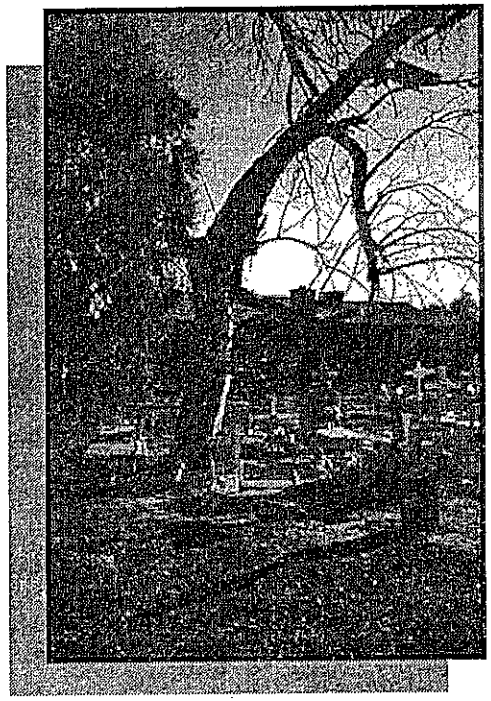
Guadalupe's Buried Past:



The story of the Guadalupe Cemetery, the town's original settlement, and how to tell people about it.

By Leah S. Glaser
History 525
Arizona State University
December 12, 1994

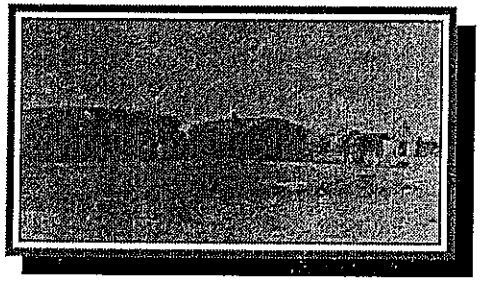
Guadalupe, Arizona, population 5500, sits in the middle of sprawling, thriving Tempe. The main street, Avenida del Yaqui boasts a community center, library, town hall, small grocery stores, farmer's markets, and a bakery. There is a ceremonial square, a Catholic church, and a Yaqui temple one block away. The majority of its occupants are of Mexican and Indian heritage. A sense of the town's tradition and pride is prevalent, but the actual history is sketchy, factually inconsistent, and found scattered through town plans, summaries, proposals, and academic papers on related topics.

Guadalupe was founded around the turn of the century by Yaqui Indians escaping from Sonora, Mexico, their former home. Much has been written about this flight, and many studies have been done about Guadalupe in later years beginning in the 1960s. Little is known about the events surrounding the founding of the town itself. For years Guadalupe's identity, status as a community, and the rights of its citizens have been controversial. Knowing its history may be of some help in resolving, or at least understanding, these issues.

The town's cemetery, to the surprise of many, is not located in Guadalupe. It is nestled about a mile and a half northeast of town, just north of Baseline Road, south of the Western Canal, and west of Hardy. It is surrounded by a middle class suburban neighborhood called Southern Palms, built in the early 1980s. A concrete wall circles its five acres with an iron gate entrance marked "Guadalupe Cemetery." The juxtaposition of this crowded desert cemetery against the grassy yards of modern Anglo houses is striking and curious. Why is it separate from the town? When were the houses built? Did Guadalupe's citizens have a choice in whatever happened?

The Guadalupe Cemetery as the Site of the Original Settlement

The story of Guadalupe's birth begins where its people bury their dead. Still used, the Guadalupe cemetery's most active day is the Day of the Dead when residents gather to pay respects, conduct a ceremony, clean their ancestors' plots and leave grave goods. A 1970 Guadalupe publication called, "Where Cultures Meet," described a visit to the cemetery as "a visit to a very holy ground where the lack of man's immortality brings to mind the long rich history of a proud yet humble people descended from Mexican heritage and now settled in America."[1] Despite the area's phenomenal urban development, the site of the Yaqui's first settlement has survived for almost one hundred years.[2]



Homes of Yaqui refugees constructed of mesquite and cactus ribs

Generally the most popular account was that a widow had allowed a group of Yaquis to settle on her land sometime in the late 1890s to around 1910. Disputes over water rights and farmers' actions spurred a 1910 court order issued by Judge John C. Phillips "ordering the Yaqui off their land."[3] But the cemetery remained. In 1914, Woodrow Wilson granted the Yaqui forty acres further south on less fertile land now known as the Town of Guadalupe.

In 1982, Reverend Kieran McCarty, rector of the San Xavier del Bac Mission in Tucson found a file of notes marked "Guadalupe Yaqui Townsite" written by Franciscan Friar Lucius Zittier. Father Zittier was closely associated with the early Guadalupe Yaqui and instrumental in establishing their eventual townsite. His notes included a chronological list of events, a list of inhabitants, and an explanation of why the fleeing Yaqui happened to settle on desert land near Phoenix. Although no one knows where the file is, Santino Bernasconi, former head of the Guadalupe Organization, has seen it. Between an article in the *Arizona Republic* which reported the file's finding and Bernasconi's memory, one can gather a general sense of the file's contents. Legal documents support this version over any other.

In 1909, photographer Dane Coolidge visited the Yaqui at their old cemetery settlement. An article relating his experience was published in *Sunset* magazine. Thanks to Mr. Coolidge, there is visual documentation of the Yaqui's houses, church, cemetery, and inhabitants. The "wattle and daub huts" look very similar to those on the Yaqui River in Mexico built from woven cane and mud.[4] Other structures included branch-shaded work areas (ramadas) and houses constructed of mesquite poles and cactus ribs ("jacal" structures).[5] At the time

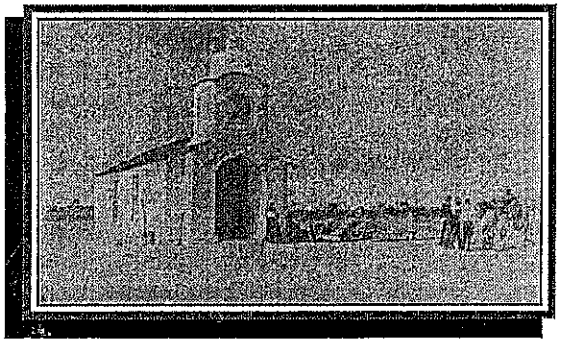
of his visit there were approximately 120-125 occupants including fifty families. The exact population, however, is difficult to assess because it was so transitory and scattered.

Guadalupe's Founders

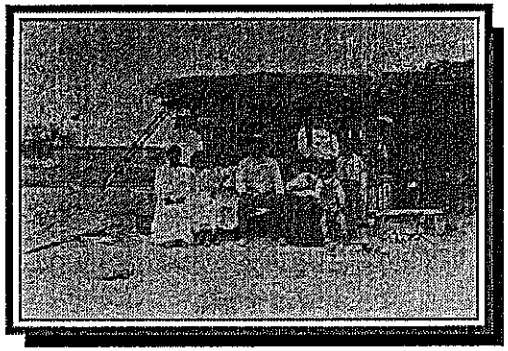
For years the Yaqui Indians lived in autonomous communities on the Yaqui River in Sonora. Encroaching Mexican settlers near the end of the nineteenth century threatened their lives and land under the dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz. Faced with extermination or slavery, all but a few hundred Yaqui fled into Arizona Territory. They considered their dislocation temporary, however, and were determined to fight and return to their home. They garnered a reputation of being a fierce and warlike people. This was not the case in Arizona. Many settled near Tucson and established themselves on the edges of cities as squatters to form "Barrios." According to the 1910 county census, the Guadalupe Yaqui claimed to have entered the United States as early as 1883 and continued emigrating until 1910.[6]

The Phoenix settlement operated similarly to its counterparts elsewhere in Arizona. In Mexico, the Yaqui had a long involved history with the Jesuits and the Church. According to the newspaper's account of Father Zittier's notes, "during their flight from the mountains of northwestern Sonora, they were accompanied by a missionary. They crossed the U.S. boundary west of Sasabe and were advised to seek assistance from Franciscan Friars who brought them up to Phoenix and negotiated land for them from farmers."[7]

First Lady of Guadalupe Church, Built in 1904, by Yaqui native to Sonora, Mexico.



A deed in the Maricopa County Recorder's office reveals that on February 1, 1898, Sylvester Roche, granted five acres of his land (owned since 1891), including a right of way, to Peter Bourgade, the Bishop of the Diocese of Tucson. Subsequent Bishops would own the title until its final transfer to Guadalupe in 1979.[8] Roche's land was conveniently located south of Tempe, beneath the Wormser Canal and just west of the railroad track.



Early Settlers, April 1909

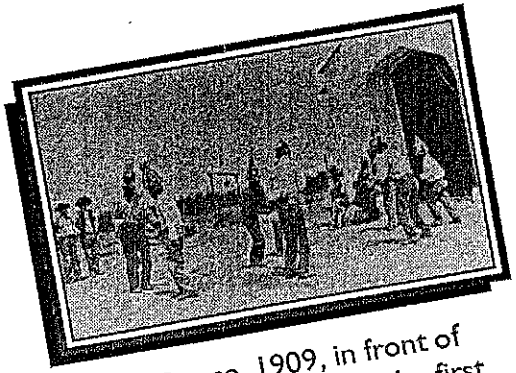
Many Guadalupe residents do not realize that their first church, dated at 1904, was a small adobe structure built on the cemetery's five acres by residents architecturally trained on the Yaqui River. A church was usually the first structure built and was maintained as a community center in the Arizona settlements. Its construction represents an intent to stay on the land for a period of time. The Catholic Church remained intimately involved with Yaqui-Guadalupe community under the care and the direction of Franciscan Friar Lucius Zittier of St. Mary's Friary. Zittier rode out from Phoenix to perform religious ceremonies. Some consider him the town's founder.[9]

Dane Coolidge photographed the *Capitan* and family. Teodoro Ramos, according to Coolidge was not Yaqui, but Mayo. He describes his position as "half chief/half mayor."[10] The name "Capitan" evokes a military structure, common in Sonora, that apparently did not survive very long in Arizona communities which often had little community structure.[11] Anglos often assumed tribal organization, so Ramos may have been designated for that purpose.

The Yaquis had initially come to Arizona as a temporary solution and their way of life suggested as much.[12] Concerned with hiding their identity as refugees, they kept a low profile and identified themselves with Mexicans or other Indian tribes like the Papago. Unlike life in Sonora, the community was neither isolated nor autonomous. It depended completely on the Anglo-American economy. Living beneath the then Wormser canal, they were able to grow their own food and as the case with their houses, they adapted to the materials available. They lived simply, bothered with few material possessions, worked, and saved money. The 1910 census, in corroboration with statements by descendants, indicate farmers and ranchers in the area employed the Yaqui as laborers for two dollars a day or more.[13] Some worked for the railroad and in the mines elsewhere in Arizona as they had done in Mexico, while women were employed as domestic help. Tight communications were kept with family in Mexico and many reportedly traveled back and forth in secret with supplies and money to the guerrillas who fought the Mexican Revolution until around 1927.

Delfina Sanchez reports that one of their employers had a farm on Southern Avenue. Others report the Yaquis were living on the land of a Scandinavian couple. Mons Ellingson and his family hailed from Norway, homesteaded on Southern Avenue and

owned a tract of land adjacent to Sylvester Roche. Sanchez, whose uncle was a small boy, recalls hearing that the wife would often do laundry and other favors for the Yaqui settlers. Many were quite intimate with their employers, often going to live with them seasonally. Families probably moved in and out of the community in accordance with job requirements. Ceremonial life was compliant to the larger society and much of folk culture was abandoned.

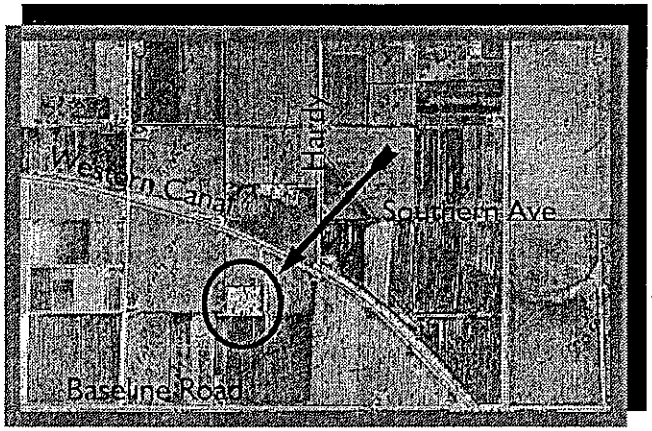


Easter Dance, 1909, in front of Church. Guadalupe was the first Arizona settlement to revive the celebration.

Because of the war in Mexico and tribal dislocation, nuclear families broke apart. As a result, Arizona communities were often made up of unrelated residents. They relied on their system of godparents and ritual kinship relations called *compadrazgos*. Ranging in age from one to seventy-five in April of 1910, they maintained their Yaqui language, but the census reports that most spoke Spanish. They also depended on one another for knowledge of certain traditions. Ceremonies and other cultural and religious practices were increasingly revived after the Yaqui discovered the United States had granted them asylum as refugees.

The Guadalupe community was the first to revive the Easter dance. As is the case today, both the Yaqui and the Anglo communities found this ceremony a favorite. It is the event that brought Dane Coolidge's visit. Scattered Yaqui came in on "ranch wagons from all the outlying camps, even from as far as Phoenix, to help in the celebration."[14]

In 1910, Tempe Normal School students attended. They reported that "the crowd was so large that it was almost impossible to get to see the whole dance, but from what we could see we can say that it was graceful and rhythmic. Prof. Irish admired it so much that he informed the onlookers that he was trying to learn the step, and, some of the girls expressed the hope that Miss Odell would teach the step in physical culture class."[15] Today it remains a public event of much fascination by the Anglo community perhaps because its christian features complemented the surrounding community.



Aerial Photo, 1945

1910: Water Rights, Canals, Land, and the Bureau of Reclamation

The events surrounding the Yaqui population's move to a new plot of land are unclear. Some background on the land itself yields clues. The Wormser Canal was built in 1875 and ran along the same route as the present day Western Canal. It irrigated all the land beneath it including that of Sylvester Roche, a native of Nova Scotia, who received the plat of land from the Federal government on October 16, 1891. Water rights were established and ensured to the farmers through organizations like the Salt River Valley Water Users Association. Most of the settlers beneath the Wormser were members of the Tempe Canal Company. They enjoyed low rates and exclusive rights to the Wormser. Unfortunately, great floods followed by drought waterlogged the area throughout the 1890s and early 1900s. It was during this period that the Catholic Church acquired a parcel of Roche's land.

In 1902, Congress issued the Reclamation Act followed by a series of others regarding property and water rights. Many residents hoped the acts would lead to the construction of the Roosevelt Dam thereby improving the irrigation in their lands. The Bureau of Reclamation created the Salt River Project to develop the area.

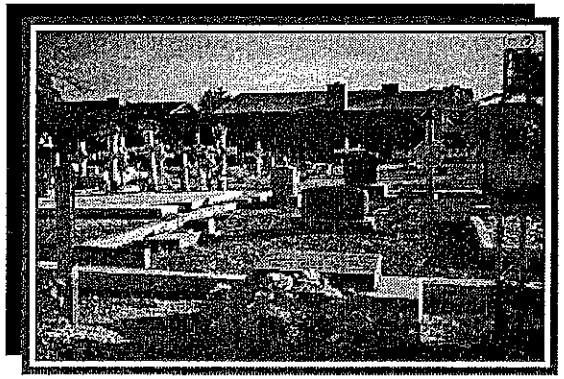
The year 1910 was pivotal. It brought a decision in a landmark water rights case (Hurley v. Abbott) in the Valley, a series of new reclamation acts, the death of Sylvester Roche, and an application submitted by Guadalupe residents to the Department of the Interior to establish the townsite of Guadalupe on a new and federally undesirable tract of land. In October 1909 and April 1910 farmers held a series of meetings when the government's rescue of waterlogged lands through reclamation projects seemed imminent. Despite numerous attempts to buy them out, the Tempe Canal Company remained stubbornly separate to ensure their lower water rates. They could still get a normal

flow of water except in times of drought. Thus,the Salt River Project made alternative plans to build the Western Canal directly parallel to the Wormser. Construction began in 1911.[16]

Sylvester Roche was an early Tempe settler who appeared to live an unassuming, if not reclusive, life. Single until his death at 55 in March of 1910, he was employed by Niels Peterson who administered his will. Probate Judge John C. Phillips handled the proceedings. His sole heir was his sister Annie Stewart of Winter Hill, Massachusetts. Her inheritance consisted only of an old horse and buggy, and the "NE quarter of the SW quarter, Section 33, Township 1, North of Range 4, East of Gila and Salt River Base and Meridian, Maricopa County, AZ territory, excepting 5 acres, now occupied as a Catholic Cemetery and situated in the SW corner of said tract of land." [17] In 1911, Stewart sold the land to Josie Henness for $900.[18]

One can guess that bachelor Sylvester Roche had few reasons to concern himself over Yaqui Indians interfering with his family, farm, or water and land rights. He was not always an independent farmer and may not have even resided on his land for the period they were there. There is no archaeological record of a residential structure prior to those of the Yaquis or the Henness family. He may also have been allowing the Yaquis his water rights.

The Church's ownership of the land protected it from being acquired by farmers, the government, and future archaeological excavations and development. Even so, Father Zittier's notes indicate that he felt Indian presence was unwanted by the farmers moving into the soon irrigable and valuable land.[19] Zittier may have felt pressure due to the extensive new SRP work and recent congressional reclamation acts targeting the area. Having recently probated Roche's will, Judge John Phillips must have been aware of the situation. It is logical that Zittier may have consulted with Judge Phillips and at least one lawyer, M. J. Dougherty of Mesa, about the matter. The Yaquis were recognized by the United States government as political refugees, not as an Indian tribe, so no steps could be taken to settle them on a reservation. Together the men may have figured a way to secure land for the Yaquis under a March 2,1867 act of Congress *"An Act for the Relief of the Inhabitants of Cities and Towns upon Public Lands"* which gave the



probate judges jurisdiction in these matters.[20] Phillips cites May 2, 1910 as the date of Yaqui occupation of the townsite in his application. The "court order," of which there is no record yet found, may have been Judge Phillips moving the Yaqui settlers in order to establish the townsite. On May 31 homesteader Marian Higgins officially relinquished forty acres of her homesteaded property, but according to local history "a flaw" was found in her land claim. The nature of this flaw is undetermined, but may have had something to do with the newly issued reclamation laws. Attached to this document in the townsite file at the National Archives is a notice that says these annex papers were suspended "because land is in Salt River Project and must be restored." Recent congressional acts authorized the government to reclaim public lands for townsite use in matters of irrigation.[21]

According to the National Archives file, Phillips applied for the formerly Higgins land in trust to himself on July 15. The act allowed town authorities to enter public lands and establish townsites "for the several use and benefit of the occupants thereof, according to their respective interests; the execution of which trust, as to the disposal of the lots in such town, and the proceeds of the sales thereof, to be conducted under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the legislative authority of the state of territory in which the same may be situated." The very next day, a petition was submitted by three Guadalupe residents, Juan M. Molina, Juan Lucero, and Felipe Mendoza, "for public land as a townsite."[22]

Anthropologist Edward Spicer, who studied the Yaqui Indians for years, suggests that these actions may not have been very unusual. There were other attempts to establish better administrative control over increasing Yaqui immigration into Arizona during this time period. Similar tracts of land were set aside in Tucson. He cites two such tracts as becoming permanent settlements. Unlike in Sonora,Yaqui did not consider this sacred land and may have considered moving more of an inconvenience than an outrage. Spicer suggests that "Yaqui self conception of land rights and proprietorship required that they see themselves as guests of Anglo-Americans."[23] J. H. Henness did not receive property until 1911 further indicating that the decision to move the Yaquis was not spurred by the court action of specific farmers, but a decision of Father Zittier and Judge Phillips in response to mounting water rights

disputes. Roche and (Bishop) Henry Granjon had joined SRP back in 1903 while adjacent prperty owners J.H. Henness and Mons Ellingson, both members of the holdout Tempe Canal Company, waited until 1913.[24]

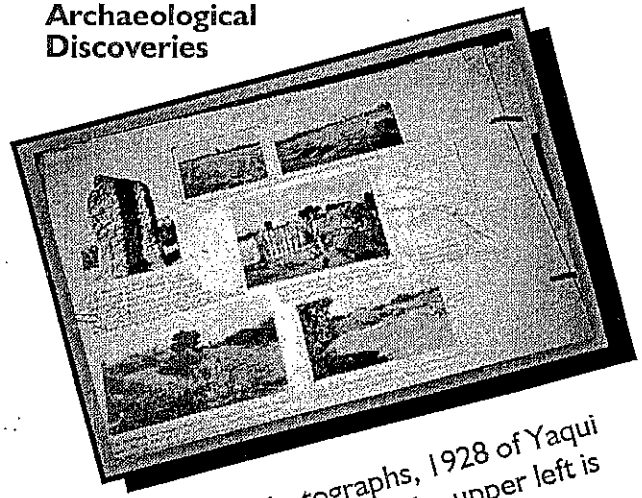
When the Yaqui moved to the new forty acres, known as *La Cuarenta*, one third reportedly went to Scottsdale where a community developed. Many of the old houses were knocked down and salvageable material were used to construct new ones. Shelters and smaller wooden houses mounted on sled runners were drawn by horses to the new site. Soon after, members of the Tempe Canal Company sold their right of way purchases to SRP who began construction of the Western Canal.[25] Eventually, SRP would provide valuable employment for the Yaquis.

Because of logistical technicalities and paperwork, Phillips finally submitted a "proof to establish claim" for a hearing set on February 24, 1914. He reports 42 townsite claimants, 150 inhabitants since May 2, 1910 and 42 adobe and frame dwellings. The information is corroborated by four witnesses. Zittier, lawyers, and two or three citizens may have traveled to Washington for the hearing.[26] The certificate granting the land was issued on July 28 followed by the Wilson Proclamation on November 14.

Subsequent paperwork in the townsite file and local political events in the Valley suggest that Judge Phillips never fully executed his trust and the technical legalities of his actions were never fully understood by the Yaqui beneficiaries. They understood the land was for them and for their interests, but they did not initially have ownership nor did they ever receive it. Issues related to these transactions would later cause significant political problems in Guadalupe. Phillips' successor may not have understood and certainly never carried out the intentions of Phillips and Zittier.[27] In a future study, it would be interesting to compare the Yaqui's thoughts on their situation with those of the broader community.

A 1915 topographical map shows the existence of a church site and cemetery as well as paths leading from the cemetery to roads and to the new townsite which by this time had numerous structures. This may indicate that both were used for some time after the community moved. The cemetery land continued to attract attention for other reasons in subsequent years.

Archaeological Discoveries



Frank Midvale photographs, 1928 of Yaqui Cemetery. The picture in the upper left is the last wall of the church.

Sylvester Roche's land was a rich archaeological site of the Hohokam known as *La Ciudad de Los Hornos*. It was first mentioned in the reports of the Hemenway Expedition by Frank Cushing in 1887. The Yaqui, according to archaeological evidence, appear to be the most permanent settlement in the area since prehistoric times.

The 1920s brought a new archaeologist to the area when Frank Midvale took numerous site photographs and drew maps citing the Yaqui Cemetery and referring to the area as Old Guadalupe for survey purposes. Midvale's photographs record the site about eighteen years after the Yaqui vacated. It remained a rich site for surface collection. Land-leveling activity removed all mounds except for those within the cemetery. One photograph shows a fragment of an adobe wall labeled as "the last remaining wall of old adobe church built in the desert by Yaqui Indian 'wet backs' about 1905 or 1905. Soon after, this land was reclaimed and the Indians driven out, to where they rebuilt, about two miles southwest and now live."[27] According to the site map, the church stood at the southwest corner of the cemetery area. The photographs give a good indication of what the area may have looked like. They also show a mound, leveled in 1956, with a house on top. An elderly Yaqui man told archaeologist Reuben Nelson he had lived in a house on that mound, located 100 feet northwest of the cemetery, as a boy. Other farmers reported that remnants of mesquite-pole framed houses were there from 1910 to the 1920s. A map indicates the location of the church, cemetery, mounds, and canals.[28] The area was so archaeologically rich in Hohokam artifacts, that all its contents have not yet been studied. Any archaeological evidence of the Yaqui occupation of the area would be difficult to assess.

No Longer Isolated

Until the 1970s, the area remained primarily farmland. The cemetery continued to be used. Archaeologists who visited in 1960 reported seeing many graves decorated with Hohokam lithics and ceramic artifacts. Manos and large decorated shards were often arranged into artistic designs.[29] Later in the 1960s, the cemetery fell into great disrepair as a result of trespassers and vandalism. It was the frequent site of college fraternity pranks, a storage place for stolen goods, and parties. Grave markers were knocked over

or stolen and beer and liquor bottles were often littered about. In 1969 the Diocese of Tucson transferred the title of the cemetery to the Diocese of Phoenix. A publicized ceremony was held to give the Town of Guadalupe the cemetery land title in 1979. This would be the first time its residents would have ownership of the land that held their heritage and their ancestors. "The Church intended to give it back, but wanted to make sure such a move wouldn't divide the community over how to operate it."[30] Residents made plans for plotting the graves and assigning markers.

Around the time Guadalupe finally received ownership of the cemetery land, Suggs Homes made plans for the area's development. In exchange for the right-of-way land leading to the burial sites, John Hyman agreed to pay for improvements including a paved parking area, wall, and iron gate.[31] These changes allow the area the protection and privacy lacking in earlier years. Today the cemetery is considered a historic site where everyone participates and where children can find out about their heritage and ancestors. It provides an ideal setting to begin interpreting a history on the verge of being forever buried.

Interpreting Guadalupe's History for the Public

Collecting information for this project has been confusing and frustrating, but very rewarding. Research was difficult because the sources of information are widely scattered and there is no specific, documented account of the founders after their settlement in Tempe. This unfinished story is just the beginning. I intend to deposit this paper as a file in the Guadalupe Library, the Arizona Collection at Arizona State University Library, and the Tempe Historical Society, with a comprehensive bibliography to follow later, of all the sources I have found. But throwing the information in a file is not enough. Such action does little to benefit the public as far as giving it a body of information on which to build cultural pride and identity. There are many more complex details to figure out however, and this story is far from complete. I am very interested in pursuing research to create a documented history of the town as well as ways of interpreting it for the public. Santino Bernasconi indicated to me his interest in beginning a Guadalupe Historical Society to help foster pride and identity especially among the young who "no longer sit at the feet of their grandparents to hear the old stories."

My first suggestion to stimulate public interest is a photographic exhibition accompanied by text plaques describing the contents in this paper. Eleven of Dane Coolidge's photographs are located in the Arizona Historical Foundation in Hayden Library available for reproduction. As well, Midvale's negatives are still in his site book in ASU's Anthropology Department. Christine Marin took a series of photographs, located in Arizona Collections before the development of Southern Palms which could supplement the other time periods.

The exhibition would include a guest book where people could indicate their interest in participating in the development of a Guadalupe Historical Society under the auspices of perhaps the Library. Visitors to the exhibition would also be encouraged to share any information they have about their ancestors. For some time, citizens have been working to identify all the plots in the cemetery. This would provide an opportunity for many to do that as well as beginning a *genealogy program.* A genealogy program could collect personal files including, obituaries, information about births and deaths found on cemetery markers. Eventually a community family tree could be started.

With publicity and a secure space like the community center or boys and girls club, the exhibit could reach a variety of people. Finally, a publication to complement exhibition would be handed out to each visitor summarizing the history and explaining this sort of information. On the contingency of community support, the Arizona Humanities Council has expressed its interest in funding this type of project.

I am also offering an idea for a less formal presentation with the realization that it may not be considered appropriate for religious and/or cultural reasons. A nighttime slideshow of Coolidge's photos on cemetery wall. This would place the images and their subjects in the context evoking images within the ancestral (however temporary) setting. Ideally this could happen on the night of *Dia de Los Muertos* because of the high attendance of the community at the ceremony. Narration could be optional but done through oral histories or by someone like Delfina Sanchez who remembers their family stories.

Please circulate this paper to anyone interested. If you have any information or comments, criticisms, or words of encouragement, I would love to hear them. Currently I am entering my second semester pursuing a Master's Degree in Public History. I am very interested in continuing this project for my Master's thesis. I will spend next semester giving myself a more solid background in the issues related to this story.

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Notes

1. *Where Cultures Meet*, Guadalupe Organization(?), October 1970.

2. An attempt was made to establish a Protestant Cemetery west of the town within the Phoenix city limits. The area was never licensed and in the mid-1980s it was claimed by developers despite the seventeen gravesites reported there. *Arizona Republic*, February 28, 1986.

3. "Town Site is 2nd Settled by the Yaquis," *Arizona Republic*, July 28, 1974.

4. Edward Spicer, "Handbook of North American Indians," p. 253.

5. Dane Coolidge, "Yaquis in Exile," *Sunset* 23 (September, 1909), p. 301.

6. Maricopa County Census, 1910.

7. Sam Negri, "Priest's Records Relate Yaqui Migration," *Arizona Republic,* June 12, 1982.

8. Warranty Deed of Rt. Rev. Peter Bourgade from Sylvester Roche, February 1, 1898, Office of the Recorder, Maricopa County, Arizona reporting the transfer of ownership for one dollar for "the five acres located in the southwest corner of the northeast quarter of the southwest quarter of Section 33 in Township 1, Range 4 East, according to the plat thereof on file in the office of the County Surveyor of said County of Maricopa Territory of Arizona, in Book of Maps at page 92, together with a right of way along the west line of said quarter section of twenty-five feet in width and nine-hundred and twenty-four feet in length (more or less) beginning at the NW quarter there thence running forth 924 feet to the NW corner of said five acres." By the time the title was transferred to the town of Guadalupe, the right of way would no longer be a part of the transfer.

9. Santino Bernasconi, Personal interview, October 28, 1994.

10. Dane Coolidge, "Yaquis in Exile," Sunset 23 (September, 1909), 301.

11. Edward Spicer, *Perspectives in American Indian Cultural Change*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 1961), p.82.

12. *Ibid* .

13. Dane Coolidge, "Yaquis in Exile," p.301

14. Coolidge, p.300.

15. "Yaqui," *Tempe Normal Student,* April 16, 1909.

16. Fred Anderson, "Western Canal, south side of the Salt River," 1990, Salt River Project Archives, Historic American Engineering Reports,National Park Service, Western Region, Department of teh Interior, San Francisco, CA. 1990. HAER No. AZ-22.

17. "In the Matter of the estate of Sylvester Roche, deceased," Probate Case #1515. Superior Court of Maricopa County, Phoenix, Arizona.

18. *Warranty Deed* of Josie Henness from Annie Stewart at con., June 19, 1911, Office of the Recorder, Maricopa County, Deed Book 94, p.415.

19. *Assessment Records*, Salt River Project Archives, Tempe, Arizona and Sam Negri, "Priest's Records Relate Yaqui Migration," *Arizona Republic,* June 12, 1982.

20. *United States Statutes at Large* 14, p. 541 and General Land Office Records, File #011733, National Archives.

21.General Land Office Records, File #011733, National Archives.

22. General Land Office Records, File #011733, National Archives.

23. Spicer, "Perspectives in American Indian Culture," p. 80.

24. Fred Anderson, "Western Canal, south side of the Salt River." 1990.

25. Santino Bernasconi, Personal interview, October 28, 1994.

26. General Land Office Records, File #011733, National Archives, Suitland, Maryland.

27. Frank Midvale Site Book #2, Anthropology Department, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona.

28. Reuben Nelson, "One Hundred Years of Archaeology at La Ciudad de Los Hornos," Soil Systems Publications 1990, p.7.

29. Nelson, p.17.

30. "Old Cemetery Given Back to Guadalupe," *Arizona Republic*, September 15, 1992.

31. John Hyman, Phone Interview, September 1994.

32. Santino Bernasconi, Personal Interview, October 28, 1994.

Suggested Consultants

The following people have or can be instrumental in recovering Guadalupe's Early History. Each will receive a copy of the above:

Santino Bernasconi—*Director of Centro de Amistad* 839-2926
Rosemary Adiano—*Town Clerk*, has history and cemetery files and plot map in office
Delfina Sanchez, *CAP* —good oral history 730-3093
Darlene Tapia, *Town Council*—oral history 820-5770
Lydia Flores—*Librarian* 831-5967

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