister lived.

Single women in Sweden at the turn of the century faced few job opportunities other than domestic service or limited types of factory work. Higher education was generally too expensive for most young women with limited means. After hearing about opportunities in the United States and other countries, many young Swedish women emigrated. In the 1870s, the decade that Emma Peterson emigrated, single women comprised almost one-quarter of the Swedish emigrants to non-European countries. Many of them moved to locales where family members already lived. This connection in their new home was important, since most of these women could not speak English, and they would have had difficulty finding jobs alone.[13] It is not surprising that Peterson's sister lived in Chicago, since in 1870, one-third of all Swedish-born residents in the United States were living in Illinois, and by 1900, Chicago was the second largest Swedish city in the world, second only to Stockholm.[14]

After arriving in Chicago, Peterson followed the course of so many immigrant girls, which was to earn a living as a servant. While this may seem to be contradictory for Peterson, given that she had left Sweden to avoid domestic status, the situation was probably an improvement for her. Domestic service was the most popular employment choice of single Swedish women immigrating to the United States at the turn of the century. Compared to Sweden, domestic positions in the United States provided several advantages. In the United States, domestics earned higher wages: while a servant in Sweden earned so little that she found it difficult to purchase clothing, Swedish servants in America were able to support themselves, and often had money to save or send home. Second, working conditions were better in the U.S.; job tasks were easier and working hours fewer, which provided opportunities for free time. Third, and possibly most important to Peterson, domestics in America possessed higher social status than in Sweden. The status came from both the mainstream American community as well as from the Swedish-American community. Domestics were treated with more respect in the United States than in Sweden, often had positive relations with their employers, and were even treated like

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[13] Joy K. Lintelman, "'America is the Woman's Promised Land': Swedish Immigrant Women and American Domestic Service," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 8, no. 2 (1989): 11-12.

[14] Stephan Thernstrom, ed., *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1980): 973, 974.

family members in some instances. Swedish immigrants were generally well accepted by mainstream America; coming from a Protestant, northern European country, the Swedes were seen as desirable immigrants. There was a large demand for Swedish servants; in 1880 one out of every ten domestic workers in Chicago had come from Sweden. In addition, the Swedish community held a more positive attitude toward domestic work than did the American society. The Swedish-American press repeatedly expressed pride in Swedish women's employment as domestics. One contemporary author gushed, "We could not be other than proud of our serving sisters," and emphasized the "honor that these Swedish domestics bring to Swedes in America." Domestics contributed socially and economically to their Swedish community by coming under the beneficial influences by working with middle- and upper-class American families, and also by learning skills in cooking and providing a nice home. In addition, their steady income from their work provided them with a sound financial footing; when a Swedish-American enterprise needed financial backing they frequently first approached Swedish-American servant girls.[15]

Accordingly, Emma Peterson began her first job doing housework, and after a year changed jobs to spend five years as a “second girl.” A person in that position was a female house-servant who did the lighter work, such as chamber work, waiting on the table, taking care of the bedroom floors, and having charge of the linen; a second girl normally did not do cooking or washing. However, Emma believed that the Irish cook "had a picnic with a Swedish greenhorn" and soon Emma did the wash before breakfast; then prepared breakfast for the family; waited on the table; did the dishwashing; scrubbed the kitchen, laundry and pantry; and then prepared an evening meal. Peterson complained that meanwhile the Irish cook would have gone out for the day. The frustrated Swedish immigrant changed jobs to do dress making.[16]

Peterson’s move from the Midwest to the West began with a chance meeting with A.F. and Amelia Middaugh, who were in the city buying goods. He was a

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[15] Lintelman, "'America is the Woman's Promised Land,'" 11, 14-15; Rudolph J. Vecoli, contributing ed., *Gale Encyclopedia of Multicultural America*, vol. 2 of 2, (New York: Gale Research, Inc., 1995): 1286; Thernstrom, 975; and Joy K. Lintelman, "'Our Serving Sisters': Swedish-American Domestic Servants and Their Ethnic Community," *Social Science History* 15, no. 3 (Fall 1991): 382-383, 390-392.

[16] Emma S. Erickson, “[Untitled: Autobiographical],” 10 January 1946, Faraway Ranch Collection, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, series 4, folder 2; and series 9, box 34, folder 4. Cited hereafter as FRC. Comparisons of Swedish domestics to those of other immigrant groups were common among Swedes and helped them establish themselves on the ethnic pecking order. One contemporary publication proudly stated that Swedish-American women were "more reliable and hardworking than Irish women" and thus were "more sought-after for domestic positions." Lintelman, "'Our Serving Sisters,'" 390.

merchant in Del Norte, Colorado, where the couple lived with their three children and his mother. The Middaughs offered Peterson a servant's position, and so the 25-year-old immigrant moved from Chicago to a town of about 700 in the West. She worked for the couple for two years (probably beginning in 1880), and during that time they came to trust Peterson completely. At one point, the couple traveled back East for two months, leaving Peterson in charge of their children (aged 6, 4 and 2 in 1881); the children and their caregiver both had "a glorious time."[17]

But soon a new opportunity presented itself to the adventurous young woman, and in late 1882 she moved with another family to Colorado Springs, Colorado, population just over 4,000.[18] Peterson's new position was as a cook for the Adams household, where she remained for seven months. At that point she left the job, and her employer wrote a letter of recommendation for her, praising Peterson as "faithful, honest, good-tempered and neat and [I] consider her an

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[17] Peterson spelled the couple's name Middahy in her writings. Emma Erickson, Flagstaff, to Mr. Browne Landone, New York, August 3, 1923, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78; and Emma S. Erickson, "[Untitled: Autobiographical]," 10 January 1946, FRC, series 4, folder 2. A.F. Middahy had been born in Pennsylvania, the same state where both his parents were born. In 1880, he was 39, and Amelia was 24 years old. She had been born in Missouri; both her parents were from Germany. A.F.'s mother, Mary, also lived with them; she had been born in 1815, and both of her parents had also been born in Pennsylvania. The children were Edna, Nettie and Hallett; Edna was born in New Mexico, while the two younger children were born in Colorado. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, FamilySearch, 1880 United States Census, <www.familysearch.org>.

[18] Emma Erickson, Flagstaff, to Mr. Browne Landone, New York, August 3, 1923, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78; and Colorado Department of Local Affairs, "Historical Census Population," <www.dola.colorado.gov/demog/history/allhist.cfm>. Years later Emma's daughter Lillian stated, "To the Colorado Army Posts, in the company of an officer's family, went Emma." Lillian Erickson Riggs, ca. 1936-37, FRC, series 8, folder 4-5. Middaugh was a merchant; although it is possible that Adams was an Army officer, Emma did not mention that in her records, so Lillian may have confused Emma's later Fort Craig experience with her Colorado period. Much later, Peterson's step-granddaughter recalled that Emma had said she had come West "with a young captain and his wife." It is likely that Emma herself would have remembered Middaugh's merchant status more accurately. Her granddaughter may have confused the move West with Emma's later connections with the military. Eula Lee Murray Riggs, "Eula Lee Murray Riggs' Account of Ed Riggs Family History," n.d., Acc. 1721, WACC.

excellent cook. She leaves me now only because I am breaking up housekeeping."[19]

Meanwhile, a friend of Peterson's had moved to Fort Craig, New Mexico to work. Peterson's connections in the network of servants soon paid off, when she received a telegram from her friend stating that Lt. Colonel Henry Martyn Lazelle, commander of the fort, wanted "a competent maid" for his family, which included his wife and two sons. Peterson accepted the position and moved to Fort Craig.[20]

At first, this move seems to be an amazing action for this single young woman. Life in Colorado in the early 1880s was a world away from that in the Southwest. At that time, Indian wars were being waged in New Mexico and Arizona territories. As a result, Euro-American women were not common in those areas. An early Arizona historian noted that in the 1870s "there were but few American women in the country those days, and these, as a rule, not from choice, it is safe to say. Usually they chanced here through military connections or some adverse fortune that diverted them from the California road."[21] Single women were even rarer; in 1890, single women comprised only 23% of the female population aged 15 and over in Arizona Territory. In comparison, California's single women represented 32% of the women.[22]

Peterson's marital status may have been a factor in her decision. A study of women who traveled on the Overland Trail to California between 1840 and 1870 revealed marked differences between the attitudes of married women and unmarried or newly married women. In most cases, the married women had not initiated the idea to move, and in fact it was almost always their husbands who decided to move to the West. For these married women, the Oregon Trail "meant a major severing of ties . . . the loss of closely woven network of friendships." For many married women, "the westward migration was felt to be

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[19] Catharine H. Adams. Colorado Springs, July 1, 1883. FRC, series 1, folder 29-15.

[20] Emma Erickson to Jess Stanley Hutchison, June 1, 1943, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78. In Emma's writings, she spells her employer's name as LaSalle; however, it appears that in fact it was spelled Lazelle. In 1882, Lazelle was 49, his wife Ann was 42, and their sons Jacob H.G. was 15 and Horace G. was 11. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, FamilySearch, 1880 United States Census, <www.familysearch.org>.

[21] Robert H. Forbes, *The Penningtons: Pioneers of Early Arizona* (Arizona Archeological and Historical Society, 1919), 38-39, quoted in Christiane Fischer, "A Profile of Women in Arizona in Frontier Days," *Journal of the West* 16, no. 3 (July 1977): 51.

[22] Fischer, 46.

a time not of new beginnings and hopeful aspirations but of tension and misgivings and backward glances." The sense that the historian gleaned from these diaries was that "women endured the westward migration because of their commitment to maintaining the family, and because life offered them few choices."[23]

Mimicking the same attitudes, the wives who followed their military husbands to Arizona posts did not seem to enjoy their experiences in the territory. Many of them had left comfortable homes and found the undeveloped environment trying. An army wife later recalled her experiences of the mid 1870s: "I concluded that my New England bringing up had been too serious, and wondered if I had made a dreadful mistake following my husband to Arizona. I debated the question with myself from all sides, and decided then and there that young army wives should stay at home with their mothers and fathers, and not go into such wild and uncouth places."[24]

In sharp contrast to these accounts are the Overland Trail diaries of "the new brides and young girls for whom the thousand-mile journey was sparked with excitement and bright hope. . . . Unmarried girls found that the journey provided opportunity to share with young men and boys a brief period of free companionship." It is notable that opinions of the westward journey reflected the woman's position in her life cycle more than whether she "possessed the spirit of adventure or enjoyed the excitement of the unknown."[25]

Women like Peterson who decided themselves to make the move to the West frequently had very different attitudes than women who made the move simply to preserve their families. When women chose to make the trek, their reasons were similar to those of men who migrated--"kinship ties, adventure, health, and economic opportunity. Some, like Sarah Schooley Randall, would heed the 'smoldering flames of adventure.' . . . Whatever their reasons, the desire for self-dependence always played a strong part."[26] These women were not passive

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[23] Lillian Schlissel, "Diaries of Frontier Women: On Learning to Read the Obscured Patterns," in *Woman's Being, Woman's Place: Female Identity and Vocation in American History*, ed. Mary Kelley, 53-66 (Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1979), 55-57.

[24] Martha Summerhayes, *Vanished Arizona: Recollections of my Army Life* (Salem, Mass.: The Salem Press Co., 1911), 93, quoted in Fischer, 44.

[25] Lillian Schlissel, 57-59.

[26] Sarah Schooley Randall, "My Trip West in 1861," *Collection of Nebraska Pioneer Reminiscences* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press, 1916), 74, quoted in Hallgarth, 25.

victims but rather active agents in the history of the West.[27] We can assume, therefore, that the single 29-year-old Emma Peterson may have been looking for adventure, excitement and economic opportunity from her travels in the West.

But in spite of seeking adventure and excitement, Peterson also positioned herself to enjoy all the experiences of the Southwest available to her, while being in a safeguarded situation. By working for a married couple--he being a high-ranking officer in the army-- Emma Peterson protected herself in an otherwise potentially vulnerable situation. The Southwest in the 1880s could be a dangerous place--both physically and socially--to a single young woman traveling and living alone. However, by being in the employment of the officer, and living within the household, Peterson gained a safe haven. She probably felt especially comfortable working for the military officer, since her father was an officer in the Swedish Army, and her brother had studied to be an officer in the Swedish army.[28] A military household would have been quite familiar to Emma.

Nonetheless, Peterson's status as an employed single white woman set her apart from other women, especially those in the Southwest. In the latter part of the 1800s, a minority of women in the U.S. were in the labor force. In 1870, women represented only 14 percent of all workers in the labor force.[29] Even so, being a Swedish immigrant, Peterson was more likely to be employed than a native-born white woman. In 1890, 20 percent of foreign-born white women held paying jobs in the U.S., while 15 percent of native-born white women worked outside the home.[30] In Arizona, more than half the women who were employed belonged to the foreign-born group, many of whom may have been Mexican-Americans.[31] However, fewer women in the West worked in paid positions compared to those across the nation,[32] and women in Arizona worked

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[27] Ruth Moynihan, et al noted that a striking factor in all of the accounts of the women that they studied was that “most of these women were in the West or were doing what they were doing of their own volition. They had *chosen* to go or to do that work." Moynihan, xvii.

[28] Emma S. Erickson, “[Untitled: Autobiographical],” 10 January 1946, FRC, series 4, folder 2.

[29] Nancy Gabin, “Women and Work,” in *Encyclopedia of American Social History*, Mary Kupiec Cayton, Elliott J. Gorn, and Peter W. Williams, eds. Vol. 2 of 3. (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1993), 1547.

[30] Compare those figures to the 40 percent of black women who were employed. Gabin in Cayton, 1546.

[31] Fischer, 48.

[32] In 1890, 13 percent of western women were in the labor force, as compared to 17 percent nationally. Riley, *Inventing*, 146.

even less than other women in the West. In that territory in 1880 only 5 percent of the female population aged ten and over was gainfully employed; the figure rose slightly to 9 percent in 1890.[33] Another interesting aspect of employment of women in Arizona is the low proportion of single women among gainfully employed women; only 47 percent of the female work force were single women (compared to 69 percent in California).[34] So Emma Peterson represented only about 2.5 percent of the women in the region.

However, Peterson did follow the typical occupational route that employed women pursued. The types of occupations open to women in the West were extremely limited. In the 1880s and '90s, the great majority of working women in Arizona labored in one of four occupations: domestic servants, seamstresses, laundresses or teachers. These occupations enabled women to turn their "familiar domestic skills into profitable business ventures."[35] In 1890, Arizona's female labor force was distributed as follows: 37 percent were domestic servants (half of whom were foreign-born, many of whom were Mexican-American, and could not speak English); 19 percent were seamstresses, 17 percent were laundresses, and 8 percent were primary or secondary school teachers (most of whom were born in the U.S). Women did not teach at the university level. Women also operated lodging and boarding houses.[36]

Later, Peterson reminisced with her granddaughter, Lee Riggs, about accompanying a couple West "as a servant." Riggs later commented, "I laughed when I saw the Erickson display at [Chiricahua National] monument, stating that [Emma Peterson] had come to Fort Bowie as a companion to General Crook's wife. She would have [laughed], too, as she was never ashamed of having worked as a servant." From this statement it would appear that the term "companion" was not the one that Emma would have used to describe her position.[37]

There was a great demand for women in the domestic service especially. An observer in the Southwest noted in the 1880s: "Female labor is scarce, difficult to be had, and commands a good price. In the towns and settlements Chinamen have taken the place of women, and nearly all domestic service is done by them. . . . The difficulty of obtaining female domestics is a constant

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[33] Fischer, 48. She calculated from the Tenth and Eleventh U.S. censuses.

[34] Fischer, 48.

[35] Hallgarth, 25.

[36] Fischer, 49.

[37] Eula Lee Murray Riggs, "Eula Lee Murray Riggs' Account of Ed Riggs Family History," n.d., Acc. 1721, WACC.

source of annoyance to people throughout the Territory, and if a family is fortunate enough to secure one, she is sure to be taken in the matrimonial net in a short time."[38]

Indeed, it must have been difficult for a young single woman to avoid getting caught in that "matrimonial net" in the Southwest. In 1880 there were over two men for every woman in Arizona, and married women were more common than single women were in the territory.[39] Add to this scenario the higher ratio of men to women specifically in the military setting, it is probable that many men would have liked to spend time with Emma Peterson. Clearly, this single young woman would have had her choice of eligible young men. Indeed, her daughter later spelled out, "Saying 'no' had by this time become a habit with this young attractive and charming woman who had had many offers of marriage during her sojourn in this land where women were few."[40]

The same friend who had arranged for Peterson's job at Fort Craig (who had then married Sgt. Hyman) next arranged to introduce Emma to Sgt. Neil Erickson. Peterson later recalled that the next time she saw her friend, the matchmaker asked what she thought about "the nice Swedish boy." Peterson responded, 'Why he is just an old Swedish farmer!'"[41] While that comment may seem humorous to us today, especially knowing of their subsequent marriage, the statement is quite revealing about Peterson's acute awareness of class. In the future, whenever Peterson described Erickson, she typically began by explaining that he came from a poor background.[42] And when describing herself, she always pointed out that she came from a higher class. Peterson was proud of her social position, and was very conscious of Erickson's lower status. While the well meaning Mrs. Hyman apparently thought that the two

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[38] Patrick Hamilton, *The Resources of Arizona* (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft Co., Printers, 1884), 405-406 quoted in Fischer, 48-49.

[39] Women also got married earlier in the territory; in the 20-24 age group, there were twice as many married women as single women in 1890, while in California, in the same age group, single women out-numbered married women by 3 to 2. Fischer, 45, 47.

[40] Lillian Erickson Riggs, ca. 1936-37, FRC, series 8, folder 4-5.

[41] Emma Erickson to Jess Stanley Hutchison, June 1, 1943, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78.

[42] For example, "He was born in Sweden, but his people had always been poor." Emma Erickson, Flagstaff, to Mr. Browne Landone, New York, August 3, 1923, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78. Also, writing to her grandson, "As you know, he was born in Sweden and, though his parents were poor, they were highly respected." Emma Erickson to Jess Stanley Hutchison, June 1, 1943, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78.

people would enjoy each other's company because they were both Swedish immigrants, Peterson clearly understood the complexities of class status. However, in spite of her disregard for the Swedish farmer, Peterson continued to meet him often since "the Hymans were very fond of Sergeant Erickson so they had him at all their gatherings."[43] Over time, Peterson began to be attracted to Erickson, in spite of their class difference.

During the time that Peterson and Erickson were getting to know each other, Peterson's employer--Major John Kemp Mizner--and his regiment were transferred to another fort. Mizner asked Peterson if she would also make the move. She was unsure what to do, so she asked for the advice of a "dear friend" of hers--an officer's wife.[44] Her friend responded, "Why Emma, I think that's a splendid opportunity. If I were you I would not miss that for anything. Of course the whole regiment is going, the officers right with the troops. But all the families and help are going--just think of all the new country you would see. And so many new people you would see."[45] Her friend's sense of adventure--while assuring her of the safety of the endeavor--convinced Peterson that moving was a great opportunity not to be missed.

The colonel was very accommodating to Peterson concerning the arrangements for her move. He provided his buggy and a fine horse for her travel. When he asked Peterson whom she wanted to drive for her, she responded either Sgt. Erickson or Sgt. Hagerdy. Shortly thereafter, Major Mizner told Peterson that when he had asked Erickson's force commander about Erickson being the driver, the officer responded that he wanted Erickson for another duty. Peterson later recalled her response. "I looked up at him quite scornfully. I said, 'Well, I thought you were the commanding officer and then you go and ask the captain if one of the men can do the service that you wish him to do.' Of course that hurt his pride." Peterson's response apparently had its desired effect, since Mizner quickly arranged for Sgt. Erickson to do the driving.[46] Peterson's reaction to the news is quite revealing about both her personality, and the

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[43] Emma Erickson to Jess Stanley Hutchison, June 1, 1943, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78.

[44] It is notable that a domestic servant would have such a close friend in the person of an officer's wife. The setting of an isolated frontier fort, with few women present, probably altered the boundaries that class distinctions normally would have dictated.

[45] Emma S. Erickson, "[Untitled: Autobiographical]," 10 January 1946, FRC, series 4, folder 2.

[46] Emma S. Erickson, "[Untitled: Autobiographical]," 10 January 1946, FRC, series 4, folder 2. Her notes do not indicate who Sgt. Hagerdy was, nor why she assumed that Mizner would know that she really preferred Erickson over Hagerdy.

relationship that this housekeeper had with the officer. Considering that she was simply a domestic servant, Mizner's "kid-glove treatment" seems rather unusual. However, given the situation of Peterson being a rare commodity, a domestic servant who spoke English, in the territory of Arizona in the mid 1880s, with other potential employers waiting in line, Mizner undoubtedly wanted to make Peterson content. Perhaps it was Peterson's value as a domestic that enabled her to chastise her employer.[47] Another indication of the colonel's concern about making her happy was the transportation he provided. "I had the nicest outfit in the whole caravan," Peterson later recalled. "Most of the officers' families had just buckboards in which they were riding. And I had that lovely buggy and beautiful horse." People in the caravan routinely assumed that Peterson was the colonel's daughter.[48] Sgt. Erickson was also quite intent in providing Peterson with the best experience possible. When camp was set up each night, Erickson guaranteed that Peterson's tent, bed and belongings were the first that were put in order. "I sat in my buggy until the bed was carried in and the rugs, stand and chairs put in and my bedding unstrapped, then I walked out of the buggy and into my tent. Neil had charge of it all," Peterson remembered later.[49]

The couple spent many hours together on their trip of almost 400 miles to the fort in Arizona. They became close during that trip, and Erickson asked the young woman to be his wife. Her response again brings into focus her keen awareness of class: she told him that she would not marry a soldier, but that she would consider marriage if he became an officer.[50] Peterson thus very specifically stated that class and status were quite important to her, and that she had no intention of marrying below her status. It has been observed that in places where the ratio of men to women was so high, women must have experienced a sense of freedom that encouraged them to choose "both compatibility and a shared partnership type of marriage," creating a "trend away from the traditional patriarchal relationship."[51] Peterson clearly understood that

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[47] In addition, Mizner may have looked at her as an equal since she was the daughter of an army officer, or he may have felt a father-daughter relation with her.

[48] Emma S. Erickson, "[Untitled: Autobiographical]," 10 January 1946, FRC, series 4, folder 2.

[49] Emma Erickson to Jess Stanley Hutchison, June 1, 1943, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78.

[50] Emma S. Erickson, "[Untitled: Autobiographical]," 10 January 1946, FRC, series 4, folder 2; and Emma Erickson, Flagstaff, to Mr. Browne Landone, New York, August 3, 1923, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78.

[51] Blaine T. Williams, "The Frontier Family: Demographic Fact and Historical Myth," in *Essays on the American West*, Harold M. Hollingsworth and Sandra L.

she had control of the situation. Being the daughter of an army officer, as well as the employee of one, Peterson undoubtedly had learned of the clear delineation of status in the military. She had no intention of marrying below her status, and made her feelings clear to her suitor. By the end of the journey, they had also arrived at a new stage of their relationship: the offer of marriage was on the table, but it had not been accepted. Erickson was thus supposed to become an officer to prove that he was worthy of the proud woman.

Peterson's employer, Major Mizner, commanded Fort Huachuca until September 1884. At that point, Erickson's commanding officer offered employment to Peterson, but apparently she rejected the idea, and by December 1885 the independent woman was operating a boarding house at Fort Bowie.[52] Although Erickson began his studies for an officer's commission, he eventually gave up on that goal. True to her word, the couple did not become engaged until after Erickson was discharged from the Army. They were married in January 1887, in the Cosmopolitan Hotel in Tucson, when she was 32 and he was 27.

During the short time between his military discharge and their wedding, Erickson had started a restaurant in the mining camp Volcano City, New Mexico. Emma moved to the locale after their wedding, and learned that Neil didn't have the experience or knowledge to operate the business. He had allowed many down-in-the-luck miners eat without paying, if they would promise to pay when they could. In addition, she discovered that his employee, "a Chinaman," embezzled money. Emma took charge of the situation, "told the hangers-on to look for a new boarding place, discharged the Chinaman, and went into the kitchen and did the work." [53] Subsequently, the couple decided to move to the Sulphur Springs Valley. This decision to move to the country was not a new one for the Ericksons.

HOMESTEADING

Prior to their wedding, Emma had decided she wanted to establish a homestead. As she later recalled, Emma had purchased a "little house with improvements in beautiful Bonita Canyon, and my plan was to move there, raise cattle, horses, chickens and plant an orchard."[54] She also traveled to the General Land Office

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Myres, eds. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1969), 64, quoted in Hallgarth, 27.

[52] Fort Huachuca, http://usaic.hua.army.mil/history; and Neil Erickson to Emma Peterson, August 4, 1884. Acc. 1776, WACC

[53] Emma S. Erickson, "[Untitled: Autobiographical]," 10 January 1946, FRC, series 4, folder 2; and Emma Erickson, Flagstaff, to Mr. Browne Landone, New York, August 3, 1923,

[54] Emma Peterson to Browne Landone, August 3, 1923, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78..

in Tucson to file a claim on a 160-acre homestead. A woman--and single at that--making these plans may seem unusual to some.

At the heart of the seeming paradox is the historically held belief that originated partly with people who divided the world by gender: “autonomous men farmed, hunted or earned wages, while maternal women cooked, cleaned, and produced goods at home." And thus a "concomitant belief developed: aggressive men sallied forth into the world of nature; passive women stayed indoors."[55]

In reality, many women enjoyed being physically active outdoors. "Nor did these women creep into nature reluctantly, hiding behind the backs of men. They frequently led the way, ready to meet and embrace nature. Women . . . exulted in the physical splendor of the West, rhapsodizing over 'flowers up to your neck' and calling a region a 'paradise in the Wilderness.'"[56] Peterson exhibited this very attitude when she later recalled her first visit to Bonita canyon: “It proved to be the most gorgeous place that any one could desire. It was immense big trees all around the place and the grass was knee high. Besides, there was a creek with running water in it. Well, I simply fell in love with that place right there and then so I decided I would purchase it.[57]

Buying a cabin outright, and planning to claim a 160-acre homestead--while not unheard of--was in fact a bold plan for Peterson, and demonstrates her strength of character. While there were numerous single women homesteaders in the West, they did comprise a small minority of claimants. Between 1887 and 1908 in areas in Colorado and Wyoming, 11.9 percent of the homestead filers were women. However, these women had staying power: 42.4 percent of the women proved up, while only 36 percent of the men did so.[58] Studies of single homesteading women have demonstrated that “many females were enthusiastic

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[55] Glenda Riley, *Women and Nature: Saving the "Wild" West* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999): 9-10.

[56] Riley, *Nature*, 11.

[57] Emma S. Erickson, “[Untitled: Autobiographical],” 10 January 1946, FRC, series 4, folder 2. Lillian Riggs later wrote that prior to their marriage, Erickson, in the company of soldiers, and Peterson, “in company with officer’s families,” had both seen the Bonita Canyon area, “and both decided that they wanted it for their home even before they knew they were going to have a home together.” No document written by Neil Erickson has yet been found that supports the idea that he had seen the canyon before Peterson's purchase. Lillian Riggs, “Early History of Chiricahua National Monument,” 28 July 1953, FRC, series 4, folder 20.

[58] Sherryl Patterson-Black, *Western Women in History and Literature* (Crawford, NE: Cottonwood Press, 1978): 6, cited by Hallgarth, 25.

about pioneering and increasingly interested in opportunities for self-dependence. Their records also challenge traditional concepts of marriage and work roles and provide new ways of understanding western independence."[59] Records of people who utilized the Homestead Act document only a selection of women who worked directly on the land. Other examples include

> Indian women who farmed, women who hired out as farm laborers, former wives who continued to run family farms and ranches after divorce or the death of a spouse, and Mormon women who managed family farms while their husbands lived with other families or went on missions. . . . Such women feared neither hard work nor nature. . . . these women killed snakes, hunted wild game, built their own claim shacks, plowed their own fields, and harvested their own crops . . . women homesteaders learned how to drive wagons and plows and to care for a variety of stock.[60]

The homesteaders' success—along with those of other frontier women--came from their own "productive responsibilities. Women's vital role in western settlement was marked by . . . a desire to reap the profits, personal or social, that the frontier might yield to entrepreneurial talent. In short, most women were eager and willing to *work*."[61] It appears that this statement defined Emma Peterson: she was eager to earn the profits, but also eager to take on the work.

However, on the day that Peterson arrived at Tucson to file on her homestead, she learned that only one family member could file a claim. In spite of being such an independent, adventurous woman, she was aware of the roles of men and women and was sensitive to her fiancé's dignity. She decided to wait and let her husband-to-be file instead. She later explained that she thought it would be embarrassing to Neil to live on her homestead.[62]

Neil Erickson did file on the homestead, but over a year and a half would pass before the Ericksons moved to Bonita Canyon. During that entrepreneurial restaurant/boarding house phase of their marriage the couple began their family. Early in 1888, 34-year-old Emma Peterson Erickson had traveled to

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[59] Hallgarth, 24.

[60] Riley, *Nature*, 11.

[61] Moynihan, xvi.

[62] Emma S. Erickson, "[Untitled: Autobiographical]," 10 January 1946, FRC, series 4, folder 2.

nearby Fort Bowie to deliver her first child, Lillian Sophia.[63] When the baby was five months old, the family moved to their homestead.[64]

Emma took to the ranch immediately, and loved living there, in spite of the hard work and primitive situation. Many women settlers did not express such pleasure at homesteading. Alienation, separation and loneliness are themes that run through women settler's diaries, and "hard work without stop was the lot of the majority."[65] In a typical diary, the writer "tells the harrowing story of the struggle they had to fight, in which sickness, death, problems with the cattle, insecurity, material difficulties, contacts with unpleasant travelers who stopped for meals marked the rhythm of life."[66]

To survive in such a situation, women had to be "self-possessed and self-reliant."[67] One theory posits that

> Women's adaptations to the conditions in Arizona depended on the kind of education they had received and the kind of life they had known before coming to the Territory. Those who had been brought up on farms were familiar with the kind of work that had to be performed, and generally endured it without any complaints. But those who had experienced a more refined life had problems adjusting: they despised their small mud houses, were rebuked by the daily chores and were often depressed by the lack of mental stimulation.[68]

In one sense, Emma Peterson Erickson seems to contradict that theory. Raised in a family with a housekeeper, two maids and three man servants, her background hardly seems one to prepare her for the hard work of running a ranch.[69] However, in her memoirs Emma was pleased to note that the Chicago family that she worked for couldn't hire another woman to do as much work as

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[63] Emma S. Erickson, "[Untitled: Autobiographical]," 10 January 1946, FRC, series 4, folder 2.

[64] Neil Erickson, "Our First Night in Bonita Canyon," 1931, FRC, series 4, folder 9.

[65] Fischer, 43, 45

[66] Fischer, 43.

[67] Fischer, 43.

[68] Fischer, 44.

[69] Emma S. Erickson, "[Untitled: Autobiographical]," 10 January 1946, FRC, series 4, folder 2.

Emma had. "I had been working hard all my life," she noted.[70] It has been observed, "Whether they went to the frontier or settled in urban areas, non-American-born women frequently modified their attitudes and behaviors as a result of the new environment. As they adapted to the language, lifestyles, and values they encountered in America, they began to revise their own ways of thinking and acting."[71] Certainly Emma demonstrated no fear of hard work during her years of toil in Chicago, Colorado, New Mexico and Arizona.

Indeed, Emma seems to have had the character necessary for success on a homestead. One woman described the demands placed on women settlers:

> I had lived on a homestead long enough to learn some fundamental things: that while a woman had more independence here than in any part of the world, she was expected to contribute as much as a man--not in the same way, it is true, but to the same degree: that people who fought the frontier had to be prepared to meet any emergency: that the person who wasn't willing to try anything once wasn't equipped to be a settler.[72]

Although the Bonita Canyon location may have seemed idyllic to Emma when she chose the site--and in spite of the Ericksons' hard work on the homestead--the ranch was not an economic success. In order to bring in cash to support the family, Neil frequently had to work at outside jobs, and he finally moved to Bisbee to work, where he spent most of his time for about four years. During that time the couple's second child, Lewis Benton was born in 1891, and their third child, Helen Hildegard was born in spring 1895. At the time of Hildegard's birth, Neil sold his Bisbee house and moved back to ranch. However, by 1900 the need for money forced Neil to return to Bisbee. During all of Neil's Bisbee years, Emma lived on the ranch, first with young Lillian and Ben, and then with Hildegard added to the family. While Neil was unhappy with the situation and wanted to sell the ranch, Emma refused. In July 1903, Neil began his career as a forest ranger. Although this position allowed him to be at home more often, he frequently had to spend time away from the ranch for a month or six weeks at a time.[73] Again, Emma stayed home with the three children and managed the homestead while Neil was gone. "Contrary to nineteenth-century notions about feminine helplessness and passivity, pioneer women took decisive action to manage their own lives and maintain their hopes."[74]

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[70] Emma S. Erickson, "[Untitled: Autobiographical]," 10 January 1946, FRC, series 4, folder 2.

[71] Riley, *Inventing*, 147.

[72] Riley, *Inventing*, 140.

[73] Ben Erickson, "Interview between Ben Erickson . . .," 28 January 1970. Acc. 1455, WACC.

[74] Moynihan, xvii.

While the Ericksons' situation was difficult for them, it was not unique. Separation was a recurring theme in writings by women in the West, and it was sometimes accompanied by a feeling of solitude.[75]

> It was common practice for nineteenth-century men to leave their wives for months or even years at a time for the sake of their work: there were businessmen in city boarding houses whose families lived in the country or in small towns elsewhere, engineers on mining or railroad expeditions, politicians in distant legislatures . . . . The majority of gold rushers made their expeditions to the mines in just such single fashion.[76]

During the absence of the husbands, the wives "were expected to maintain their household as an independent unit; there was no thought that the household would be absorbed or merged with any parental or extended family branch." A study of diaries of women in this situation revealed the interesting aspect that the diaries uniformly did not provide information about *how* the women ran the households. They recorded "moments of weakness, moments of despair, but not of strength and independence."[77]

Emma followed this pattern, and left us little information about the details of her life while she operated the ranch. We know that she worked hard at the ranch, doing chores such as mending fences, plowing, gathering firewood, and tending a large garden.[78]

We also know that she taught her three children to read, write and count, so when she sent them to school when they were past 7 years old, they were advanced for their ages. After the children got older and went to school in the East, she noted, "I was kept very busy with my chickens and cows." She also preserved a large quantity--over 700 quarts--of preserves, jam and jelly, fruits and vegetables "in fact all kinds of good things to eat."[79]

In addition, Emma developed a close network of friends in the vicinity of the homestead. This support network may have mitigated effects of loneliness and

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[75] Fischer, 45.

[76] Moynihan, xviii.

[77] Schlissel, 62-63.

[78] Neil Erickson to Emma Erickson, March 23 and March 24, 1893, FRC, series 1, folder 79-100.

[79] Emma S. Erickson, "[Untitled: Autobiographical]," 10 January 1946, FRC, series 4, folder 2.

isolation that so many other settler women experienced. It has been noted that settler women "were the cement which kept their own families together and often considered the community as a larger family which required similar efforts on their part."[80] When the Ericksons moved to their ranch, their neighbors Ja Hu and Pauline Stafford lived almost within site of their new home. They became close friends. When Pauline died in childbirth, Ja Hu raised their children with the help of Emma.[81]

Women also depended on each other during childbirth. Emma had planned to go to Bisbee to deliver her second child, but it became apparent that she would deliver early. She immediately sent a telegram to Neil, who was working in Bisbee at the time. While hurrying home from Bisbee, Neil passed the neighboring Fife Ranch, where he learned, to his relief, of the birth of his son. Mrs. Fife, a midwife, had delivered the baby.[82]

Emma also contributed to the community. When she learned that the neighbors--especially the children--had never seen a Christmas tree, Emma decided that the children needed such a wonderful treat. She decorated a tree in the Erickson home, and invited the neighbors to their house for a Christmas party. The party became an annual event at the Ericksons' though eventually the group got too large for their house, so they moved it to the schoolhouse. However, Emma continued to organize the event, and gave a small gift to each individual at the schoolhouse--at one point her gifts numbered 150. Emma believed that these parties were an important donation that she had made to the community. She also believed that she had made another important contribution: Emma convinced the women in the neighborhood to preserve their fruit. Noting these two legacies, she added, "And now thank goodness everyone has a tree and also canned preserved fruit."[83] Western women's "spirit of cooperation explains the particular meaning independence held for them. . . .

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[80] Fischer, 50.

[81] "Col." Jay Hu Stafford Collection, Acc. 1700, WACC.

[82] Emma S. Erickson, "[Untitled: Autobiographical]," 10 January 1946, FRC, series 4, folder 2. William N. Fife received a land patent in 1892, about 7 miles southwest of the Ericksons, in section 13 and 14, Township 17 South, Range 28 East. Bureau of Land Management, "Records of the General Land Office," <www.glorecords.blm.gov/patentsearch>.

[83] Emma S. Erickson, "[Untitled: Autobiographical]," 10 January 1946, FRC, series 4, folder 2. Introduced in Sweden from Germany, the Christmas tree had been a part of Christmas in Sweden since the 1700s. In the United States, the custom didn't become well known until the late 1800s; by the turn of the twentieth century only about 20% of the families in America had Christmas trees.

Settlers--male and female--survived not by going it alone, but by joining together. . . . cooperation meant protection and encouragement as well as shared labor."[84]

EDUCATION

After Emma taught her three children at home, one by one the children began their formal education. First, they attended the El Dorado School, the local elementary school, a couple of miles from their home. At that time--the turn of the century--local schools only went up to eighth grade. This situation was common in the country, and suited most families, since very few children continued on to high school. In the last decade of the nineteenth century, less than 10 percent of the secondary-school-age population attended high school, and the graduation rate was about 3 percent. "Nearly all the rest were working, most of them with their families on farms."[85]

However, the Ericksons valued education, and wanted their children to attend high school. This decision may have been influenced by the excellent educational system that Emma and Neil had experienced in Sweden. Literacy was extremely high among Swedish immigrants to the U.S. In the period 1899-1910, over 99 percent of adult immigrants from Scandinavia declared themselves able to read and write, compared to three-quarters of all immigrants.[86] It may have also been affected by Emma's reasons for leaving Sweden. When Emma's stepmother told her that she would not allow Emma to leave home to receive the education necessary to become a teacher, Emma bristled. She equated the lack of education with becoming a servant, and she left the country as a result. Ironically, Emma was never able to continue her education, and instead made her living as a servant.

With this background, Emma and Neil examined the options for their children's education. They decided to send the children to live with Emma's brother Charles in Galesburg, Illinois, to attend high school there. With a seven-year span in the children's ages, this commitment impacted the family's life for over a decade.

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[84] Hallgarth, 29.

[85] Gerald W. Bracey, "What Happened to America's Public Schools?" *American Heritage* (November 1997), 39 and 40; and Thomas Hine, "The Rise and Decline of the Teenager," *American Heritage* (September 1999), 75.

[86] B. Lindsay Lowell, "The Scandinavians," in Cayton, Mary Kupiec, Elliott J. Gorn, and Peter W. Williams. *Encyclopedia of American Social History*. Vol. 2 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1993), 707.

Being committed to their children's education was not unusual among mothers at the time. Women tended to be initiators and backers of having grammar schools built. In quite a few cases, women who lived on ranches left to spend the school months in the nearest town so that their children could get an education. For instance, every fall for 15 years pioneer Jane Fourr and her children "moved from their ranch to Tombstone, where she rented an empty house 'in which they half lived, half camped during the school year.' . . . Such separations were not unusual in families."[87]

However, being so committed to secondary level education (compared to grammar school) was unusual; in addition, having the children attend school so far away does indicate the strength of the Erickson's devotion to education. It has been said that their neighbors were quite impressed by this arrangement, and they assumed that the Ericksons were quite comfortable financially. Indeed, the family would have been better off financially than many of their neighbors, since it was not unusual for ranching and farming families in southern Arizona to live at a subsistence level. Neil's steady income from the Forest Service would have raised their standard of living. Relatively speaking then, the Ericksons would have had a life that seemed laced with luxuries such as high school educations gained in a distant state. It should be remembered, however, that the Ericksons strongly valued education, and were probably economically able to maneuver providing their children's education by having them live with a relative. In addition, some arrangement regarding the tuition must have been made, since Lillian noted that when Ben and Hildegard went to Galesburg, they did not have to pay tuition.[88]

Lillian, the oldest at 13, moved to Galesburg, Illinois, to attend eighth grade in 1901; after a two-year break she returned for high school in 1904. Lillian was dedicated to her studies. Emma recalled, "When she went to high school she put her whole mind and soul into her studies so she finished her high school studies in two years. . . . That was considered quite a wonder." Lillian was known in the Galesburg community, and Emma received many compliments

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[87] Fischer, 45. It is interesting to note that although Jane Fourr's neighbors described her as "a submissive woman who devotedly catered to her husband's needs," she organized her life around her children's education, in spite of her husband's opposition to their children attending school.

[88] Lillian Erickson, Diary, August 1908, FRC, series 2, folder 45, fiche 64.

about Lillian's abilities while she was in that city.[89] After Lillian returned to the homestead in Arizona, Emma moved with Ben and Hildegard to Galesburg.[90]

ENTERING THE WORK FORCE

After finishing high school in 1906, Lillian returned home to teach at an area grammar school. We don't know exactly when or how Lillian first decided to work outside the home or how she chose her career; however we do know some aspects of the environment in which she made the choice.

The financial situation in the Erickson family would have set the stage for her decision. Since the Erickson ranch couldn't support the family, Neil consistently had to work in a wage-earning job. Although his position at the U.S. Forest Service, which he started in 1903, improved the situation, the family probably had a somewhat meager lifestyle. Across the country, it was common for multiple members of a family to work to support the entire family. "The American working-class family formed a wage-earning unit because the wages paid adult men were wholly inadequate to support a family. . . . more than one wage earner [was] absolutely necessary to the survival of the working-class family in the Gilded Age and the Progressive Era."[91] Lillian's stepdaughter later noted that the financial condition in the family was better after Lillian began teaching, and that "much of her money went into remodeling the old house."[92]

During the twenty-some years since Emma had entered the work force, women's role and participation in the work place had changed. Many more women were employed: in 1880, 16 percent of all U.S. women were in the labor force; by the turn of the century, the figure was 21 percent; and by 1910, the number had grown to 25 percent. In addition, the choices of careers open to women had shifted. In 1870, three of every five employed women in the United

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[89] Emma S. Erickson, "[Untitled: Autobiographical]," 10 January 1946, FRC, series 4, folder 2; Betty Leavengood, *Faraway Ranch: Chiricahua National Monument* (Tucson, Arizona: Southwest Parks and Monuments Association, 1995), 7; and Diploma, FRC, series 12, folder 13.

[90] Emma S. Erickson, "[Untitled: Autobiographical]," 10 January 1946, FRC, series 4, folder 2; and Hildegard Hutchison, "[Reminiscences]," n.d., FRC, series 4, folder 17. In 1904, the city's population was over 23,000. City of Galesburg, "City Of Galesburg Census Information," <www.ci.galesburg.il.us/www/communitydevelopment/census/main.htm>.

[91] Gabin in Cayton, 1547.

[92] Eula Lee Murray Riggs, "Eula Lee Murray Riggs' Account of Ed Riggs Family History," n.d., Acc. 1721, WACC.

States were domestic servants, as Emma had been. By 1910, however, only one woman in four was employed in that position.[93]

Other aspects that were important at that time of Lillian's life were both the restrictions and the opportunities in occupations. Middle-class women were restricted in their choice of occupation; most male professions such as law, religion and medicine resisted the entrance of women. In addition, parameters were established regarding their employment. It was regarded incompatible, for example, for a woman to be both married and have a vocation. These restrictions were not simply informal norms. One Supreme Court ruling demonstrates the state regulation of female employment and illuminates attitudes toward gender, work, and politics. In Illinois, Myra Bradwell had been excluded from the state bar; Bradwell appealed to the Illinois Supreme Court, but in 1869 the court rejected the appeal and moreover, "declared that the 'hot strife of the bar, in the presence of the public,' would destroy her femininity. The United States Supreme Court upheld the lower court ruling in 1873, agreeing that the timidity and delicacy of the female sex made it 'unfit it for many of the occupations of civil life.' *Bradwell* v. *Illinois* was widely used thereafter to defend the exclusion of women from professional careers."[94]

In reaction to such social and legal restrictions, the so-called women's professions developed: teaching, nursing, library work, and social work. These occupations were based on traditional concepts of women's roles in society, such as caring for the young, sick, or poor, or serving as guardians of culture. They were defined as the helping professions and were shaped by the fact that at the time women were rarely given authority over anyone but children. Usually these professions were practiced in places that were homelike: hospitals, schoolrooms, libraries, and settlement houses.[95]

Unfortunately, the development of the women's professions did not allow women to achieve the status or earnings of the men's professions. In fact, as men's professions such as teaching became dominated by women, the occupations had the wages lowered, "declined in status and lost much of their earlier public recognition as professions."[96] Women professionals, therefore, received less pay, had limited upward occupational mobility, and their work was accorded less prestige than that of men professionals.[97]

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[93] Gabin in Cayton, 1546, 1547.

[94] Gabin in Cayton, 1549.

[95] Samuel Haber, "The Professions," in *Encyclopedia of American Social History*, Mary Kupiec Cayton, Elliott J. Gorn, and Peter W. Williams, eds. Vol. 2 of 3. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1993), 1573; and Gabin in Cayton, 1549.

[96] Haber in Cayton, 1573.

[97] Gabin in Cayton, 1549.

Teaching was an older profession, but women had come into it in large numbers only in the latter part of the nineteenth century. In 1860, only 25 percent of all teachers were women, while women made up 60 percent of the profession in 1880. Boards of education took advantage of gender notions of appropriate wages, and consistently paid women teachers one-third to one-half less than men.[98] Even so, teaching provided a major employment opportunity for young women since only a high school education was required to qualify one to teach elementary school. As a result, in the latter part of the nineteenth century young women made up the majority of the high school student population.[99]

During the time that Lillian attended high school, it is likely that she was surrounded by other young women who planned to teach. If Lillian did not have the inclination to follow that career path before going to Galesburg, her schoolmates' intentions could have influenced her. Two other factors could have influenced Lillian. Teaching was one vocation that she could pursue while living in the relative isolation of the Erickson homestead. And many years earlier, Emma had left her home in Sweden because of her vision of becoming a teacher.

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[98] Gabin in Cayton, 1546.

[99] Hine, 75. Not everyone supported the idea of women being educated and teaching school. James McKeen Cattell, psychology chairman at Columbia University, raged against the concepts. In 1909 Cattell declared: “Girls are injured more than boys by school life; they take it more seriously, and at certain times and at a certain age are far more subject to harm. It is probably not an exaggeration to say that to the average cost of each girl’s education through high school must be added one unborn child.” Cattell was even more strident against women becoming teachers: “When spinsters can support themselves with more physical comforts and larger leisure than they would as wives; when married women may prefer the money they can earn and the excitement they can find in outside employment to the bearing and raising of children; when they can conveniently leave their husbands should it so suit their fancy--the conditions are clearly unfavorable to marriage and family. . . . There are in the United States about 400,000 women employed as teachers. . . . This vast horde of female teachers in the United States tends to subvert both the school and the family. James McKeen Cattell, “The School and the Family,” *Popular Science Monthly* 74 (January 1909), 91, 92, quoted in Rosalind Rosenberg, *Beyond Separate Spheres: Intellectual Roots of Modern Feminism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 89.

After five years of teaching elementary school, Lillian decided to return to school to earn a college degree.[100] Lillian again moved to Galesburg, Illinois, this time to attend Knox College, beginning in 1911, and graduating in the class of 1915. As unusual as completing secondary school had been (with a graduation rate of only 10 percent in 1910), earning a college degree was even more rare, especially for women.[101] In 1911, less than three percent of the 18-24-year-old population attended college. Less than a third of the students earning undergraduate degrees in 1915 were women.[102] Even so, college-educated women dominated the ranks of professional women in this period.[103] At one point Lillian didn't seem to be dedicated to the concept. She observed, "It's hard when one's whole life and study and training have been toward one end—homemaking—to be compelled to find a place in the busy jostling world where one has little inclination to be. But if such is to be I'll at least try to make it a little better and easier for other girls.[104] After Lillian's graduation, she again returned to Arizona, this time to teach at Bowie, north of the ranch.

ENTREPRENEURIAL SPIRIT

The year 1917 marked a turning point for the Erickson family. While Lillian had been attending school and teaching, other members of the Erickson family had been pursuing their lives. Hildegard had followed in Lillian's path of going to Illinois for high school, and then had also attended Knox College.[105] In 1917, she was living at the ranch, at the age of 22. That year, her father had been transferred to Cochise Stronghold, forty miles west. Emma chose to move with Neil, and they left the next generation of Ericksons in charge of the family ranch. Having been raised on the homestead, the three would have been familiar with the various chores and probably easily shifted to taking full responsibility. At that time Lillian, 29, was teaching in Bowie, but she returned to the ranch on the weekends.[106] In the fall of 1918, Ben entered the army during World War I.

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[100] Eula Lee Murray Riggs, "Eula Lee Murray Riggs' Account of Ed Riggs Family History," n.d. Acc. # 1721, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson.

[101] Bracey, 41.

[102] U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States*, part 1, (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1975), 383, 386.

[103] Gabin in Cayton, 1549.

[104] Lillian Erickson, diary, March 24, 1913, FRC, series 2, folder 48.

[105] Emma S. Erickson, "[Untitled: Autobiographical]," 10 January 1946, FRC, series 4, folder 2.

[106] April 9, 1917, FRC, series 9, folder 1-2.

After Ben left, Lillian and Hildegard continued doing the ranch work including riding during round-ups, working the cattle, branding, castrating, fencing, etc.[107]

Just before Neil and Emma left the ranch, Hildegard was lamenting her boring situation. Craving some non-ranching activity (and probably also wanting some social contacts and income), she devised a business proposition: she would cook meals for customers on Sunday afternoons. Initiating the plan, she sent letters to school principals in Douglas and Bisbee (over 60 and 70 miles away, respectively) offering home-cooked meals. Three weekends later, Hildegard's first customers appeared. She quickly prepared and served them a delicious meal, complete with homemade cake. The customers were delighted with the meal and the locale, and spread the word among their friends. From then on, every Sunday brought guests to enjoy the setting and the meals.[108]

Hildegard's entrepreneurial initiative demonstrates her participation in both the societal opportunities and restrictions of her time. By the mid 1910s, various groups and types of American women had undergone

> significant changes in roles, lifestyles, values, and expectations. They now participated in the public world in large numbers. Many were well-educated and achievement-oriented. . . . As a consequence of their involvement in reform crusades, the campaign for woman suffrage and other feminist causes, the women's club movement, women's education, the industrial and agrarian work force, and the development of all sectors of the economy and regions of the country, women could no longer be characterized as passive, dependent, and easily relegated to a private, domestic sphere. More than any other time, women of the Progressive Era asserted themselves as willing, able and rightful participants of the world.[109]

However, the enlargement of women's roles was based on the traditional concept of women's roles. Society allowed women's involvement in the so-called women's professions and other public activities because this conduct was closely tied to the accepted conservative perception of women's character and virtues. According to that concept,

> women played a very special role in society because of their female morality, virtue, and ability to 'keep house,' whether at home or in the community, the office, or politics. Although women's 'sphere' had

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[107] John Burnham, "[Untitled: On Lillian Riggs]," 31 May 1961, FRC, series 5, folder 9.

[108] Hildegard Hutchison, "Remembrances of Hildegard Hutchison," FRC, Series 4, folder 17.

[109] Riley, *Inventing*, 176-177.

> definitely expanded by 1914, it was still a bounded space. Thus, it continued to be segregated and limited in many ways. How to resolve this separation of female and male, private and public, and domestic and political would prove to be an ongoing debate for many Americans during the years of the First World War.[110]

Hildegard's business plan fit within this social construct by being both traditional and progressive simultaneously. Her activities were based on traditional roles for women: she prepared meals, and played the part of hostess, both traditional women's tasks. The activities all occurred within her home, a traditional location for a woman's focus. She carefully selected whom to invite to her home: school principals, who were respected members of society. And she served meals on Sundays, the most formal and traditional meal of the week. It is also interesting to note the strong link to operating a restaurant and boarding house, an occupation that was open to women in Emma's generation, and one in which Emma took part when she lived at Fort Bowie. At the same time, however, Hildegard demonstrated her ability to devise a business concept, develop the plan to fit her needs, and take charge of the business. She identified with the new world of opportunities available to women and eagerly took her place in the entrepreneurial world.

Hildegard gradually expanded the business, by boarding deer hunters at the ranch during hunting season, and she appealed to Lillian for assistance. Lillian was not sold on Hildegard's guest ranch idea. She felt that people would look down on them.[111] "The idea of charging for meals and rooms first embarrassed Lillian and offended her sense of hospitality."[112] Lillian apparently had trouble reconciling the concept of putting a price on activities that women traditionally offered at no cost. But she did help during deer season when hunters boarded at the ranch, and she considered her options. While teaching at Bowie, Lillian's hearing had degenerated, which she attributed to a small pox vaccination she received in Illinois, which became infected.[113] It posed difficulties in her teaching activities. With Hildegard's new business taking her time, the ranch needed another hand. Eventually, Lillian decided to quit her teaching position

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[110] Riley, *Inventing*, 177.

[111] Hildegard Hutchison, "[Reminiscences]," n.d., FRC, series 4, folder 17.

[112] Leavengood, 7.

[113] Richard Murray, "Richard Murray's Visit with Mrs. Lillian E. Riggs," 23 April 1965, Acc. 655, WACC. Medical information today indicates that is extremely unlikely that a small pox vaccination could have caused her hearing loss.

and become Hildegard's partner at the ranch.[114] She also christened the guest ranch with a new name: Faraway Ranch.

The women quickly decided that they needed additional guest lodging, so they purchased the nearby Stafford cabin in the spring of 1918.[115] Together they operated the guest business, and probablt with Ben's assistance they ran the ranch as well.[116] They worked together until the fall of 1920, when Hildegard married and moved away from the ranch. At that point, Lillian took on the management of the ranch and guest business by herself. She occasionally hired short-term help--both men and women--to assist her at the ranch and guest ranch, but most often did the work herself, possibly with Ben's assistance.[117]

About that time, Lillian had apparently taken the initiative to rekindle an old relationship with Ed Riggs. He and Lillian had both grown up in the area, and had both attended El Dorado School. Lillian later described him as her "childhood sweetheart." However, they had chosen different paths, and Riggs had married another woman. At that time, 19-year-old Lillian had observed, "Edd and Gaye are to be married next Sunday. So ends one little episode of my life. I don't care, for I could never love Edd even if Mr. T.J. Riggs did want me

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[114] Eula Lee Murray Riggs, "Eula Lee Murray Riggs' Account of Ed Riggs Family History," n.d. Acc. 1721, WACC; and John Burnham, "[Untitled: On Lillian Riggs]," 31 May 1961, FRC, series 5, folder 9.

[115] The first payment on "Stafford's Place" was made April, 22, 1918, and the last was made February 27, 1928, a total principal of $5,200. "Computation of Payments and Interest on Stafford Place," n.d., FRC, series 15, folder 4.

[116] It is interesting to note that while these two women were running their ranch, the Department of Labor finally recognized the potential of female farm labor during World War I and began to register women for possible agricultural employment in February 1918. In that same month, several national organizations founded the Woman's Land Army (WLA). "Recruits were guaranteed training and a minimum wage in return for a promise of at least two months of service. The women worked in squads in dairying, livestock, and poultry care, fruit picking, planting, weeding, hoeing, mowing, and the operation of farm equipment. The demand for women farm laborers soon outstripped the supply." By January 1920, when the WLA disbanded, "it had overcome the skepticism of farmers, opened new employment opportunities to women in agriculture, and demonstrated women's capacity for demanding physical labor." Riley, *Inventing*, 187-188.

[117] FRC, Series 9, folder 8; and Eula Lee Murray Riggs, "Eula Lee Murray Riggs' Account of Ed Riggs Family History," n.d., Acc. 1721, WACC.

for his daughter-in-law."[118] After Ed's wife died in 1917, Riggs had joined the army. Upon his return from the war, Lillian became a frequent visitor to his home in Douglas. In the summer of 1921 Ed began going to Faraway fairly often.[119]

Meanwhile, Lillian had been cultivating her writing, and in connection with that, she moved to Los Angeles for the summer of 1922 to take course work in writing. Riggs had wanted to go with her, but Lillian wouldn't hear of it, because he would distract her instead of help her. Instead, he stayed in Arizona, spending much time at Faraway with his children and their aunt. In the many letters that he wrote to her, Riggs repeatedly expressed support of Erickson's efforts. First, he thought it was important for her to find a good place to live, "the very kind of place and location you like. You know, for your work's sake you should have the right kind of environment." Then he continually encouraged her: "I know, dearest girl, you will be very successful in your work," and "I know you will pass the exam with a high score." He also challenged her statements, and enjoyed her intelligence: "So you think schoolmarms are brainless, others of the fair sex too, just because we men like you that way. Do I impress you that way? I hope not for I love your ability as a part of the attractive you." But at the same time Riggs warned her not to work too hard: "What good will all the success in the world do you if you break your health in attaining it? . . . You know you went out there partly to rest."[120]

While in Los Angeles, perhaps Erickson explored the possibilities of being published; it is possible she had an agent who tried to sell her material. Lillian did not succeed in getting a book published, although she continued to write for most of her life. She later authored a manuscript about her family, written in novel format and titled *Westward into the Sun*, but she was unsuccessful in having it published. She considered having it published by paying a "vanity press" to print it but decided against that step.[121]

Ed's letters to Lillian that summer were not all work related; he wrote wonderfully romantic passages that expressed his love for her and their future together: "If I ever get you in my arms again I shall certainly never never let you go until you are my wife and methinks not then. Will you marry me dearest

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[118] Lillian Erickson, diary, January 9, 1908, FRC, series 2, folder 45. At that time, Lillian had been distracted by her unrequited love for her minister in Galesburg.

[119] Eula Lee Murray Riggs, "Eula Lee Murray Riggs' Account of Ed Riggs Family History," n.d., Acc. 1721, WACC.

[120] Ed Riggs to Lillian Erickson, July 26, July 14, July 31, August 8, and September 12, 1922, FRC, series 1, folder 238-242.

[121] [Pageant Press materials], 1960, FRC, series 14, folders 8 and 9.

girl just as soon as possible? So we can begin making our dear home and happiness in it."[122] By the end of September 1922, Lillian had decided to return home from California. Ed's daughter later recalled, "I think my dad spent most of his time at Faraway from then until their marriage at the end of February (in that day and age, as you might imagine, creating much local gossip)."[123] It is interesting to note that the woman who had been embarrassed by charging people for meals apparently did not have such qualms about this social indiscretion.

TAKING THE GUEST RANCH TO A NEW LEVEL

Two weeks after her 35th birthday, Lillian married 37-year-old Ed Riggs. As Lillian later recalled, "I had the ranch, a business, a home, though it was my parents'. Ed did not want to continue city life. He was not altogether satisfied with the way his children were living. We talked it over. . . . He said that he wanted a ranch life and would like the guest ranch business."[124] Lillian seemingly had it all, while Ed didn't have much of anything--so he joined her at her business. After their marriage, Lillian and Ed worked together to make the guest ranch successful. While Lillian and Hildegard had catered to a small number of guests, Lillian and Ed apparently decided to take the business to a new level. Lillian wrote brochures and sent advertisements to newspapers around the country promoting their ranch, which brought in more guests.

Lillian was not the only woman who promoted the dude/guest ranch business. Mary Roberts Rinehart wrote extensively about the West, including ranch life and dude ranches, thus providing a great amount of publicity for dude ranches. In many popular-periodical articles and in several books "she broadcast her message to thousands of readers" in the period from 1916 through 1931. "Implicit in all these articles was the obvious concept that women could and should visit the West. . . She emphasized that the wilderness of America would not survive long, and people who wanted to see the West should do so soon. . . . But above all Mary Roberts Rinehart extolled dude ranches and [pioneer dude ranch operator] Howard Eaton." Her clear message was: "see the Old West before it is gone; enjoy the relaxation and hospitality of ranch life; refresh and

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[122] Ed Riggs to Lillian Erickson, July 27, 1922, FRC, series 1, folder 238-242.

[123] Eula Lee Murray Riggs, "Eula Lee Murray Riggs' Account of Ed Riggs Family History," n.d., Acc. 1721, WACC. Hildegard later recalled, "In Ed's courtship prior to their marriage he was parked almost permanently at the ranch, until the talk became so common that the Erickson family blushed to hear it." Hildegarde Hutchison, [ca. August-September 1931], FRC, series 1, folder 128-153, fiche 55.

[124] Lillian Riggs to Anne and Murray Riggs, March 1, 1950, FRC, series 1, box 9.

renew yourselves in the beauty of the mountains; ride, fish, hunt, and hike. Above all, come to the West."[125]

This concept of women visiting the West was a critical turning point in the perception of the region. "The western tourist industry in general wooed women travelers. American entrepreneurs quickly perceived the benefit of encouraging female tourism. From railroad companies to such investors as Fred Harvey to dude ranches, entrepreneurs modified tourism--and the western landscape--to fit women's wants and needs."[126] In addition, women writers, travelers, tourists and guest-ranch operators typically promoted such travel, and thus helped "feminize the West." They assured other women that "they faced little danger and that western travel would bring them great adventures, incomparable experiences, and improved health. Rather than being dangerous, western travel would free women, who could tour on their own, modify customary clothing to some degree, and take home daring tales that would make their friends swoon with envy."[127] "These women helped authenticate the West as a real and often glorious place, encouraged hundreds of others to follow their westward footsteps, helped identify the West with improved health, and assured a growing number of feminists that western travel would offer them certain freedoms unknown at home."[128]

Women played an important role within the dude/guest ranch industry.

> Both as guests and as managers or owners, women were consistently active in the operation of dude ranches. While men were, not unexpectedly, mentioned more frequently as dude ranchers, there was no doubt in the minds of people familiar with the industry that women were an integral and indispensable part of dude or guest ranch success. And,

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[125] Lawrence R. Borne, *Dude Ranching : A Complete History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983), 88-89. Borne noted, "Many people who know of Mary Roberts Rinehart are aware of her mystery stories. But she was a woman of much broader background and depth than some of these stories might indicate. She was a nurse, a war correspondent during World War I, and a very active outdoorswoman, and she was certainly an excellent writer." She journeyed extensively through the West and Mexico and ranked as a "true traveler, not a mere tourist." Her writings on dude ranches were so influential that she "even rivaled the importance of [the extensive] railroad publicity [for dude ranches] since some of it predated their activities."

[126] Riley, *Nature*, 148.

[127] Riley, *Nature*, 135.

[128] Riley, *Nature*, 153.

> after dude ranching began to grow, women were just as frequent guests as men on the ranches.[129]

"In such controlled and supervised settings, couples and families could enjoy a 'wilderness' vacation together. . . . Dude ranch advertising leaflets indicate that these venues provided the most freeing travel experience to women. The evolution of the opportunities that dude ranching offered proceeded rapidly."[130]

Struthers Burt, pioneer dude rancher and author at Jackson Hole, Wyoming agreed with women's importance. "Women can make or break a ranch," he declared. In addition, he advised those considering staying at a dude ranch to try to find out what the wife was like.[131]

In a 1947 farming publication, reporter Agnes Spring interviewed women who owned dude ranches with their husbands. Their descriptions demonstrated that even on a dude ranch women's roles frequently followed traditional patterns. But there were also many non-traditional activities that these women enjoyed. The author advised the reader, "There's everything in a day's work for a dude ranch wife from greeting guests, pinch-hitting for the cook and planting a vegetable garden to being chief checker in a scavenger hunt. . . . These women are highly intelligent, gracious, fun loving, industrious business partners, as well as wives, of dude ranchers." However, she added,

> In addition to keeping the dudes comfortable and well-fed, the ranch wife also is responsible for keeping the help well-housed and happy. . . . Because the dude ranch wife is usually "on hand," she is called upon continuously to give the history of near-by sites of Indian battles or ghost towns, the names of flowers, birds and animals. . . . To her come the tired bodies, aching muscles, legs chafed from riding, or knees trembling from hours in the saddle. She literally carries a bottle of methiolate in one hand and adhesive tape in the other.

Mrs. Deane Glessner, a dude ranch wife, described her responsibilities to the reporter: "I took over the furnishing of the cabins, buying linens and bedding, overseeing the care of the cabins and planning of meals. As hostess, too, I plan entertainment and help to entertain." Spring explained,

> For the most part, the matter of assigning horses, planning trail trips and things of that sort are handled by the men of the ranch. On some ranches, however, the women help, too. Nell Leake . . . is one of the wives who

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[129] Borne, 6-7.

[130] Riley, *Nature*, 150.

[131] Agnes W. Spring, "Women on a Dude Ranch," *Western Farm Life Annual Livestock Review* (1947): 14.

> plans horseback rides, car rides and picnics as part of her entertainment schedule. Of course she also manages the kitchen, dining room, laundry, correspondence, including reservations, is cashier and chief arranger of transportation to and from the railway station some 45 miles away.

Marie Carroll Salisbury also reported on being a dude ranch wife:

> She must be able to tell the new cook how to cook; the laundress how to launder; the maids how to wait on tables and make beds; the hired man how and what to plant in the garden. Also she knows how to keep drains open in bathrooms and sinks; how to keep the kerosene refrigerator running and is expected to know what to do in any emergency that arises. Also she plans meals to satisfy everyone; answers questions of the dudes about the flora and fauna of the country, as well as what to do about laundry, train reservations, bus schedules, plane schedules, telegrams, mail and so forth--not to speak of pinch-hitting for the departing cook, maid, laundress or ranch hand. Too, she must plan picnics and steak fries, stay up nights and play cards, and go to country dances. In my case, add to the above the bearing and rearing of four children, who are all now an important part of the organization.[132]

It can be assumed that Lillian Riggs took on similar responsibilities at Faraway Ranch.

Women who visited guest ranches also influenced the industry. As reported in a popular periodical,

> "Pardner," said a cow-puncher guide to me last summer, "I'd rather take out a bunch of dude gals ten times over than the same number of dude fellows. They're less trouble. They don't squawk about inconveniences as much. They don't want to fog away to the big hotels and the dance orchestras the minute we get within a shoutin' of a Yellowstone inn. They'd rather stay around camp, an' listen to stories about the outdoors or learn how to take of 'emselves in a pinch, or the fine points of a hoss. They're shore encouragin' to a cow-punch".[133]

The influence of the industry on women was also observed. Horace Albright, director of the National Park Service, noted,

> If the dude ranch has done nothing else, it has formed a proving ground for a new type of woman, the kind who can go on her own; who is learning, even more rapidly than the man, the secrets of woodcraft, and of self-preservation; who can ride as well or better than the average male and

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[132] Spring, 14, 150-151, 154-155.

[133] Courtney Ryley Cooper, "Dude, Howdy!" *Ladies' Home Journal* 48 (August 1931), 41.

> shoot with equal accuracy, all because of the fact that the incentive to know these things is greater.[134]

While Lillian Riggs--and her fellow dude ranch wives--hosted women at their ranches, they also served as role models for the women guests.

When Lillian had married Ed in 1923, she became not only Ed's wife but also the mother of two children: 11-year-old Eula Lee, and 9-year-old Murray. The newlyweds discussed having more children. But Lillian later related, "One cannot manage a guest ranch, work on a cattle ranch and raise a family. I realized that a family of my own would limit everything for Ed's children. So we decided to make Lee and Murray suffice for our family." [135] As with the previous generation, education was important. Eula Lee (known as simply Lee as she grew older) had been educated at Douglas, Arizona up to the 6th grade, then attended the El Dorado School for grades 7 through 10. She was thus the third generation in her family to attend the small rural school. For 11th grade she was tutored at Faraway, probably by her stepmother Lillian, who was well suited for the role since she was a former teacher. Following in Lillian's and Hildegard's footsteps, Lee attended Knox College in Illinois from 1928-32, where she earned her bachelor's degree. She decided to teach, and once again followed in Lillian's footsteps by teaching at nearby El Dorado School during the 1932-33 school year.[136]

We do not know why Lee chose to teach, or why she taught at the small country school. However, we must wonder what opportunities she saw for herself. "For women, the years between 1917 and 1929 seemed to offer unparalleled opportunities. The war itself drew women out of their homes in unprecedented numbers; the postwar years witnessed the final successful push for woman suffrage; and the spirit of the 1920s encouraged women to express themselves as independent, sexual, and political individuals." However, while that era seemed to be "one of tremendous liberation for women, many of the changes were only superficial ones. Although American women fought on many levels against the stereotypes and traditional images that circumscribed their lives, they once again learned that reform comes with excruciating and exasperating slowness."[137]

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[134] Cooper, 41.

[135] Lillian Riggs to Anne and Murray Riggs, March 1, 1950, FRC, series 1, box 9.

[136] Eula Lee Murray Riggs, "Eula Lee Murray Riggs' Account of Ed Riggs Family History," n.d., Acc. 1721, WACC. Lee paid for her senior year at college. FRC, series 21, folder 4.

[137] Riley, *Inventing*, 183. One example occurred in the Forest Service in the area. In 1917, Anita Kellogg began working for the Forest Service as a clerk in the Southwest; at the time the presence of a woman was unusual in the agency.

Women continued to be viewed as “illegitimate competitors in the labor market” and this concept was stressed in campaigns throughout the depression years of the 1930s in attempts to eliminate married women from the work force. Federal, state and municipal governments “pressed married women to leave civil-service jobs,” beginning in 1930. “Three-quarters of the school systems in the United States refused to hire married women as teachers during the 1930s; half the systems fired female teachers who married.”[138] In 1933, Lee left her teaching job and worked at Faraway Ranch for the next year. In October 1935 she married Hunter Stratton.

Lee and Hunter were not the first--or the last--couple to nurture their love in the setting of Faraway Ranch. In fact, it happened so frequently that Lillian often commented on the phenomenon. “Romance and Faraway seem to be forever linked. It is indefinable, yet I think I dimly sense what it is. Faraway was founded and nurtured by the love of our parents. First for each other and their new home. Then by the love for their children. Later by the love that their children bore toward them. Still later by the love of those children for their mates, and by the romances that began here. Faraway, so to speak, has been steeped in love. This love emanates from the very canyon walls and touches those who come within its lingering shadows. Those who are responsive to its spell love it as no other place on earth." [139]

Kellogg decided that she wanted to pursue a position as a ranger; she took the necessary examination and passed it in 1921. However, the regional office refused to approve her appoinment as a ranger because she was “an unattached female.” Kellogg then transferred to the Coronado National Forest, which was in the vicinity of Faraway Ranch. There she worked as chief clerk; she was also designated special deputy fiscal agent to pay firefighters on the Coronado, as well as firefighters on a fire in the Gila National Forest. Fred Winn, supervisor of the Gila at the time, objected to the assignment because Kellogg was still “an unattached female.” (Winn later became supervisor of Coronado, and a friend of the Erickson and Riggs families.) Nevertheless, Kellogg did receive a commendation from the district forester for her work on the fire as “an unattached female” and she also received an increase in pay. Edwin A. Tucker and George Fitzpatrick, *Men Who Matched the Mountains: The Forest Service in the Southwest*, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, Southwest Region, 1972), 142-43.

[138] Gabin in Cayton, 1551.

[139] Lillian Riggs, diary, September 1958, FRC, series 2, folder 56. Other couples that found love at Faraway included: Clair Cooke, custodian of Chiricahua National Monument and Eleanor Worthington, a guest; Ben Erickson and guest Ethel Keller, Hildegard's daughter Emajoy and Bob Barrel, ranger at the monument, and Hildegard's son Stanley and Cherry Kline, Lillian's secretary.

DEALING WITH OBSTACLES

National Park Service curator David Wallace has astutely observed, "There were at least three Lillians--the one who impressed her guests with her graciousness and poise; the one who fought almost constantly with her mother and sister and ruled her menfolk and employees with an iron hand; and the one who struggled within herself to cope with the frustrated ambition, the early death of her husband, and the devastating loss of both sight and hearing."[140] As her life progressed, each of these facets of her character seemed to become more pronounced.

Ed and Lillian's marriage was not idyllic, though it was probably not because Lillian didn't love her husband. Instead, her domineering manner--which she used with everyone--seemed to be the heart of the problem. Ed reportedly confided to their cook, "Lillian thinks I'm a little dog or something, the way she tries to tell me what to do and what not to do." The cook observed, "They didn't get along for nothin' . . . Ed didn't have much to say at all and Lillian was the whole ruler of everything."[141] Ed's frustration with the situation apparently came to a head in 1937 when he asked Lillian for a divorce. Seemingly, the couple was able to resolve their issues since they continued in their marriage.

However, at about that same time, Lillian's life began to take a turn that she couldn't control. Already coping with limited hearing, she began having problems with her eyes in the late 1930s, when she was about 50 years old. The vision in one eye became blurred, which doctors diagnosed as a cataract. Although they operated, Lillian lost the sight in her eye. When the vision in her other eye began to cloud, an x-ray revealed that there had been a dislocation in Lillian's neck. She thus staunchly blamed her failing eyesight on a fall from a horse that had occurred in 1923--twenty years earlier. Lillian later reported that the doctors allowed that a pinched nerve in her neck might have contributed to her loss of sight.[142] Her mother, while sympathetic, dismissed the doctors' serious diagnosis: "I am very sorry that your eyes trouble you so much, but I do not believe it is nearly as bad as the doctor is trying to make you believe." Apparently Emma based her opinion on her own experience; she had refused an eye operation 12 years earlier, and now she stated, "I am seeing wonderfully well as it is now for a person my age and with only one eye. I cannot get glasses that do me any good but with the magnifying glass I can read anything,

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[140] David H. Wallace, *Furnishings at Faraway: Historic Furnishings Report, Faraway Ranch, Chiricahua National Monument, Arizona* (Harpers Ferry, West Virginia: Harpers Ferry Center, National Park Service, 1986), 14.

[141] Wallace, 23, citing Jessie Martin Washington interview, 1984.

[142] A.T. Steele, "The Lady Boss of Faraway Ranch," *Saturday Evening Post*, March 15, 1958.

and I can see distinctly everything in the house and quite a distance out of doors."[143] Unfortunately for Lillian, her mother's opinion was off target, and by 1942 Lillian became blind at the age of 54. Although her doctors tended to attribute the loss of sight to cataracts, glaucoma or infection, Lillian stuck by her claim that the bucking horse caused her blindness.[144] If she really believed this to be true, or if she told the story simply to create a persona for her ranch guests--or to support her own self-image of being tough--is unknown.

Lillian's family provided emotional support for her during this time. Emma obtained prayers on behalf of Lillian's sight from the Unity School of Christianity, a mail order religious group.[145] When Lee's husband, Hunter, acquired a job in Flagstaff in the spring of 1942, Ed asked Lee to stay at Faraway for four months because Lillian had to leave for eye treatments. Lee later recalled, "Lillian had always refused to leave the ranch, even when they had good help, unless Hunter and I would come stay at the ranch; so we were used to taking over. I stayed on mainly because it was the only thing my father ever asked me to do for him. . . . It was during this time that she lost her sight. . . . It was a very difficult time for all of us."[146]

Over 25 years earlier, a gentleman friend had visited Lillian at the ranch. After his departure, he wrote to her about his impressions: "Every bare rock and tree and anything of nature I saw just looked beautiful to me and I am certainly glad that I was able to see God's handiwork for what it is and <u>you</u> are the one that opened my eyes to that, Lillian. . . . I just seem to keep discovering the most wonderful things all of which the windows were opened to me through you. . . . If nothing else ever comes of my knowing you I hope that it will be some consolation to you to know that you have opened the eyes of one man."[147]

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[143] Emma Erickson to Lillian Riggs, April 2, 1938, FRC, series 1, folder 128-153. Emma had lost the sight in her left eye in 1899. Emma Erickson to Mr. Browne Landone, New York, August 3, 1923, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78.

[144] Southwest Monuments Monthly Report, February 1942, Acc. 1777, WACC; Lillian Riggs to "Classmates and Friends," [1965?], FRC, series 1, box 9. Hildegard said later, "They never really knew the cause," but that "Dr. Collins said it was glaucoma." Hildegard Hutchison, "[Reminiscences]," n.d., FRC, series 4, folder 17.

[145] FRC, series 1, folder 284-287.

[146] Eula Lee Murray Riggs, "Eula Lee Murray Riggs' Account of Ed Riggs Family History," n.d., Acc. 1721, WACC.

[147] Paul H. Vair[?] to Lillian Erickson, December 26, 1916, FRC, series 1, folder 300-304.

Being a woman who enjoyed seeing the beauty in every aspect of nature, blindness struck Lillian hard. "Life seemed hardly worth living," she later recalled. However, Lillian recognized that "my mother and my husband needed me, or I fear I should have lost the courage to carry on. Somehow I did."[148] Soon after she lost her sight, she began writing--with the assistance of a secretary--a romanticized novel based on her childhood. Always one to spin images, Lillian's novel, "Westward into the Sun," presents a happy childhood, charming situations, and delightful stories. Perhaps during this time of crisis, Lillian found comfort in remembering scenes in her mind's eye, and dwelling in another (imagined) time.

In time, however, Lillian determined to continue living her life in the same way, as much as possible. To do so, she had to make some changes. "Readjustment was terribly hard. I tried learning Braille, but my fingers were not sensitive enough. I had done so much rough work in my time." She did, however, learn enough to able to continue playing Scrabble, her favorite game, by using a Braille edition. "I decided I must learn typing and after a while I managed it." She thus was able to continue producing most of her correspondence, and later she typed her diary entries. "I used to be a fast walker. Now I had to learn to walk slowly, and I hated it."[149] Lillian applied for a Seeing Eye dog, but did not acquire one. She inquired about occupational fields open to the blind, and used Talking Books (recorded books available through a Library of Congress program).[150] "I was thankful to be able to continue my riding," she remembered. The blind woman rode horseback by holding onto a guide rope from a companion's saddle. Lillian was very comfortable with her horse "Britches" and often called him her "seeing-eye-horse." She also continued to run the business affairs of the ranch. She instructed the bank to fold money in such a way that she could determine the denomination of bills. When doing business with a person for the first time, she intentionally gave them too much money, to learn if she could trust them.[151]

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[148] Lillian Riggs, "Summary of Westward into the Sun," [ca. April 1960], FRC, series 1, box 9. Emma, who had been widowed, was living at Faraway at the time.

[149] A.T. Steele, "The Lady Boss of Faraway Ranch," *Saturday Evening Post*, March 15, 1958; and "The Pioneer Spirit of Lillian Riggs," August 15, 1982, Acc. 1686, WACC. A master at creating images, although Lillian blamed rough work for her difficulty in learning Braille, she actually had inflammatory rheumatism in her hands, which made her fingers less sensitive. FRC, series 8, folder 8. She enrolled in a correspondence course on Braille, with the Hadlery School for the Blind in 1958, FRC, series 1, folder 119-125.

[150] She applied for a Seeing Eye dog from the Hazel Hurst Foundation for the Blind, Inc. in 1944. FRC, series 8, folder 8.

[151] Leavengood, 14.

In spite of making many valiant attempts to live her life normally, Lillian understood that she had limitations. For instance, she recognized that she could not look after her mother, who had returned to Faraway some time after Neil's death. In the late 1940s, they hired Patricia (Pat) MacDonald to serve as an aid to Emma. By this time, the elderly woman had become hard of hearing, and the sight in her eye diminished. Lillian observed, "This is Mother's home. It will remain so for as long as she lives. She is not as well as she was a few years ago. Then she could see, hear, and enjoy the guests. Now she cannot and does not. They only worry her and confuse her. She is entitled to all the peace, quiet, and services we can give her for the rest of her life. Which may not be long."[152] MacDonald quickly became like a part of the family. Lillian noted, "Pat is perfectly wonderful. And she also helps me and looks after and keeps the house. She does too much, but that is how it is."[153]

Lillian had her new routine well established when her life took another dramatic shift. In 1950, her husband Ed passed away. Ed had been not only her beloved "sweetheart" and spouse of 27 years, but also her business partner and the person who had done much of the work at the ranch. In addition, he had helped her in countless ways after she had lost her sight. His death struck a blow to Lillian. The widow may have felt disbelief, denial, numbness, anger or powerlessness, all common reactions to a spouse's death.

Pat MacDonald valiantly tried to fill Ed's place as much as possible for both Lillian and Emma. She became a companion to Lillian in addition to Emma. Lillian later thought back, "Especially for her great goodness to Mother, I will always love her. She learned to drive our car, so that we did not have to stay at home. She read to us. Indeed, for months before Ed's passing, she read aloud to us and made our evenings happy. To Mother, she was kindness itself. Mother depended upon her and loved her."[154] "She was so good and kind and considerate of Mother for so many years. She was absolutely unselfish. She made the last years of Mother's life happy."[155] Lillian herself took special care of her mother, and Emma especially noted her "beloved daughter . . . who, since I have become a cripple, has given me the most loving and tender care and has done everything in her power to make my life pleasant and harmonious."[156]

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[152] Lillian Riggs to Evelyn Hutchison, August 11, 1947, FRC, series 1, box 9; Lillian Riggs, [1946 or 47], FRC, series 8, folder 26.

[153] Lillian Riggs to Anne and Murray Riggs, March 1, 1950, FRC, series 1, box 9.

[154] Lillian Riggs, [November 1952], FRC, series 8, folder 4-5.

[155] Lillian Riggs to Aunt Henrika and Victoria, March 24, 1956, FRC, series 1, box 9.

[156] Emma S. Erickson, "[Untitled: Will]," n.d., FRC, series 16, folder 4.

In spite of the care she received, Emma's heath deteriorated; she suffered a cerebral hemorrhage and lapsed into a coma. During the weeks that she was in the hospital, Lillian spent most of her time by her mother's side. Lee again provided support for Lillian by leaving her own daughter with the child's paternal grandparents so that Lee could divide her time between the Faraway ranch and the hospital. Only five months after Ed's death, Emma passed away at the age of 96. Her death touched her relatives and her many friends. Neighbors wrote to Lillian, "Your dear mother radiated sweetness, and love and everyone felt her sweetness. Dear Aunt Ida said that your dear Mother always stood as a wonderful example of refinement, because she loved art, poetry, education, and all the wonderful refined things of life."[157] Another correspondent proclaimed that Emma was "one of the outstanding figures of my entire life. I had never met anyone like her before, and, actually there aren't many like her, anywhere. When I think of the courage and patience and determination she displayed throughout her life, it is an inspiration, and I feel that it's actually a feather in my cap to have found and been able to know such a grand lady. . . . [she] made a genuine and most valuable impact on my life and character--added something to it that would have been missing if I had never met her."[158] And Lillian herself observed, "One word at which she scoffed was 'tired.' Many times she must have been so weary. But she would never say so. I was able to keep her from toil for many years. But before that, how rough and callused those dear hands were."[159]

With the loss of a spouse, psychologists expect that while the acute phase of grief can usually last up to two months, the grieving process typically takes at least a year, and usually up to two years. If the survivors allow themselves to grieve, and give their emotional wounds the time and attention that they deserve, then it can be anticipated that they will go through certain stages of grief. Lillian was especially susceptible to unresolved grief since she had been married to Ed for a long time, and had come to rely on him due to her blindness. But, in addition, Lillian had also suffered the loss of her mother. Combined with the challenges that she faced due to being blind and virtually deaf (especially

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[157] Emilia and Aida Berry to Lillian, Hildegard and Ben, December 19, 1950, FRC, series 1, folder 32-39.

[158] [Margaret Smith?] to Lillian Riggs, December 14, 1950, FRC, series 1, folder 258-264.

[159] Lillian Riggs, [November 1952], FRC, series 8, box 26, folder 4-5. Emma's brother, Lillian's uncle Charley, with whom Lillian had lived in Galesburg, had also passed away at age of 88 on December 1, the same month that Emma died. Lillian Riggs, diary, September 14, 1959, FRC, series 2, folder 57.

the feeling of isolation), Lillian could not resolve her grief; she sunk into a depression that lasted for most of nine years.[160]

During the first year of grieving, a survivor can expect to feel despair, apathy, depression, guilt, hopelessness and self-doubt. They may socially isolate themselves and be irritable, and feel a loss of energy. There is evidence that Lillian experienced many of those feelings. "Even now, a year and four months later, [after Ed's death] I can hardly take it," Lillian confided in her diary. "Since then, much sorrow is hidden in my heart." And although she knew that her family and friends had been kind to her, "I strive to carry on the best I may. . . . Peace is only a will of the wisp."[161]

However, most people are able to progress from that point, into a phase in which they begin looking to the future by making positive and realistic plans, returning to normal routines, laughing again, planning more leisure activities, and are less lonely and more involved. While they continue to think about their loved one, it happens less often and with less intensity; the wound heals, and the person changes. Eventually, the typical survivor would no longer be obsessed by loss, and would feel renewed hope and optimism; they would have been able to overcome the strong feelings associated with loss, and reach acceptance. This progress frequently is not sequential and is usually inconsistent; people often find that they feel fine one day and unhappy the next. However, Lillian did not successfully ease into that next phase after a year of grieving. She continued to express feelings of helplessness, hopelessness, dejection, and emptiness. For instance, during the first year of grieving, holidays and special dates are typically particularly painful in a normal grieving process, but after the first year the anniversaries usually become easier each year, while for Lillian they continued to be difficult for many years. She noted in her diary, “Ed was dying in Douglas Hospital four years ago today. Wish I could have gone then, too.” Almost five years after Ed's death, Lillian noted that it was February: “The month of my birthday and wedding. How many more will I see. Not many, I hope. Unless I can manage not to be so lonely and CAN manage to be of more use." The widow spent five Christmases elsewhere (probably at Hildegard's) before she could face spending the holiday at Faraway without Ed and Emma. Once past the event, she did acknowledge, "We had a

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[160] Information on grief and depression from U.S. National Library of Medicine and the National Institutes of Health, Medline Plus, "Depression," <www.nlm.nih.gov/medlineplus/ency/article/003213.htm>; John Hopkins Depression Resource Center, "When Does Grief Become Depression?" <www.hopkinsafter50.com/html/silos/depression/wpARTICLE_grief.html>; Pat Staten, "Stages of Grieving," <http://members.tripod.com/PatStaten/grief.html>; Debra Moore, "The Stages of Grieving," <www.planetpsych.com/zPsychology_101/stages_of_grieving.htm>.

[161] Lillian Riggs, [November 1952], FRC, series 8, folder 4-5.

nice Christmas in spite of my dreading it." Nonetheless, she admitted, "I shed a few tears during the day. Tears of loneliness, futility and hopelessness." At that point, she noted that she had not been keeping up her diary entries, and remembered that a hired helper "used to say that the entries were for posterity. Why they, the posterity, should be interested in the works of the departed, since they have little interest in the living, I do not know. Perhaps [the subsequent generation] may find something here of interest some thirty or forty years hence. Otherwise it is best consigned to the flames."[162]

In 1954, Riggs considered retiring from the ranch and moving to California. But instead of planning to live independently, she thought it would be better to live in a facility. Accordingly, she wrote letters of inquiry to a number of rest homes, retirement homes and sanitariums in California. But Lillian vacillated on her plan, having difficulty making a decision. Some homes replied that they did not have facilities for blind people, while others were encouraging.[163] But by that time Riggs believed she didn't want to live in such a facility: "I'd really rather die first."[164] Her comment was not an indication that she was choosing an independent life, but rather that she hoped that she would die before she had to go to that situation. "What next. I really would like to call it quits. Blind and deaf. What does life hold?" she asked herself dejectedly.[165] When times were difficult, she would reconsider her decision. On one such occasion, she reflected, "That is why a Home seems desirable. Once I get established there, there need be no more change till Death. Sincerely and earnestly, do I pray for that as soon as my work here is done. Not to linger on and on. To me, it seems that that time has about arrived.[166]

During these years, Lillian seemed to lead a double life. In her diary entries she confided about her loss of Ed and Emma and her frustration with her disabilities. But she continued her ranch work, and to the outside world she scorned "any suggestion that she lead a life different from others despite complete blindness and almost complete deafness."[167] She stoutly informed a visitor, "I had to

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[162] Lillian Riggs, diary, June 28, 1954, February 28, 1955, December 26, 1955, FRC, series 2, folder 52-53.

[163] Lillian Riggs, diary, June 20, 1954, FRC, series 2, folder 52; Lillian Riggs to [?], Claremont, California, July 20, 1954, FRC, series 1, box 9; responses came from La Mesa, Tomora, Martinez, South Pasadena, La Jolla and Claremont, FRC, series 1, folders 50-56, 171-176; Braille Institute of America, Inc. to Lillian Riggs, July 7, 1954, FRC, series 1, folder 32-39.

[164] Diary, Lillian Riggs, July 15, 1954, FRC, series 2, folder 52.
[165] Lillian Riggs, diary, July 29, 1954, FRC, series 2, folder 52.

[166] Lillian Riggs, diary, January 2, 1955, FRC, series 2, folder 52.

[167] John Burnham, "[Untitled: On Lillian Riggs]," 31 May 1961, FRC, series 5, folder 9.

laugh a little about you saying your 1953 Buick would be comfortable for me. Had you seen me pounding along in a Chevrolet pick-up over rough roads or none at all, starting at four a.m. yesterday and finishing around seven in the evening you would not be so much concerned about my comfort. But it was very nice of you to think of it and mention it to me. Incidentally, after a twenty-mile truck ride each way, I did about twenty miles on horse back, behind a bunch of cattle that we were moving from one range to another."[168]

Nonetheless, her depression continued to express itself in the form of loneliness, helplessness, frustration and lack of direction. "O why do I have to be sightless in this lovely world? Sometimes it is almost more than I can bear. And then Pat tells me I look horrible--when I do not even feel cross. Why, why, why."[169] The following year her trusted companion Pat decided to leave Faraway. "So I must learn once more to live without someone on whom I have come to depend and whom I love," Lillian disclosed. "It is like losing my eyes all over again."[170] Although Pat continued to help her friend, her absence was felt strongly.[171] On one occasion, Ben had come from his home to help with the cattle for a few days. When he left: "I feel so terribly alone, even though Clara [her helper] is here with me. . . . God knows best. I wish I could read the reasons."[172]

During these difficult years, her hired help--whom she depended on more than a sighted person would--frequently did not live up to her expectations. Lillian had always ruled with an iron hand, but while Ed was alive, he was able to mitigate her autocratic style. In his absence, Lillian continually had trouble keeping good help. But in mid 1956 Riggs finally enjoyed some optimism when she brought on two new hired hands, Adeline (Del) Lemas and Donna Kramer. Lillian held great hopes for them successfully managing the ranch and household chores. A year after hiring them, she even acknowledged, "All of last year, after the girls [Lemas and Kramer] came, went far better than usual since Mother and Ed passed on."[173] But the optimism appeared only sporadically, the situation with the women soured, and the optimism faded away.[174]

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[168] Lillian Riggs to Wayne T. Walbridge, August 25, 1954, FRC, series 1, box 9.

[169] Lillian Riggs, diary, August 19, 1954, FRC, series 2, folder 52.

[170] Lillian Riggs, diary, January 2, 1955, January 18, 1955, FRC, series 2, folder 52-53.

[171] Lillian Riggs, diary, February 4, 1955, FRC, series 2, folder 53.

[172] Lillian Riggs, diary, November 3, 1955, FRC, series 2, folder 53.

[173] Lillian Riggs, diary, March 23, 1957, FRC, series 2, folder 55.

[174] The two women made interesting hired hands. Lillian observed, "It is purely personal and none of my business that Del should not take her husband's name

It was during that time that a journalist from the *Saturday Evening Post* stayed at the ranch for several days, to write a story about Riggs, the blind woman who ran a cattle ranch. Anticipating his visit, Lillian revealed, “I am not excited as Del and Donna are. . . . I only hope the article will be good. Really good. It may be the turning point for me. And believe me, the long lane I have been travelling for seven lonely years has been pretty bumpy.”[175] The article ultimately appeared in the magazine a year later and put a spin on her story that must have suited Lillian. It touted how independent Riggs was, how she was in control of everything, and how troubles rolled off her back; it dubbed her the "Lady Boss" of Faraway. Her only troubles, according to the article, related to the drought that resulted in poor grass for the cattle. The author stated, “Lillian was certainly a unique person and she ran that ranch, make no mistake about it, and she knew what was going on at all times. . . . I found it hard to believe she could not see, so at home was she in these surroundings.[176] The upbeat and even inspirational tone of the article is ironic given that during the time the reporter visited, Riggs was dejected about the situation with Lemas and Kramer (and hired helpers in general), felt helpless in managing the ranch, and was depressed about her situation in general.

An extra twist of irony is revealed when we look at a particular day during the reporter's visit. Lemas and Kramer had gone to the rodeo for the day; perhaps the reporter joined them since he was not at the ranch. Riggs spent the day at home, alone. Kramer, the cook, had not left anything on hand for Riggs to eat. “Being hungry at noon, was rather discouraged," Lillian noted. The situation stymied the blind woman, since she wasn't confident in her ability to maneuver around the kitchen preparing food. Finally, she was able to put together hot chocolate with bread and butter: "Did not try to make toast.” For those with sight, for those watching Riggs ride the range, making toast may seem a simple task, but for Lillian in her sightless world, the feat proved unattainable. That evening, she faced the same problem: “At six, no one was home. I did not know what to fix for supper.” She delayed for a while. Again, the challenge

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nor give his father’s name to her child. That Donna should ‘forgetting all others should cleave to Del—it would seem ‘till death do them part.’” Lillian Riggs, diary, September 16, 1958, FRC, series 2, folder 56. Lillian's allusion is to the statement found several places in the Bible, "Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife: and they shall be one flesh." Genesis 2:24. Marriage ceremonies traditionally reference the concept: ". . . for better or for worse, and to cleave only to her so long as you both shall live?" For more information on the couple see the chapter on ranching.

[175] Lillian Riggs, diary, March 23, 1957, FRC, series 2, folder 55.

[176] A.T. Steele, "The Lady Boss of Faraway Ranch," *Saturday Evening Post*, March 15, 1958, 132.

brought her to a standstill. Finally, Ben arrived and made dinner.[177] It is particularly poignant to imagine Lillian on that day, sitting in the kitchen, by herself, in the dark, hungry, helpless in the face of trying to feed herself.

Her depression continued, and loneliness hounded her: "Alone. Alone. How I hate these evenings all alone in the house. Why should I have to endure it?" [178] Yet in a seemingly contradictory twist, in spite of feeling lonely, she also felt resentment about being dependent on others. "If only I could take Britches [her horse] and go alone out into the hills where I have not been for years and years--it might make life worth living again. But I cannot go anywhere alone any more."[179] She did go to visit Hildegard, but travel was difficult for her. One year, when trying to decide to take a train or plane to get home from her sister's, she expressed her frustration, "There really is no place on earth for a blind person. Or if there is, where is it?"[180]

Eventually, by the late 1950s, Riggs began seeing some hope to her situation. One highlight was her trip to Albuquerque to attend Oral Roberts' evangelistic meetings. She observed, "I did not receive complete healing though that may come later. My hearing is markedly improved and so is my whole outlook. But it is so hard to study and believe all alone when I cannot read. . . All meetings, except the last, which was given over to mass healings, were both soul winning and healing. Both succeeded. Many converts every night and many, many healed. If I could go again and again, I would receive both sight and hearing. I KNOW. As it is, our financial betterment began at the time of the meetings. Our rains, too. Oral Roberts believes that God intends us to be prosperous and well."[181]

But her emotional improvement came sporadically. In the ninth year after Ed's and Emma's deaths, her mood was healthier, but Lillian still questioned her situation: "How I survived the loss of all dearest to me in six short months, God alone knows—and why."[182] However, that year at Thanksgiving, her diary entry, though mixed, did contain a ray of hope: "I have much to be thankful for--but O for sight and hearing. To see and talk to little children! To be something other than a dog on a leash." Ultimately, Lillian summed up 1959 as "One of the best years I have had, perhaps, since Ed and Mother went away. May 1960 be even

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[177] Lillian Riggs, diary, March 30, 1957, FRC, series 2, folder 55.

[178] Lillian Riggs, diary, May [20?], 1957, FRC, series 2, folder 55.

[179] Lillian Riggs, diary, September 22, 1958, FRC, series 2, folder 56.

[180] Lillian Riggs, diary, January 18, 1955, FRC, series 2, folder 53.

[181] Lillian Riggs, diary, March 23, 1957, FRC, series 2, folder 55.

[182] Lillian Riggs, diary, September 14, 1959, FRC, series 2, folder 57.

better." For her to recognize that the previous year had been an improvement, and to admit to hope more from the next year indicates that Lillian finally was emerging from her long depression.[183]

Lillian's newfound optimism for 1960 may have been sparked by an event the previous autumn. One day in November, 1959, when Riggs was 71 years old, she received something special in the mail. "A surprise letter from Andy. J.P. Anderson. He so wants to come back to Faraway, forever, so he says. Wish I were clairvoyant. Could he be the answer to my final adjustment to life? I doubt it."[184] Riggs was indeed being clairvoyant when she speculated that Anderson could be "the answer."

Andy Anderson had worked briefly for Ed and Lillian in the 1940s; he rejoined Lillian's staff in March 1960. Anderson performed general outdoor work, as well as helping inside if it was needed. Only a few months after hiring Andy, Lillian enjoyed a vacation to Hawaii with Hildegard.[185] Anderson wrote to Riggs--daily--while she was on her trip, describing his standard ranch work. He also revealed that he had taken care of some additional tasks: he cleared the family grave of weeds and bought a small bouquet in town for Emma's birthday, which he put on her grave; he also arranged for flowers for all the graves on Memorial Day. Personal, thoughtful actions like this surely pleased Lillian.[186]

Riggs came to depend on Anderson, and they enjoyed each other's company. Finally, she had found a person who worked as she liked, whom she could trust, and whose company she enjoyed. Anderson's reciprocal feelings seemed to be similar. References about each other in the correspondence between the pair, and in Lillian's diary and correspondence grew increasingly fond and personal. While she vacationed in Hawaii, (less than three months after Anderson had started work), he affectionately teased Riggs, "Must say I am looking forward to June 21 when the 'Ram-Rod' will be back on the job and things will be perking up again." In 1964, Riggs wrote to Anderson while visiting Hildegard, "I miss you very much. Every so often I catch myself thinking, 'Andy will do that.' Only to remember you will not be in soon and are half a thousand miles away." Two years later, she again spent Christmas with Hildegard, and wrote to Andy, "You see by this that I am thinking of you--and missing you. Since yesterday--Monday--was a holiday there will be no letter from you till Thursday, if then.

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[183] Lillian Riggs, diary, November 25, 1959, January 20, 1960, FRC, series 2, folder 57-58.

[184] Lillian Riggs, diary, November 20, 1959, FRC, series 2, folder 57.

[185] They visited Hildegard's daughter, Emajoy, whose husband Bob Barrel was serving there as an interpreter for the National Park Service.

[186] Andy Anderson to Lillian Riggs, May-June, 1960. FRC, series 1, folders 17-20.

You may call tonight. . . . I miss you, and need you and want you."[187] They continued their close relationship for many years.

Over the years, Lillian's hearing had periodically benefited from medical advances. In the mid 1950s she noted that her deafness had been getting worse for some time. So on Hildegard's recommendation, Lillian flew to San Francisco to consult with Dr. Robert Chamberlain McNaught, whom Hildegard had heard had performed successful ear operations that often restored hearing. McNaught attributed Lillian's hearing loss to otosclerosis, which is the abnormal growth of bone of the middle ear. Although the doctor wasn't sure that an operation would help, she was anxious to proceed with it. In January 1956, he performed the first operation, which Riggs explained “is a new one and very few know how to perform it. It was not a serious operation at all." The second operation, a week later, was more severe. To Lillian's delight, they "helped me greatly." However, her family, friends and doctor were "quite disappointed" that Lillian's condition did not improve more. Riggs, for once, was more optimistic: "I know the results are not perfect . . . But it was so much better than the noisy incoherent world I had been living in." "I am glad for every little bit of additional hearing I have received. The doctor is a very wonderful man.”[188]

Five years later, McNaught recommended that he operate on Riggs using a new technique, considered no more serious than the type of operation that she'd previously had. He had attended a symposium on otosclerosis, and he thought there was a reasonable chance that more could be done for Riggs.[189] Lillian readily agreed, and in February 1961, she traveled to San Francisco for the operation.[190] Soon after the procedure, she reported, "It really has helped. I

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[187] Andy Anderson to Lillian Riggs, May 22, 1960, FRC, series 1, folder 17-20; Lillian Riggs to Andy Anderson, December 29, 1964, FRC, series 1, older 243-253; and Lillian Riggs to Andy Anderson, December 28, 1966, FRC, series 1, folder 243-253.

[188] Lillian Riggs, diary, March 15, 1956, FRC, series 2, folder 54; and Lillian Riggs to Aunt Henrika and Victoria, March 24, 1956, FRC, series 1, box 9.

[189] Dr. Robert Chamberlain McNaught to Lillian Riggs, November 14, 1960, FRC, series 8, folder 55.

[190] McNaught “replaced a bone in the middle ear with a plastice." Lillian believed that the stapes was the bone that was replaced, which is consistent with treatment for otosclerosis. Lillian Riggs, diary, May 26, 1961, FRC, series 2, folder 59. The stapes is one of the three bones in the middle ear; it transmits sound to the inner ear. In otosclerosis it becomes fixed and does not transmit sound as efficiently. One treatment involves removing a portion of this bone and placing a prosthesis to transmit the sound. The disease is frequently found in young women, as Lillian was when she first recognized her hearing problem. Otosclerosis was once very common, but with fluoridation of drinking water the

cannot discard my hearing aids but do hear so much better. It is like getting a new lease on life to be able to hear as much better as I do." Anderson told her that the $460 for the operation was "the best money I ever spent." However, the improvement seemed to be inconsistent. "It helped tremendously at first. Now, three months later, the help is doubtful. Some days it is much better. At other times my hearing is very weak. I still use the hearing aid. Andy says the improvement is there, but I am not sure except at times. And when and if my hearing finally goes, what then?"[191] And, indeed, her hearing again deteriorated. By the late 1960s Riggs described herself as being "very deaf." Based on information in her letters, Dr. McNaught believed that her nerve had deteriorated, and that nothing could be done to improve the situation. She wore the best hearing aid that she could find, which helped, but did not give her good hearing. She reported that the condition was both very disheartening and annoying to her and to her associates.[192]

Around that time Anderson left Faraway suddenly, due to some financial and legal matters, and the prospect was that he wouldn't return. He wrote to Lillian, "You will never know how I miss you. Through our close work together you had just become a part of my life, and it seems every day I am reminded of this fact . . . I am grateful to you for at least seven wonderful years. It sure would be nice to just sit down again just one evening and visit with you."[193]

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incidence of the disease has been dramatically reduced. Kevin Kavanagh, MD, FACS, "Ear Nose & Throat-U.S.A.," <www.entusa.com/stapedectomy.htm>. It is interesting to note that the public water supply of the city of Galesburg, Illinois, where Lillian lived prior to becoming deaf, contained naturally occurring fluoride at 2.2 ppm., notably higher than usual. American Dental Association, "Fluoride and Fluoridation," <www.ada.org/public/topics/fluoride/facts-benefit.html>.

[191] Lillian Riggs, diary, March 9, 1961, May 26, 1961, FRC, series 2, folder 59.

[192] Robert C. McNaught, M.D. to Lillian Riggs, May 12, 1969, FRC, series 1, folder 184-191. "Some voices come to me clearly. Others do not. . . .Some people think that loud speaking is the answer. It is not. It is only confusing. It is necessary that the person speaking come close and raise the voice somewhat. Not too loud and not too fast. Enunciation must be clear." Lillian Riggs to Ida Mae Campbell, Frederica, Delaware, [June 1969], FRC, series 8, folder 26. The diagnosis of nerve damage is consistent with otosclerosis; the disease can involve abnormal new bony growth in the inner ear, which causes damage to the hearing nerve. It is not unusual to have otosclerosis involving both the stapes bone and the inner ear, resulting in both a conductive hearing loss and a nerve hearing loss. Midwest Ear Institute, "Otosclerosis," <www.midwestear.com/educatq.htm>.

[193] Andy Anderson to Lillian Riggs, May 5, 1967. What is the series and folder number??

But he did, indeed, return to Lillian's side; this must have been a great relief to the blind woman, since Anderson had become indispensable to her: "To some extent I have gotten around my lack of sight with the help of Andy and my other understanding friends. Andy, Mr. Anderson, has been with me for so long [ten years at that point] that his help is invaluable. . . . Andy and I have done everything by ourselves. We plan the meals together. I do some of the preparations and he does the stove work. Friends say I see with my fingers. As fingers and stoves do not always work well together Andy must do a lot of the actual cooking. He's most excellent and willing. He does considerable of the cleaning, as I cannot see all that needs to be done. I make beds, do some cleaning and wash dishes. But I am slow and this is most nerve wracking," she observed.[194]

Her notes to Anderson became more personal over time, revealing that their relationship became closer. In a birthday note she wrote: "You must know, Andy Dear, how very much you mean and have meant to me for the past eleven years. You know also, I believe, how much I would like to give you something on your birthday to remember me by when I am no longer with you. You tell me that I mean much to you. It comforts me when things go wrong, to know that you do care. . . . And please, dear, remember that my love goes with [the gift]."[195] A short while later, she wrote, "I want to thank you for the countless things you have done for me without stint. For the kind man that you are--one of the kindest that God has ever made--I wish for you every happiness that the world can bestow upon you, and that His richest blessings may go with you always. I love you and pray that you may have a good life and a happy one."[196] Their loving relationship was apparent to others as well. A friend had tried to persuade Lillian to marry Anderson. And Hildegard asked Lillian and Andy if they were already married. The couple scoffed at the idea, but Hildegard still wondered if they were telling the truth.[197]

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[194] "Since I do not see I must have things where I know exactly where they are. . . . I must be able to find things in the dark, as my mother used to say." Lillian Riggs to Ida Mae Campbell, Frederica, Delaware, [June 1969], FRC, series 8, box 27, folder 26.

[195] Lillian Riggs to Andy Anderson, [1971?], FRC, Series 1, box 9, folder 243-253.

[196] Lillian Riggs to Andy Anderson, December 17, 1972, FRC, Series 1, folder 243-253.

[197] Hildegard Hutchison to Ben and Ethel Erickson, October 21, 1994 [1974?], FRC, series 1, folder 128-153. "I may not live to find out if you are married to Lillian or not. I never have known why the secrecy." Hildegard Hutchison to Andy Anderson, August 9, 1976, FRC, series 1, folder 128-153.

In 1970, when she was 82, Riggs finally closed the remnants of her guest ranch, but she continued to maintain management of her cattle operation. "Though not a rancher originally, Andy helps me and we do most of the work of looking after our stock and water. We have help with branding, etc." A friend noted, "You were mistaken if you ever tried to tell her about the grass [on the range]. She knew what it looked like because she got down on her hands and knees and felt it, and she would tell you whether it was ample cow feed or not."[198] An observer noted that she knew each individual cow. "At shipping time, when each cow is run into the chute, she personally feels over the body and 'mouths' it to determine the condition of the teeth and age of the animal. She makes the final decision on which animals to keep and which to sell.[199]

In addition to still enjoying riding her horse on roundups, in her early 80s Riggs still performed household duties. A visitor in 1971 was impressed that Riggs made the coffee, brought it out on a serving tray, gave each of the guest a cup, and took her place at the head of the table. Riggs also proudly explained, "I can make my bed, sweep the floors, iron my own clothes, and I can get a bucket of water from the well near the kitchen door." She also enjoyed attending the Cowbelles' meetings, where she chatted with longtime residents. She asked her visitor if he "thought it was a beautiful drive up the canyon from her house; she said she could see it each day from memories."[200]

Besides staying physically active, "She kept herself well informed through the difficult task of having everything read to her. She had a keen mind and was

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[198] Sally Klump, "A Tribute to Lillian Riggs," newspaper title not indicated, [1977], Acc. 1726, Miscellaneous Faraway Information, WACC.

[199] John Burnham, "[Untitled: On Lillian Riggs]," 31 May 1961, FRC, series 5, folder 9.

[200] Ervin Bond, *Cochise County, Arizona: Past and Present* (Douglas, Arizona: Ervin Bond, 1982), 46. In 1939, fourteen cattlemen's wives met at the Cowan Ranch in Douglas, Arizona, with the idea of forming an organization for women associated with the beef industry. "The stated purpose of this group was purely a social one. The women wanted to build friendships and simply have a place to talk with other women with common experiences." The group named itself The Cowbelles; in 1947, the Arizona State Cowbelles was officially formed. Despite the stated purpose, The Cowbelles grew to be a bigger, more influential group than ever envisioned. In 1952, the organization became national with the formation of the American National CowBelles. What began as a social circle, developed into a political, economic, and active group of goal-orientated women. Jessica Nierad, "Making a Living & Building a Life: Ranchwomen in Early Arizona History," <www.u.arizona.edu/ic/mcbride/ws200/nier-hist.htm>; and Texas CattleWomen, "History Of The Cattlewomen's Organization," <www.texascattlewomen.org/procedurespage4.htm>.

highly articulate, and she carried on extensive correspondence."[201] A friend said of her, "Lillian Riggs was a timeless person. She was fearless, independent, and stubborn. And what an asset that trait can be to someone with her handicaps. She may have looked small and frail, but she was steel. There were times when some might have thought her demanding, but she never expected more of others than she did of herself."[202]

But this indomitable woman was not immortal; Lillian suffered a heart attack that left her incapacitated. Her remaining years were spent in the hospital or a nursing home, until her death at the age of 89, on April 26, 1977.[203] The family allowed Anderson to stay on at Faraway as a caretaker. But Lillian's beloved Andy died suddenly of a massive hemorrhage only eight months later, on Christmas Eve.[204]

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[201] Richard Y. Murray, "Lady Boss of Faraway Ranch," newspaper title not indicated, [1977], Acc. # 1726, Miscellaneous Faraway Information, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson.

[202] Sally Klump, "A Tribute to Lillian Riggs," newspaper title not indicated, [1977], Acc. 1726, Miscellaneous Faraway Information, WACC.

[203] Leavengood, 15.

[204] Wallace, 40.

TOURISM AND GUEST RANCHING

"The old West is almost gone. Now is the time to see it--not from a train window; not, if you can help it, from an automobile, but afoot or on horseback, leisurely, thoroughly."

Mary Roberts Rinehart, 1916

BACKGROUND: TOURISM IN THE WEST

For several decades, Faraway Ranch--a guest ranch--catered to tourists. They came to relax, have fun and experience a taste of the Old West. Later, under National Park Service ownership, the ranch has become a place for present-day tourists to view where yesterday's tourists vacationed. An irony to be sure --- tourists viewing a non-functioning facility to try to understand why it was a vacation destination.

Faraway Ranch did not pop into existence in a vacuum. It arose during a time of developing tourism in the West, and was a product of its time and place. However, even tourism the West in the 1910s did not suddenly emerge, for it had its own precedents. In order to understand Faraway Ranch, it is helpful to understand the history of tourism in the West, and indeed the nature of tourism itself.

Anthropologist Victor Turner suggested, "tourism falls within a spectrum of human activities, present in almost all cultures, which consist of ritualized encounters with the 'Other.'"[1] Turner argued that these deliberate encounters allow individuals to experience what it means to be of "this place" and "these people." The "Other" in the ritual might be nature, or people or even the past. "Within a modern, industrialized Euro-American market economy, we call these encounters 'tourism.'"[2]

Tourism can also be viewed as a "social ritual that renews meaning and person through a structured, periodic break from everyday life."[3] "Like other rituals, tourism involves a 'structured break from ordinary reality,' a movement away from

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[1] Susan Rhoades Neel, "Tourism and the American West: New Departures," *Pacific Northwest Review* 65, no. 4 (November 1996): 521.

[2] Neel, 522.

[3] David M. Hummon, "Tourist Worlds: Tourist Advertising, Ritual, and American Culture," *Sociological Quarterly* 29, no. 2 (1988): 179.

the world of home, work, and compulsory activity to an 'extraordinary world' away from home where leisure and voluntary activity are the stuff of experience."[4]

Tourism on a sizable scale can only be sustained if four preconditions are met:

- "First, tourism requires the existence of a population with a combination of disposable income and leisure time.
- Second, an adequate transportation system must be in place.
- Third, travelers must be assured that upon reaching their destinations they can find relatively safe and comfortable accommodations.
- Fourth, enough information must be available to excite imagination and encourage people to leave home for sites unknown."[5]

These four preconditions are key to understanding the development--and the impact--of tourism in the West; they will be referred to repeatedly in this text. "By the late 1820s these requirements had been met in the United States, at least at a very basic level, and Americans as well as visitors from foreign countries set out in search of adventure, education, and amusement."[6] But the preconditions did not exist in the region that would become the western U.S., and would not for decades to come.

TOURISM IN THE WEST: PRE-1870s

"First, tourism requires . . . disposable income and leisure time."
The distribution of wealth in the United State during the nineteenth century limited the availability of disposable income and leisure time to a selected elite class. While this class did travel for pleasure, the elite generally chose to travel to Europe and other "civilized" areas where lavish resorts catered to their desires. Members of other economic classes did not tend to travel, due to a lack of disposable income and leisure time.

"Second, an adequate transportation system must be in place":
Travel in the West, until the 1870s, was difficult, and so tourism in the West was extremely limited. Transportation was limited to rather simple and physically trying modes, such as stages, horseback and walking. People who did travel to the region for pleasure were primarily hardy individuals who wished to experience an adventure, and frequently were hunters or sportsmen.

"Third, travelers must be assured that upon reaching their destinations they can find relatively safe and comfortable accommodations":

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[4] Hummon, 181.

[5] Patricia Mooney-Melvin, "Harnessing the Romance of the Past: Preservation, Tourism, and History; Historic Sites as Tourist Attractions," *The Public Historian* 13, no. 2 (Spring 1991): 36.

[6] Mooney-Melvin, 36.

Fear of the unknown conditions of the West deterred many travelers. Concerns about Indian violence comprised a major reason for not choosing the West as a pleasure destination. In addition, limited services awaited the traveler if they did travel to the West. Travelers also perceived strange landscapes, inhospitable climate, a lack of familiar foods, and a generally rugged lifestyle as blocks to a desirable touring experience.

"Fourth, enough information must be available to excite imagination and encourage people to leave home for sites unknown":
Many early visitors to the West learned to "scorn the land and its human heritage. It was the epitome of ugliness and emptiness."[7] This notion had to be swept aside by promoters of the region, as they tried to convince Easterners that the West was just as modern, safe and comfortable as the East. They stressed the economic advantages of the new lands, and emphasized the financial rewards of living and investing in the West. However, in general, the promoters did not try to convince *tourists* to come to the West--they needed settlers and investors, not tourists. As a result, there was a dearth of information available to wealthy Easterners that would convince them that the West would be a desirable tourist destination.

TOURISM IN THE WEST: CA 1870 – 1890s

"First, tourism requires . . . disposable income and leisure time":
In the 1870s and 80s, the touring public continued to consist primarily of a small elite class. These affluent tourists could afford to be absent from their business and home concerns during the month or more that they traveled; in addition, they could afford the sumptuous accommodations that became available to them during the era.[8] European travel continued to exceed the U.S., especially for women. "But for men, or rather for sportsmen," wrote an English visitor, "America offers an unrivalled field." While hunters and sportsmen had traveled through the West in the era before the railroad, the new transportation mode provided more opportunities for them to explore the region.[9]

Another category of traveler came to the West in the era: those seeking health. The clean dry air of the West attracted the tubercular, and mineral springs attracted others with promises of well being at their sites.[10] Sufferers who could afford it

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[7] Earl Pomeroy, *In Search of the Golden West: The Tourist in Western America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957), 158.

[8] Marguerite S. Shaffer, "'See America First': Re-Envisioning Nation and Region through Western Tourism," *Pacific Northwest Review* 65, no. 4 (November 1996): 569.

[9] Pomeroy, 73.

[10] Pomeroy, 118.

came to the resorts that sprang up around resources deemed to be the source of good health.

"Second, an adequate transportation system must be in place":
Railroad companies were the keystones that enabled tourism to truly begin in the West. During the era, four major railroad lines advanced across the West, providing improved access to the region. Travel became more reasonable in time, cost and in creature comfort. However, since costs were still high, and distribution of wealth restricted, the railroads catered to the upper class, which easily paid for the elegance of Pullman palace cars.[11]

"Third, . . . relatively safe and comfortable accommodations:"
The rail companies did not limit their influence simply to providing transportation. They also realized that travelers must have comfortable accommodations at their destinations, since the tourist of this era generally wanted the West to provide accommodations and transportation that conformed closely to those of the East. Thus the railroad companies built lavish resorts at desirable locations, often using architectural styles patterned after European or eastern--rather than western--models. Hence, leisure travel became more comfortable in the West.[12]

In Arizona, promoters recognized that many aspects of its reputation--including its wild nature, strange landscape, exotic character, and desert environment--frightened or repelled potential visitors. From the early 1870s, they sought to encourage visitors to Arizona by working to "undermine existing fear-soaked stereotypes, particularly of Indian violence." They assured Easterners that they could rely on Arizona being a safe and familiar place.[13]

"Fourth, enough information must be available to excite imagination and encourage people to leave home for sites unknown":
This fourth necessary precondition was critical to the success of nascent tourism in the West, and once again, the railroad companies played a large role. Realizing that there was a need for destinations that tourists would want to visit, railroad companies took it upon themselves to extensively publicize "the wonders of the Western landscape."[14] The companies created numerous travel guides and packaged tours to educate Americans, promote travel in the West, and thus

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[11] Shaffer, 569.

[12] Anne F. Hyde, "Tourist Travel," in *The New Encyclopedia of the American West*, ed. Howard R. Lamar (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 1118.

[13] Marienka J. Sokol, "From Wasteland to Oasis: Promotional Images of Arizona, 1870-1912," *Journal of Arizona History* 34, no. 4 (Winter 1993): 358, 387.

[14] William Cronon, "Landscapes of Abundance and Scarcity," in *The Oxford History of the American West*, Clyde A. Milner II, Carol A. O'Connor, and Martha A. Sandweiss, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 629.

encourage railroad passenger traffic. The Northern Pacific Railroad inaugurated its 'Wonderland' series in 1883, lauding the breathtaking scenery of Yellowstone National Park and other attractions; and the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad advertised itself as the 'Scenic Line of America' with its 'Around the Circle' tours. The Southern Pacific Railroad, which traversed Arizona, launched a promotional campaign through its publication of *Sunset* magazine.[15]

The advertisements that the railroads began are classic examples of tourist advertising; the format continues to the present time throughout the travel industry. Assuming that tourism is a ritual of personal renewal through a break from everyday life, tourist advertising can then be viewed as the vehicle that "symbolically transforms ordinary places and times into extraordinary tourist worlds." Tourist advertising presents "tourist worlds as places of plentitude, nature, leisure, history, and paradise, thus transcending the earnest reality of urban, everyday life."[16] The residents are often presented as "interesting, unusual, yet typical people--the kind who help you get to know their" place better. These places, "rich in history, are places for a journey into the past, discovering the romance of a special moment when times were better."[17] These interpretations of places are critical since they enable the traveler to perceive the meaning of the place. As historian Hal Rothman has noted, "Without a vision of its cultural meaning . . . the Grand Canyon would remain no more than a remote geologic oddity."[18]

Resident boosters also promoted Arizona during this era, although instead of promoting tourism, they tended to emphasize the territory as a place in which to invest or reside. They stressed the region's "agricultural and business potential, as well as its similarities to other, more 'civilized' regions of the United States." They constructed an image of "a place where opportunity and prosperity--and even a little adventure--awaited all who came."[19]

TOURISM IN THE WEST: 1890 - 1904

This era marked a significant shift in tourism in the West: travelers changed, transportation improved, the message being delivered about the West shifted, and the West changed in the process. It was during this era that tourism finally

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[15] Shaffer, 564.

[16] Hummon, 179.

[17] Hummon, 200.

[18] Hal K. Rothman, "Selling the Meaning of Place: Entrepreneurship, Tourism, and Community Transformation in the Twentieth-Century American West," *Pacific Northwest Review* 65, no. 4 (November 1996): 526.

[19] Sokol, 358, 387.

occurred in such substantial size that concerns about the preconditions for tourism subsided; preconditions for tourism became less relevant in subsequent eras.

"First, . . . disposable income and leisure time":
In the 1890s, tourism in the West began shifting from the wealthy or influential few to more numerous groups. Conventions and exhibitions became important in the 1890s, and these activities drew greater numbers of visitors, many of whom were not of the elite class. As the nineteenth century closed, tourism grew closer to a mass phenomenon, as people came to have more income and more leisure time; even so, the elite still dominated the activity. The new travelers also demonstrated an enjoyment of outdoor activities.[20]

In addition, unhealthy travelers became fewer in number as "chambers of commerce were solicitously seconding the advice of physicians who warned against undertaking the trials of a journey westward when seriously ill." However, mineral springs were still popular sites for health seekers.[21]

"Second, an adequate transportation system":
Western scenery became more accessible in the 1890s, with the construction of scenic railroad lines, shortlines, and branches. These lines branched out from the main lines, forming a network of veins across the West. Railroad travel became more comfortable for more people, as well. During this time the railroads utilized an improved tourist Pullman sleeping car, "symbol of a new era in tourism" because it was neither luxurious, nor exclusive.[22]

Railroad rates also improved during this period, as a result of rate wars in 1886-87. When the prices dropped for the year, the railroads drew "settlers, speculators, and adventurers"--not tourists exactly, but travelers nonetheless. As a result, the railroads began discovering the profitability of selling Western travel on a large scale.[23]

"Third, . . . relatively safe and comfortable accommodations:"
By the 1890s, the West became "less formidable to American eyes," because the region "had changed with the rest of the nation and because the eyes that looked at it had changed. . . the West was no longer physically dangerous, nor was it psychologically so disturbing as it had been; it was on its way to becoming civilized enough so that Westerners need not insist on the point."[24]

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[20] Mooney-Melvin, 36; and Pomeroy, 136, 139, 145.

[21] Pomeroy, 119.

[22] Shaffer, 569; and Pomeroy, 123.

[23] Pomeroy, 122.

[24] Pomeroy, 139.

"Fourth, enough information must be available to excite imagination and encourage people to leave home for sites unknown":
The most dramatic aspect regarding the marketing of the West in this era involved the changing attitudes towards the region's history and its natural scenery. By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the nation became "more self-assured, less conscious of inferiority to the Old World."[25] Hence, Americans attempted to define "a cultural heritage for themselves apart from the European legacy that they had long revered and sought to emulate."[26] Tourism of the era was motivated not only as a diversion "but also more importantly by a need 'to define America as a place' and 'take pride in its special features.'"[27] This heritage combined both the unique human history and the spectacular natural wonders of the West.

Nowhere was this shift more apparent than in the Southwest. While the desert climate and aesthetics had been dismissed previously, now Easterners--and even Europeans--discovered that the region possessed "the most authentic claim to aesthetic merit in all of the United States."[28] They tried to justify their earlier misconceptions regarding the desert's bad reputation, by claiming it was "'chiefly founded upon the hasty observations and reports of dusty transcontinental travelers, car-weary for three or four days, the edge of their interest quite blunted with longing for the green wonders and soft sunshine of California.'"[29]

Indeed, a major shift occurred in which the characteristics of Arizona that had previously been "ignored or derided" now became the center of their promotional efforts. Image-makers--including railroads, commercial clubs, chambers of commerce, hotels, and touring businesses--spotlighted Arizona's unique qualities, rather than downplaying them as had previously been done. Promoters praised the territory's "exotic climate, adventurous lifestyle, natural landscape, and even its Native American population." So successful were promoters in their efforts that, "ironically, by the early 1900s, visitors traveled west to see for themselves the very things that had once frightened or repelled them."[30] Indeed, Americans developed but "a sentimental attachment to the remnants of a cruder West that persisted."

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[25] Pomeroy, 139.

[26] Rothman, 526

[27] Mooney-Melvin, 37 citing Sears, 4-5, 211-13.

[28] Pomeroy, 159.

[29] Pomeroy, 161-162 citing Ray Stannard Baker, "The Great Southwest," *Century Magazine* 64 (May-June 1902).

[30] Sokol, 358.

As Americans became more urbanized and modernized, they "groped for links to the past."[31]

However, this sweeping trend towards interest in the heritage of the West brought along some problems. In an effort to make the West all the more appealing, liberties were taken with the facts, and images were embellished. Dime novels, Wild West shows, and other forms of popular culture presented exaggerated versions of life in the West. "The Western resident himself . . . showed the Easterner what he wanted the Easterner to see as well as what the Easterner himself wanted to see, and often the two images were not much different." The cowboy became one icon in the new imagery. Introduced to the populace through writings such as Owen Wister's *The Virginian,* the cowboy of popular fiction personified "the rising mood of resistance to engulfing civilization." Before long, "a maze of mythology" developed that made the frontier seem "wilder than it was when it was wildest. The legend of nineteenth-century Western barbarism and violence may have been in large part the work of twentieth-century promoters and escapists."[32]

In a classic example of life imitating art, the West has been shaped by tourism. Within tourism, "cultural, social, economic, and environmental forces [are] at work in transforming the West. . . .Tourism has long been important to the western economy, but 'equally significantly' it has been central to the reshaping of western culture."[33] For the tourist "never simply tours through the West; he changes the West when he looks at it, . . . because Westerners change the West into what they think he wants it to be, or, with less commercial intent, even change themselves into what they think he is."[34]

TOURISM IN THE WEST: 1905-1909, SEE AMERICA FIRST

Although great strides had been made regarding tourism around the turn of the century, there were still improvements to be made. It wasn't until 1901 that a spur line was completed to the rim of the Grand Canyon; the El Tovar Hotel there wasn't completed until another four years had passed. In 1905, access to scenic national parks such as Yellowstone and Yosemite remained difficult. Even with the new developments, western travel remained expensive. Touring Europe and frequenting eastern resorts continued to be more accessible and less demanding than travel in the West. A periodical at the time noted these conditions when it stated that travel in America was "'costly and takes strength of purpose.'" The editorial also observed that it was "very easy for the average tourist to travel in Europe and 'rather difficult

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[31] Pomeroy, 109.

[32] Pomeroy, 72, 109, 71.

[33] Neel, 517.

[34] Pomeroy, vii.

to travel in our own West.'" In sum, the West "offered little to the average tourist unless he was an avid hunter or had some business prospect to occupy his time and attention."[35] Many American tourists agreed, and continued to make Europe the destination of their travels.

In 1905, Fisher Sanford Harris, the manager of a luxury hotel in Salt Lake City, conceived of an idea to counter that trend by drawing tourists to the West. He rallied together political and civic leaders to cooperatively promote travel to the West for the benefit of the nation. Their slogan "See America First" identified the "'gigantic advertising scheme for the Western country,'" which became a massive effort in the West. Between 1905 and 1909, the campaign advertised "'the beauties and resources of the western states through a campaign of education'"[36]

The movement was two-pronged: economic and educational. Backers stressed that the country was "annually drained of an immense sum of money spent in foreign travel." They also believed that the West possessed "scenic attractions surpassing those of any other portion of the world;" however, they also believed that American tourists travelling to Europe were in "'comparative ignorance of the scenic, climatic and industrial advantages'" of the West. The promoters--who included railroad agents, hotel managers, authors and newspapers--dedicated themselves to advance the West by bringing the region to the attention of the East. Campaign supporters continued the intellectual tradition that had begun in an earlier era, assuring anxious Americans that our "landscape with its natural resources and magnificent scenery" surpassed the Old World's resources. Natural wonders were celebrated as "America's alternatives to the castles, cathedrals, and ruins of Europe."[37]

Harper's Weekly supported the campaign; however, the periodical advised that "the success of See America First depended on whether traveling in the west could be made 'easier and less expensive, and certainly entertaining.'"[38] The campaign organizers agreed that developing the infrastructure was crucial and encouraged the building of hotels, rest rooms and resorts.[39]

The means for accomplishing their economic and educational goals was "'a propaganda of patriotism;'" pooling their resources, they adopted the business and promotional techniques of the day. Writers who supported the campaign employed

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[35] Shaffer, 567, 568, and 569 quoting *Harper's Weekly*, vol 49 (December 2, 1905), 1731.

[36] Shaffer, 563.

[37] Shaffer, 565, 566, 571.

[38] Shaffer, 568 quoting *Harper's Weekly*, vol 49 (December 2, 1905), 1731.

[39] Shaffer, 571.

the images of the West as they suited their needs: the mythology of the old West nestled alongside the booster portrayals of progress. They juxtaposed "fictional tales about old-time cowboys and Indians with stories that touted the success of water reclamation and new, technologically advanced mining practices."[40]

Boosters of See America First saw the touring experience as the means by which Americans could "escape from modern living and from commercial and urban corruption into a world where virtue was assured by God and nature and where patriotism could flourish." Fisher Sanford Harris observed, "'The number of jaded, overworked men and women of the crowded cities, who feel in their hearts the irresistible 'call of the wild,' is greatly increasing.'"[41] Apparently the supporters of the movement didn't see the irony in their promoting and utilizing commercial development while proclaiming that the West's pristine natural wonders would provide a "therapeutic escape from the ills of urban-industrial society." Tourism seemed to "embody the best of both worlds: the virtues of nature combined with the benefits of commerce."[42]

TOURISM IN THE WEST: 1910's

See America First continued to be a rallying cry in the 1910s, although not under the direction of a specific organization, and not directed specifically at the West. However, in the later teens, when the turbulence in Europe made travel there difficult or impossible, the term took on a new emphasis. As travelers turned their sites away from Europe, many of them visited western locales. At the same time, the continuing rise of the middle class--which resulted in the wider distribution of disposable income and leisure time--created a new group of vacationers. Serving this mass of people became more important to the tourist industry than catering to a small group of elite. Large profits "came not from serving squab to the few but from selling gasoline, hamburger sandwiches, and postcards to the many."[43]

The 1910s saw the pairing of two other important trends. Tourists pursued outdoor activities, not only seeking the comforts of resorts as earlier travelers had done. In addition, people expressed a concern that our natural resources and old lifeways in the West were slipping away. Influential author Mary Roberts Rinehart recognized these feelings, and encouraged people to experience the West. "'The old West is almost gone,' she urged. 'Now is the time to see it--not from a train window; not, if you can help it, from an automobile, but afoot or on horseback, leisurely, thoroughly.'"[44] National parks became perfect locations for combining outdoor

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[40] Shaffer, 565, 571, 574.

[41] Shaffer, 576, 578.

[42] Shaffer, 580, 581.

[43] Pomeroy, 113.

pursuits with the assurance of enjoying a piece of the West. The parks provided opportunities for outdoor pursuits in spectacular natural settings, where tourists could camp, or stay in cabins or floored tents provided by concessionaires.

FARAWAY BEGINS BUSINESS, 1917-1922

The Erickson family of southeastern Arizona entered the tourism industry in 1917. Up until that year, the family had marginal involvement with tourism. The children and Emma had traveled to Galesburg, Illinois, but the goal of those trips was to deliver the children to school rather than simply taking a break from their ordinary lives. They had also taken some side trips, such as a trip to Chicago on the way home from school, which would have taken on the character of a vacation, but those episodes were limited. And although Neil may have encountered tourists in his role as forest ranger, his responsibilities at Chiricahua National Forest had been focused on resource management rather than tourist interface. The family's income had not been generated from tourism; instead, it came primarily from ranching and Neil's employment with both the forest service and with the mining company in Bisbee. However, things began shifting in 1917, when Hildegard came up with a rather innovative idea.

After the sociable Lillian returned home from Galesburg in the mid 1910s, she enjoyed entertaining friends at the Erickson home. During that time, she taught school in nearby towns over the winters. Meanwhile, Neil enlarged the Erickson house with the help of a carpenter, and Hildegard remained at home helping on the ranch and assisting in remodeling the house by doing all the inside decorating.[45] Lillian thought that the completion of the newly remodeled home provided an excellent opportunity for a celebration, and scheduled a house party. Hildegard rushed to complete the remodeling before the party. The party ranked as a success, and "After that there were crowds nearly every weekend." The trend continued: "The summers were spent with a house full of guests and camping parties and dances the diversion," Hildegard later remembered. She also pointedly recalled, "Dad footed the bills." Lillian did contribute to the expenses when she could, "but wages were not high" and Hildegard opined that Lillian "spent a lot of what she was making."[46]

At that point, Hildegard came up with the idea to offer "the ranch for weekend parties" to paying customers. Later, she explained that the move was "in Dad's

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[44] Pomeroy, 154 citing Mary Roberts Rinehart, *Through Glacier Park: Seeing America First with Howard Eaton* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1916).

[45] Hildegard Hutchison (with co-signers Emma and Neil Erickson) to Lillian Riggs, August 21, 1931, FRC, series 1, folder 128-153.

[46] Hildegard Hutchison , [ca. August-September 1931], FRC, series 1, folder 128-153, fiche 55..

defense" against the cost of all of Lillian's parties.[47] However, at another time, she reported a different slant: after the remodeling of the house was completed, she was alone with her father and mother; "Hildegard was bored!"[48] Regardless of her motivation, Hildegard decided to write to the school principals in Douglas and Bisbee, describing the availability of the ranch on weekends. No one came on the first two weekends. On the third weekend, Neil and Emma were at their new home at Cochise Stronghold (Neil having just been transferred there), and Hildegard went on a Sunday outing with her friend, Alec Thompson. When Hildegard and her friend returned in the afternoon, they found a car parked at the house, and waiting patiently were the occupants: Dr. Collins and four women from Douglas. Since Hildegard had earlier butchered some chickens and made a cake, she and her friend were able to quickly serve a "big, delicious meal." The meal and the hospitality met the guests' approval; "The first Sunday visitors left--promising to return the following weekend. So began the first stages of Faraway being a guest ranch."[49] The business that summer progressed slowly, but in the eight weeks following July 14, Hildegard brought in $250; her expenses of $53.70 (including towels, linens, and beds) resulted in a profit of $196.30.[50] Business was underway.[51]

Although Emma and Neil weren't present at the first visit by paying customers, they did participate in the boarder enterprise. Hildegard later remembered, "Mother and I started the [guest] ranch," and that the mother-daughter pair "did all our own work--with the help of the guests--and believe me they did help. Of course, we had only weekend business and we didn't want to be bothered with help around the rest of the time."[52] Apparently Emma came home from Cochise Stronghold on

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[47] Hildegard Hutchison , [ca. August-September 1931], FRC, series 1, folder 128-153.

[48] Hildegard Hutchison, "Remembrances of Hildegard Hutchison," FRC, series 4, folder 17.

[49] Hildegard Hutchison, "Remembrances of Hildegard Hutchison," FRC, series 4, folder 17.

[50] Hildegard Hutchison (with co-signers Emma and Neil Erickson) to Lillian Riggs, August 21, 1931, FRC, series 1, folder 128-153, fiche 55.

[51] Faraway Ranch ledgers, FRC, series 9, folders 8, 9, 10, 11 and series 8 folder 89. Some retrospective accounts of the beginning of the guest business place it in 1918; see for instance "Employer's Status Report," April 4, 1944, FRC, series 8, box 27, folder 26. However, the ledger fixes the date clearly: "Statement of account of summer boarders, July 14 to Sept. 8, 1917." Retrospective accounts that place the founding in 1917 include Hildegard Hutchison, [ca. August-September 1931], FRC, series 1, folder 128-153, fiche 55.

[52] Hildegard Hutchison to Lillian Riggs, February 3, 1950, FRC, series 1, folder 128-153.

weekends to help Hildegard. Lillian later acknowledged, "When Mamma and Hildegard kept boarders at the start of the guest ranch business, Dad paid the grocery bills out of his checks from the government."[53] Brother Ben had filed on his own homestead claim (just south of the Erickson place) at least a year earlier, so it is likely that he was living on his claim by the time the guest business started; he doesn't seem to have taken part in that business at any time during its existence.

Hildegard had started the boarder business "much against Lillian's wishes."[54] Apparently "the idea of charging for meals and rooms first embarrassed Lillian and offended her sense of hospitality;" she felt that "people would look down on them."[55] One also has to wonder if she resented the fact that her social life was suddenly restricted since it would be difficult to host weekend parties at the family home. Nonetheless, she did help Hildegard, especially during deer hunting season that fall. Soon Lillian came around on her attitude about the boarding business. Lillian acknowledged that "We must find another source of income," aside from the small cattle ranch; the boarder business seemed to be that source: business was good with Sunday and weekend guests coming frequently during the fall of 1917.[56] Lillian must have decided that the income they could earn in the boarding business could be greater than her income as a teacher; she quit her job teaching and came home to assume management of the enterprise.[57] "I felt that if Hildegard and I could carry on with the home place and let Dad go on with his forestry work, it would work out all right," she remembered. "So in the days when I was footloose and fancy free, I felt that my greatest duty lay in helping out at home and that we would all advance farther and faster if I did so."[58]

Lillian decided a new name for the ranch was in order. "We were forty miles from the nearest town and seventy from the two largest ones. Nothing but dirt roads, and poor at that, lay between us and the towns." In addition, "the country [was] undeveloped." [59] She decided to name the guest ranch Faraway.

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[53] Lillian Riggs, [ca. August-September 1931], FRC, series 1, box 9.

[54] Hildegard Hutchison, [ca. August-September 1931], FRC, series 1, folder 128-153, fiche 55.

[55] Leavengood, 7; and Hildegard Hutchison, "Remembrances of Hildegard Hutchison," FRC, series 4, folder 17.

[56] Lillian Riggs to "Classmates and Friends," [1965?], FRC, series 1, box 9.

[57] Hildegard Hutchison, [ca. August-September 1931], FRC, series 1, folder 128-153, fiche 55.

[58] Lillian Riggs to Neil Erickson, November 23, 1930, FRC, series 1, box 9.

During the fall of 1917, the new venture gradually grew into a more sizeable business. Several reasons account for this success; one was customer service. On the day of that first visit, Dr. Collins' only complaint was that he had to open and close too many wire cattle gates. Hildegard quickly remedied that by discussing the problem with neighbor William Riggs--and almost immediately the wire gates were replaced by cattle guards, enabling the visitors to drive through unimpeded.[60] Another reason was that deer hunters found that the situation met their needs: the ranch provided housing and meals in a rustic setting that placed the hunters close to the game in the national forest. There were other reasons as well: "Our home had a beautiful setting in the mountains at the edge of a lovely valley. Game was plentiful. My sister was beautiful with a pleasing personality. We had many friends in the surrounding towns."[61] Indeed, area residents were the Erickson's first customers, and word of mouth was important. Guests who were satisfied became repeat customers, and spread the word to their friends.[62] And Hildegard's timing was perfect, for as Lillian later recalled, "Guest ranching was taking hold of the imagination of City people."[63]

ORIGINS OF DUDE RANCHING

Dude ranching began to experience a large wave of popularity in the early 1920s, but the industry had originated over three decades earlier. In 1881, the Eaton brothers opened the first dude ranch, near present-day Medora, North Dakota; their process of starting the business established a pattern that would repeat many times across the West. Hildegard and Lillian's own pattern for beginning Faraway guest ranch was strikingly similar. The brothers, recently arrived in North Dakota from Pennsylvania, enjoyed their ranch so much that they invited their friends to share their pleasure with them. Friends--and more friends--came to stay for lengthy visits. However, with the increased number of visitors, it became difficult for the hosts to handle the associated expenses and logistics. The brothers eventually accepted several guests' suggestion: that the ranchers accept compensation for

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[59] Lillian Riggs to "Classmates and Friends," [1965?], FRC, series 1, box 9; and "Faraway Ranch: The Gateway to the Wonderland of Rocks," *Hoofs and Horns*, October 1934.

[60] Hildegard Hutchison, "Remembrances of Hildegard Hutchison," FRC, series 4, folder 17.

[61] Lillian Riggs to "Classmates and Friends," [1965?], FRC, series 1, box 9.

[62] "Some of those who became regulars and who encouraged others to come were: the Hawleys, from Douglas; the Williamsons and the Whiteleys from Bisbee." Hildegard Hutchison, "Remembrances of Hildegard Hutchison," FRC, series 4, folder 17.

[63] Lillian Riggs to "Classmates and Friends," [1965?], FRC, series 1, box 9.

their services. The ranch developed into a commercial enterprise that catered to travelers.[64] As the decades passed, many ranchers eased into dude ranching in a similar fashion.

Contrary to the era's pattern of lavish resorts that provided a European-style vacation, the Eaton ranch offered a rustic, truly Western style of accommodations. Affluent easterners--especially sportsmen and those interested in experiencing the life of a cattle rancher--found that type of establishment appealing. The idea spread among other ranches in the northern states. It was an easy transition for many to make, since providing temporary accommodations for travelers had been a common courtesy for years; few other temporary lodging options existed in the West, and distances between settlements were great. Some ranchers had already set the precedent for charging guests for services, even before the Eatons began their dude ranch. During the summers of the 1870s, health seekers rented cottages on Colorado ranches, where the ranchers often provided meals. In addition, ranchers and farmers in Minnesota, Dakota, and Wyoming had advertised in English newspapers offering agricultural training to boarders or unpaid apprentices, which attracted young Englishmen.[65] Hence the Eaton dude ranch holds a place as a benchmark along the continuum of the custom.[66]

During the next decades, the dude ranch industry grew primarily in the northern Rocky Mountains, until by the early 1920s about 25 ranches took part in the well-established industry. The ranches were located primarily near Rocky Mountain National Park and Yellowstone National Park (including the area that would later become Grand Teton National Park). This pattern of placement of dude ranches near national parks remained consistent over time; travelers found their beautiful setting appealing, and the ranches were able to utilize the parks for trail rides, fishing and camping. Those early dude ranches made no real attempt to attract general tourists. The dude "before the first World War duplicated many facets of truly pioneer living; the patron did not want a particularly genteel existence, nor did he get it."[67]

ORIGINS OF ARIZONA GUEST RANCHING

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[64] Frank Blaine Norris, "The Southern Arizona Guest Ranch as a Symbol of the West" (M.A. thesis, University of Arizona, 1976), 34.

[65] Pomeroy, 167.

[66] "Theodore Roosevelt, a dude and subsequently a ranch owner himself, was perhaps the most articulate and influential advocate of the joys of ranch life. . . . The dude ranch tried to recapture the atmosphere Roosevelt revered." Jerome L. Rodnitzky, "Recapturing the West: The Dude Ranch in American Life," *Arizona and the West* 10, no. 2 (Summer 1968): 119.

[67] Norris, 33, 35, 67.

Around the late teens and early 1920s, ranches open to guests began appearing in Arizona. Like the ranches in the northern Rockies, these early Arizona guest ranches "began accepting guests in a very modest, almost secretive fashion."[68] An expert on the topic later observed, "Pinpointing a more exact date [than the early 1920s] or location for the first ranch is difficult to discern. . . . There are two reasons for this difficulty. First, the informality and small scale with which the industry began played a part. Second, there was little consistent criteria, in the earliest years, as to what exactly made a genuine ranch."[69] It is clear, however, that the Faraway Ranch was certainly among the earliest of these guest ranches in Arizona, since it started in 1917.[70] We do not know exactly where Hildegard Erickson obtained her inspiration for choosing her business, whether she knew other ranchers in the state who had taken such a step, or whether she had read about northern dude ranches.[71] The chance that Hildegard originated the idea herself is possible, but not likely, given the existence of the industry.

The Arizona industry grew quite slowly. Many cattle ranchers were uncomfortable with the idea of becoming managers of boarding houses. As a result, those who did open their ranches to guests did so in a "modest, rather experimental fashion; in other cases, the ranches operated informally before allowing guests on a regular, commercial basis." This observation on the beginning of guest ranches in Arizona fits Hildegard's business precisely. Her first step into the business was to invite selected, reputable guests to the ranch for the Sunday meal. Only after that proved to be successful did the Faraway business expand. These earliest guest

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[68] Norris, 39.

[69] Norris, 38.

[70] One of earliest was the Brill Ranch, near Wickenburg. In 1912 or '13, the owners renamed it the Garden of Allah Resort and provided horseback riding and meals to guests; it was later re-named the Circle Flying W Ranch. Lawrence R. Borne, *Dude Ranching: A Complete History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983), 53. For discussion of other early guest ranches see also John P. Wilson, *Islands in the Desert: A History of the Uplands of Southeastern Arizona* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), 198; and Philip W. Jones, "And I learned about Ranching from 'Im," *Progressive Arizona and the Great Southwest*, 8 (March 1929), 24.

[71] The *Arizona Range News* reported on March 19, 1915 that a company had been formed to exploit the possibilities of establishing resorts in the Chiricahua Mountains. Louis Torres and Mark Baumler, *Historic Structure Report, Historical and Archeological Data Sections: A History of the Buildings and Structures of Faraway Ranch, Chiricahua National Monument, Arizona*. (Denver: National Park Service, Denver Service Center, 1984), n. 75.

ranches in Arizona (unlike many dude ranches that had developed in the northern region by this time) were "the paragon of down-home, unadorned simplicity."[72]

It was at the birth of the industry in the 1880s at the Eatons' ranch that the term 'dude ranch' was first applied.[73] The 1891 *Dictionary of Slang* defined dude as a "swell or a fop;"[74] however, the term dude ranch historically meant "an establishment which is basically engaged in livestock growing, but has installed facilities for guests." In the 1920s and '30s, the term dude grew out of favor with the general public[75] (and one can imagine especially with the guests who didn't appreciate being referred to as a swell or a fop). In Arizona, where recreational ranches started becoming well known in the 1920s and early 1930s, the term ''dude ranch' is seldom used.[76] Lillian found the term dude disagreeable: "It signified to our ears a namby-pamby individual with soft white hands and a big hat trying to emulate the real Westerner and one whom the cowboys delighted to make dance by shooting at his new boot heels."[77] "I much prefer the word guest to dude. 'Guest ranch' invites a different and better class of people than does 'Dude ranch.'[78] And it is understandable that in opening her home to strangers, Lillian would want to attract a "better class of people." In Arizona, the terms have evolved into different uses: "'guest ranch' or 'ranch' is the label given almost exclusively for a [name of a] particular ranch . . ., while 'dude ranch' or 'guest ranch' have been used interchangeably when describing the industry or any one ranch in more general terms.[79] Indeed, Lillian observed that "a good many people use them interchangeably."[80]

Over the decades, the definition of the term dude has softened to become less derogatory. In 1953, a Montana dude rancher assured the public (and potential

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[72] Norris, 40, 42.

[73] Norris, 34.

[74] Rodnitzky, 111. A swell indicated a pompous or fashionable air, a person dressed in the height of fashion, or a person of high social position, while fop denoted a foolish or silly person, or a person especially devoted to his appearance.

[75] Norris, 26, 27.

[76] Norris, 28.

[77] [Lillian Riggs,] "Inquisitiveness, Vision and Energy Gave the World the Wonderland, Chiricahua National Monument," n.d., FRC, series 5, folder 22.

[78] Lillian Riggs to Evelyn Hutchison, August 11, 1947, FRC, series 1, box 9.

[79] Norris, 27.

[80] Lillian Riggs to Evelyn Hutchison, August 11, 1947, FRC, series 1, box 9.

paying guests) that "the term dude was reserved for 'regular fellows' and never indicated disdain." And the *Webster's New International Dictionary* presented the 1960 definition as, "An Easterner or city-bred person. . . .,"[81] a definition that most dude ranchers (and dudes) prefer. The term is still used when speaking of working ranches in those areas where dude ranching became initially popular: Wyoming, Montana and northern Colorado. However, the newer industry in Arizona resolutely adheres to the more modern--and polite--term of guest ranch.

PURCHASING THE STAFFORD HOMESTEAD

In the spring of 1918, about nine months after Faraway Ranch had hosted its first boarders, the business came to a crossroads. The neighboring Stafford property with its orchard and log cabin--and boundary very close to the Erickson house--came up for sale. The Erickson sisters were afraid that the property might fall into someone else's hands,[82] so, as Lillian noted, "With far more nerve than judgment we contracted to buy the adjoining fruit ranch." And contrary to Hildegard's charges that Lillian had frittered away her teaching salary on parties, Lillian had saved enough for a down payment.[83] This decision tells us several things about the situation at the time. One was that the guest business was successful enough that the women decided to continue the operation. The purchase price of $5,200 was an appreciable amount for two young women (the first payment was made on Hildegard's 23rd birthday) whose only sources of income were the new guest ranch and their animals on the small ranch--and the fruit orchard after its purchase. Their commitment to acquire the property put them at financial risk; if the guest/cattle/fruit business didn't prove to be profitable, they would still be obligated to make the payments on the Stafford property. Family reminiscences regarding the purchase of the Stafford property note it as a benchmark in their lives.[84]

Together, Hildegard and Lillian took on the added responsibilities of the orchard and Stafford property, and continued to operate the ranch and guest business. They pruned the fruit trees, cultivated and irrigated them. The pair also "milked cows and made butter, raised chickens, cooked meals, and welcomed and entertained guests." The sisters took their boarders "on horseback rides and guided them on quail and rabbit hunts." And they made the payments on the Stafford place.[85]

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[81] Rodnitzky, 112.

[82] Lillian Riggs to Neil Erickson, November 23, 1930, FRC, series 1, box 9.

[83] Lillian Riggs to "Classmates and Friends," [1965?], FRC, series 1, box 9.

[84] Although the family referred to both sisters buying the property, only Lillian's name was on the legal agreement. April 22, 1918, FRC, series 15, folder 4.

[85] Lillian Riggs to "Classmates and Friends," [1965?], FRC, series 1, box 9.

Meanwhile, Ben was not interested in the guest business, so chose to work on his own nearby ranch instead.

Over the first years of their guest ranch business, revenues tended to increase. During the last six months of 1918, the sisters hosted 22 parties of boarders (an average of fewer than four parties per month) and from them took in total revenues of $488 (a monthly average of about $81).[86] This monthly average was down from the $125 average that Hildegard had earned in her first two months in business. The charges to the 1918 boarders ranged from $1.25 (probably for a meal) to $75 (for a longer stay with meals). The next year's records covered the entire year; in 1919 they served about 56 parties (an average of under five parties per month) for $1337 total revenue--a monthly average of about $111 (more than in 1918, but still less than in 1917).[87] A few of those guests paid for "camping privileges;" in addition, several names repeated through the year so it is likely that the Ericksons continued to serve area residents. The year 1920 saw a rather dramatic increase in business: 104 parties (an average of just under 9 parties per month--twice the rate of 1918) who brought in total revenues of $2658 for a monthly average of about $221--considerably higher than their revenue in previous years. Again, many boarders returned repeatedly through the year, and many came for meals only.[88] The marked growth in revenues is attributed to the rise in the number of boarders, more than to an increase in prices or a shift from meals to lodging; each party in 1918 paid an average of $22.18 while those in 1920 paid $25.55, only slightly more. Indeed, the sisters were so busy in 1920 that they hired two women, the first on their records; it is likely that the women worked for the guest ranch business rather the cattle ranch, based on subsequent employment practices at Faraway.[89]

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[86] Revenue is the total amount received for goods and services. Net profit is calculated by subtracting expenses from revenue.

[87] It is possible that the Spanish influenza pandemic affected their business. For instance, on October 7, 1918, the Phoenix city council closed all schools, churches, theaters, dance halls, pool halls and public meeting places to prevent the spread of the virus. "Special police prevented crowds from gathering. . . . Anyone who went out in the street had to wear a mask over their mouth and nose." By mid November, 88 people had died in Phoenix; however, by early spring 1919 the outbreak had ended. Melanie I. Sturgeon, "The Spanish Influenza Epidemic of 1918-1919," TheCopperDome.com: Arizona State Employee's Newspaper, www.thecopperdome.com/features_july_connectinaz.html>, July 2002. Even so, no evidence was found in the Faraway papers that indicated the business was affected.

[88] Faraway Ranch ledgers, FRC, series 9, folders 8, 9, 10, 11; and FRC, series 8, folder 89.

[89] FRC, series 9, folder 8.

A SHIFT IN FARAWAY MANAGEMENT

Lillian and Hildegard worked together until the fall of 1920, when Hildegard married Stan Hutchison and moved away from the ranch. Lillian didn't respond warmly to that move. From her point of view, Hildegard had left her “with the obligation of paying out the rest" of the money due on the Stafford place, since they'd had an agreement that if one of the sisters left, the other would take over payments and eventual ownership. In addition, Lillian also "fell heir"[90] to the guest ranch business. Lillian evaluated her situation: Neil and Emma lived elsewhere, with Neil working for the forest service, Hildegard newly married and lived elsewhere, Ben nearby but on his own ranch. The small cattle ranch could not provide a living income, so an additional income such as the boarder business was necessary. Ben never would have taken over the home ranch “for the simple reason that he hates the resort business, and a living could be made no other way." Lillian herself “tied up with notes and the determination to pay out the Stafford place, there seemed nothing else to do but to stick or die. It didn't even occur to me to go away and desert the home. But carrying on was an almost impossibility.”[91] Lillian considered the guest ranch "more of a liability at that time than an asset, as I had to do everything myself, both indoors and outdoors."[92] Lillian did take on the management of the ranch and guest business. And, indeed, she did have trouble making payments on the Stafford property, missing four annual payments.[93] Lillian didn’t do all the work herself at the ranch: in 1921 Faraway again employed hands for short-term work for a total of $552, similar to the pattern the sisters had established in the previous years. However, in 1921, most of the employees were women, and they tended to repeat through the year; they were apparently hired on an as-needed basis for the guest ranch business, when guests were plentiful.[94]

The year 1921 also marked the first time that records were kept regarding the length of stay of the guests. Of the 48 parties who stayed there that year, the

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[90] Lillian Riggs to Anne and Murray Riggs, March 1, 1950, FRC, series 1, box 9.

[91] Lillian Riggs to Neil Erickson, November 23, 1930, FRC, series 1, box 9.

[92] Lillian Riggs to Anne and Murray Riggs, March 1, 1950, FRC, series 1, box 9.

[93] Dewey Livingston, *A Pioneer Log Cabin in Bonita Canyon: The History of the Stafford Cabin, Faraway Ranch Historic District, Chiricahua National Monument, Arizona*, Historic Resource Study (San Francisco: National Park Service, 1994), 41. Since Lillian had not been making payments, the agreement was changed in February 19, 1923, a week before Lillian married Ed Riggs. Agreement, February 19, 1923, FRC, series 15, folder 4. The last payment was made February 27, 1928, a total principal of $5,200. "Computation of Payments and Interest on Stafford Place," n.d., FRC, series 15, folder 4.

[94] FRC, series 9, folder 8.

median stay was three nights, but most parties (18) stayed one night. However, it was not unusual to stay longer: 15 stayed 2 weeks or longer, including 3 parties that stayed about 4 months each. The total revenue from the business was $1589.[95] Compared to the 104 parties that they hosted in the previous year, the number of boarders had plummeted to less than half. The only notable change that we can discern was that Hildegard had left. As Lillian had noted: "My sister was beautiful with a pleasing personality."[96] Could the local guests have stopped coming because Hildegard had left? However, the amount that each party spent had risen sharply, from $25.55 to $33.10. It is possible that the change was simply due to Lillian's recording methodology; perhaps she stopped listing the guests who came for meals only.

As Lillian had noted, life at Faraway was difficult after Hildegard left. Although the newly acquired Stafford orchard had produced fruit in 1918 and 1919, it didn't produce consistently, as they had expected: "Late frost killed the fruit . . . In the spring they were beautiful with their pink and white blossoms but the frosts hit year after year."[97] In 1921 Lillian noted that the orchard produced "Absolutely nothing!" and she echoed that same thing the next year too.[98] In addition, cattle prices had dropped significantly. When Lillian and Hildegard had taken over the ranch in 1917, cattle prices were quite high, due to the large market in Europe related to the war. However, after the war the country went into a recession, and in 1921 and '22 prices plummeted. In addition, southern Arizona experienced a drought in 1920-21. However, a bright aspect of her life during those years was the rekindling of a romance with previous schoolmate Ed Riggs. After he returned from the war, the couple began seeing each other, and by 1921 they had become quite close.

After having worked at Faraway nonstop for several years, Lillian wanted to take a sabbatical from the ranch; in addition, it would help her decide where to go in her life. She decided to spend the summer of 1922 in Los Angeles. To enable her to go, Riggs arranged with his sister-in-law, Maye Fokes, to operate the boarder business, with the aid of her daughter and son-in-law. Fokes' only remuneration consisted of what she could earn from that business.[99]

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[95] Faraway Ranch ledgers, FRC, series 9, folders 8, 9, 10, 11 and series 8 folder 89.

[96] Lillian Riggs to "Classmates and Friends," [1965?], FRC, series 1, box 9.

[97] Lillian Riggs to "Classmates and Friends," [1965?], FRC, series 1, box 9.

[98] Faraway Ranch ledgers, July 14, 1917- December 31, 1923, FRC, series 9, folder 8 and 9.

[99] Eula Lee Murray Riggs, "Eula Lee Murray Riggs' Account of Ed Riggs Family History," n.d., Acc. 1721, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson. Cited hereafter as WACC.

Riggs visited the ranch frequently that summer to help on the ranch and with the guest ranch. Through the season, he seemed to identify with the place more and more. He and others worked on the "swimmin' hole taking those big rocks out and building up the wall on the south side where it was so low." On another day, he went for a walk "all over those hills around the upper garden. Went up to the Indian Cave and had a nap. . . . I did feel that you were with me and planning with me for our home up here in the canyon. The upper garden is a dandy place for our large house to take care of the tourist trade. I hadn't looked at it with that in view before but I can see it now. It is ideal, such a wonderful view and such a pretty setting there among the trees." [100]

By August, the Fokes family spent a lot of time in town. Ed observed, "I know they are getting tired of ranch life." Mrs. Fokes got headaches, which she thought were due to elevation and hard work.[101] She decided to leave in mid September. Apparently, the boarder business wasn't good that summer since "she didn't even make her expenses."[102] Back in Los Angeles, Lillian made up her mind: she would return to Faraway to marry Riggs, and together they could operate the Faraway cattle and guest ranch. The couple married that winter, and Faraway Ranch entered a new era.

ARIZONA INDUSTRY GAINS A FIRM FOOTING

The dude ranch industry as a whole was also entering a new era in the early 1920s, and Arizona took a step forward into an important participant in this new industry. The economic boom that the country had experienced during World War I ended as abruptly as the war did. The recession reached into all parts of the economy; in Arizona, for instance, copper mines closed, agricultural production slumped, and more than half the banks in the state failed.[103]

Ranchers felt the effect through a sharp drop in prices for cattle. In southern Arizona, a drought during 1920-21 confounded the problem. Arizona ranchers--like ranchers across the West--sought relief from their desperate financial situation, so developed supplemental sources of income to avoid bankruptcy. At some ranches, the stockmen began opening their homes to paying guests; "they did so out of pure economic necessity. . . . The influence of the economics of cattle-raising upon the early days of dude ranching was heavy."[104] An observer later noted that "the

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[100] Ed Riggs to Lillian Erickson, July 14, 1922, FRC, series 1, folder 238-242.

[101] Ed Riggs to Lillian Erickson, August 3, 1922, FRC, series 1, folder 238-242.

[102] Eula Lee Murray Riggs, "Eula Lee Murray Riggs' Account of Ed Riggs Family History," n.d., Acc. 1721, WACC.

[103] Howard R. Lamar, ed., *The New Encyclopedia of the American West* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 46.

paying dudes did not begin coming to Arizona until . . . the bankrupting drouth of 1921."[105] Although some ranchers had previously hosted guests, they typically were "reluctant to admit that it was more than a side line or a kindness to friends." It was during the devastating economic conditions of the early 1920s, "when many a Westerner made on dudes what he lost on cattle, that the West generally awoke to realize that it had a new industry."[106] A converted dude rancher in Wyoming testified, "Vacationists seeking scenery and recreation were more profitable and more easily handled than cattle." And a stockman in a dude ranching center in Texas observed, "You can run more dudes to the acre in these hills than you can cattle."[107] "The dude symbolizes a very important part of western history--the infusion of outside capital to stimulate growth . . . .The economic effects of dude ranching percolated through the entire economy as dude ranchers helped make the Rocky Mountain West well known throughout the rest of the country."[108]

Thus the dude ranch industry spread throughout the West in the early 1920s--an important shift in the character and popularity of the ranches. Southern Arizona was a prime location for the development of guest ranching, even beyond the ranchers' need for it economically. First, a winter-resort tradition already existed in southern Arizona. The elite had discovered years earlier that the region offered a welcome respite from cold Eastern winters. Well-heeled visitors began arriving in Tucson in October, and typically spent the season in either the Congress Hotel or the Santa Rita Hotel.[109]

In addition, the region had been the focus of a huge promotional effort since before the turn of the century. Advocates had publicized the Southwest as an exotic area with spectacular scenery, fascinating indigenous peoples, and a true Western lifestyle. Traveling to the Southwest became in vogue as the effort gathered momentum in the 1920s (and reached “spectacular dimensions in the thirties and thereafter”). Across the state, railroads, chambers of commerce, and booster clubs, began promoting resort and tourist areas.[110]

But Tucson, about 90 miles west of Faraway Ranch, became the leading light in local promotions. As in other places in the country, the city was experiencing

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[104] Norris, 39.

[105] Norris, 40, quoting Ian Frazier, “From Cows to Dudes,” *Magazine Tucson* 5 (October 1952): 19-22.

[106] Pomeroy, 168.

[107] Rodnitzky, 114.

[108] Borne, 6.

[109] Wilson, 198.

[110] Lamar, 46 and Pomeroy, 158.

economic stagnation as result of the World War I recession. In an effort to revitalize the economy, the boosters decided to promote the locale to the winter tourist market. For over 50 years, the Tucson area had been known as a haven for the health seekers. By the early 1920s, a visiting editorial writer reported that the city was "filled from core to circumference with tourists and health seekers. Six hospitals and one tented village are taxed to capacity."[111] However, during the Tucson promotional 1920s campaign civic boosters actively endeavored to change Tucson's popular image to one of "a healthy place for people, sick or well, to live."[112]

At the time of their decision to promote Tucson as a winter destination, it was unusual for municipalities to promote tourism; only cities in southern California and southern Florida did so. In early 1922, the Tucson Chamber of Commerce took the lead in promoting the city as a winter tourist attraction. The group "advertised in national periodicals and distributed feature articles to magazines and travel journals." Meanwhile, the Tucson Sunshine-Climate Club organized a parallel effort to "publicize the city as a winter vacation spot." The Tucson club modeled itself after the San Diego California Club, the first municipal advertising organization of its type; the Tucson group became the second. "The club hired the same advertising agency that coordinated advertising for San Diego, conducted marketing surveys and also advertised heavily in national periodicals." The campaign proved to be so successful that by the end of the decade, "tourism had become a mainstay of the Tucson economy."[113]

The nascent dude ranch industry in the Tucson region benefited from the Tucson promotional campaign. Soon, southeast Arizona blossomed into a center of dude ranches. With Tucson at the western edge, the area extended approximately 85 miles in diameter.[114] One directory of southern Arizona dude ranches listed five

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[111] Alex Jay Kimmelman, "Luring the Tourist to Tucson," *Journal of Arizona History* 28, no. 2 (Summer 1987): 136, citing Walter L. Burns, *Indianapolis Star*.

[112] Kimmelman, 136.

[113] Kimmelman, 135, 136, 138, 151.

[114] See Norris, 38-39 for a discussion of several of the earliest guest ranches, which began in the mid 1920s and earlier. Ranches discussed include the 3-N Ranch in Oracle, the Carlink Ranch in Redington, the Cordes Ranch near Cordes, the Garden of Allah near Wickenburg, the Hacienda de la Osa near Sasabe, the Kay-El-Bar near Wickenburg, Molly Butler's Guest Ranch near Greer, Rancho Linda Vista near Oracle, the Seven Dash Ranch near Dragoon, and the Triangle T Ranch near Dragoon. Additional dude ranches in southern Arizona in the 1920s included the Bar O Ranch near Tombstone, the Circle Z Ranch southwest of Patagonia, Donee's Dude Ranch near Oracle, and the Y-Lightning Ranch (aka YW Guest Ranch) near Hereford, and the Tanque Verde near Tucson. Wilson, 198; and Borne, 54-55.

ranches in 1923, which increased to 12 in 1925, and 36 in 1930.[115] The new industry thrived and expanded during its first decade.

THE PRIME OF FARAWAY GUEST RANCH, 1923-1939

ED RIGGS JOINS THE MANAGEMENT TEAM

Seventeen years after Hildegard started the boarder business, Lillian wrote a promotional newspaper article about the beginning of that enterprise. As Lillian tended to do in that style of writing, she romanticized the situation, blurred the facts, and rearranged the chronology to suit her needs. “About that time," she wrote,

> "the people in the cities and towns became conscious of the joy and healthfulness of real ranch life and were asking for accommodations on many of the ranches. Because it was one of the most attractive and historic places in southern Arizona, Faraway was besieged with people wanting room and board. The price of cattle was then very low and the Ericksons did the same as many other rancher--opening their ranch to paying guests.[116]

Given the purpose of her article, we should be kind to Lillian regarding the liberties that she took. However, her paragraph does reveal a great deal about her feelings about the situation, and indicates that she still was doing penance for charging guests for her hospitality. First, she placed the city residents in the active role; they are the ones who discovered (seemingly on their own) about the wonderful life waiting for them on a ranch. Next, those city dwellers came knocking on ranchers' doors, pleading for an opportunity to spend some time at the stockmen's homes. And of course, because everyone somehow knew--on their own--that Faraway possessed both a fascinating history and pleasing scenery, then a flood of visitors almost knocked down the doors. A clever anachronism is the insertion regarding the low price of cattle--certainly a condition that people in rural Arizona could understand. However, when Hildegard started the boarder business in 1917, the cattle prices were actually quite high since the country enjoyed the boom prices that World War I generated. And finally Lillian inserted the kicker--that the Ericksons were only doing what other ranchers were doing. Out of economic necessity beyond their control, the sisters had to open their ranch to the throngs of people pounding on their door, just like their neighbors did. Lillian’s defensiveness is understandable; “professional cattlemen never considered dude ranching an integral part of their business.”[117] To suit her needs, Lillian mixed the Erickson sisters' enterprise with the Riggs version of the guest ranch. The situation she

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[115] Norris, 41.

[116] [Lillian Riggs], "Faraway Ranch: The Gateway to the Wonderland of Rocks," *Hoofs and Horns*, October 1934.

[117] “In *The Cattleman*, a magazine serving the ranching industry, not one article on dude ranching appeared between 1923 and 1966.” Rodnitzky, 119.

described--in which ranch life became popular to city dwellers, and cattle prices were low, so many ranchers opened their homes to paying guests--occurred in the early 1920s, when Lillian and Ed started their joint management of Faraway Ranch.

When Ed and Lillian married they decided to continue the guest ranch business. Since the Erickson sisters had operated the boarder business for almost six years, the newlyweds were years ahead of new entries into the industry. However, the couple apparently objectively evaluated their business and recognized that some changes were in order. We don't know how they came to the conclusion; certainly the business environment must have influenced them. However, given that Lillian had run the business in much the same way for years, and the changes were instituted after Ed entered the management team, we have to assume that Ed had a big role to play in the suggestions.

The couple instituted three major changes at Faraway Ranch during the early to mid 1920s. First, they provided for the physical comforts of their guests; next, they recognized that they possessed a key feature that differentiated them from their competitors, and last, they stepped up their advertising to include a national market.

INFRASTRUCTURE IMPROVEMENTS

Lillian and Ed must have realized that although guests wanted to experience a break from their normal routine in the city life and enjoy the rural qualities of a ranch, the visitors didn't want to rough it *too* much. While dude ranch guests in earlier years had expected and enjoyed an authentic ranch life, including the rather primitive amenities, "the Arizona guest ranch represented a clear break from these early days. The . . . Arizona ranch patron did not really want such an uncivilized lifestyle." The minimum comforts that guests demanded included such features as flush toilets, baths, dependable lighting, and nicely served meals. To keep up with market expectations, ranchers installed these amenities. "Indeed, an owner's acceptance of guests to his ranch proved a civilizing influence. For rarely was the proper guest ranch without basic comforts; though few early ranches had telephones, the guest demanded--and got--running water and electricity, at a time when these services were not standard throughout much of the rural west."[118]

When Ed and Lillian married, Faraway had few of those amenities. But they recognized that to compete for customers, they needed to provide those basic comforts. Thus, the couple put in many hours of hard work installing running water, two bathrooms, an electric light plant, the dining room, and the Garfield fireplace (made from the stones of the collapsing Garfield monument). They enclosed a porch to become a guest dining room and completed a small swimming pool. They also detached what had been an addition to the Stafford cabin, and

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[118] Norris, 66, 67.

moved it closer to the Faraway ranch house. That building was used as a schoolhouse in 1927-1929, then was named Mizar and used as a rental cottage. They later added another cabin, named Alcor, and a connecting bedroom between the two cabins, called Space. However, years passed before they remodeled the Stafford log cabin, so they usually used that for hunting parties and male guests who didn't mind a rougher lifestyle.[119]

WONDERLAND AS A MARKETING HOOK

When a business competes in a crowded market, it proves to be advantageous to have a unique appeal that sets the business apart from its competitors. Lillian and Ed found themselves in that situation in 1923, when they married. The number of guest ranches in southeast Arizona increased each year, so Faraway needed an edge over the other enterprises. As it turned out, the couple already knew about the unique feature when they married.

Ed Riggs first saw the region that would become known as the Wonderland of Rocks--and then Chiricahua National Monument--in about 1900, when he viewed it from the top of Sugarloaf Peak.[120] Although he wanted to see more of the amazing rock formations, it wasn't until 1921 that he managed to get into the rough country. While tracking a wounded deer, Ed and Lillian viewed upon the area that Lillian would subsequently name the Wonderland of Rocks. They ate lunch near their first view of the Totem Pole.

> It is one of the most marvelous formations in the park, in a very beautiful area, as well as being an outstanding rock of itself. We could not get close to it, but we said to each other that with this area as wonderful as it was, we would open up a trail and get in, so that our guests at Faraway Ranch could enjoy the scenery too.[121]

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[119] Livingston, 47, 49; and Eula Lee Murray Riggs, "Eula Lee Murray Riggs' Account of Ed Riggs Family History," n.d. Acc. # 1721, WACC; and Torres, 54-58. Torres refers to the Mizar-Space-Alcor structure as the bunkhouse. Mizar and Alcor are a famed pair of stars in the handle of the Big Dipper. Mizar is the fourth brightest star in the constellation, and appears as the second star in from the end of the dipper's handle. Its nearby visual companion, Alcor, is dimmer and appears only a fifth of a degree from Mizar. The two stars, termed the "horse and rider" by the Arabians, are a good test of vision.

[120] Lillian Riggs, "Early History of Chiricahua National Monument," 28 July 1953, FRC, series 4, folder 20.

[121] Lillian Riggs, "Early History of Chiricahua National Monument," 28 July 1953, FRC, series 4, folder 20.

Thus their first thoughts regarding the use and enjoyment of the fantastic new place they had uncovered were directed towards their business; that is, they recognized that their paying guests would enjoy this scenery. By providing access to the locale from their property, they would hold a virtual monopoly on the spectacular scenery. They began the difficult task of building a trail through the tangled district. While working on the trail, Lillian bestowed the name Wonderland of Rocks to the area, and assigned whimsical and appealing names to many individual formations. During the summer of 1922, while Lillian stayed in Los Angeles, Ed continued to explore the region, and also took photographs of the features.[122]

Lillian and Ed knew that they wanted to spread the word about their "discovery." Whom should they contact? If you found an area of fascinating rock formations, unlike anything in that region, whom would you contact? Ed and Lillian chose to contact the chambers of commerce in the nearby cities: Douglas, Bisbee, Tucson and Phoenix. This choice reveals much about the Riggses and the time and place in which they lived. Typically, chambers of commerce promote economic development. Their members are usually business people whose own interests correlate to the chambers'; that is, they want to improve their businesses' profits. For the Riggses to choose the chambers as their vehicle for distributing information about the Wonderland of Rocks indicates that their core purpose was to gain more income from their business. Given the business environment of the day, this choice was logical; nearby Tucson was in the midst of a huge promotional campaign to improve business conditions. The country was in the depths of a recession after the war. Cattle prices were down. More guest ranches were opening, competing with the Riggs for customers. Ed and Lillian saw the Wonderland of Rocks as their financial lifesaver. Not being entirely selfish about the business opportunities represented by the geological curiosities, they recognized that the entire region could benefit from tourists traveling to see the formations. And a combined effort of boosters across the region would produce more awareness among the public than if only Lillian and Ed advertised their find.

As one might have predicted, news of the formations did cause quite a commotion. After viewing Ed's photographic display at a Douglas fair, Dr. J.J.P. Armstrong became quite enamored with the area. Since the rocky region was already part of the national forest, it already was open to the public. But Armstrong wanted more; apparently he originated the idea to promote the locale for a higher level of recognition. In turn, the Douglas American Legion Post adopted the goal of gaining national monument status for the region, and appealed to the Arizona governor to join in the effort.[123]

Wishing to see the region before he committed himself to the campaign, Governor Hunt arrived for a whirlwind visit in August 1923--almost two years after Ed and

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[122] Ed Riggs to Lillian Erickson, July 27, 1922, FRC, series 1, folder 238-242.

[123] Leavengood, 11.

Lillian had entered the Wonderland of Rocks. Accompanying the governor were 60 newspapermen, photographers--and businessmen. Again, the theme of improving business continued to run through the effort. There was no mention of conservationists or geologists being involved in the governor's caravan, nor in the promotional effort. The endeavor was seen as an economic development scheme, not a conservation movement.[124] The governor took on the task, and the following spring, President Calvin Coolidge proclaimed the area to be a national monument.

The focus on economic development in relation to the preservation of the natural resource of the Wonderland of Rocks is not an isolated case. Many parks were originally promoted in terms of local economic development.[125] Railroad companies, for instance, had been promoters of national parks from the creation of the first park, at Yellowstone, in 1872. These companies recognized that with attractive destinations, more tourists would travel--on trains--which would result in improvements to the companies' bottom lines. J. Horace McFarland, an outspoken preservationist, president of the American Civic Association, and successful businessman opposed--on an economic basis--the destruction of the falls at Niagara (as a result of hydroelectric development). He successfully won his campaign by calculating the tourist dollars that would be lost if the falls were diverted. Subsequently, in 1909 he linked the preservation of scenery with productivity; he argued to Gifford Pinchot that agreeable surroundings would regenerate the spirit of man, and make him more productive. Perhaps he felt that "Until Americans at large accepted preservation for its own sake, economic persuasion was better insurance for the movement than unilateral appeals for a spiritual and emotional understanding of landscapes." Many saw the development of hotels, restaurants and other tourist facilities at national parks as the key to economic stimulation. National parks came hand-in-hand with tourism, which in turn provided a "solid economic justification" for a park's existence. Richard B. Watrous, secretary of the American Civic Association, urged preservationists to publicize "the direct material returns that will accrue to the railroads, to the concessionaires, and to various sections of the country that will benefit by increased travel" to national parks. Debates regarding the establishment of Glacier National Park in 1910 dwelled at length on the "need to market American scenery." Echoing the philosophy of the "See America First" campaign, Senator Thomas H. Carter expressed dismay that

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[124] After the governor's visit, Ed forecast what they expected in the future: The National Geographic had promised to send men out as soon as the area was "assured of being made into a Park. The El Paso & Southwestern Railroad Company [with a connection to the Santa Fe RR and going into Douglas] will begin an extensive advertising campaign all over the east. The Chambers of Commerce and the American legion will all be boasting as will the Automobile Clubs, to draw tourists over the southern routes to see the new park. Roads will be built up in the park, trails also." Ed Riggs to Emma and Neil Erickson, August 7-20, 1923, FRC, series 1, folders 238-242.

[125] Carl Abbott, "The Federal Presence," in *The Oxford History of the American West*, Clyde A. Milner II, Carol A. O'Connor, and Martha A. Sandweiss (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 473.

Americans spent $200 million annually to visit Europe, when the scenery in the U.S. equaled that anywhere. Five years later, the amount Americans spent in Europe had climbed to $500 million, and in debate over the creation of Rocky Mountain National Park, Representative Edward T. Taylor claimed, "The American people have never yet capitalized our scenery and climate, as we should. It is one of our most valuable assets, and these great assets should be realized upon to the fullest extent."[126]

Promoting the economic benefits of national parks was not the sole jurisdiction of those outside the national parks. Stephen Mather, first director of the National Park Service, "equated the national parks with the country's economic health."[127] Mather--who had made a personal fortune in business--along with Horace Albright, his assistant director, "sought out allies in business by portraying national parks as good opportunities for private enterprise and especially for the tourist business." Mather realized that the creation of parks prevented some industries, such as agriculture, timber and power, from exploiting the protected resources. His rejoinder was that designating national parks did not "remove them from economic development so much as dictate a particular course of economic development, namely leisure travel and recreation." [128] Assistant Director Albright appeared before many chambers of commerce, presenting his speech "Parks are Good Business." And Mather's friend, Robert Sterling Yard, founder of the National Parks Association, authored an article in *Nation's Business* entitled "Making a Business of Scenery." Thus the economic lens with which the Riggses and the regional community viewed the Wonderland of Rocks meshed with the values of the day.[129]

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[126] Runte, 83, 87, 89, 92, 93.

[127] Runte, 103.

[128] Mather's pro-tourism stance was not purely based on economic good of the country--he was also aware of the need for park supporters to assure the continued existence of the park agency, and for visitors to generate more income. "Tourism offered a means of expanding the agency's hegemony, of ensuring that the agency and its administrative units would survive the political struggles of the decade. Like a rolling snowball, increasing tourism in the national parks would demand more administrative services, greater budgets, greater agency responsibilities and prestige, and justify more parks which would in turn generate still more tourism. Mather led a massive publicity campaign to promote tourist travel to the parks and monuments." Kerwin L. Klein, "Frontier Products: Tourism, Consumerism, and the Southwestern Public Lands, 1890-1990," *Pacific Historical Review* 62, no. 1 (February 1993): 47. The tourist industry, in turn, recognized the importance of national parks in the local economy. The Dude Ranching Association made the director of the National Park Service an honorary member. Borne, 82.

[129] "In 1969, Stewart Udall believed 'the nation to be in the midst of a revolutionary transition . . . The new values emphasize preservation rather than exploitation . . . spirituality rather than crass commercialism.'" Klein, 60, quoting Udall, "Towards a

The designation of Chiricahua National Monument launched a symbiotic relationship between the park and Faraway Ranch. Strategically located at the only entrance to the park, every visitor to the monument would have to pass by the ranch. And being adjacent to the park, the ranch would be the ideal staging area for travelers who wanted to visit the formations. With no other lodging available in the immediate vicinity, the guest ranch held a virtual monopoly on restaurant and overnight facilities. Suddenly, Faraway Ranch didn't seem so "far away" any more--it was at the center of the new national tourist attraction. Ed and Lillian didn't waste an opportunity to promote that very niche. Every promotional piece they turned out reminded the reader of the ranch's proximity to the natural wonder. In one typical advertisement, the heading proclaimed: "Faraway Ranch: The only guest ranch bordering upon Wonderland of Rocks, Chiricahua National Monument."[130]

But the relationship was not one-sided. Because the park staff wanted convenient lodging nearby for their visitors (both vacationing and on park business), they had more than a casual interest in the success of the guest ranch.[131] And the Riggses' promotion of the park wrapped up with the ranch promotions increased visitation at the park. Although Faraway was a private business outside of the park, the

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Humane Habitat for man," *Arizona Review* XVIII (April 1969), 7-10. "Visitor brochures at Grand Canyon National Park in 1955 definitively stated that land within the park system 'is retained inviolate from commercial exploitation,' . . . This description of the commercial innocence of Arizona's parks . . . concealed their market value as consumer commodities. As visitors to the Grand Canyon read the literature asserting the 'inviolate' purity of the park, the Arizona Highways Department (with the cooperation of the NPS) counted and interviewed them, and reported their cash value to the state of Arizona. The . . . quantified . . . market value of Grand Canyon National Park [in 1954]: . . . [visitors] spent an estimated $117,000,000 on the trips that included the Park in their itineraries. They spent approximately $18,950,000 in the State of Arizona. . . . Despite the spiritual rhetoric, the value of Grand Canyon National Park as a consumer commodity could be . . . quantitatively measured. . . . If former Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall declined to assign a monetary value to the 'spiritual exhilaration of the wilderness,' boosters, business researchers, and thousands of migrating Americans proved less fastidious." Klein, 61, 62, 64.

[130] Ad in *Hoofs and Horns*, January 1936, page 11. Faraway was not the only guest/dude ranch that capitalized on nearby national parklands. In the mid 1930s, 25 dude ranches were located near Glacier National Park, 96 were close to the entrances of Yellowstone and Grand Teton national parks, and ten were near the entrances to Rocky Mountain National Park. Borne, 157.

[131] Chiricahua staff was not alone in NPS in having an interest in dude ranches. When Horace Albright was superintendent of Yellowstone National Park, he actively participated in the founding meeting of the Dude Ranch Association in 1926, and he continued a relationship with the organization for years. Borne, 147.

custodian/superintendent frequently included information about the ranch in his regular in-house reports on the national monument. Over time it became apparent that Faraway "owed its success to the establishment of Chiricahua National Monument."[132] As Lillian observed, "Without the park and our advertising it and ourselves, the ranch would be nowhere."[133] When the national monument was created, Lillian and Ed must have felt that they had found the pot at the end of the rainbow.

NATIONAL MARKET

When Hildegard started her boarder business in 1917, she relied exclusively on reputable, local area customers. However, as time passed, the business environment changed, and Faraway had to change with it. As more and more guest ranches opened in southeastern Arizona, too many businesses competed for the limited number of local customers. In addition, the people across the nation became more aware of dude ranches as the industry grew, and they became likely prospects for customers.

Dude and guest ranches across the West began appealing to a national market. "The early guest ranches attracted a fascinating, often peculiar lot of patrons. Though it is difficult to categorize them easily, the greater proportion of them were big-city easterners; they were normally rather social, substantially wealthy, somewhat adventurous, and probably more than a trifle romantic."[134] As has been discussed, the elite formed the majority of tourists in general, and their presence was always desired at tourist attractions. Since living the ranching life appealed to them--especially those in the East--they formed the customer base in the early years of the 1920s. Dude ranch advertising was heaviest in 'quality' publications, such as *Country Life, Town and Country, Vogue* and the *Junior League Magazine*. Then, as now, word of mouth is an extremely effective form of advertising; when the guests returned home and recommended the ranch to their friends, an interconnected group of customers began fraternizing at each dude ranch.[135]

Advertising campaigns conducted by railroads became a standard in the national marketing of dude ranches. The railroad companies' tradition of publicizing recreational locales in the West had started soon after the first tracks were laid. It made good financial sense to offer a "carrot" so people would have a reason to ride the train, so the transportation companies sought out enchanting vistas, interesting

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[132] Wilson, 198.

[133] Lillian Riggs to Hildegard Hutchison, August 27, 1931, FRC, series 1, box 9.

[134] Norris, 56.

[135] Pomeroy, 169.

peoples, and fascinating destinations to draw more passengers.[136] In the mid 1920s, the Southern Pacific recognized the collection of guest ranches in southern Arizona, and the industry became the focus of a multi-decade campaign. The railroad distributed brochures nationally that typically featured exquisite cover art that captured the romantic essence of dude ranching.[137] The text described what to expect, activities, what to wear, the delightful climate, and of course how easy it was to get there, along with an annotated list of guest ranches in the area. The Rock Island railroad also published promotional literature, though it wasn't as elaborate as the Southern Pacific's. Their Golden State Route promoted guest ranches, including Faraway. These railroad brochures contributed significantly to the national awareness of the southern guest ranches, and growth of the regionally industry grew accordingly.[138]

This connection between the railroad companies and dude ranches came naturally, since in the early days of the Arizona industry, the great majority of guests arrived by the railroad (in spite of the coming automobile popularity). In Ed and Lillian's promotional literature, they routinely described their service (and rates) for meeting guests at rail points and delivering them back again; the three cities that they typically cited were Willcox ($5, $2.50 extra for a trunk), Douglas and Bisbee ($10 each, with an extra $5 for trunks).[139]

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[136] "By 1886, the Northern Pacific Railroad began promoting tours to see Yellowstone National Park where they had built a luxury resort. Soon the Southern Pacific Railroad followed suit and began its promotion for touring Yosemite National Park as its trademark destination. Before long, 17 different railroad companies had developed advertising campaigns for touring the national parks. For the railroads, national park development and preservation made good business sense. So the barons of the railroad become natural allies with those who wanted to add more public lands to the national park system." Utah Center for Rural Life, <utahreach.usu.edu/ucrl/cd305a.htm>.

[137] The cover art was beautifully rendered, and typical of the era; in the early years it followed the stylized Art Deco of the era that was typical of the railroad literature, and by the 1950s the art shifted to the simplified sleek art of that period.

[138] See, for instance, Norris, 35 and Rodnitzky, 116. Southern Pacific and Rock Island were not the only railroads to promote the popular new form of entertainment. Northern Pacific Railroad, for instance, promoted the northern dude ranch industry, found along the northern rail route. One Northern Pacific brochure intoned, "Deep-rooted in the heart of every man, woman and child is a strong desire to be a part of the healthy, free, interesting life of a western ranch." Glenda Riley, *Women and Nature: Saving the "Wild" West*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 150. The Burlington and Union Pacific lines also became heavily involved in promoting the dude ranch industry. Borne, 55.

[139] "Faraway Ranch: The Last Frontier." ca. 1932-1947.

Another significant trend that affected the dude ranch market began in the 1910s and blossomed in the 1920s: the use of automobiles for vacationing. Admittedly, the average tourist was still "more prosperous than the American who stayed at home, but the automobile represented a new democratization of vacation travel."[140] The railroad--still thriving at that time--had brought many Americans to the outdoors but the automobile's impact was far greater; it has been a significant factor in altering tourists' activities and interests. A writer at the time observed, "The automobile has revolutionized the average American's vacation, it has brought about a renaissance of the outdoors."[141] NPS Director Stephen Mather earnestly supported auto tourism as a means to increasing park visitation. This belief proved to be accurate: visitors to national parks in 1910 numbered 199,000; after the national parks were opened to automobiles in 1913, visitors dramatically increased to 920,000 in 1920 and to 2,775,000 in 1930.[142]

Virtually simultaneously with the Riggs' realization that they had to step up to a national market, the Wonderland of Rocks became the focus of a local promotional campaign. The timing was fortuitous, for it gave the Riggses the key that they had needed to differentiate Faraway from other guest ranches. The geological wonder provided the extra value that would entice travelers to stay at Faraway, while they visited the adjacent national monument. The Riggses definitely recognized that value, and exploited it in all of their promotional literature. For the duration of the guest ranch business, the name Faraway was forever linked to Wonderland of Rocks or Chiricahua National Monument.

Lillian wrote brochures and sent advertising material to newspapers and other media, spending over $580 in advertising in 1925, '26, '27 and '29 "to put Faraway on the map." Over $390 of that expenditure was in 1929.[143] She titled a typical advertising brochure "Faraway Ranch: The Last Frontier" and also proclaimed on the cover: "The Gateway to the Wonderland of Rocks: Chiricahua National Monument." The text discussed the closeness of Faraway to Chiricahua National Monument: "Chiricahua is a beautiful spectacle. Trails lead from Faraway directly into the Park through canyons covered with pines and filled with the most wonderfully picturesque rock-spires like a mighty forest."[144] An entry she provided for a local paper noted, "Many people are coming to see the Wonderland of Rocks

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[140] Pomeroy, 127, 129-130

[141] Pomeroy, 146, citing Frank E. Brummer, "Autocamping: The Fastest Growing Sport," *Outlook* 137 (July 16, 1924): 437.

[142] Hyde, 1119.

[143] Lillian Riggs to Neil Erickson, November 23, 1930, FRC, series 1, box 9.

[144] "Faraway Ranch: The Last Frontier." [ca. 1932-1947].

every day, and everyone remarks about the beautiful scenery and the marvelous formations."[145]

Lillian typically used the "glowing terminology common to advertising prose of the period" in her promotional pieces:[146]

> Visitors came to Faraway and, arrayed in riding clothes or dungarees, learned the joys of the saddle and of ranch life--they followed the canyon and mountain trails--marveled at the beauty which each new trail opened up--joined in the everyday fun of ranch life--hunted or lazied [sic] the day through as choice preferred. And the pure, bracing air gave a new zest to appetite, a newer meaning to restful sleep--and Faraway Ranch with its delicious meals and comfortable beds answered both needs.
>
> A new conception of a real vacation was presented to the tired of mind--or to those who sought newer ways of living. And then the Wonderland of Rocks was discovered. Today, Faraway Ranch still offers all these comforts to the outer and inner man or woman . . . It offers something new--the opportunity of combining an unusual vacation with a visit to the wonders which have brought fame to Chiricahua Mountains.[147]

Their promotional material included regular entries in the local newspapers, in which they created an image for the guest ranch. One aspect that they promoted was the national (and international) origins of their guests: "During the past few weeks we have had guests from New Mexico, California, New York, New Jersey, Washington, D.C., and Old Mexico as well as a very large number from our own state."[148] They did, however, still rely on local customers: "Visitors are coming from all over and this past month we have seen an increase of interest in the Monument. We have had many guests from Tucson, Douglas, Bisbee, and other neighboring towns. Out-of-state guests have been mainly from California and New York."[149] Also on a local level, Lillian decorated the window of the Chamber of Commerce at Tucson, with hopes that it would bring business to Faraway.[150] An indication in the shift in their customer base and marketing approach is the fact

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[145] "Faraway Ranch," *Hoofs and Horns*, November 1934.

[146] Warren McArthur, Jr. and David H. Hoober, "'Camping Deluxe:' A Tour through Arizona in 1924," *Journal of Arizona History* 21, no. 2 (Summer 1980): 172.

[147] "Faraway Ranch: The Last Frontier." ca. 1932-1947

[148] "Faraway Ranch," *Hoofs and Horns*, October 1934.

[149] "Faraway Ranch," *Hoofs and Horns*, November 1934.

[150] Emma Erickson to Lillian Riggs, September 8, 1938, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78.

that for the first 12 years of business, the operators of Faraway Ranch called their customers "boarders." In 1929, they first began calling them "guests."[151]

In addition to word-of-mouth recommendations, railroad promotions, and individual advertisements, other vehicles promoted dude ranching in the 1920s and 30s. Dude ranch bureaus existed in a few large eastern cities and would link potential customers with ranches; in addition, large eastern newspapers published descriptive articles written in their travel sections. Organizations such as the Arizona Automobile Association also promoted guest ranches. Their travel directory described the ranches under the heading Spirit of the Old West: "Arizona offers a unique field of recreation in its many fascinating guest ranches. . . [they] are among the surviving institutions of the early days of the West and retain practically all of the original splendors that make Arizona historically interesting. The guest coming to Arizona who extends his stay on a guest ranch becomes acquainted with the thrilling aspects of typical western ranch life and at the same time enjoys every metropolitan comfort provided for his well-being and continued satisfaction."[152]

The simultaneous shift to national advertising combined with a new awareness of the value of the Wonderland of Rocks resulted in a significant change in who the Lillian and Ed targeted as customers, and who came to Faraway as guests. This shift created a new character at the ranch; instead of local customers, the guests more and more came from distant places, and their primary reason for coming to Faraway--at least for their first visit--was its location next to Chiricahua National Monument.

THE SUCCESS OF DUDE RANCHES

The 1920s and '30s might be called the golden era of dude ranches in the West. Several factors contributed to the great success of dude ranches in the 1920s and subsequent years. Struthers Burt, longtime Wyoming dude rancher and author, felt that the dude ranch succeeded "because it supplied a growing need." He proposed what might be called a "simple" theory: "in our increasingly complex and noisy life there should be places where people could actually be simple . . ." "The dude ranch atmosphere," he explained, "fostered a less complicated life, for its major characteristic was informality."[153] In addition, what might be called a "cocoon" theory suggests that the ranch provided the "kind of home environment where the

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[151] Faraway Ranch ledgers, FRC, series 9, folders 8, 9, 10, 11 and series 8 folder 89.

[152] Faraway did not have an ad in this publication, nor was it listed in the "official AAA appointments in Arizona"--but then only 7 guest ranches were listed for the state. Arizona Automobile Association, *Travel Directory of Arizona* (Phoenix: Rocky Mountain Motorists, Inc., 1931). Box 53, series 30, folder 6.

[153] Rodnitzky, 121, citing Struthers Burt, "Dude Rancher" *Outlook* CXLVI: 114.

[customers'] physical and social needs were taken care of." Also, "the ranch setting provided an opportunity to adopt a new lifestyle to become involved in; the lifestyle of the western rancher."[154]

However, changing attitudes and the symbolism of the West must also be considered in the success of the dude ranch phenomena. The popularity of dude ranches continued a trend that had begun decades earlier. As has been discussed, easterners were shifting their attitudes about the West, largely due to promotions created by westerners. Features that once were scorned or feared became attractions, as an increasingly urban America sought meaning in the rural past, and heroic myths grew to answer those needs.

"Perhaps the most characteristic institutionalization of the new era . . . was the dude ranch. Nothing else symbolized so well the changed attitude of twentieth-century Americans toward the idea of the West, and toward Western life." The dude ranch represented "the shift in the interests of the well-to-do tourists . . . who now seemed to seek out the kind of Western life . . . that once they had taken great pains to avoid."[155] That western life included stronger, more virtuous traits based on the romanticized cowboy and his western landscape as a symbol of the American frontier.[156] Dude ranching was a "fundamentally American institution, and resembled nothing else. The spirit and uniqueness of the Old West was there, along with some of its adventure."[157] Dude ranches "provided an ideal setting for a true western experience. These ranches were the physical manifestations of patrons' perceptions of western ideals." While at the ranches, the guests could "search for a part of the old western lifestyle" and "were able to imagine themselves as part of their own virtuous western dreams."[158] "It is thus a mirror of the realities of [western and] Arizona life, as well as the attitudes that vacationers hold toward that life."[159] For most customers "it was something more than a casual vacation . . . It was a trip through history, back through the life of the nation."[160]

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[154] Kumble, 103. This also fits well with anthropologist Victor Turner's suggestion that tourism consists of "ritualized encounters with the 'Other'" that allows travelers to "experience what it means to be of 'this place' and 'these people.'" Neel, 521, 522.

[155] Pomeroy, 167, 171.

[156] Kumble, 103; and 106 citing Roosevelt 1911.

[157] Rodnitzky, 123.

[158] Kumble, 106; and 196 citing Roosevelt 1911; Rodnitzky 1968; and Norris 1976.

[159] Norris, 2.

[160] Rodnitzky, 124.

Simply put, patrons experienced both a physical and a mental vacation during their stay at a guest ranch.[161]

Many of the factors that contributed to the success of the dude ranch industry related to the increasingly urban nature of the American lifestyle as compared to the rural atmosphere available at a dude ranch. And although it may have seemed to the eastern city dwellers that the dude ranch where they vacationed was the epitome of western rural life, in fact the guests were affecting the dude ranch itself. "One striking example of traditional western institution shifting from a rural to urban orientation was the dude ranch; throughout the West, marginal grazing operations increasingly turn to wealthy tourists as their chief source of income.[162]

As the dude ranches proved more and more lucrative, and the popular media picked up on the movement. "The market for 'Western' clothing extended; Westerners began buying what they had imported to sell to the tourists, and wore it after the tourists had left; in the years after the Second World War, when cowboy costumes for preschool children reached an unprecedented popularity, the fashion seemed to filter . . . into the older generation as well. 'There are more cowboy clothes worn in Arizona now than during the peak of the cowboy days,' observed a Phoenix reporter."[163]

President Calvin Coolidge's 1927 vacation in South Dakota exemplified the popularity of going to the West for vacation. With the media photographers fully represented, the diminutive man delighted in sporting a huge ten-gallon hat and cowboy boots. "The press reported that the West had taught the president how to play and how to enjoy the wide-open spaces. . . . It was a new setting for presidential relaxation. . . . "If the little Vermonter looked ridiculous in his hat and boots, and a far cry from the young rancher . . . he represented a far more numerous type, one that was becoming more numerous;" that is, urban dwellers who enjoyed experiencing an outdoors western lifestyle during their vacations. "It was news to have the president recognize and share the common taste, but it was already common."[164]

The guest ranching industry affected the West--more specifically Arizona--in another way.

> Arizona has one of the most well-known of state images . . . an attractive fusion of Western and Southwestern elements. . . . Several factors have been

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[161] Kumble, 106.

[162] William Cronon, "Landscapes of Abundance and Scarcity," in *The Oxford History of the American West*, Clyde A. Milner II, Carol A. O'Connor, and Martha A. Sandweiss (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 630.

[163] Pomeroy, 178-179 citing Deb Myers, "Arizona," *Holiday* 13 (January 1953): 28.

[164] Pomeroy, 181-183.

> responsible for the formation and success of this image. Chief among them, however, has been the guest ranch . . . The Southern Arizona guest ranch . . . was a primary determinant of the character of Arizona, the image of which is essentially intact today. It has succeeded at this in two ways: first, it was the most popular way for tourists to see Arizona in the years when the state was first becoming well-known to the rest of America; and second, it proved a foundation from which other advertisers of the state could build. Thus, the importance in the history of the state can hardly be overemphasized."[165]

WHAT GUEST RANCHES WERE LIKE

It is sometimes difficult to precisely define the characteristics of a traditional dude or guest ranch. However, the following characteristics can be considered the most important features:

> "1) It was generally the year-round home of the owner where the visitor was considered a guest;
> 2) it was located in western North America . . .;
> 3) it offered food, lodging, and horseback riding, most often at one price (i.e. the American Plan);
> 4) in location or in its outdoor activities it was remote from crowded areas;
> 5) its main activities have been horseback riding, fishing, hiking, hunting, sightseeing, and ranch work, although few of these activities were regimented and none mandatory; simple relaxation was always an option for the dude;
> 6) reservations were required, and transient trade was refused or formed little of the ranch's business;
> 7) atmosphere was the key ingredient; it was informal in manners and dress, people were on a first-name basis, hospitality was genuine, and guests did things together as part of a ranch family."[166]

Faraway Ranch fit this definition precisely.

LOCATION

The location of most early Arizona guest ranches followed a certain pattern. First, they were located in the southeastern part of the state. And because they tended to be working ranches, they also tended to be both isolated from large towns, as well as functionally located. Thus they tended towards lower-elevation (3000 to 5000 foot) ranching areas in the state, "among the grasslands and mixed chaparral-grassland vegetation zones (termed the 'woody grasslands' or 'plains and desert grassland') of the state."[167] More specifically, most early guest ranches

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[165] Norris, 1-2.

[166] Borne, 4.

tended to be positioned at "the interface between an alluvial slope and the adjacent, more precipitous mountain backdrop." For guests, this proved to be a valuable asset, since it provided "a variety of riding country (vegetationally and scenically)" and also presented a scenic backdrop.[168]

The altitude of these ranches made year-round entertainment possible, for their elevations protected them from the intense summer heat that is found at lower desert elevations.[169] Even so, their unique mild, sunny warmth in the winters made the difference between these southern Arizona ranches and those in the mountain valleys of the northern Rockies. And although other southern areas offered wintertime guest ranching "it is desert Arizona which has been the most generally equated with wintertime guest ranching by the American public." [170]

Frequently, the success of these ranches "depended upon access to nearby National Forest lands," which provided the opportunity for trail rides, pack trips, hunting expeditions, and other outdoor recreation.[171] Those ranches were usually situated along the base of the mountain ranges. "A Coronado National Forest Recreation Plan compiled in 1930 included fourteen dude ranches situated outside of the forest and five similar resorts on private lands within the forest."[172]

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[167] Norris, 47.

[168] Norris, 49 citing Rodnitzky, 119.

[169] "The early ranches varied . . . somewhat in the length of their seasons. Some of the ranches--particularly the isolated working ranches--were open for guests all year long, but most were open only for the extended winter season. The maximum length of the winter season was about October 1 to June 1 . . . . Regardless of the exact dates of operation, however, the majority of guest ranch revenue was realized during the winter and early spring, particularly in the months of December (especially around Christmas time), February, March, and early April." Norris, 44.

[170] Norris, 24. By the mid-1920's, dude ranches could be found in each of the eleven states which then constituted the western United States--and was beginning to be felt in several non-Western states as well. Rodnitzky, 115-117. "The dude ranches that sprang up in the Southwest differed widely. In general, Texas did little more than take in summer boarders . . . in California, winter ranches sprang up in the Palm Springs area, and in the summer guests flocked to cool mountain ranches in the western foothills of the Sierras. By comparison, Nevada, Utah, Oregon and Washington had very few dude ranches." Rodnitzky, 116.

[171] Wilson, 201-202.

[172] Wilson, 199 citing Harrison Burrall, "Forest Recreation Plan" (Tucson: Coronado National Forest, 1930.)

Faraway Ranch follows that pattern of location faithfully. It did start as a working ranch; however, it would be difficult to credit Emma Peterson Erickson with selecting the site using functional criteria. Instead, she fell in love with the area because "it proved to be the most gorgeous place that any one could desire."[173] It was, however, along the base of the Chiricahua Mountains, at just over 5000 feet in elevation, and had direct access to national forest lands, which provided a range of recreational opportunities. Although Arizona was typically cast as a winter market, the elevation of Faraway--along with its tree-covered, creekside location--enabled it to be a year-round resort. The natural beauty, assisted by plantings, also created an appealing atmosphere. One spring, Neil observed, "The little ditch by the side of the road is running a clear stream into the tank below. The robins are pulling worms from the soft earth. The Fly Catchers are gathering material for their nest under the eave. The lawn is green, the Tiger Lilies are holding the heads toward the setting sun. Rose bushes and all trees are in full fledge except the live oaks. They are shedding the old shroud for a new, green one and have turned yellow. The Grandifloras and Cherry trees are white with blossoms. The Almond trees have long since shed their flora and are green." [174]

Aside from those earlier ranches, newer ranches started developing in southern Arizona through the 1920s. The dude ranch industry moved to the market, locating where there was good climate and captivating scenery. Arizona provided winter opportunities, and by 1928 even the Eaton brothers, founders of the industry in North Dakota, had acquired a ranch in the state for winter operations.[175] And a new concept gained momentum in the latter half of the decade: guest ranches that weren't operational cattle ranches. This new type of guest ranch didn't need to acquire property that could support stock; to feed their small number of guest ranch stock, they could haul in fodder. These non-working guest ranches tended to cluster around towns; by the early 1930s, this clustering had occurred around Wickenburg, Rimrock, Phoenix and Tucson.[176] The concept was so successful the new ranches began to "compete seriously with the hotels of Florida and California" for winter guests.[177]

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[173] Emma S. Erickson, "[Untitled: Autobiographical]," 10 January 1946, FRC, series 4, folder 2.

[174] Neil Erickson, "Our First Night in Bonita Canyon," 19 April 1931, FRC, Series 4, folder 9.

[175] Pomeroy, 171. They owned the Rimrock Ranch, north of Camp Verde, near Montezuma Castle National Monument. Other duel-location ranches included the Elkhorn Ranch, operated in Montana and south of Tucson, as well as the Lazy K Bar, also located in both Montana as well as in the mountains near Tucson. Borne, 55.

[176] Norris, 44.

[177] Pomeroy, 171.

The new style of dude ranch was not popular with everyone, however. Dude ranchers across the West had gained enough self-awareness by 1924 that they organized The Dude Ranchers' Association, headquartered in Montana. Officially, it provided a professional approach to dude ranching, coordinated activities of its members, provided a vehicle through which dude ranchers could define their function, and advertised the industry.[178] Unofficially, it asserted "the dominance of the traditional working guest ranch." The artificial romantic frills that some of the newer ranches provided were not considered to be appropriate for true dude ranches.[179]

VISITING A GUEST RANCH

Visiting a traditional dude ranch during the 1920s or early '30s in many ways resembled visiting good friends at their cozy home. "The typical guest ranch was as homey and comfortable inside as it was rough and rustic on the outside. . . . This warm, pleasant atmosphere, expressed both physically and interpersonally, was one of the principal attractions of almost all of the early Arizona guest ranches." [180] Visitors were guests of the host (as opposed to being a customer at a hotel), and as such they were able to relax and enjoy their break from their daily routines. In addition, about 10 to 35 other guests were present,[181] and inevitably they proved to be interesting new acquaintances, and some became long-term friends. "The warmth generated by the mutual familiarity of the clientele helped make the atmosphere of the ranch pleasant and comfortable. In some ways, this warmth was reminiscent of a large, amiable home environment, and has consistently been one of the cardinal virtues of the guest ranch vacation."[182] Everyone came to the ranch with the idea of having a good time, and so a pleasant social atmosphere typically prevailed.

The traditional guest ranches were working cattle ranches, and so usually presented the appearance of such. A large ranch house or lodge typically took center stage, acting as a social center and a dining area. Corrals, outbuildings and individual cabins for the guests clustered around the ranch house.[183] The acreage

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[178] Rodnitzky, 115

[179] Norris, 37.

[180] Norris, 37.

[181] Norris, 16, 42.

[182] Norris, 68.

[183] Wilson, 198.

surrounding the headquarters of the ranch sometimes were owned by the ranch,[184] and sometimes were public lands, such as national forests.

The activities that were available at a guest ranch set the place apart from other vacations. Horseback riding, the activity most commonly associated with guest ranches--as well as the most popular--prevailed. Most guests loved riding, and found every excuse to take part. Riding the range attracted most riders, and often they rode to take part in a ranch chore, but usually they simply rode everywhere because they enjoyed it, using horses "much as a modern vacationist might use his car."[185] The ranch owner usually gave the guest a horse during his stay, so his mount was always available to him or her. Sometimes activities were arranged that involved riding, such as pack trips, hunting, picnics, cookouts, or riding trips to local points of interest.

Ranches also offered dudes the opportunity to take part in the ranch chores. Activities included rounding up the cattle, haying, branding, calf roping, riding the fences, and rounding up strays. While the guests were encouraged to participate in any activities that interested them, guests typically did not participate in ranch work to a very large degree. While the idea seemed romantic, on a practical level the guest usually found the work "took a considerable amount of skill" not to mention that it was "dirty, sweaty, and hard--something to try a few times, and then reflect upon, rather than something in which to consistently participate."[186] The ranch crew was thus left to perform the chores, but the guests found that observing the cowboys satisfied their hankering for a ranching experience.

A guest need not be interested in horses or cattle to enjoy themselves at a guest ranch. Other activities could always be found around the main ranch house. Cards were available for a game of bridge or poker; reading material could be picked up from the bookshelves; and hiking trails offered opportunities for exercise and enjoying the scenery. Arizona guest ranches, however, offered a special commodity: the winter sun. "The warmth of the sun easily induced an atmosphere of restfulness, and to this end, techniques of creative relaxation were perfected to quite a high degree. In fact, people occasionally spent the entire day in abject, utter non-activity, sunning themselves or otherwise 'loafing.'"[187] Of course, all of

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[184] "The working ranches were quite expansive. The majority of them ranged in size from 25,000 to 60,000 acres. Though thus large by Eastern standards, they were representative of most Arizona ranches. They included neither the largest nor the smallest ranches; the largest ranches showed no desire to adopt guest ranching, and the smallest could not offer the expansive riding land desired by most patrons." Norris, 43.

[185] Norris, 51.

[186] Norris, 54.

these pastimes did not just happen; the dude ranch owners busily set the stage for the activities, while making it appear effortless. For a discussion of some of these responsibilities, see the topic in the chapter on women.

ACTIVITIES AND ENVIRONMENT AT FARAWAY

At Faraway Ranch, the activities fell in step with the typical guest ranch, but with Lillian and Ed's own personal flare. The family home served as the center of activity and provided rooms for the guests. Guests also stayed in simple cabins near the house.[188] Rides and hikes into the Wonderland of Rocks were of course the featured activity, which differentiated Faraway from other guest ranches. In addition, guests were welcome to join the ranch hands in checking on cattle, and rounding up the stock to move them to other pastures. At one point Lillian reported, "Everyone has been very busy lately working on our roundup. We have just finished driving a bunch of steers to Willcox and shipping them to California. We are going to have another roundup again in a week or so and look forward to having quite a few guests to join in the fun."[189] Ed took out parties of guests, picnicked with them, climbed with them, and showed them the sights.[190] "Dressed in jodhpurs for the trail, Lillian accompanied many rides, impressing guests with her horsemanship and knowledge of the area."[191] Hunters also enjoyed coming to Faraway, as they had from the guest ranch's inception. And back at the ranch, "Lillian enthralled them with stories of her parents and frontier days. She played the piano in the evenings and led sing-alongs. . . .On summer evenings, visitors gathered on the lawn and ate popcorn while Ed projected slides on the wall of the house. On Sunday afternoons Ed served his legendary homemade ice cream."[192]

A brochure for Faraway boasted of

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[187] Norris, 56.

[188] By the early 1930s up to 32 guests could stay at Faraway, though this number was rarely reached at one time. Guests could stay in the ranch house (up to 13 guests, when necessary), the Stafford log cabin (6 guests); three other cabins (total of 11) and the upper porch of the house (2). David H. Wallace, *Furnishings at Faraway: Historic Furnishings Report, Faraway Ranch, Chiricahua National Monument, Arizona* (Harpers Ferry, West Virginia: Harpers Ferry Center, National Park Service, 1986), 41.

[189] "Faraway Ranch," *Hoofs and Horns*, November 1934.

[190] Lillian Riggs to J.P. Anderson, Kansas City, MO, [March? 1947], FRC, series 8, box 28, folder 63-65, fiche 119.

[191] Leavengood, 11.

[192] Leavengood, 11.

> indoor showers and an out-door swimming pool--in fact, practically all of the urban improvements transferred to the Arizona Mountains. . . . Although life at Faraway Ranch is a thing apart from the hurry of city life it keeps in touch with the world's doings by means of the radio and current periodicals . . .walks about the orchard and gardens surrounding the ranch, "assuring a supply of fresh vegetables." Swimming pool with fresh water from mountains, mile high altitude "tempers Arizona's summer heat and summer days as a consequence are never hot." Faraway's winter climate is as ideal as the summer . . . make Faraway an all year round resort. . . . There is every kind of horse available at Faraway from the spirited animal for the seasoned riders to the gentle one for the novice. Their everyday use is a regular part of Ranch life. . . . Whether you come to Faraway Ranch merely as a transient guest . . . or your visit is to be a month long vacation you will find the Ranch ready, every day in the year, to offer you its comforts. . . . [193]

In spite of the all-American appeal, however, not everyone was welcome at guest ranches. Whether due to concerns about communicable diseases or because of ethnic, religious or racial prejudice, some guest ranches placed restrictions on whom they welcomed to their ranches. In Arizona, particularly, ranch hosts worried about guests arriving with tuberculosis. The state's image as a haven for those seeking a healthy climate ran counter to guest ranchers' goals for their own facilities. As a result, these owners typically did not accept tuberculars or asthmatics as guests. The ranchers usually stated their policy clearly, both to inform people with health problems that their ranch was not a facility that could accommodate their needs, and at the same time to communicate to healthy potential clients that they could expect to find only healthy fellow guests. Some of the early ranches were so serious about the issue--and wanted to communicate that to their guests--that they required medical examinations prior to a guest's visit.[194] Faraway Ranch followed the Arizona pattern regarding the health issue, and stated in their advertising literature that they were "compelled to exclude persons with communicable diseases."[195]

Racial and religious discrimination was displayed at a different geographical center, with eastern dude ranches seemingly being the locus of such attitudes. During the 1930s one-third to one-half of the Eastern ranches advertised themselves as 'restricted,' that is, restricted to white Christians, thus excluding African-Americans and Jews. Very few Western dude-ranch advertisements said a ranch was 'restricted,' however, it is not clear if the ranches did in fact restrict their clientele.[196] Faraway Ranch, for instance, did not include any information regarding

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[193] "Faraway Ranch: The Last Frontier." ca. 1932-1947.

[194] Norris, 60.

[195] "Faraway Ranch: The Last Frontier" [brochure]. ca. 1932-1945.

[196] Rodnitzky, 121

racial or religious restrictions in its own promotional literature. However, when prompted with a question regarding its practice, Lillian responded, in the 1930s, "No Hebrews taken." And in the 1950s, she limited her customers to "people of the white race . . . we do not object to Jewish people, but other guests sometimes might." She went on to explain that her clientele included people of "reasonable culture and refinement, who enjoy nature and simple living, not frequenters of bars and cocktail lounges.[197] Lillian retained specific ideas about whom she allowed in her home.

Although not welcome as guests, some of the employees at Faraway were African Americans, though apparently neither Lillian nor Ed left any record of this. All references to their race were noted by others. For instance, Neil noted in his diary that Lillian, Ed and Emma returned from Douglas "with a colored girl (Sara)."[198] Later, he noticed, "Dean[?] Williams and wife Gemima have gone, and other colored people are expected to come."[199] A few days later, Beulah Erickson observed, "Don't think our cook will be a success--has to be shown over & over. . . Colored boy doing fine--very ambitious."[200] While they looked for an assistant for Emma, who was almost crippled at that time, the elderly woman offered the opinion, "I hope it will be good help and white folk."[201] Later, a friend of Emma's asked, "Do you have your colored girls with you that was there when I visited you and are you still keeping boarders?"[202] It's difficult to draw many conclusions about the experiences of these Black Americans; however, since Lillian and Ed hired the staff, and neither of them left a reference to race, it might be inferred that the couple didn't see the situation as remarkable, while Neil and Emma did find it notable enough to write about it.[203]

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[197] American Express Hotel, Resort, Camp and Ranch Register," post June 22, 1931, FRC, series 8, folder 63-65; Rock Island Lines questionnaire form, August 28, 1956, FRC, series 1, folder 50-56. The fact that two different national questionnaires specifically asked about such restrictions indicates the prevalence of its practice.

[198] Neil Erickson, diary, January 29, 1930, FRC, series 2, folder 33.

[199] Neil Erickson, diary, May 1, 1937, FRC, series 2, folder 38.

[200] Beulah Erickson to Lillian Riggs and Neil Erickson, May 5, 1937, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78.

[201] Emma Erickson to Neil Erickson, April 15, 1937, FRC, series 1, folder 75-78.

[202] Mattie Pierce to Emma Erickson, April 2, 1944, FRC, series 1, folder 226.

[203] During World war II, Lillian wrote a letter to radio announcers criticizing their racist attitudes regarding Japanese-Americans. Lillian Erickson, January 1945, FRC, series 8, folder 4-5.

Not all guests came for vacation. As has been noted, the governor of Arizona, and a crowd of people accompanying him, stayed at Faraway when evaluating the Wonderland of Rocks. Just about any National Park Service staff person who came to Chiricahua on business stayed at Faraway. And in 1927, cowboy star Rex Bell and a 40-person crew stayed at Faraway while they filmed the movie *Wild West Romance* at Chiricahua. The dog Mutt costarred, but if is not known if he also stayed at the ranch.[204]

When Neil Erickson retired in December 1927, he and Emma moved back home. However, their home now operated as a guest ranch, with troops of guests streaming through. The situation was not altogether unknown to them, however, since they had frequently returned to Faraway to live during the winter months.[205] In addition, they were used to working with tourists after their experience at Walnut Canyon, so they apparently took the guest ranch in stride. A letter from a guest to Neil indicates how thoroughly the older gentleman incorporated himself into the activities of the guest ranch, and also gives us some insight into the daily activities: "With raising and lowering the flag each day at sunrise and sundown, . . . fitting doors, going after chickens and wood, riding horses and a dozen and one other things I am sure you have no use for Indian clubs [club-shaped implements used in gymnastic exercise]. After discussing the turkeys that woke her in the mornings, the guest continued:

> "We certainly had a very pleasant month on your ranch, Mr. Erickson. There is such a homelike atmosphere which means so much. . . Thank you for all you did to make it interesting for us from the first night when you lit the gas heater for us to carrying down our suitcases on the day we left. We enjoyed your stories of Indians and early days and the rides you gave us in your car."[206]

THE DEPRESSION

The 1930s were in the midst of the heyday of dude ranching. During '30s and '40s "the industry was growing, and influential in many of the local tourist economies of

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[204] Newspaper clipping and notation, Acc. 80, Stratton donation, WACC; and Wallace, 41.

[205] Neil Erickson Stock Raising Homestead Entry 035343 for Sections 21 and 27, T16S, R29E, patented November 18, 1924; Phoenix, Arizona; General Land Office; Records of the Bureau of Land Management, Record Group 49; National Archives, Washington, DC.

[206] Marjorie A. Anderson to Neil Erickson, March 30, 1929. FRC, series 1, folder 9-15.

low-elevation Arizona deserts."[207] The Great Depression did little to halt the spread and popularity of dude ranches, so the industry "came through the Depression years handsomely."[208] The *New York Times* noted in 1932 that "even in the midst of the economic recession dude ranchers were enjoying a thriving business in traffic and earnings."[209] Travel bureaus estimated that 20,000 persons spent vacations at summer dude ranches during the 1937 season.[210] Many of these travelers were members of the upper class, which was logical at that particular point in time. When a person is out of work or under employed due to the depression, vacation is not their highest priority. However, many members of the upper class were buffered from the economic extremes; thus the elite were able to travel when the middle class could not afford to do so. Lillian Riggs frequently took the opportunity to reveal the social status of her guests. In one newspaper entry, for instance, she reported on a recent camping trip with their guest, the American Consul at Nogales: "Pine boughs for beds (don't tell [forest supervisor] Fred Winn.) A star-spangled sky for a roof; winds from a dozen valleys to fan our cheeks; camp-fires--with plenty of smoke--by which to cook our meals and spin our yarns. We found deer grazing with our saddle horses."[211] But the dude ranch industry could not claim to be the only tourist attraction that succeeded in the depression.

Tourism in general, had become rather significant industry by the end of the 1920s, persisted in growing steadily during the 1930s, in spite of the financial situation in the Great Depression. A 1937 examination of economic aspects of recreation, found "'nothing is more striking . . . than the increase in travel for pleasure during the last twenty-five years.'" Consumer spending for vacation travel rose from "$465 million in 1909 to $2,331 million by 1935 when Americans spent over 50 percent of the total estimated expenditures devoted to recreational activities . . . for vacations away from home."[212] "More tourists were pouring into parks and national monuments and national forests; more tourists were going to Mount McKinley during the bad times of the 1930's than had gone to Yosemite in the good times of the 1870's."[213]

Dude ranching did enjoy prosperity during the depression, and by 1935 the industry entered an especially successful phase. Western railroads continued to promote

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[207] Norris, 11.

[208] Wilson, 202.

[209] Rodnitzky, 115, citing *New York Times*, August 7, 1932.

[210] Rodnitzky, 118 citing *New York Times*, July 24, 1938.

[211] "From the Faraway Ranch," *Hoofs and Horns*, October 1935, p. 8.

[212] Mooney-Melvin, 37 citing Julius Weinberger, "Economic Aspects of Recreation," *Harvard Business Review* 15 (Summer 1937): 455-61.

[213] Pomeroy, 214, 215.

dude ranches, and acted as clearinghouses of information for interested travelers. The industry had become established and reputable enough that the University of Wyoming began offering a four-year degree in Recreational Ranching to teach students "'how to entertain paying guests on Wyoming's dude ranches.'"[214] During this time, Wickenburg, Arizona began calling itself the "Dude Ranching Capital of the World" due to the more than thirty guest ranches in the vicinity.[215]

The Arizona industry also evolved into a new phase in the mid 1930s. Many tourists had became enchanted with the idea of a western vacation, but the idea of roughing it on an isolated, rustic cattle ranch didn't appeal to them all. Savvy Arizona businessmen recognized that there was a market waiting to be served, and the dude ranch industry diversified to please tourists' varying demands. The major shift resulted in guest ranches that did not include cattle ranching.

Once cattle were removed from the dude ranch equation, the location of the ranches shifted. Since the owner didn't need to be concerned about good grazing land for stock, the property could be anywhere that tourists found appealing. The new non-working guest ranches learned that in addition to a ranching atmosphere, accessibility and convenience ranked high, as did attractions in towns, so they located near Tucson and Phoenix. Since these new locations were not truly ranches, they could not offer a true ranch environment; instead they emphasized symbols of the West. Activities at non-working guest ranches thus seemed western, but would have never been found on a working cattle ranch, including chuck wagon rides, hay rides, breakfast rides, western sing-a-longs around a campfire, and similar endeavors.[216] These new pursuits also called for less exertion on the part of the client. As Arizona attracted more tourists due to advertising the state's warm winter climate, activities more related to the climate (rather than the West) became important; swimming and sunbathing were two activities that the Arizona ranches offered to these new tourists. What these new dude ranches tendered "was less a genuine rural way of life than a carefully crafted fantasy for leisure-class consumers--dude ranching was hardly 'traditional' life on the land."[217] Nevertheless, adapting to the new interests of tourists, the Western-oriented guest

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[214] Rodnitzky, 116.

[215] Joel H. Bernstein, *Families That Take In Friends: An Informal History of Dude Ranching* (Stevensville, Montana: Stoneydale Press, 1982), 139. Although the locale's enthusiasm over its industry can be understood, Arizona is actually believed to have ranked third in number of dude/guest ranches in 1936. Of an estimated 356 dude ranches that year, Montana and Wyoming were ranked the highest, with 114 and 95, respectively. Next came Arizona with 65, then New Mexico with 26, and 25 in Colorado. These five states accounted for over 90% of the dude ranches at that time. Borne, 61.

[216] Norris, 222.

[217] Cronon in Milner, 630.

ranch (as opposed to the genuine or traditional guest ranch) eventually became the most popular guest ranch form.

FARAWAY IN THE 1930s

Thirty years after the Depression (when Lillian was trying to sell the guest ranch) she remembered Faraway's early decades with a golden glow. "People came to our small and inadequate guest ranch to view the marvels of our Wonderland, to study its flora and fauna, to ride the cool wooded canyons, to escape the rigors of northern climes and to escape the heat of lowland valleys which stretch away on all sides. It became the dream of our lives to establish an attractive and adequate lodge in such a setting as Bonita Canyon to care for the nature lovers who came from distant parts. . . . To have the sort of place we dreamed of would take time and money. We were on the way--and happily so. The Park Service took over. They were constructing better trails and building roads, headquarters, residences and a camp ground. We were biding our time in building the lodge. A constantly increasing number of travelers were coming. No question of our success."[218]

In spite of Lillian's picturesque image of Faraway's success, the Depression and the development of the southern Arizona guest ranch industry--as well as other influences--did affect Faraway in the 1930s. While the industry as a whole thrived during the decade, Faraway eked out an existence. Although publicly Lillian insisted that the business was successful, their revenue ledgers revealed another side to the story. During the Depression the amount of annual revenues that the guest ranch produced was comparable to the amount they took in during the mid 1920s.[219] While the figure is good in that the Riggses were indeed bringing in yearly revenues, and bringing it in at the same level that they had during those earlier years, they weren't doing as well as they had during the intervening years of the late 1920s.[220] What isn't precisely known is how much profit the couple made from their revenues. It is clear from their observations that they weren't thriving. It is possible that their business acumen was partly to blame for the situation. For instance, during the pre-war years, two of their highest revenue years were 1931 and '32, which should have resulted in high profits.[221] However, the couple noted

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[218] Lillian Riggs to Walter Broadfoot, administrative assistant of Holiday Inns of America, Inc., May 24, 1967, FRC, series 8, folder 36.

[219] From 1923 (the year they married) through 1926, the guest ranch revenues equaled a median amount of $2,138 per year, while in the period 1934 through 1939 they took in a median of $2,224 each year.

[220] During 1927 through 1930 they brought in an annual median of $3,758.

[221] Their highest pre-war year was 1931, with revenues of $6,343, almost five times more than what they brought in during 1923, the year of their marriage. In 1932 they took in $4,634, the third highest intake in a two-decade period.

in their records that the high figure was due to the presence of surveyors and other Bureau of Public Roads crew, which resulted in a "large total but so many were fed that there was very little profit."[222] One has to wonder why a large number of customers resulted in small profits; it would seem that if their services and goods were priced appropriately, then their profits would have risen.

Questions such as these also occurred to Neil, Emma and Hildegard. As is more fully discussed in the chapter in ranching, in the early 1930s, a family feud pitted Lillian and Ed against their relatives. In addition to the threesome's concerns about the management of the cattle ranch, they especially criticized the Riggses for their management of the guest ranch. Hildegard pointed out to Lillian and Ed that they hadn't started from scratch, but rather that Neil, Emma, Ben and Hildegard "spent a good many years making the place what it was when you took it over." She believed that Lillian and Ed's financial problems were due at least partly to the low prices and high overhead. "You put out a pamphlet for the ranch with rates so absurdly cheap that all but a tramp would laugh at it. Why respectable camp cottages alone in both Arizona and California cost nearly as much as you charge for room, eats, horses, swims and everything." (Compared to the Wetherill and Colville guest ranches, Hildegard was correct, though direct comparisons are difficult.)[223] She believed, "It can be done if we work together and cut out much overhead expense and we ourselves do as we did when we started mama and I -- and you and I."[224] However, she apparently didn't consider a salary for the family members if she thought they would save money by not hiring help. Furthermore, she wasn't pleased with the Riggses suggestion that they sell some property to a hotel "for a big price," chastising that "if that is done and developments made, it will greatly

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[222] Faraway Ranch ledgers, FRC, series 9, folders 8, 9, 10, 11; and FRC, series 8 folder 89.

[223] Hildegard Hutchison to Lillian Riggs, September 2, 1931, FRC, series 1, folder 128-153. One comparison she may have made was with John Wetherill and Colville guest ranches at La Osa, Arizona and Kayenta, Arizona who offered a single room with bath and horse for $65/week. Neil had obtained this information in 1928. FRC, series 1, folder 305-311. However, one secondary source indicates that in the 1930s and '40s, the most elegant of the Arizona guest ranches on the American Plan charged between $25 and $50 per week, which included room, board, horse and saddle, and the use of all other facilities. Bernstein, 139. In comparison, rates at Faraway in the early 1930s for a single room with access to a bath, and a horse for $6 per day [$42 per week]. Since Faraway was on the American Plan, the price included all lodging, meals, and participation in organized activities. "American Express Hotel, Resort, Camp and Ranch Register," post June 22, 1931, FRC, series 8, folder 63-65. In 1935 the couple advertised their rates as $37.50 per week, including use of saddle horse. "Guest Ranch Accommodations in Southern Arizona," *Tucson*, 8, no. 10 (October 1935). series 37, folder 70.

[224] Hildegard Hutchison (with co-signers Emma and Neil Erickson) to Lillian Riggs, August 21, 1931, FRC, series 1, folder 128-153.

detract from the value of the home place and likely ruin the water entirely."[225] (Ben was also thinking of selling his land to the hotel company, for a golf course and landing field.) [226]

Neil also expressed concern about the economic viability of the guest ranch business. "As near as I can tell from your own statement, you have run the place at a loss, and you have had to use money derived from your cattle to run the guest ranch. . . . if such be the case . . . you should have given up the place long ago, for your own good." Since Neil, Emma and Hildegard all had a financial stake in the property (since the elder couple owned the land and Hildegard would inherit one-third of it) the threesome decided "to change the management, at least in part or in the whole, as you think best. If the place cannot be made to pay as a guest ranch, we will not try to maintain it as such. And on the other hand if it can be made to pay we will with all share alike."[227]

Lillian and Ed defended themselves by pointing out that they were putting value into the ranch in an indirect way, so Ben and Hildegard would gain. "Our work in developing and advertising the park, getting the road in, and putting Bonita Canyon on the map, adds directly and immensely to the increase of value of the property in which we all know they have an equal share." (This defense underlines the integral relationship that the guest ranch had with the national monument: advertising the park increased the value of their own property.) She also defended the denouncement of not being profitable: "Ed and I have built up a successful--(at last) business for ourselves."[228] More specifically she recounted, "During the two years that Mr. Souers' school was here, the [guest] ranch paid its way all the time. The two years following the opening of the park, it did also, and a little more." What wasn't said was the converse of that data: that out of almost nine years of running the guest ranch together, the couple apparently had earned a profit in only four of them. She did admit, "there has never yet been a year that the cattle did not have to help out on the improvements and expenses of the [guest] ranch."[229]

Lillian and Ed were apparently not interested in working together with the other family members, and in reaction to Neil's proposal that they move out by January

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[225] Hildegard Hutchison (with co-signers Emma and Neil Erickson) to Lillian Riggs, August 21, 1931, FRC, series 1, folder 128-153.

[226] [Lillian Riggs, ca. August-September 1931], FRC, series 1, box 9.

[227] Neil and Emma Erickson to Lillian Riggs, September 9, 1931, FRC, series 1, folder 101-106.

[228] Lillian Riggs to Hildegard Hutchison, August 27, 1931, FRC, series 1, box 9.

[229] Lillian Riggs to Neil Erickson, November 23, 1930, FRC, series 1, box 9. Ed Souers was superintendent of schools in Bisbee and Douglas; a boys' school was held at the ranch in 1927-29. Wallace, 33; and Livingston, 47.

1932, the couple devised several alternative scenarios. These ideas included turning over guest ranch and ranch to Hildegard and her husband Jess; turning over the home ranch but keeping the name and guest business of Faraway Ranch; selling part of their own ranch and cattle, etc.[230] The couple explored the idea of moving their guest ranch business to their own property, and asked one of their repeating guests to finance the construction. His response was encouraging, but given that the request came during the heart of the Great Depression, he was not able to comply.[231]

In some way, however, the family agreed upon a resolution for the situation. No apparent changes happened at Faraway Ranch. For a while Lillian and Ed tried to reduce overhead expenses by not hiring helpers. This experiment failed. "I have a woman from Iowa to do the cooking. . . . I thought I might get along without anyone but I simply could not. When [daughter] Lee and I had all the kitchen work to do there was no time at all for the other things. If there were not people coming all the time it would be different. But I don't think there has been a day in the past ten that there haven't been from two to six extra. I can't do all the extra working for crowds and keep up with the letters, chickens, vegetables, cattle and everything."[232] However, the family dropped the profitability and mismanagement issues, and didn't record any additional dissension. The guest ranch continued to bring in a rather stable amount of revenue throughout the remainder of the Depression.

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[230] Ed Riggs to Mr. Cooper, [ca. August-September 1931], FRC, series 1, folder 238-242; and [Lillian Riggs, ca. August-September 1931], FRC, series 1, box 9.

[231] “I am sure you are doing the right thing in developing the guest ranch idea as I agree with you that the guest traffic in Arizona will increase year after year, and from my own experience, I know that one couldn’t find a better spot than your ranch.” Even so, he had to turn down Ed’s request to finance building a new ranch farther up the canyon, due to “the severe decline in security prices which makes my present financial position a little uncomfortable, to say the least.” He reported that he planned to return often to Faraway; he had received a long letter from fellow guests, again indicating the interconnected network of guests at dude ranches. Duncan J. McNabb (president, Guardian Detroit Company) to Ed M. Riggs, 11 January 1932, Acc. 1726, Miscellaneous Faraway Information, WACC. McNabb's comment about his financial position being " a little uncomfortable" was indeed an understatement. His company was key in the banking crisis during the depression. The Guardian Detroit Union Group, backed by Henry Ford, owned banks in sixteen Michigan cities. Its overextended banks lent heavily to real estate, and also lent money to its own officers and employees to buy Guardian stock, sparking a panic. As a result, the governor of Michigan closed the state's banks in February 1933, which in turn led to President Franklin Roosevelt calling a national bank holiday a month later. Norman Gall, "Depression Talk," Fernand Braudel Institute of World Economics, May 1987, <www.normangall.com/arquivosdoc/net.rtf>.

[232] Lillian Riggs to Emma and Neil Erickson, November 1, 1933, FRC, series 1, box 9.

While new Western-oriented (rather than ranch-oriented) southern Arizona guest ranches opened, competing for business, the Riggses continued to focus on its unique situation: being situated at the boundary of Chiricahua National Monument. A 1934 event pointed out the close relationship between the guest ranch and the national monument: the completion of the road into the park. The road went right through the Erickson property at Faraway Ranch; some property owners may have objected to this construction with the promised extra traffic. And, indeed, the Riggses had mixed feelings about the road. During the early planning stages, when both Pinery Canyon and Bonita Canyon were discussed as a proposed location for the road, Ed observed, "It really makes no great difference to us. In fact, we would rather not have a public highway up our canyon, our exclusiveness would then be a thing of the past. We will always be able to pull all the trade we can handle from the more desirable and worthwhile people."[233] Nonetheless, the couple recognized the importance of having a road to the monument, and supported the construction of the road, even though it divided their land. Now that the monument road was connected to the nearby county road, which connected to the nearby state highway, access to the ranch and the monument was much easier for vacationers and day travelers in automobiles.[234] The completion of the project prompted a grand opening celebration, held at Massai Point. Approximately 7,000 people attended the dedication, and of course they had to drive right by Faraway Ranch buildings. To Ed and Lillian, some of the more important visitors that day were the reporters. Seizing the sales opportunity, the couple had invited several western newspaper reporters to stay at Faraway. As a result of the couple's perceptive planning, the reporters published articles in Los Angeles, San Francisco and Denver newspapers, publicizing not only Chiricahua but also Faraway Ranch. [235]

Another business connection with the park came about when Ed and the Chiricahua staff became interested in a horseback riding business in the park. With the help of son Murray Riggs and son-in-law Hunter Stratton,[236] Ed began by testing the

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[233] Ed Riggs to Neil and Emma Erickson, August 7, 1923, FRC, series 1, folder 238-242.

[234] Even before the road was completed, numerous people visited the site. Over 28,000 visitors came to the monument in 1933. “Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report,” April 1934, Acc. 1777, WACC. The new road, Bonita Canyon Highway, connected to current State Highway 181, which connected to current U.S. Highway 191. Access to other towns in the region thus became much easier than earlier. The U.S. Bureau of Public Roads and the Arizona Highway Department administered the public works project.

[235] Leavengood, 12

[236] His daughter Eula Lee had married Hunter Stratton in October 1935. Eula Lee Murray Riggs, “Eula Lee Murray Riggs’ Account of Ed Riggs Family History,” n.d. Acc. # 1721, WACC.

market in 1938 to see if a saddle stock permit would pay its way. The Chiricahua superintendent supported the idea: "We will naturally do all we can to make it a success because so many visitors come unprepared for walking or are unable to walk and thus miss some of the finest formations. Chiricahua is an ideal horseback monument and the visitor can enjoy from an hour or two to a full day in the saddle."[237]

NPS issued special use permit to the Riggses to operate a saddle horse business in Chiricahua National Monument during the calendar year of 1941, and that year the horse business in the park brought a net profit of $208.63. The permits continued to be issued for most of the 1940s.[238] In December 1943, the superintendent noted, "Of the 96 visitors this month, 86 came in 16 cars, the other 10 made the trip on horseback in three parties from the Faraway Ranch."[239] A few years later, Lillian noted, "We run the horses for the sight-seeing trips into the Monument. We have twelve riding horses at present and sometimes these go out three times a week. Sometimes not at all."[240] Whether the patronage was three parties a month or three times a week, customers were not stampeding to ride horses into the park. During the time that Faraway operated as a guest ranch, the cost to keep twelve horses would have to be carried by the guest business.

Two other examples of the symbiotic relationship between the national monument and the Riggs' ranch came about when a Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) crew was stationed at Chiricahua National Monument. The CCC hired Ed as a trail foreman for a salary of $1,800 a year. This added considerably to the family's income--his personal income was greater in 1935 and '37 than the guest ranch's revenues (and this was before the guest ranch's expenses were deducted to determine profit). Having a steady reliable cash income took the edge off of running the guest ranch (as well as the cattle ranch). It paralleled Neil's taking a Forest Service job three decades earlier in order to be able to live at the ranch.

Another aspect of the CCC that affected the guest ranch was the establishment of the enrollee's camp on the Riggs' property.[241] From 1934 to 1940, the guests at the ranch were quite close to the camp where up to 200 young men spent their evenings and weekends. This ironic juxtaposition placed young men who needed employment next to more well-to-do tourists who had enough disposable income to take a relaxing vacation during the Depression.

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[237] Southwest Monuments Monthly Report, January, February and June 1938, Acc. 1777, WACC.

[238] FRC, series 8, folders 16-21.

[239] Southwest Monuments Monthly Report, December 1943, Acc. 1777, WACC.

[240] Lillian Riggs, [1946 or 47], FRC, series 8, box 27, folder 26.

[241] Although the Riggses leased the property to the government, they earned only $1 a year--surely not enough to make a difference in the family's budget!

TRANSFORMING THE CCC CAMP INTO CAMP FARAWAY/FARAWAY LODGE, 1940-1945

At the end of the government's use of the CCC camp, the Riggses hoped to sell eighty acres of land, including the CCC camp, to the government. That transaction was not completed, but the couple was able to negotiate a deal in which the NPS left the improvements on the Riggs land. As a result, the couple "inherited" 24 buildings, including 5 barracks, a mess hall/kitchen, an infirmary, generator houses, a blacksmith shop, and a carpenter shop.[242] Lillian and Ed decided a good use for the property was a 'roughing it' camp for groups, providing dormitory-style accommodations with cots for up to 100 people. They dubbed it "Camp Faraway." The couple envisioned that such "inexpensive but comfortable camping quarters" (complete with running water and electricity) would be popular with children's and young people's organizations. In addition to the dorms, the camp included a building known as Camp Faraway Lodge "with partitioned rooms, comfortable beds and modern conveniences" that accommodated about 20 people. Several cottages were also available at low rates. Also available at Camp Faraway were a well-equipped kitchen that served two dining rooms, and a recreation building "furnished with table tennis courts, card tables, writing desks and a floor for dancing." Rather than operate the Camp Faraway themselves, Lillian and Ed leased the facility to Mr. and Mrs. Warren D. Schreurs (whose home was in Tucson) for $190 per month plus a portion of the camp's gross income. The ranch and camp cooperated in planning "interesting trips and recreational activities. Horses of all types [were] available and there [were] guided hikes, cowboy dances, campfire stunts nights, and the like."[243]

Camp Faraway and Camp Faraway Lodge opened in the summer of 1940, when the facility operated for three months. The Schreurs advertised the new camp by telling the public about its connection with the Faraway Ranch, and that it was located at the "Gateway to Chiricahua National Monument, offers a low cost vacation in one of nature's beauty spots. . . . Come spend a week or two with us. Your vacation budget will go much farther."[244] However, business wasn't up to the Schreurs' expectations; as a result, Mr. and Mrs. Schurers abandoned their attempt to operate Camp Faraway and Camp Faraway Lodge in mid summer.[245]

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[242] Lillian and Ed Riggs, October 10, 1940, FRC, series 8, folder 98.

[243] Newspaper clipping, no date, no newspaper title, FRC, series 8, folder 98; and "Income from Camp Faraway," 1940, FRC, series 8, folder 98. An alternate spelling for the lessees' name was Schurer.

[244] Flyer, no date, FRC, series 8, folder 98.

[245] In the early summer of 1941 a YWCA group stayed at the camp, as well as several family groups, but income from Camp Faraway for 1941 came primarily

Next, the Riggses leased the camping facility to William Sprague of New York. In early 1942, Lillian agreed to pay Mr. Sprague "25% of gross income from Camp Lodgings as a trial plan for the summer in return for his advertising and promotion efforts and looking after the camp as host." She also agreed to provide his meals and lodging at no cost.[246] Apparently they decided to drop the name Faraway Camp, and named the entire facility Faraway Lodge.

The hosts were optimistic for the 1942 summer season. Frank Fish, the custodian at Chiricahua National Monument reported, “It is believed the use of the [Faraway Lodge] facilities by the public will have more success this summer than last as many local people will take advantage of the increased recreational advantages at the reasonable rates offered.” [247] Indeed, by the time the operation opened in May, they had reservations for more groups than they had had for the entire 1941 season.[248]

However, the war effort impacted the business at the lodge, as it impacted the entire dude ranch industry and tourism in general. Especially relevant was rationing of automobile tires and gasoline, but other restrictions included civilian train and airplane travel, in addition to a shortage of workers.[249] By June 1942, “Many groups that had planned on utilizing Faraway Lodge [had] canceled their reservations on account of transportation difficulties.”[250] That season, only four large groups used the camp, for 1 to seven days each.[251] By December 1942, gasoline rationing had been started, affecting travel everywhere. “Visitors become a thing one reads about,” Chiricahua's Custodian Fish observed.[252]

The business at Faraway Ranch shifted to weekends and meals. The park superintendent reported, “Travel continues to be a Sunday business; in fact, of the

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from two small groups at the lodge. "Girl Reserve Camp" May 25-June 1, 1941 through YWCA, at Camp Faraway. FRC, series 8, folder 98; "Income from Camp Faraway," 1942, FRC, series 8, folder 98; and Southwest Monuments Monthly Report, July 1941, Acc. 1777, WACC.

[246] March 25, 1942, FRC, series 8, folder 98. Alternate spellings of his name in the family's papers include Spragge and Spragg.

[247] Southwest Monuments Monthly Report, March 1942, Acc. 1777, WACC.

[248] Southwest Monuments Monthly Report, April 1942, Acc. 1777, WACC.

[249] Borne, 174.

[250] Southwest Monuments Monthly Report, June 1942, Acc. 1777, WACC.

[251] "Income from Camp Faraway," 1942, FRC, series 8, folder 98.

[252] Southwest Monuments Monthly Report, December 1942, Acc. 1777, WACC.

301 visitors, only 25 visited the area on days other than Sunday. . . . The present tendency in visitor changes appears to be an increase in horseback riding, mainly by members of the armed forces; the Faraway had 41 horseback days' use into the monument for the month. Most of the people using the horses arrive at the Faraway late Saturday evening and leave Sunday evening.[253]

For these day and weekend guests, Faraway Ranch served meals family style at the following prices: breakfast, 50 cents, lunch 60 cents and dinner 85 cents. A typical breakfast menu consisted of sliced oranges, cereal with cream, bacon and eggs, toast, coffee or milk. A common lunch offering included bean soup, crackers, potato cakes, buttered beets, fresh radishes, cakes, tea or milk. A representative dinner was composed of steak with country gravy, baked potatoes, asparagus, beans, grapefruit and avocado salad, apricots with whipped cream, cookies, tea or milk; all meals were served with bread and butter.[254]

ON-AGAIN, OFF-AGAIN: FARAWAY RANCH, 1945-1972

SELLING THE FARAWAY GUEST RANCH BUSINESS

By the summer of 1945, Lillian and Ed Riggs considered getting out of the guest ranch business. By that point, the couple had jointly operated the business for 22 years--and Lillian had managed it for an additional six years--and had hosted guests "from all states of the union, from Canada, Alaska, and Mexico; from Europe, Asia and far distant islands."[255] However, the activities necessary to run a guest ranch were extensive. When Hildegard's nineteen-year-old daughter Evelyn expressed an interest in managing the Faraway someday, Lillian outlined some of the things involved in such an operation:

> Can you write letters that will bring desirable guests who have never seen or heard directly of your place? Have you enough tact to let the undesirables go quickly, once they have come? And let them still feeling kindly toward you and that yours is a fine place even though not for them? Can you take an ordinary good cook, who is more than apt to be at the same time ignorant of calories, food combinations, and attractive serving and get her to serve the kind of meals you want without antagonizing her and having her quit when there are thirty hungry guests to be fed? Will you be able to keep and make into good help only mediocre people and keep them loyal? . . . What will you do in . . . emergencies. Remember you are not in town where you can call a plumber, an electrician, a carpenter, a mechanic, or a blacksmith, whenever you need one. Also remember that in these days any one man

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[253] Southwest Monuments Monthly Report, March 1943, Acc. 1777, WACC.

[254] Ed Riggs to Office of Price Administration, April 20, 1943, FRC, series 8, box 28, folder 55.

[255] [1945?], FRC, series 1, Box 9.

> who can do all of these things is an almost impossible find. . . . When the water pipes freeze on the coldest night in forty years? When the drains from the main house refuse to function? When the horses need to be shod and the saddles repaired? . . . It is a very cold night and the butane tank fails to deliver gas. What do you do? Since you have fireplaces, where and how do you get the wood? How and where are you going to get your milk and fresh vegetables? Who keeps your refrigerator plant in operation? You can do the marketing and plan the meals. Take care of the laundry. . . . Who will take care of your cars and trucks? Who will keep your books? Pay sales taxes, income taxes, and unemployment compensation tax?[256]

Lillian and Ed both took their responsibilities seriously, and each pulled more than their weight in the management of the business. It is certainly understandable that after so many years of work, the couple was tired of shouldering the responsibilities; they lost interest in operating Faraway Guest Ranch.

Certainly a factor in their change of heart concerned Lillian's loss of eyesight: "Just as our dreams were about to take shape, total blindness overtook me in 1942, and our dreams vanished with my sight.[257] Lillian had been the key force in running the guest ranch, and she understood the difficulties that she experienced trying to host guests and run the business. In addition, the couple considered their main business as "cattle with guest ranch as sideline."[258] Another factor may have been Emma's health. The elderly woman had continued to live primarily at her home at Faraway since her husband had died in 1937. Although generally in good health most of that time, she had begun to decline. Both her hearing and eyesight were failing, so she no longer enjoyed the guests.[259]

Lillian and Ed discussed selling their guest ranch business. Their plan was to sell a portion of the Stafford place, which contained the converted CCC camp, to William Sprague, the Faraway Lodge operator. Sprague wanted to open a guest ranch on the property, but he didn't want to compete with the long-established Faraway Ranch. The plan was for the Riggs to agree to close their guest ranch.

Hildegard tried to discourage Lillian from going forward with the sale. "I really do think you are making a mistake if you sign any papers saying you will not operate as a guest ranch. I think you have done that for so long now that if you quit you will be completely lost and very unhappy, and you will be at a loss as what to do." Besides the general concept, Hildegard also had reservations about Sprague. "Of

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[256] Lillian Riggs to Evelyn Hutchison, August 11, 1947, FRC, series 1, box 9.

[257] Summary of Westward into the Sun, by Lillian E. Riggs, page 2, [April 1960?] FRC, series 1, box 9, folders 243-253.

[258] "Employer's Status Report," April 4, 1944, FRC, series 8, box 27, folder 26.

[259] Lillian Riggs to Evelyn Hutchison, August 11, 1947, FRC, series 1, box 9.

course I don't trust Spragg [sic] and I think it is just a trick to get the whole place sooner or later." Although she seemed to resist the idea, she also acknowledged that selling all of the property together would be a good move at some point. "I know Mother [the owner of the original Erickson homestead, the site of Faraway Ranch] won't consider selling now but it might as well all go at once if you are going to tie up that place just as a home."[260]

In the end, Lillian and Ed rejected Hildegard's advice, and sold the upper ranch property, the CCC camp/Faraway Lodge, and the guest ranch business to Sprague and his business partners for $20,000.[261] The couple agreed to stop operating their guest ranch for ten years, though they were able to rent cottages to a limited number of people, and they were allowed to continue running their horse rental business. This agreement went into effect in September 1945.[262] Ironically, the first three-quarters of the year had brought in more revenues than any full year at Faraway.[263] The couple continued to live at their home at Faraway Ranch, rent horses, and operate their cattle ranching business. Sprague and his partners soon opened their new business under the name "Silver Spur Guest Ranch." Apparently the Riggses vicariously enjoyed the benefits of having a guest ranch as they associated with the guests at the Spur. But they remained true to the spirit of the agreement: "Ed and I both consistently tried to turn all inquirers for meals and other accommodations to the Spur. We speak a good word for it on every occasion . . ."[264]

Within two years, however, the new Silver Spur had run into financial problems and temporarily closed in September 1947. William Johndrew had provided financial backing for the venture, and he was quite frustrated at the turn of events. He wanted his future son-in-law to become the new manager at the ranch, and believed he could "make the most money from the people who will come to the Spur for the 'party life' instead of people who come for the beautiful country." But he also recognized how valuable the Riggses were in the business. He found himself in a conundrum in which the neighboring Riggses were the draw for his own business. The Spur guests liked both Lillian and Ed; they apparently felt that Ed had "the most unusual personality they had ever seen" and they thought that Lillian was "so unusual because of her keen mind and progressiveness." Johndrew himself

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[260] Hildegard Hutchison to Lillian Riggs, et al, Faraway Ranch, March 14, 1945, FRC, series 1, folder 128-153.

[261] [1945?], FRC, series 8, folder 98.

[262] Lillian Riggs to Wayne T. Walbridge, April or August 25, 1954, FRC, series 1, box 9.

[263] It isn't clear why this could be the case, since gasoline rationing was in force until August 16, 1945.

[264] Lillian Riggs to [owners of Silver Spur], July 21, 1950, FRC, series 1, box 9.

felt that he needed Ed's "wonderful personality" and that he could use Lillian's "keen business ability to an advantage." And he believed that Lillian's "handicap was a real factor since" it made her "the tops for a guest ranch." Johndrew acknowledged that the Silver Spur "could never be a real success without [Lillian, Ed] and Faraway." Even though Ed had stated that they were too old for the business (Ed being 62 and Lillian 59), and they had agreed not to operate a guest ranch, Johndrew worried that the couple may try to operate a guest ranch again. He realized that he couldn't afford to enforce the agreement because without the couple "the real success of the Spur could never be reached."[265]

Chiricahua National Monument was put into uncomfortable circumstances by the closing of the Silver Spur in September 1947. When people came to the monument wanting meals and lodging, the park had to "send them on" since no services were available; the closest restaurant was forty miles away.[266] Clair Cooke, the park custodian, discussed feeding and lodging necessary visitors, such as National Park officials, with Ed and Lillian, who agreed "to take care of a few people who really needed to get meals and lodging. However they stated they did not wish to get into the dude ranch business or to stretch their contract with the Silver Spur in any way." Cooke then had to write to Johndrew to gain permission for the Riggses to provide the service. He also pointed out the difficult situation for the park. "It seems adverse advertising for the Silver Spur and the Monument to have these accommodations completely unavailable. For this reason I hope you will excuse my suggesting that your company allow the Riggses to feed and lodge necessary visitors until the Silver Spur is again open for business. At present all we can tell anyone is that we believe the Spur will be open again before too long, under much better management."[267]

The Spur did, in fact, re-open in November 1947, under new management. But that situation lasted only through the winter, and the business changed management again in May 1948.[268] And during that time, Lillian did warm up to the idea of opening up a guest ranch once again. One aspect that she regretted about giving up the guest ranch business was having to "forgo making the acquaintance of so many interesting people."[269] For several years, the dicey situation at the Silver Spur caused Lillian and Ed to envision plans under varying

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[265] Andy Anderson to [Lillian and Ed Riggs], September 10, 1947, FRC, series 1, folder 17-20.

[266] Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, March 28, 1951, Acc. 362, WACC.

[267] Clair V. Cooke, custodian, Chiricahua N.M. to William Johndrew, Buffalo, September 12, 1947, FRC, series 8, box 30, folder 80.

[268] Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, November 28, 1947; April 26, 1948, Acc. 362, WACC.

[269] Lillian Riggs, April 6, 1948, FRC, series 8, box 31, folder 102.

scenarios, riding along on a roller coaster as their hopes repeatedly rose then were dashed again and again. Early on, the Riggses had believed that if the Spur closed for even a short time, that they would automatically get the right to build rental cottages. However, that didn't seem to happen. During the changes, the Spragues pulled out of the partnership at the Spur, so the Riggses wondered if they would be able to get the permission to build cottages for rental purposes. They also considered buying back a part interest in the Spur itself, if the management changed.[270] And then they began to consider buying the entire Spur back, together with Hildegard's daughter Evelyn. They were optimistic that they could make a success of the business. "The guest ranch possibilities for Bonita Canyon are, as they have always been, just as large and far reaching as the people who operate it have imagination, perseverance and ability to make it." The proposition to purchase the Silver Spur and operate it was "so big and far reaching on account of the Wonderland, that the plans for expansion must be great. While much that has been done at the Spur must be undone, it will bring in money and real money--from the start."[271]

While evaluating the option of buying the Spur, instead of opening Faraway again, Lillian honestly and objectively described the situation at Faraway Ranch:

> There is not near enough room here at present, even with the cottages. That was always our trouble. People do not want rooms in a private house with common bathrooms, where the sounds from one room carry to all the others. They will put up with it if they have enough in other ways to make up for it. They want private rooms and private baths, which Faraway never has been able to offer. And which it cannot offer without much additional expenses. People want privacy for their leisure hours as well. Privacy for writing letters, for reading--for a quiet card game, for private conversations. Faraway could offer but little of that. The dining room is not large enough. Not even for the people we have had many times, to say nothing of what we would have to plan for in the future. The swimming pool is the best we could afford at the time. But it is wholly inadequate for the needs of a real guest ranch. In short, Faraway is what it has always been planned for. A very nice?--with some much needed renovations--home. But nothing more.[272]

Lillian deduced that it would be a better business proposition to buy the Silver Spur and add to that, as time and money allowed, rather than putting the same money into Faraway. However, if they decided against buying the Spur, Lillian doubted if the old restrictive contract would still be in force if anyone else bought that business. Then the Riggses, or anyone in their family, could use the Faraway property as they wished.

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[270] Lillian Riggs to Ben Erickson, [194?], FRC, series 1, box 9.

[271] Lillian Riggs to Evelyn Hutchison, August 11, 1947, FRC, series 1, box 9.

[272] Lillian Riggs to Evelyn Hutchison, August 11, 1947, FRC, series 1, box 9.

Their thoughts of buying the Spur did not come to fruition. By the spring of 1949 apparently Lillian and Ed had dropped the idea. Instead, they purchased the house that had belonged to Ed's aunt, Martha Stark, and had it moved to Faraway, to use as a rental property.[273] Lillian and Ed also continued running their horseback riding business. They conducted guided sight-seeing trips into the monument for "the tourists who wish to see our region from the trails."[274] And Lillian, seemingly re-energized, hoped to build the horseback business "into something really big.[275]

That summer, the Spur again closed for two months; during that time, the Faraway Ranch again provided meals and lodging in emergency situations.[276] But then the new owner--and a new era--came on the scene; businessman Ray Kent purchased the ranch, and moved to the Silver Spur with his family. They found the right combination of business tactics, and successfully operated the Silver Spur for 18 years.[277]

Now that the Spur had stable management, Lillian and Ed shifted their focus to other areas. They decided that they needed assistance running the cattle ranch, and also had some ideas about expanding their tourist business. They appealed to Ed's son Murray and his wife Anne to move to Faraway to help. Lillian once again had stars in her eyes regarding the potential for successful business ventures at Faraway:

> While we cannot build more rental cottages for five more years, we can improve those we have and keep them tenanted. We can realize a good income from them. The horse business has fallen to almost nothing in the past two years. We again have the horse concession for the Monument. But it has to be built up . . . . It could bring in twelve to fifteen hundred dollars a year with a little promoting. Much more, as time goes on. . . . A gasoline

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[273] Richard Murray, “Richard Murray’s visit with Mrs. Lillian E. Riggs,” 23 April 1965, Acc. 655, WACC; and Hildegard Hutchison to Emma Erickson et al, May 4, 1949, FRC, series 1, folder 128-153. Before buying the Martha Stark cottage, Lillian had asked and received permission from the Silver Spur owners to rent it. Lillian Riggs to [owners of Silver Spur], July 21, 1950, FRC, series 1, box 9.

[274] Lillian Riggs to Raymond Sangren, March 11, 1948, FRC, series 8, box 27, folder 26.

[275] Lillian Riggs to J.P. Anderson, Kansas City, MO, [March? 1947], FRC, series 8, box 28, folder 63-65; and [Between May 1946 and May 1947], FRC, series 8, box 27, folder 26.

[276] Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, July 26, 1949; September 25, 1949, Acc. 362, WACC.

[277] The NPS eventually purchased the property; the area is now called the Silver Spur Meadow. The Kent family's trip from St. Louis to the Spur was covered in *Life*, October 10, 1949.

> station, store, and curio shop would bring in good revenue. And when time comes to put in more cottages for rent, we could really make big money on that.[278]

During the twenty years since 1923 for which we have data, Lillian and Ed's median revenue from horse rentals was $562 per year--a far reach from the $1200 to $1500 that Lillian envisioned. Only one of those years had brought in at least $1200. Regarding the "big money" that Lillian planned to make on cottage rentals, during the previous five years, when Lillian and Ed pursued the cottage rental business, their median revenue was $579 per year. During that time, they rented facilities that they called the log cabin, the Martha Stark house, Mizar, Alcore, and the Space (a communicating room that could be added to the Alcore or Mizar).[279]

Murray and Anne decided to join Ed and Lillian at the ranch, and moved there in May 1950; the next month Ed suffered a cerebral hemorrhage and died, at the age of 64. Lillian was devastated; although she was only 62, she felt that her own life had ended. When Emma died later the same year, Lillian was plunged into a lengthy period of grieving. She stumbled along for some time, then recognized "I can't go on alone as I have been going. The mental strain is too great." She asked Ed's daughter Lee and her husband Hunter to move to Faraway to join in the work.[280] They did so, but did not stay long.

By 1954, Lillian was again at a stage where she felt a decision was necessary in her life. On the one hand she felt like she couldn't go on living at Faraway, running the ranch with unreliable hired help. But within the year, her restrictions on operating a guest ranch would lapse and she could once again gain an income in that manner. Throughout this time, she operated in a fog of loneliness, and still grieved for her husband and mother. She alternated between feeling hopeless and simply being mildly encouraged about her future.

That year she seriously considered retiring from the ranch and cottage businesses, and moving to a facility that accommodated blind people. She wrote to numerous retirement homes in California asking about their facilities. One typical letter described her situation: "I am seeking to find out what I can do when the time comes to make a change. That time may come very soon or may be delayed a couple of years or so. . . . I have a nice home with guest cottages in one of the

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[278] Lillian Riggs to Anne and Murray Riggs, March 1, 1950, FRC, series 1, box 9.

[279] The log cabin consisted of a bedroom with a double bed, a sitting room with fireplace, kitchen, and shower; the Martha Stark had two bedrooms (one with a double bed, one with twin beds), sitting room, kitchen and bath; Alcore consisted of a bedroom with twin beds, kitchen and bath; Mizar had a bedroom with a double bed, kitchen and shower; the Space was comprised of a bedroom with double bed, and lavatory. “Faraway Ranch Cottages” brochure; n.d. [ca after 1947].

[280] Lillian Riggs to Hildegard and Jess Hutchison, July 4, 1951, FRC, series 1, box 9.

most beautiful localities in Arizona with pleasant year-round climate. I wish I might use it to benefit those like myself who must find a refuge for their declining years. But to do that requires a management which I cannot provide." [281]

And yet simultaneously, she pondered going back into the guest ranch business. "Two things are holding me back from opening again. First and foremost: the difficulties involved in such an operation for one without sight. Second: I am not really sure I wish to go back into the business. I loved having the guests. I met so many charming, cultured, and wonderful people. They are among my best friends today, though scattered from Maine to California and from Canada to the Gulf. If it were somehow possible, I should like to be able to accommodate elderly people who are lonely . . . but that undertaking seems even more difficult for me than a guest ranch."[282]

Lillian was concerned about the condition of the ranch: "I love it and it breaks my heart to see it so neglected. And just a little planned work and interest would make SUCH a vast difference. (I was out and around alone yesterday and came in just sick at the careless neglect.)" Lillian offered a proposal to Hildegard's daughter Evelyn and her husband Herb in which they would take over and operate the guest ranch cabins, dining room, and horses and maintain the facility. "It is one of the few still remaining unspoiled spots in the west and I would want it to remain so. Lovely, unspoiled but productive."[283] The young couple declined the offer.

BUSINESS STARTS AGAIN, 1955

Despite her hesitation, by 1955, Lillian decided to move back into the guest ranch business. In the ten years that Faraway had been closed, however, the guest ranch industry--and tourism in general--had experienced some notable changes. "A combination of delayed wartime consumerism, increased leisure time, and highway improvements after World War II" increased tourism dramatically. By 1949, 62 percent of all Americans went on vacations.[284]

And during this post-war period, when Faraway was closed, the guest ranch industry enjoyed its peak of popularity. However, traditional guest ranches were no longer the focus of tourists' attention. Traditional guest ranches in Arizona (like Faraway) had begun as working cattle ranches, which travelers had found attractive mainly for their simple lifestyle and ranch atmosphere. As travelers tired of that

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[281] Lillian Riggs to Claremont, California, July 20, 1954, FRC, series 1, box 9.

[282] Lillian Riggs to Wayne T. Walbridge, April or August 25, 1954, FRC, series 1, box 9.

[283] Lillian Riggs to [Herb and Evelyn Robards], [ca. 1955], FRC, series 1, box 9.

[284] Mooney-Melvin, 37.

experience, a second phase evolved: the 'non-working guest ranch' (also known as the Western-oriented guest ranch). Started in the late 1920s, the non-working ranch became popular through the 1930s, and had grown to become the dominant form in the Arizona guest ranch industry between about 1940 and 1955. This type of guest ranch resembled the working ranch in many ways; it featured horseback riding and operated on the American Plan; however, it was not located on an actual ranch, and the primary source of income was the guests themselves. Activities that symbolically represented Western life dominated the non-working ranch.[285]

In the midst of the era of non-working guest ranch popularity, Lillian re-opened Faraway Guest Ranch. It doesn't seem, however, that she tried to recreate the traditional guest ranch experience, in spite of the fact that the setting was Lillian's cattle ranch, which was her main source of income. Even so, there is no indication that she offered cattle-oriented activities, nor organized activities of any kind; it appears that she simply rented rooms. In addition to six cottages[286] she opened four guestrooms in the main building;[287] each room rented for $6 to $8 per day (meals were extra). She accepted a maximum of 20 to 25 guests at a time, and was open year round. Although in the mid 1950s the automobile was the vehicle of choice for most Americans, Lillian still offered pick-up service for guests who arrived by rail at the closest stations of the Southern Pacific Railroad at Douglas (68 miles) and Willcox (36 miles).[288] Lillian's hired couple, Rusty and Patricia Greenwood, looked after the rental cottages.[289]

Lillian also re-opened Faraway's dining facility, which was greeting with pleasure by NPS, as well as by guests.[290] All three meals were served family style in the dining room, which seated 30; dinners were $1.50 each. To Lillian these meals must have

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[285] Norris, xii, 29, 222.

[286] Five cottages each had a private bath. She described the main house as "Adobe, plastered inside and out; frame, painted. Located in a beautiful canyon setting amid trees and shrubbery. Well and comfortably furnished with good beds."

[287] One room came with a private bath including a tub, and three rooms did without a private bath, though two of those did have running hot and cold water.

[288] Rock Island Lines questionnaire form, August 28, 1956, FRC, series 1, folder 50-56.

[289] Patricia also handled Lillian's most important correspondence (Lillian did the rest), and Rusty took care of the cattle and horses. The couple had two children, who took up much of Patricia's time. Lillian Riggs to Aunt Henrika and Victoria, March 24, 1956, FRC, series 1, box 9.

[290] "The Park Service is very happy that Faraway is again serving meals." Diary, Lillian Riggs, April 17, 1955, FRC, series 2, folder 53.

been special oases in her daily life, for she had always enjoyed good conversation with interesting guests. She later observed, "Our guest ranch has kept me in touch with the outside world, and many hundreds of interesting people I have met made up in part for the city environment I have missed."[291] To help ensure such a congenial atmosphere, Lillian still had specific ideas about whom she allowed in her home; she preferred customers of "reasonable culture and refinement, who enjoy nature and simple living." [292] Her hired cook, Mrs. Stansberry (Patricia Greenwood's mother), did all the menu planning, grocery shopping and cooking, as well as taking care of the house. It was a great relief to Lillian not to have to do those tasks; she was impressed and pleased with the cook. On Christmas Day of 1955, Mrs. Stansberry served 19 guests. Lillian observed, "She handled it with her usual aplomb. . . . everything was perfect--except the coffee. That was terrible. All else was simply delicious."[293]

The following year Faraway again hosted a special meal. Lillian noted that Thanksgiving 1956 was "the first we have really tried to celebrate since Mother and Ed passed away" six years earlier. She invited family and friends. By that time she had a new hired couple: "Donna [Kramer] had a lovely table. Both she and Del [Lemas] did everything they could to make it a success." The next day, when Lillian and Del returned from the pasture, Faraway was humming. Donna "had served fourteen lunches and had to get dinner for twenty-two, counting home folks. But she handled it wonderfully well. All but two stayed all night and were here for breakfast."[294] Meanwhile, Lillian dubbed Del "Dude Wrangler, supreme" for her ability to entertain and guide the guests.[295]

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[291] Lillian Riggs, "Summary of Westward into the Sun," [ca. April 1960], FRC, series 1, box 9.

[292] American Express Hotel, Resort, Camp and Ranch Register," post June 22, 1931, FRC, series 8, folder 63-65; Rock Island Lines questionnaire form, August 28, 1956, FRC, series 1, folder 50-56.

[293] Diary, Lillian Riggs, December 26, 1955, FRC, series 2, folder 53.

[294] Diary, Lillian Riggs, November 26, 1956, FRC, series 2, folder 54. Donna's responsibilities shifted as she worked at Faraway. She first took care of the cottages and all of Lillian's secretarial work. She then took over the kitchen, and also assumed the care of the house, which included cooking, washing, and ironing. In addition, as operator of the kitchen, she fed and cared for the approximately thirty chickens; she got all the eggs and sold whatever they did not use. She also supplied the grain for the milk cow or cows, utilizing the pasturage that Lillian provided. Diary, Lillian Riggs, August 29, 1956, FRC, series 2, folder 54; and Lillian Riggs to Mr. and Mrs. Blakeney, September 2, 1957, FRC, series 8, box 29, folder 63-65.

[295] In the West, wrangling meant to drive or direct. "Horses were wrangled, cattle were punched or hazed. A horse wrangler cared for the ranch string of ponies,

But in spite of the new activity, Lillian remained disconsolate. "Business sure is picking up. . . . I wish I could get enthusiastic over good business as I used to do. Now I only want good companionship. I am lonely."[296] Business was irregular[297] and she vacillated about her decision to go back into the guest ranch business.[298] At one point, Lillian was thankful for a guest who was rooming and boarding with her while installing a pump at the monument. "Often he stays downstairs in the evenings and we visit. It dispels loneliness."[299] Her financial situation also frustrated her: "We took in over five hundred dollars on cabins and horses in May. But there is just never enough to go around. Had to pay [Del and Donna, the hired help] three hundred and eighty for May. They get most of what I make--or take in. And besides that Donna takes all the dining room income. Don't know if I can stick it out till fall even. But I don't know how to better myself."[300]

Lillian did begin to enjoy some isolated sparks of joy in her life. For instance, she enjoyed the busyness of the monument's Visitors' Day in 1957: "And this day is just one of the reasons I love and cannot leave Faraway"--one of the first really positive things she has written in years.[301] That same year, Lillian's brother began spending more time at the home ranch, which she enjoyed. He took on the responsibility of the cattle ranch work, with the assistance of a hired man, but he wanted "no part of 'dude wrangling' as he puts it," Lillian observed. "I think Ben would not object too much to seeing that the guests were mounted properly, but there his responsibility would cease."[302] And another seed of happiness was planted in spring 1957. At that time, Lillian put her one and only ad in *Audubon* magazine: "Just a few short lines saying that Faraway was 'A bird wonderland for bird lovers.'" Lillian gained only one guest from the ad, Ethel Keller from Pennsylvania, but during her stay, Keller met Lillian's brother Ben. The pair fell in

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seeing that they had rest, water and pasturage. By evolution, a 'dude wrangler' performed the same tasks for dudes." Rodnitzky, 112.

[296] Diary, Lillian Riggs, March 1, 1955, FRC, series 2, folder 53.

[297] "Cabin and horseback business is about nil so far this month". Lillian Riggs, diary, June 17, 1956, FRC, series 2, folder 54.

[298] "Just now, it looks as if the smart thing to do would be to subdivide and sell homesites." Lillian Riggs, diary, October 10, 1955, FRC, series 2, folder 53.

[299] Lillian Riggs, diary, March 23, 1957, FRC, series 2, folder 55.

[300] Lillian Riggs, diary, May 14, 1957, FRC, series 2, folder 55.

[301] Lillian Riggs, diary, April 18, 1957, FRC, series 2, folder 55.

[302] Lillian Riggs to Mr. and Mrs. Blakeney, September 2, 1957, FRC, series 8, box 29, folder 63-65.

love, and married a year later, much to Lillian's delight.[303] Her spirits seemed to lift after this union; Ben was often around Faraway (and he himself was in better spirits), and Lillian became more active.

Lillian's mood improved her outlook on her life. “Business has been good. This is partly due to the story in the March issue of the *Saturday Evening Post*. . . . And of course I am a sort of a ‘museum piece.’ And when [guests] find that the ‘curiosity’ has some brains and can talk of the country and things that interest them, they like it and send others. Since I like people generally, it all helps the business. And if I can serve good meals attractively, the fight is two-thirds won.” Lillian was pleased that as a big group was sitting down to dinner, one guest remarked, “This is as close to Heaven as I ever expect to get.”[304]

LEASING THE BUSINESS, 1959-1965

But in the world surrounding Faraway, both tourism and the guest ranch industry were continuing to evolve. The character of the guest ranches had continued to shift, as the character of the American tourist shifted. Many tourists "just weren't as rugged as the visitors of early decades." They also wanted to be entertained "more than they wanted to participate in vigorous activities."[305] Horseback riding at guest ranches thus shifted emphasis from overnight pack rides to short rides of an hour or two. The booming economy of the '50s also enabled tourist, in general, across the West to take advantage of places with private baths, wall-to-wall carpeting, swimming pools, restaurants and cocktail lounges. Many guest ranches changed to meet those desires.

The broader world of tourism had also shifted. Western tourism had begun to take on "corporate and institutional characteristics." As tourism became more lucrative,

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[303] Lillian Riggs, diary, September 14, 1959, FRC, series 2, folder 57. Earlier, Lillian had observed: “Faraway seems really to be a matrimonial market . . . Someday I will try to count up the matches that have culminated at Faraway. Wonder if it is in the atmosphere of love that Dad and Mother left in the canyon. Their Beloved Canyon. And mine. Where young people, there is love. But to many, they seem to come to love at Faraway.” Diary, Lillian Riggs, July 25, 1954, FRC, series 2, folder 52.

[304] Lillian Riggs, diary, September 22, 1958, FRC, series 2, folder 56.

[305] Borne, 189, 190. Evelyn Egbert, a friend of Lillian's, had informed another woman friend, "There was nothing so nice in this world as 'Faraway Ranch' and nobody so darling as the people who run it." But Egbert observed that the friend was "sort of sissy and might miss her movies!" so the woman probably went to visit Tucson instead. Evelyn P. Egbert to Lillian Riggs, January 29, 1940, FRC, series 1, box 3, folder 67-71.

corporations replaced the individual entrepreneurs who had previously operated tourism businesses.[306]

Transportation is key to understanding the shift in tourism. The booming post-war economy led to larger, more powerful and easily available automobiles. Travel by car was a bargain, thereby enabling even more people of a variety of economic groups to take to the roads for vacation. Simultaneously, roads were constantly being improved, reducing travel time. Ironically, this didn't alter "the incessant desire to move about. . . . people wanted to see as much as possible in as short a time as they could."[307] Many vacationers in the West took road trips, in which they continually drove, with short stops at appealing attractions. With the construction of interstate highways, travel routes shifted, some places gained increased access, while others were bypassed.[308] The driving tourists demanded motels and tourist lodges conveniently located along highways, so no time would be lost getting to a place to spend the night. This attitude affected even those travelers who chose guest ranch vacations. This "irresistible urge to move" caused guests to stay a much shorter time at the ranches. While guests who had come by train typically stayed for the length of time they had planned (usually three weeks or more), motorists often left sooner than planned. "They had itchy feet."[309]

In Arizona, additional changes further differentiated the state's guest ranches from their counterparts in the northern Rockies. The climate in the Southwest promised warm sunny days, so tourists were attracted to that locale if they enjoyed recreational activities such as golfing, swimming, tennis, polo, and simply enjoying the sun. Many guest ranches--typically near urban areas--accommodated the market by emphasizing those activities, rather than ranching and horseback riding. Thus not only had guest ranches lost their rural ranching character, they had shifted their emphasis away from their Western-oriented character. They became resorts, and in terms of activities offered, very much like resorts that could be found across the country. Arizona (and California) guest ranches “raised dude ranching to its most sophisticated level," providing elegant living quarters and an ambiance of a country club. This new type of ranch also tended to be larger than traditional working guest ranches, with a medium-sized facility hosting 50 to 100 guests, and large resorts offering accommodations for up to 200. The popularity of these resort-oriented guest ranches--or resort ranches--skyrocketed after the war. At the beginning of World War II, about ten ranches clustered in the Tucson area; by 1960 about 75 resort ranches in the city's vicinity welcomed guests. Resort ranches have dominated the state's guest ranch industry since the mid-1950’s.[310]

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[306] Rothman, 556.

[307] Borne, 191.

[308] Rothman, 556.

[309] Borne, 171.

This shift to a niche market enabled the Arizona resort ranches to sustain their popularity a little longer than traditional dude ranches. While the number of traditional dude ranches in the West leveled off in the 1950s,[311] and declined thereafter, the number of resort ranches clustered around Tucson peaked around 1960.[312] However, since that time there has been a continuous decline in their popularity, until in the mid-1970's, less than a quarter of the guest ranches that once existed still operated.[313] Ultimately, post-war changes in American society "gradually shoved dude ranches into the background of the burgeoning vacation and recreation business."[314]

But in summer 1959, the Tucson area resort ranch industry was booming, and tourists were coming in droves to these elegant sunny playgrounds. At Faraway Ranch, Lillian was 71 and had decided that running the guest ranch, even on the small scale that she operated it, was more than she wanted to handle. Again, she was faced with a decision. Closing the business altogether was an option, but she would miss both the income and the social interaction. Instead, she devised a plan that would release her from much of the work, while still providing her with some income and some opportunities to enjoy conversations with people. Her solution was to lease the cottage-rental and horse-rental businesses to a manager, Myrtle Westbrook.[315] The agreement did not include any rooms in the main house, so

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[310] Borne, 184, 19; Norris, xi, 27, 30; and Rodnitzky, 118.

[311] In 1936 the Dude Ranchers' Association had reported approximately one hundred 'bona fide' ranches in the eleven Western states; in 1958 the number was the same." Rodnitzky, 117-118 citing *New York Times*, July 24, 1938 and June 8, 1958. Membership in this organization should be taken only as an indicator, not as a census of the number of dude and guest ranches. In 1940, for instance, approximately 350 dude ranches operated in the U.S. and Canada, but only 106 of them belonged to the DRA. In addition, the association membership was "north-heavy," with a greater number of members in the northern Rockies than in the south. In 1931, for instance, of the 74 ranches that were official members, 67 were in Montana and Wyoming, and the only Arizona guest ranch member was the Eaton's ranch. By the late 1970s membership in the Dude Ranching Association had declined to about seventy. Bernstein, 96, 97, 93, 148.

[312] Borne, 184

[313] Norris, 223.

[314] Borne, 8.

[315] Lillian's hired man referred to Westbrook as "some dude woman with money from New York." Westbrook took over the dude string of about 15 head of horses that Lillian had at the time. Larry S. Cannon, "Working for the Lady Boss," *Cochise Quarterly* 19, no. 1 (Spring 1989): 32, 33.

Lillian continued to host occasional guests, and she also continued to provide meals for the guests. This setup provided social opportunities for Lillian to converse with guests at meals, yet she had a minimum of tasks that she had to do herself, since she utilized a cook and a manager for room and horse rentals. For most of a year this situation worked well, although Lillian's attitude exhibited a mixture of satisfaction and melancholy.

She was pleased that Faraway was "running true to form as in old . . . " In one episode she noted that her ten dinner guests represented seven states and one foreign country while at another dinner the guests were from six states and two foreign countries. "Why people enjoy it when I can take over I do not know. Blind and deaf--terribly so. Yet when I am on the ball, everyone seems to have a better time. All the guests show it and want to come for more." But on a downward note, she commented, "Also, true to form, the household help seem to resent my interference. Oh what should I really do?"[316] Likewise, she enjoyed the fact that at Thanksgiving 22 people feasted at Faraway, yet she noted, "Not one of them a member of my family nor a friend of more than a year at most . . . 18 paid guests."[317] After a busy day, Lillian noted "Faraway, as usual. 'The only monotonous thing about it is the variety."[318]

However, a high point, indeed the beginning of a new era, in Lillian's life came in the spring of 1960, when J.P. (Andy) Anderson returned to work for her, after an absence of 13 years. He had worked at Faraway only a short time in 1947, but Lillian was clearly delighted that he returned. She quickly came to trust and rely on him.

Not all aspects of Lillian life were on the upswing at that time. By the spring of 1960, disagreements about the terms of the lease arose between Lillian and Myrtle Westbrook. Heated words passed between them, and Westbrook's attacks struck at the business's weak points: "I have since learned that the only way to make you do anything is to threaten you: The Board of Health threatened to close Faraway if you did not put in septic tanks, etc.; the REA [Rural Electrification Agency] threatened to shut off your power if you did not rewire; other instances are merely rumor, these I know for facts. . . Furthermore, I have taken in precious little money. This is through no fault of mine, but directly resulting from the reputation of filth, decay, and disrepute which Faraway has in many quarters, in addition to the widespread belief that it was closed." Although Lillian denied that she was threatened by the health department and the REA, Westbrook's comments highlighted problems at Faraway, nonetheless.[319]

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[316] Lillian Riggs, diary, [March-April?] 1960, FRC, series 2, folder 58.

[317] Lillian Riggs, diary, November 26, 1959, FRC, series 2, folder 57.

[318] Lillian Riggs, diary, November 12, 1959, FRC, series 2, folder 57.

In the midst of the dispute, Lillian took a vacation in Hawaii with Hildegard to visit Hildegard's daughter Emajoy and her husband Bob Barrel. Andy Anderson kept her up-to-date with frequent letters; they told of sparse business activities: a handful of guests, a handful of meals served, and a handful of horseback riders. Anderson also reported that Westbrook was a poor business manager, and that he thought she had lost as much as $200-$300 since he had been there. He suggested that Lillian would be happier if she severed her relationship with Westbrook; he believed that together Lillian and Anderson could handle the cabins better. While Lillian was on vacation, the cook and the hired hand also turned in their resignation notices and left before she returned. But in his reassurances to Lillian, Anderson also revealed some of the problems that she faced: "Don't worry about getting a cook or other help as it is not near so hard if people are told the truth about you and Faraway. You must remember that many lies have been put in circulation about Faraway. With you taking active management of the place it will be no trouble to get the help you want or need." As the spring warmed, the warmth of Anderson's relationship with Lillian also became more apparent. He had quit having fires in the evening (though he had one when a certain ailing guest came). "Would have enjoyed one other nights if it did not make me get lonely. It seemed that the fire brought out the emptiness of the house." He assured Lillian that he hoped and planned to stay at the ranch. "I brooded over leaving Faraway for 13 years and have been so very happy here since returning."[320]

Lillian and Westbrook continued the leasing arrangement for another year, but ended it in October 1961. Lillian and Anderson did operate the cottage rental business for a while, but in March 1963, she leased five housekeeping units and the horse business to Frank and Lee Sullivan. Although their lease was supposed to last until 1966,[321] the Sullivans gave up cottages and horses in March 1965, and Anderson took over the management. They discontinued serving meals except to cottage guests who desired them and to those who made reservations in advance.[322]

THE LAST YEARS, 1966-1972

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[319] Myrtle Westbrook to Whom it may concern, April 25, 1960, FRC, series 8, folder 61-62; Lillian Riggs to Myrtle Westbrook, May 27, 1960, FRC, series 8, folder 63-65; Myrtle Westbrook to Lillian Riggs, June 2, 1960, FRC, series 8, folder 61-62; and Lillian Riggs to Myrtle Westbrook, June 12, 1960, FRC, series 8, folder 63-65.

[320] Andy Anderson to Lillian Riggs, May-June, 1960, FRC, series 1, folder 17-20.

[321] FRC, series 8, folder 54.

[322] Lillian Riggs' Christmas letter, December 1965, FRC, series 1, box 9, folder 243-153.

In the next couple of years, the Cochise County Health Service expressed concerns about several conditions in her kitchen. Perishable food was being stored at improper temperatures, the storage room didn't have a floor of "easily cleanable construction," and her sink was a two-compartment instead of three-compartment style, which was required to clean the utensils and kitchenware. In addition, food handlers were required to have a valid food handler's health certificate, which required a chest x-ray and a physician's examination. Lillian's food handlers did not have such certificates. Although the health service was willing to negotiate on some aspects of the requirements, the combined health requirements with the difficulties that she had in keeping good cooks, Lillian recognized that it was time to completely stop serving meals, which she did in 1968. However, she may have started up the service again temporarily, for she also noted that she closed for meals on January 1, 1970.[323]

Looking to the future, Lillian understood that she couldn't continue to operate a guest business at Faraway, and she realized that her relatives were not willing to take on the responsibility.[324] Knowing that the location was ideal for vacationers visiting Chiricahua National Monument, she looked elsewhere for someone to take over the business. She proposed to Holiday Inns of America that the company build a hotel on her land. “If in establishing a Holiday Inn here the question of caring for the travelers who wish to visit the Chiricahuas would be taken off my shoulders, I could then see my way clear to a happier life,” Lillian observed.[325]

Lillian's selection of Holiday Inn as a potential owner of the Faraway site may seem incongruous with Lillian's and Faraway's character. For one thing, in most areas, "The arrival of a bright shiny new Holiday Inn spelled doom for the older motels" (such as Faraway).[326] In addition, the franchise also represented standardization--a quality that would never be used to describe Faraway. Indeed, Holiday Inn "brought a new, modern look to the commercial landscape. . . . new Holiday Inns

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[323] John Bates, sanitarian, Cochise County Health Service, to Lillian Riggs, November 30, 1966, FRC, series 8, box 27, folder 34; John A. Bates to Lillian Riggs, July 17, 1967, FRC, series 8, box 26, folder 9; John Bates to Lillian Riggs, August 22, 1967, FRC, series 8, box 27, folder 34; and Lillian Riggs, November 12, 1968, FRC, series 8, folder 69.

[324] A trend that contributed to the diminishing number of dude ranches was the death or retirement of the generation of dude ranch operators. Their children frequently were unwilling to stay in the ranch or dude ranch business, and were willing to sell the land for a profit. Typically, the buyers were not interested in operating a dude ranch. Borne, 193.

[325] Lillian Riggs to Walter Broadfoot, administrative assistant of Holiday Inns of America, Inc., May 24, 1967, FRC, series 8, folder 36.

[326] Andrew F. Wood, "Wal-Mart of the Roadside," <www.sjsu.edu/faculty/wooda/motelholidayinn.html>, accessed January 29, 2003.

were glass-bright two-story structures poised by Interstate highway interchanges. The focus of the facility was inward, toward a public yet private recreational courtyard."[327] Those features were certainly not apparent at Faraway's hodgepodge of facilities or within the character at the guest ranch.

But upon closer examination it becomes more apparent why Lillian would have selected that hotel franchise. First, Lillian knew that Faraway would have to change in order for someone to be successful--so she knowingly offered to sacrifice the Faraway facility so that the guest business at the location could continue.[328] She also knew that the world of hotels and motels was changing, and that tourists were flocking to standard hotel chains such as Holiday Inn, as opposed to mom-and-pop arrangements. Kemmons Wilson had started Holiday Inn in 1952 after he returned from a family road trip discouraged over the lack of family- and value-oriented lodging.[329] Wilson's attempt to provide clean lodging for families would have struck home with Lillian, who had always tried to keep the clientele at Faraway restricted to people of a class whom she would want in her home. In addition, she knew that whoever operated a hotel at the Faraway site would need "deep pockets" to invest in the enterprise--and that the deeper the pockets the more likely it was that she would profit from the sale. In 1968, the 1,000th Holiday Inn opened and by the 1970s, Wilson's 300,000 beds outdistanced his nearest competitor in the same market more than three-fold, thus that company was a clear candidate as a well-financed investor. Other attributes of the franchise may have appealed to Lillian, such as Holiday Inn's promise of "low prices, consistent quality, and convenient locations" as well as it being the first to offer "now-basics such as in-room air conditioning, free in-room television, a swimming pool and an on-site restaurant."[330] Whatever the reason for Lillian's choice of Holiday Inn as a potential purchaser of Faraway, the company did not express an interest in her offer.

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[327] Wood, citing John Jakle, Keith Sculle, and Jefferson Rogers, *The Motel in America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 284.

[328] Lillian had recognized Faraway's shortcomings since at least the 1940s: "It is wholly inadequate for the needs of a real guest ranch. In short, Faraway is what it has always been planned for. A very nice?--with some much needed renovations--home. But nothing more. Lillian Riggs to Evelyn Hutchison, August 11, 1947, FRC, series 1, box 9.

[329] The motor court industry had started in the 1920s, and those facilities quickly developed a reputation as "favorite trysting places (known in the industry as the "hot trade") or hideouts. . . . The hostels' . . . potential for breeding lust and larceny alarmed FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover, who demonized motor courts as "camps of crime." Andrew Nelson, "The Holiday Inn Sign," <www.salon.com/ent/masterpiece/2002/04/29/holiday_inn/>, accessed January 29, 2003.

[330] Conrad N. Hilton College of Hotel and Restaurant Management, "Hall of Honor" <www.hrm.uh.edu/home.asp?PageID=188>, accessed January 29, 2003; Andrew

Lillian soon realized that it was futile to try to sell the land to a developer because Chiricahua National Monument was trying to acquire private inholdings, including the 80 acres of the old Stafford property directly east of the Faraway ranch house.

As Lillian aged, and the problems she had hiring and keeping good help increased, business at Faraway declined. She announced in 1970, when she was 82 years old, "due to impossible help situation we are compelled to close our regular guest ranch business." The change included the closure of the horses rental business. She did continue to rent cottages to "old friends and for housekeeping only" (that is, she provided no meals) and for the next two years a handful of friends did take her up on the offer; these were usually for long-term residence. Friends and previous customers expressed regret at the passing of the era: “There [at Faraway] you offered peace, quiet, and friendship.” [331]

The guest ranch business at Faraway had finally come to an end. Hildegard had started the business venture when she was only 22 and the guest ranch industry in the Southwest was in its infancy. Indeed, Lillian was embarrassed by the enterprise for quite some time, even though she joined in the venture once she recognized its potential. Under the sisters' management, the business focused on being a short-term getaway for respectable local residents. But in the early 1920s several factors pushed Faraway into a new era: Ed Riggs entered the management team, the Southwestern guest ranch industry blossomed, Faraway's focus on guests shifted to a national market and Chiricahua National Monument was established. Once the site had been officially designated as a tourist destination, travelers from around the world started visiting. Fortuitously, the guest ranch occupied a position right at the entrance to the park, and no other tourist facilities existed in the Faraway's locale. The guest ranch leveraged its locational advantage; any business successes can be directly attributed to its key location. For the next two decades, Ed and Lillian enjoyed hosting guests at their home and sharing in their love of the nearby Wonderland of Rocks. However, even this "golden era" of Faraway was tarnished. The couple's financial standing was consistently dicey, and their cattle ranching business repeatedly supported their guest ranch business.[332] The couple constantly anticipated a better financial footing

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F. Wood; and University of Memphis, "Six Continents Hotels Announces $1.5 million Donation to Wilson School," <www.memphis.edu/releases/jan02/6continents.html>, January 28, 2002, accessed January 29, 2003.

[331] Karl I. Berriman to Lilian Riggs, January 2, 1971, FRC, Series 1, folder 32-39.

[332] "Faraway was never really self-supporting as a guest ranch, even with the monument business; without the cattle business they never would have made it.” Eula Lee Murray Riggs, “Eula Lee Murray Riggs’ Account of Ed Riggs Family History,” n.d., Acc. 1721, WACC; and "Things were dreadfully hard for us, both in a financial way" and they worried about "managing a business of that sort." Ed inherited "small sums" from his grandmother and Aunt Rhoda, which went into the

just around the corner that they never seemed to turn. A major shift occurred in 1945, when Lillian and Ed sold their guest ranch business. Keeping her hand in the tourist business through renting cottages, Lillian waited through the contractually required ten-year hiatus, then again opened up her home to guests. The business limped along for the next fifteen years, in various incarnations. However, Lillian was never able to recreate the business as it had operated during the "golden era." The Faraway guest ranch closed in 1970, after operating in some form for 53 years.

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children's education. "Cattle prices were low. The cattle alone would never have put us across. Neither could we have managed without them. The guest ranch business went toward increasing our land holding and stocking it. It helped with the children's education." Lillian Riggs to Anne and Murray Riggs, March 1, 1950, FRC, series 1, box 9.

APPENDIXES

DUDE AND GUEST RANCH ASSOCIATIONS IN ARIZONA

Ranch owners became aware of the guest ranch as a standard vacation form, perhaps in response to seeing various ranches advertising their services. In an attempt to preserve the standards to meet the public's generalized expectations, the guest ranch industry in Arizona organized the first of several organizations in 1929. These organizations included:

The Arizona Dude and Guest Ranchers' Association (late 1920s to early 1930s);

The Arizona Hotel (and Dude Ranch) Association (late 1930s);

The Southern Arizona Guest Ranch Association (middle to late 1940s);

The Southern Arizona Dude and Guest Ranch Association (mid 1960s);

The Tucson Innkeepers, Ranch and Resort Association (late 1960s);

The Desert Sun Ranchers in the Wickenburg area (late 1960s). [333]

[333] Norris, 40, 42.

STATISTICS OF THE EARLY SOUTHERN ARIZONA GUEST RANCH PERIOD,
ALL TYPES OF RANCHES

YEAR	TOTAL,
1923	5
1924	9
1925	12
1926	15
1927	16
1928	20
1929	28
1930	36
1931	36
1932	45
1933	50
1934	56[334]

[334] Norris, 41.

REVENUES FROM GUESTS AT FARAWAY RANCH, 1917-1972

Year	Revenue	Comments
1917	$250	"Statement of account of summer boarders, July 14 to Sept. 8, 1917." Lists 5 people's names, with prices of $11.50 to $65, plus "week ends" [quote marks theirs] with price of $32. 3 are women's names, 1 man and one can't tell (Mynam). Also details expenses of $53.70 for profit of $196.30
1918	488	Began June 16, with 22 parties, ranging from $1.25 to $75; including their other income from fruit and pigs they calculated a total average revenue of $151 per month for the 6 months tallied, but also had $14.95 revenue from butter & cheese in those months.
1919	1337	Covers 12 months; about 56 parties; includes a few "camping privileges" and several names repeat through the year so likely locals.
1920	2658	104 parties, several of which are for meals only; many names repeat through year.
1921	1589	About 48 parties; 1st year to show length of stay on most parties; most parties (18) stayed one night, but not unusual to stay longer: 15 stayed 2 weeks or longer, including 3 parties that stayed about 4 months each; median stay was 3 nights.
1922	871	No entries June 12 thru Sept 30, while Lillian went to Los Angeles.; started new rates for summer at end of April: $3/day; $17.50/week.
1923	1363	$3/day; $20/week; $75/month; includes governor's party (complimentary) on Aug 4 -5 and "Douglas crowd with governor" @ $27 on Aug 4-5; Dr. Armstrong's party of 11 for dinner on Sept. 9; and Forest Service on Sept 14-15 for $13.50; weekly tally ends Sept 30 (no guests after that or lost page? More likely lost page due to tally).
1924	3057	$3/day; $18/week; $75/month; about 121 parties that stayed overnight, about 33 parties that came for meals; included Armstrong, Lindsays et al party of 10 for dinner Feb 17; Dr. Armstrong and Mr. Lindsay party of 4 for lunch and dinner on May 11, and Dr. Armstrong & [Logic's?] @ $4 Oct 26.
1925	2214	
1926	2061	They added horse and guest income to get $2879, making 105.90 more in 1926 than in 1925 per their own tally.
1927	3736	Total horses and guests = $4300. Note after Aug. 7: "Rest of August & September barely enough to get by on. September did not make expenses." Had only one guest in September but he lived there for the entire year of 1927.
1928	5181	In response to inquiry from Neil, got rates at John “Wetherill and Colville guest ranches” in La Osa, AZ and Kayenta, AZ: $40/week, no horse/no bath; single room with bath and horse

		= $65/week. FRC, series 1, folder 305-311.
1929	3782	First time used term "guests." Rates: $25 per week for house rooms; $20 per week for cabins; also elaboration on how many people per room and per bed for daily rates; meals = 75 cents or Sunday meals $1.
1930	3380	
1931	6343	"Surveyors made large total but so many were fed that there was very little profit."
1932	4634	"Total again swelled by the B.P.R. boys and profit small." "Special summer rates, season opens May 28": $30/week including use of saddle horse; $20/week without horse. American Plan: $3.25/day/person, 2 or more to a room; breakfast and lunch 50 cents each, dinner 75 cents; cabin for light housekeeping @ $10/week; horses $1/short rides; $2/longer rides or day.
1933		
1934	2476	Includes Fred Winn (USFS) several times, as well as Pinkley and Miller (NPS) several times; had big group Sept 1-4 for "dedication of the Wonderland Road."
1935	1701	Guests all months
1936	2191	
1937	1664	
1938	2522	
1939	2266	
1940	1697 or 3093	
1941	3508	Handwriting changed at end of 1941--when Lillian lost her sight?
1942	1809	
1943	3154	
1944	6492	
1945	7060	In September number of guests suddenly drops, only 10 lines of guests September-December. (Sell guest ranch business.)
1946	579	Only 1/2 page for whole year, no meals.
1947	950	Rentals were housekeeping cottages; only $5.70 was for meals, $944.30 for cottages. Rates: room with meals without bath = $6.25/day; room with private bath = $3.50/day/person; breakfast = 75 cents, lunch = 85 cents, dinner = 1.40.
1948	1988	$1411 for rooms, $577 for meals
1949	500	less than a page for whole year
1950	462	less than a page for whole year
1958	1838	Housekeeping cottages
1959	878	Income is January through July. On August 1 Lillian leased the cottages to Myrtle Westbrook. Did not include any house rooms. The lease was given up October 31, 1961.
1960		"I take occasional guests in the main house and continue to

		serve some meals." January 26-April 3, Colleen Adair; January 15-April 8, Miss Winifred Robey; September 21 to December 11, Capt. T.W. Morse.
1961		Started running housekeeping cottages again at beginning of November, after end of Westbrook lease.
1963		Cottages and horses leased to Frank and Lee Sullivan 3/1/63 to 3/1/66; took possession 2/17/63 but no charge up to 3/1/63; Sullivans gave up cottages & horses 3/1/65, We took over.
1970	1032	Closed for meals 1/1/70. Note at bottom of page, after end of April 1971: "1970 Due to impossible help situation we are compelled to close our regular guest ranch business--exceptions as listed below--cottages are rented to old friends and for housekeeping only. No horses rented."
1971	1041	
1972	1089	

Faraway Ranch ledgers, FRC, series 9, folders 8, 9, 10, 11; and FRC, series 8, folder 89.

HORSE RENTAL REVENUES

Year	Total Revenue	Comments
1921	21	No rentals December 2, 1921 thru May 29, 22
1923	287	
1924		Rates are: $2/day; $1 per 1/2 day; half rates to guests of 1 month or more.
1925	560	
1926	817	
1927	564	
1928	814	
1929	500	
1930	1134	Seems unusually high
1931	1026	Road surveyors were there, so perhaps they used horses?
1932	718	Summer rates, May28-: horses $1/short rides; $2/longer rides or day; note at end of year: $2.50 for Wonderland trip; guide $5 extra except to house guests.
1934	167	
1935	317	
1936	305	
1937	199	
1938	494	
1939	508	
1940	343	
1941	612	
1943	874	
1944	473 or 1298	First time shows: "Annual report on Operation - 1942 - of Horses in Chiricahua National Monument" Their state sales tax memo shows $1297.81 for horses in 1944. FRC, Series 8, folder 89.
1945	1458	
1946	825	
1957		The horseback "business provides about half the revenue of the ranch at present." [The cattle or guest ranch, or both?] Lillian Riggs to Mr. and Mrs. Blakeney, September 2, 1957, FRC, series 8, box 29, folder 63-65.
1963		Cottages and horses leased to Frank and Lee Sullivan 3/1/63 to 3/1/66; took possession 2/17/63 but no charge up to 3/1/63; Sullivans gave up cottages & horses 3/1/65.
1969	141	
1970	9	Also $24 for pasture rental for 1 horse.
1971		Note at bottom of page, after end of April 1971: "1970 Due to impossible help situation we are compelled to close our regular guest ranch business -- exceptions as listed below -- cottages are rented to old friends and for housekeeping only. No horses rented." Rented pasture for 2 horses.

Faraway Ranch ledgers, FRC, series 9, folders 8, 9, 10, 11; and FRC, series 8, folder 89.