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PROTESTANTISM, PROGRESS, AND PROSPERITY:  
JOHN P. CLUM AND “CIVILIZING” THE  
U. S. SOUTHWEST, 1871–1886  

DOUGLAS FIRTH ANDERSON

John P. Clum sought to "civilize" the various societies he encountered in the U. S. Southwest in the 1870s–1880s. The pulpit, the press, and the stage were three "civilizers" that Clum himself fostered. They expressed a civilizing ideology that, in Clum's case, was informed by persistent religious sensibilities and affiliations.

"No Tombstone is complete without the epitaph," quipped John P. Clum (1851–1932) in the 1880 inaugural editorial for his newspaper, the Tombstone Epitaph. At the time, he was a recent arrival in Arizona's booming silver town. He was not new to the Southwest, however. In the previous nine years, the twenty-something Clum had already served as a sergeant in the U. S. Signal Service in Santa Fe (1871–1874), as an Indian agent at San Carlos Apache Agency (1874–1877), and as the editor of the Arizona Citizen (1877–1880). During his years in Tombstone, he was not only a newspaper editor (1880–1882), but also the postmaster (1880–1882, 1885–1886) and the mayor (1881).

"Booms and boom towns always have intrigued me," Clum wrote later, after years of living in the West as well as promoting it. It was the Southwest, though, that remained the most alluring western region for him. Its "open spaces" and "desert mountains" infused "romance" into his participation "in this sort of progress," namely joining Tombstone's boom. In turn, Clum linked booms not only to progress, but to "that greatest of magicians: prosperity."

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1 Tombstone Epitaph, 1 May 1880.

Clum was one of a host of Anglo-Americans who came to the West after the Civil War in pursuit of worldly happiness. Yet, it would be a mistake to reduce his life and thought to unadorned materialism. Clum, in fact, represented a civilizing ideology that was as religiously-rooted as it was this-worldly oriented. He exemplified a commitment to Protestantism, progress, and prosperity—a sacred-secular accommodation that undoubtedly moved more individuals than just himself but has yet to be critically examined in a sustained way in western historiography. For Clum, the magician of prosperity was a necessary, but not sufficient, element for civilization. In 1881, in the course of defending stage plays from the attack of a Tombstone clergyman, editor Clum offered a dictum that would have served for his own epitaph: "When the three great human civilizers—the pulpit, press, and stage—cannot work harmoniously together it bodes ill for the morals of a community."

Clum's tombstone-worthy avowal of three "civilizers" called upon a diffuse set of concepts, values, and sensibilities prevalent in American middle-class culture after the Civil War. The general potency of a "civilizing" project for the West is indicated by the ready acceptance in 1893 and after of Frederick Jackson Turner's classic reformulation of a westward moving American "frontier" between civilization and savagery. Since Turner, the importance of Protestantism in the American civilizing ideology of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has received critical attention. Also, recent scholarship has drawn renewed attention to the accommodation of Protestantism to democratic, individualist capitalism. However, despite the imput of the now aging New Western History for reconceiving western historiography, reexamination of Protestantism's significance in "civilizing" the West has been fitful, at best. At least in part, this has been due to the relative institutional marginality of Protestantism in the West and to an underst

1 Tombstone Epitaph, 13 December 1881.


5 Tombstone Epitaph, 13 December 1881.


The book, in turn, gathered enough interest to lead to a 1956 B-grade western, Walk the Proud Land, with Audie Murphy cast as Clum.\textsuperscript{10} Viewing Clum critically through the lens of his self-owemed values of pulpit, press, stage, and the pursuit of prosperity—three civilizers and a magician—affords greater focus on his historical significance in the West. The Anglo-American conquest and incorporation of the West into a world market was not accomplished without ideological motivation and justification. Elliott West eloquently reminded us of the importance of what he terms the vision of competing societies in relation to the Central Plains.\textsuperscript{11} Clum’s vision, worked out in the Southwest in deed and word, was of a western frontier beneficially guided in progress and prosperity by the three great civilizers. The pulpit’s priority was indicated not only by its place in the order of the three civilizers, but also in the implicit moral function of all three. In order to establish and further understand the Protestant religiosity of Clum and his civilizing vision, the remainder of this study reexamines his life through his departure from the Southwest.

A few miles east of the town Hudson and the river for which it was named is the farming village of Claverack. The first European colonizers of the valley in what became New York were the Dutch. Along with Dutch settlement were planted Dutch Reformed churches. The Claverack Reformed Church went back to the early eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{12}

John Philip Clum was born on a farm near Claverack on 1 September 1851. He was one of ten siblings, ethnically German on his father’s side of the family, and Dutch on his mother’s side.\textsuperscript{13} He apparently had an unremarkable childhood growing up on the farm and regularly attending a congregation of the Claverack Reformed Church. Perhaps he felt stumped at home; at least, he was noticeably silent about his childhood, and his granddaughter characterized his mother, Elizabeth Van Duesen Clum, as a “pious woman” and her house a “house of piety.”\textsuperscript{14} This piety was the root of John Clum’s later civilizing vision. The Rev. F. N. Zabriskie, pastor of the Claverack

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\textsuperscript{12} Services began in 1716; the congregation was formally organized in 1726. Peter N. VandenBerge, ed., Historical Directory of the Reformed Church in America, 1628–1978 (Grand Rapids, MI, 1978), 264.

\textsuperscript{13} The Clums (Klums) were among German immigrants to the area in the early eighteenth century. Nancy A. Pope, Saugerties Institution, e-mail to author, 1 August and 29 August 2001.

\textsuperscript{14} Marjorie Clum Parker typescript, n.d., 10, 12, Wallace E. Clayton Research Collection [Hereafter Clayton Collection], MS165, Artemas Historical Society, Saugerties [Hereafter AHSTJ].

gregation, later testified that the adolescent Clum was “a consistent and useful member of [the] church,” and his parents apparently had hopes that he would study for the ministry.\textsuperscript{15}

The pulpit thus loomed large in Clum’s early life. But, at the Hudson River Institute, a military preparatory school that he attended for three years, his religiously-based moralism became intertwined with a flammable moralism. He became captain of the cadet corps. “I was fascinated with the precision of drill, seeing orders given and obeyed,” he later recalled. “Maybe it was my idea of romance, or something.”\textsuperscript{16} Clum was the captain cadet was of a piece with the militaristic and romanticist proclivities of another New York Dutch Reformed male of Clum’s generation, Theodore Roosevelt.\textsuperscript{17} Recent historians have helped clarify that northern, white, Protestant middle- and upper-middle class males like Clum and Roosevelt were part of a distinctive generation too young to have participated in the “sacred” cause of fighting the Union. In life and thought, however, members of this generation seemed bent on compensating for missing the Civil War by juxtaposing masculine theatrics with reformist moralism in the interest of white Protestant civilization—a moral, yet passionate, manhood prepared to civilianize while in pursuit of the “magic of prosperity.”\textsuperscript{18}

From the Hudson River Institute, Clum went on to Rutgers College, New Jersey. The institution had been founded in 1766 as Queen’s College by the Dutch Reformed Church. When Clum arrived in 1870, the college was still closely associated with another denominational institution, New Brunswick Theological Seminary.\textsuperscript{19} What stood out in Clum’s memory, however, were not his studies, theological or otherwise,
but his participation in athletics. He played football and developed a passion for rowing. He organized a freshman crew, and, as the captain and trainer, pushed himself and his crew hard. He ended the academic year physically exhausted and too weak to work during the summer.21

At the end of the summer of 1871, the nineteen-year-old Clum could not afford to return to Rutgers. Nevertheless, the pulpit continued to loom large in his life, as he had apparently not ruled out training for the ministry later on. His religious sensibilities at the time, though, can only be tentatively read back from later evidence. Clum was not inclined to introspection or to intellectual exploration, then or later in life. At best, he was indirect about his religious experience and beliefs. On the one hand, he seemed to avoid conventional pious talk and rituals—perhaps in reaction to the piety of his mother. Yet, he maintained Protestant affiliations and commitments. Clum's general reticence to explicitly discuss religion suggests that he was ambivalent, at best, about conversionist, chauvinistic, and biblicist elements of the then-dominant evangelical ethos of Protestantism. Clum was a relatively unreflective participant in the theological and social liberalization of American Protestantism. This liberalization stressed divine immanence in such a way as to make accommodation to the burgeoning commercial culture of post-Civil War American society less traumatic for its followers than for conservatives who insisted on divine transcendence and the discontinuity of the supernatural with the natural. His gravitation to the cadet corps and to athletics, as well as his later activities, indicate that he was more drawn to a strenuous yet urbane moral activism, or masculinized Protestantism, than he was to an ethos of sentimentalized religious experience, or feminized Protestantism.22 Clum was a layperson who displayed his religious commitments as much, or even more, by his actions and affiliations as by his verbal testimony.

In the fall of 1871, the romance of government service in the West led the erstwhile cadet and undergraduate athlete to New Mexico Territory. He enlisted in the Signal Service as an observer sergeant. Posted to Santa Fe between late 1871 and early 1874, Clum was responsible for telegraphing weather observations to Washington, D.C. According to his reminiscences, what stood out for him for those years were the “romantic” aspects. “I admit I was a bit nervous,” he said, “but I felt a genuine thrill in the prospective adventure.”23 Leaving the rail line to ride stagecoaches into Santa Fe, he remembered feeling as if he were “severing all ties with civilization.”24

Once in Santa Fe, Clum promptly joined efforts to “civilize” the place. His service as a weather observer under the auspices of the U.S. Army contributed, of course, to the larger civilizing project already underway in the Southwest. Civilizing, for Clum, though, meant more than political order. “Had it not been for the flag over the palace of the governor, I would have thought I was in Old Mexico,” he recalled. “Spanish was spoken exclusively, except by missionaries, storekeepers, and government employees.” So, he established a school “conducted entirely in the English language.” But, it was not only the English language that needed promoting; so did Protestantism. He helped found the Santa Fe YMCA and served as its first president. He joined First Presbyterian Church because there was no Reformed congregation in the territory, and Presbyterian and Reformed creeds and polity were similar. His alignment with the pulpit was more than a formality. He was elected an elder of the congregation and was the lay delegate of the Santa Fe Presbytery to the Presbyterian General Assemblies of 1873 and 1874. At the 1874 assembly meeting in St. Louis, he also engaged in a bit of theolectics. Asked to speak five minutes about New Mexico, his vivid depiction of “a remote, vaguely known, romantic section of the United States” led the assembly to grant the self-described “amateur orator” an additional five minutes.25

However, even as Clum craved about New Mexico, he was already committed to move to Arizona Territory. He had accepted an appointment the previous February to be an Indian agent at San Carlos on the White Mountain Apache Reservation. Under the “peace policy” of the Grant Administration, the Board of Missions of the Dutch Reformed Church had been assigned responsibility in early 1872 for nominating the agent for San Carlos. Clum was approached about the post in November 1873, since he was a Dutch Reformed resident of the Southwest who was known to Rutgers College contacts of the board.26

Clum's religious commitment was key to his acceptance of the appointment. Commissioner of Indian Affairs E. P. Smith, a mission-minded Congregationalist minister, apparently helped Clum to understand the appointment as a religious call.27 "I shall go..."
to my work with a determination to do my duty—my whole duty—and to be fearless in its execution," Clum wrote to the Rev. J. M. Ferris of the Dutch Reformed Board of Missions. "I shall trust in God, and if I die it shall be at my post with face to the foe. If I fail it shall be said, 'He hath done what he could.'" 29

Here Clum quoted Scripture (Mark 14: 8). The words are Jesus's, concerning the woman who anointed him with expensive nard. Jesus accepted the anointing as a fitting gift for his own coming burial. By changing the translation's "she" to "he," Clum clearly indicated that he meant to serve God by taking on a difficult, even dangerous, task. Yet, the textual transposition masks a messianic subtext. Clum not only identified with the woman who served Jesus, but also with Jesus himself. As Jesus would be crucified, so might Clum himself meet death doing divinely sanctioned work. Religious conviction and personal calling doubly sanctified the new task Clum assumed.

A Protestant civilizing mission was thus fundamental to Clum's self-understanding as an Indian agent, even though overt religiosity in the post was precluded. The peace policy committed the federal government to the civilian control of Indian reservations through the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA). In turn, the goal of the OIA was to "civilize" Native Americans through teaching them to pattern themselves on the Euro-American ideals of individual property-holding and production for the market. 30

Clum's mission of civilizing Apaches, however, was complicated by a number things, particularly cross-cultural hostility and U. S. Army-OIA administrative rivalry. When he arrived at San Carlos in August 1874, the agency had only one small permanent building. The agency, headquarters of the San Carlos Division of the White Mountain Reservation, had been founded by the military in the wake of the 1871 civilian massacre of Apaches at Camp Grant. Little of the land surrounding San Carlos seemed promising for commercial farming, and Euro-Americans with mining and other economic interests pressed for readjusting the reservation's boundaries. Moreover, in the year-and-a-half prior to Clum's arrival, civilian and military administrative flux had seriously undercut the agency's stability. A ration dispute in May 1873 had resulted in the shooting death of an army lieutenant, and in January 1874 an "outbreak" by some Apaches resulted in the deaths of several Euro-American civilians and some eighty to one hundred Apaches. 31

What Clum lacked in experience and training—he was twenty-two years old when he arrived at San Carlos and had had no previous work with Native Americans—he made up for in personal integrity, energy, and civilizing purpose. To the Rev. Ferris and the Dutch Reformed Board of Missions in New York City, Clum wrote some two weeks after his arrival, "I am greatly pleased with my Indians... I have great hope for their success. Their progress must be very rapid if they are afforded the proper means." 32

"Progress" for "his" Indians included immediately establishing order through drawing on his cadet experience at the Hudson River Institute. With the advice of the leaders of the over 800 Western Apaches officially at the agency, Clum formed an Indian police force, as well as an Indian court. The resulting order was overseen by Clum, but it was sustained by Eakiminitin and the other Apache leaders on whom Clum relied. Violators of agency rules were swiftly arrested and tried. Further, the police and court enabled Clum not only to establish his own authority, but also to exclude, de jure and de facto, the military. As Clum himself put it, "An Indian Police is the only force that should be used on a reservation in time of peace. They are far more efficient and entirely supersede the necessity of a military force." 33

But, the civilizing entailed not only legal order; it also involved a material and economic order. Only with such order could progress and the magic of prosperity be pursued. Clum quickly selected sites for more permanent agency buildings and set Apaches to making adobe and constructing the buildings. He also directed crews to dig irrigation canals. He developed an agency scrip, which he used to pay workers and which they could redeem at the agency store. Cultivating wheat and barley was encouraged, and he sought to obtain livestock for Apache families. 34

The task of civilizing Apaches, though, was dependent on a ready supply of funds, whether from the federal government or from the Dutch Reformed Church. Neither source proved reliable enough for Clum. So, by the spring of 1875, at least some of the romance of his was wearing thin. "This is a wild and rather rough life that I lead on San Carlos," Clum wrote to the Rev. Ferris. "Many things are very unpleasant. It does seem that as one trouble ends another begins. Indians. Military contractors. employees. etc [sic] try me constantly." 35

Funding was not Clum's only challenge in his civilizing work. He brought enough

30 Clum to Ferris, 23 February 1873, OIA, Dutch Reformed.
33 Clum to Ferris, 22 August 1874. OIA, Dutch Reformed.
34 Clum to Ferris, 18 September 1875, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Selected Documents of Arizona and New Mexico Superintendency 1874-1880 (hereafter AZ & NM Superintendent), microfilm in AHSiT.
35 The details of Clum's regime at San Carlos can be found in his reports in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report to the Secretary of the Interior (Washington, DC, 1874-1877) and also in W. Clum, Apache Agents, 122, 130-45, 163-4.
36 Clum to Ferris, 8 April 1875, OIA, Dutch Reformed.
administrative order to Apache reservations, while satisfying local apprehensions about Apache militancy, that he became, for a time, the center of OIA hopes for the civilizing of all of the Apaches in the Southwest. Between 1873 and 1877, Clum oversaw the consolidation at San Carlos of some 5,000 Apaches and Yavapais. Clum was proud of his success, not only because of its reflection on his competence, but also because it seemed to validate his civilizing mission. Clum reported:

The Indians under my jurisdiction have been held in complete subjection, and have remained quiet, industrious, and progressive. No murder or depredation has been traced to the Indians under my charge during the three years I have been at San Carlos. Large tracts of land are being cultivated, and many of the principal men have fine herds of sheep, cattle, and many horses. Very extensive and commodious agency buildings have been constructed without appropriations from the Government. It did not occur to him that legal order did not mean San Carlos Indians accepted civilization on his terms or harmony between the groups thrown together.

But, what of the three great civilizers and the magician? What signs of them were there during Clum's San Carlos years? Commitment to Protestantism was intertwined in Clum's work through his contacts with the Dutch Reformed Church and in his foundational sense of mission with respect to his duties, as we have seen. Moreover, in his journey east in the late spring and summer of 1875 to consult with the OIA, he found that legal order did not mean San Carlos Indians accepted civilization on his terms or harmony between the groups thrown together.

By 1876, the civilizing efficacy of a trip converged with a few other developments, offering an occasion for an Indian show. First, Clum, disgusted with the OIA's inability to provide hope for an increase in salary, had submitted his resignation in late February. Clum's Protestant moralism committed him to frugality, but frugality was supposed to lead to virtuous prosperity, not perpetual poverty. He was prepared to remain in the post until a replacement arrived—but he also felt free to take actions (such as an offer of an Indian show).
reservation trip with Indians) for which he normally would have had to obtain OIA permission. Second, Clum desired to return east to marry Mary Dennison Ware. Third, in May 1876, while in Tucson with an expanded company of his Apache police on route to the Chiricahua Agency, he had discovered that Euro-Americans were fascinated by Indians, so long as the hierarchy of the civilized over the pupils of civilization was clear and unquestioned. At the request of curious citizens, Clum's police staged a war dance, and included the firing of blank cartridges. By mid-1876, Clum was prepared to stage Apache culture in the interests of civilizing them—and pursuing prosperity for himself. He and two friends put together some $5,000 for a touring “drama of the Arizona frontier” in 1876. The group—twenty-two Apaches and Yavapais and five Euro-Americans—planned to visit St. Louis, Washington, D.C., and Philadelphia. Clum devised several tableaux, which included an Indian encampment that whites attacked victoriously, a council of war, an Indian wife’s lament for her dead husband, a war dance, and an Indian attack and victory over whites. The financial losses of the troupe in St. Louis precluded further performances. Clum blamed poor attendance on public reaction to that summer’s battle of Little Bighorn, but the show’s failure may have been due as much or more to his own inexperience in stage management. Clum also did not have the popular cachet that “Buffalo Bill” Cody brought to the stage in the 1870s, thanks to Ned Buntline, nor did Clum have as powerful friends in the army.

Clum’s pursuit of prosperity through the stage was stymied, but his civilizing pur-
poses for the trip remained undiminished. The group continued on to Washington
and then to the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia. While in Washington, one
of the troupe died of illness: Taza (Tahasee), who was Cochise’s son, Naiche’s
brother, and the most important leader of the Chiricahua. While the death exacer-
bated tensions between some of the Chiricahuas and the reservation regime, Clum
was convinced that the trip had been invaluable for displaying U. S. civilization to
Eskiminzin and the other surviving troupe members. The moral value of the trip
was not only for the uncivilized San Carlos Indian, it was also for the putatively civilized
Euro-Americans. When a train conductor denounced “bloody-thirsty savages”
while collecting their tickets, Clum claimed that he pointed to Eskiminzin and,
after recounting the Camp Grant Massacre and other indignities the leader had
undergone, said,

That man is an Indian—an Apache. You call him a "bloody-thirsty sav-
age," and yet he says he has no desire for revenge, that he wants to forget
past wrongs and live a good and useful life. That’s the kind of savage he
is, and yet he has always lived in the Arizona mountains, while you have
enjoyed the advantages of Christian civilization. What do you mean by
"blood-thirsty?" What kind of a savage are you?  

By the close of 1876, Clum had placed a thespian overlay on the religious founda-
tions of his civilizing ideology. He had also acted on the assumption that civilizing
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trinity during his years at San Carlos was the press. Significant connections were there,
though, Clum did not launch a newspaper for the reservation. He did, however, choose
to do agency business in Tucson, where he established a firm working-alliance with
John Wasson, owner of Tucson’s Arizona Citizen. Wasson loyally defended Clum from
vigorous criticisms of his work by the editor of the Prescott Miner, who represented
military and business interests rivalling those of Tucson. Wasson also provided Clum
an editorial stage. Perhaps the most dramatic of his appearances in the Citizen was his
April 1877 letter to Wasson detailing the capture of “Eronemo” (Geronimo) and his
departure to the Southern Apache Agency, New Mexico Territory, by Clum and his San
Carlos police.  

The capture of Geronimo was one of Clum’s final acts as an Indian agent. The
pursuit of prosperity seemed counterproductive as long as he stayed at San Carlos. Fur-
ther, Mary Ware Clum was unhappy staying at San Carlos. In the end, O. A. admin-
istrative vacillation provided Clum the occasion for finally resigning his post.  

Once out of San Carlos, Clum’s search for a comfortable and stable income soon
led him to the press. In the fall of 1877, he took up preparing for the bar with an
amenable partner in Florence, Arizona Territory. The law practice, however, proved
slow, so Clum and a few partners purchased the Arizona Citizen and moved it to Flo-
rence. In Clum’s inaugural editorial, the civilizing theme was overtly blended with his
pursuit of prosperity, his pride at his San Carlos work, and his sense of the dramatic.
“Since our first arrival in Florence . . .,” he began, “we have felt that a good newspaper
would be an essential aid to the progress and development of the area. Journalism
was, he acknowledged, something he was new to; nevertheless, he hoped he would fill
the position “with profit to ourself, satisfaction to our friends and credit to the profes-
son.” He alluded to his previous three years of “public service” in which “we sought
only to know our duty and to do it well, . . .” and now, with the press, “we shall seek
only to know right, truth and justice, and with these we shall stand, without fear or
favor, against all opposition.”  

Florence did not immediately flourish, however, and Mary Clum was pregnant, so
Clum moved his family and the newspaper back to Tucson in the fall of 1878, where
an income from the press seemed more assured. In 1880, Tucson had a population
of some 7,000, over 60 percent of whom were Hispanic. Clum announced his “purpose to
serve the best interests of Pima County first and next those of the Territory.” The
subtext, though, was that the “best interests” were determined by the Anglo-
Americans.  

Once established in Tucson, Clum openly associated with all three of his great


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44 Given Clum’s penchant for the granitcine, it is hard to know how much the face-off
with the conductor has been distorted. This version of the incident, which is not the earliest,
is from Clum, Apache Days and Tombstone Nights, 156; a later version is in Clum, “E-Kin-In-
zin” (July 1929); 54; a later version of the trip and the incident on the train is in W. Clum,
Apache Agent, 185—95. Regarding Taza’s death, while Eskiminzin smoothed over matters initially
with Taza’s brother Naiche, it is probable that unresolved grief and resentment over the death was
among those things that led Naiche to ally later with Geronimo. James Kuykendall provides evi-
dence for this in Eve Ball’s, In the Days of Victoria: Reflections of a Warm Springs Apache (Tucson,

45 The rivalry of Tucson-centered interests with Prescott-centered interests was cer-
ified for me in an e-mail from Nancy A. Pope, 29 August 2001.
civilizers, not just the press. He was instrumental in bringing a professional troupe to Tucson to present Gilbert and Sullivan's H.M.S. Pinafore. "The initial performance was a red-letter night in the social development of Tucson," he later claimed. 10

Turbulence developed, though, in Clum's ongoing relationship to institutional Protestantism. He had never ruled out studying for the ministry at the Dutch Reformed seminary in New Brunswick, but that seemed unrealistic once he had a family to support. 11 As an elder of First Presbyterian Church, he at first supported the Rev. J. E. Anderson, who oversaw the construction of a church building. 12 But after the building was occupied in 1879, the relationship between the congregation and the pastor unraveled. Apparently, Anderson had neither garnered new friendship George, prosperity, for himself and the community at large, he also served as chairperson of the school board and city mayor, the latter the result of a last minute candidacy engineered by his friend George W. Parsons (like Clum, a devout Protestant) after the original candidate, W. Nights, was a chorus member in the light opera H. M. S. Pinafore. 13

Pulpit abuse elicited a morally militant—and grandiose—declaration from Clum. Although he was a layperson, Clum used his editorial position not only to pursue that as a home missionary. When Anderson returned to contest his termi- nation, using a sermon to reproach the church's membership, elder Clum used the press on behalf of the congregation and its lay leadership:

"Peace, unity, love and charity are prominent graces, and the true Christian naturally shrinks from strife and dissention. Yet there are circumstances under which a Christian would be less even than a man if he did not valiantly maintain his own dignity and honor and the sacred dignity and honor of his Church against falsehood, trickery and priestcraft." 14

Less than a year later, the Clums were in Tombstone. Pursuing progress and prosperity there in 1880 seemed more promising than it did in Tucson. The Epitaph became Clum's primary pulpit and platform as well as his financial mainstay. He also received some income from serving as Tombstone's postmaster. His commitment to civilizing led him to unpaid positions, as well. He served as chairperson of the school board and city mayor, the latter the result of a last minute candidacy engineered by his friend George W. Parsons (like Clum, a devout Protestant) after the original candidate, W. Nights, was appointed to the claims of the Townsite Company." This was not difficult, given his civilizing ideology. Editorialy, he persistently denounced the threat to land claims within the city—his own included—posed by the Townsite Company. Moreover, as Virgil Earp and his brothers emerged as the city's law officers who contended with the "cowboy" faction in 1881, Clum limited the connections between progress and prosperity. In April 1881, he argued to his local readership that "until we come to a just comprehension of the fact that civilized communities cannot exist without law, and executed law at that, we cannot reasonably expect an influx of capital, which is always wary and circumspect." Later that year, at the conclusion of his story of the shootout on Fremont Street behind the O. K. Corral, much the same point was implied: "So long as our peace officers make effort to preserve the peace and put down highway robbery, which the Earp brothers have done... they will have the support of all good citizens." 15

Yet, even in Tombstone, "civilizing" was normally more benign. Clum assiduously promoted Protestantism, progress, and prosperity in the boomtown, although he later acknowledged, "There is no worldwide news in a church social or an amateur theatrical." 16 Through the press, he boosted the civilized town to which he and others aspired. The Tombstone Epitaph's inaugural issue was typical in content for the newspaper under Clum's regime: advertisements on three out of four pages; a front page with six columns reviewing the mining prospects of the immediate region; a second page that juxtaposed editorializing on various local, national, and world items with an interview with a local resident about ranching and farming possibilities, with reprints of political news from other newspapers, and with a collection of aphorisms; a third page that provided varied items of literary or general interest; and a final page of miscellaneous local items. The press as civilizer meant, to use Clum's own words, exercising the "power and influence" of advertising services and also framing news to boost local "progress and prosperity." 17

Clum the editor also defended the stage. His dictum about the stage was occasioned by a sermonic attack on the stage by the local Methodist pastor. Clum argued that, contrary to the putative immorality of modern drama, "in the most blood-thirsty border drama virtue always triumphs, vice is punished, and the heavy villain is the most heartily despised of mortals." 18 In other words, the stage was a civilization because of its moral import. Clum not only defended the stage, he was active in the Tombstone Amateur Dramatic Club. He took a role in the play Andy Blacker, and was a chorus member in the light opera H. M. S. Pinafore. 19 He performed recitations and sang in "quartettes." Theatricals also infused the military drill and fraternal ethos of the local Knights of Pythias, of which Clum was the drill master. 20 Such formalized
dramatics served to civilize in that they put "social life in Tombstone . . . on a par with that prevailing in communities of similar size elsewhere, even in the effete East."62

Clum maintained his ties to the pulpit while in Tombstone. The Tombstone Epitaph regularly reported on church services and special events (Methodist, Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Catholic). Clum helped found the Tombstone Presbyterian Church, serving as a trustee, as well as singing bass in the quartet choir.63 Further, he used the editorial stage of the press to promote a liberalized Protestant civic moralism. He chided Tombstone businesses that were open on Sunday: "The divine unction to rest on the Sabbath day is one which our physical nature commands us to obey," he argued. He also pointed out the social injustice of not giving clerks a day off.64 His justification for church attendance, however, was thin:

It is a sad fact that out of so large a population as this city has, there are such a small number who even attend divine services on the Sabbath. It cannot be on account of lack of efficient ministers because the pastors of all the churches are earnest workers and men of ability. The four churches of the city should be filled and you should see that you are present.

Go to church and the coming week will pass pleasantly and to a better purpose.65

Clum's liberal Protestant piety, it seems, amounted to little more than internalizing the individualistic moral strictures that sought to restrain, but not subvert, the acquisitive and utilitarian impulses embedded in a market-based civilization.

By the time Clum urged church attendance for a pleasanter, more purposeful week, a frenetic year and a half was perhaps taking its toll. Mary Clum had died after bearing Bessie (Elizabeth) in December 1880. In a letter to his mother telling of Mary's death, he grieved openly:

"It did seem hard that a just God would rend asunder the ties and leave me so long alone . . . Death is always sad—but it is difficult to see how it could be more cruel than it has been to me . . . " His pause, on the page and in his life, was momentary. Life, and the civilized mission, perhaps, seemed to rush on: "Thy will be done."66 He was elected mayor shortly afterwards.67

Clum left Tombstone in the summer of 1882, after selling the Tombstone Epitaph. He had not run for reelection to the mayor's office, and he had inadvertently lost the postmastership by lobbying for reappointment to the San Carlos Agency in 1881, leading the post office to appoint a replacement before Clum resigned.68 He returned to Tombstone in 1885—postmaster once again—and married to Belle Atwood. Their two-year-old daughter Caroline was baptized at St. Paul's Episcopal Church in early 1886. By the end of the year, however, Clum had lost money in a mining venture (an attempt to extract silver from mine tailings), and he left Tombstone for good.69

Clum's time in the Southwest ended in 1886, but not his association with the West. For a few years, he tried selling Southern California real estate and publicizing the citrus industry, but financial stability proved elusive. In 1890, he returned to Washington, first working as a clerk in the U.S. War Department, then, from 1891 to 1911, working for the post office, a term that included some ten years in Alaska as a special postal inspector and then as postmaster of Fairbanks (1906-1909). During the Alaskan mining boom, he reestablished his acquaintance with Wyatt Earp. From 1911 until retirement in 1920, he was a lecturer for the Southern Pacific Company, touring the West in the "See America First" tourism campaign.70 He retired to Southern California, where his final few years were spent in working on his reminiscences.71

Viewed from the vantage point of old age, Clum saw his time in the Southwest cloaked in pioneer romance and nostalgia. To one correspondent in 1931, he referred to himself as a "KID INDIAN AGENT" at a time when it seemed "we were young and savage and innocent."72 "I loved the West," he admitted at another time when discussing Tombstone, "the open spaces, the desert mountains, the illusions and the disillusionments." Considering his own financial successes and failures in the aftermath of the stock market crash of 1929, he could admit, "Booms are funny things. Your belief in the brilliant future of the booming community becomes so intense that you develop boom-blindness. You see nothing but permanent prosperity."73

Though Clum came to recognize "boom-blindness," he did not acknowledge that the pursuit of the elusive magic of prosperity had led him away from a time, a place, and a self which he sought to recover for the rest of his life. Almost as soon as he had moved on from the San Carlos Agency, and until his death over fifty years later, Clum

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62 Tombstone Epitaph, 1 October 1880; 18 October 1881; 24 April 1882.
63 Ibid., 7 October and 19 November 1881.
64 Clum, Apache Days and Tombstone Nights, 39.
65 Tombstone Epitaph, 10 April 1882.
66 Ibid, 6 October 1880.
67 Ibid, 15 April 1882.
68 Clum to My Dear Mother, 20 December 1880, Clum Papers.
69 Ibid, 10 April 1882; 24 April 1882.
70 "The San Carlos Indian Reservation," 640-1.
71 Ibid, Apache Days and Tombstone Nights, 80-4; on the baptism, see Tombstone Epitaph, 7 February 1886.
74 Clum to Mrs. George F. Kitt, 3 September 1931, Clum Papers, 1881-1965, MS159, AHS/T.
75 Ibid, 84.
try to reconnect himself to San Carlos and "his" Apaches. He sought reappointment in 1879, 1880, 1881, 1886, and 1912. His reminiscences were dominated by his work as an Indian agent, and his Protestant-informed sense of civilizing mission undergirded his persistent justification of his service. "My policy," he wrote in 1930, "was to advance the Apaches gradually to a condition of self-support and self-control through friendly advice and sympathetic encouragement and expressions of confidence in their willingness to cooperate." The success of his San Carlos Apache police and the relative peace at the agency during his tenure there together served to legitimate to Clum and, he hoped, to others, his authenticity as a pioneer and his own sense of his legacy to western history.

There were ironies, though, that Clum could not, or would not, acknowledge. He was a competent agent, and, from his perspective, he had helped the San Carlos Apaches to begin the transition to "civilization." Yet, his presumption to act and speak, both in his youth and in his old age, for the welfare of all the "good" Apaches was not only culturally arrogant but also naïve. Until he made a nostalgic visit to the reservation in 1930, Clum was out of touch with how "progress" and "propitious" had played themselves out for "his" Apaches. He complained that the Coolidge Dam project that flooded the old San Carlos Agency was "exceedingly pathetic" because it would not provide any water for the reservation. By then, his solicitude was too little and too late.

Extrapolating from Clum's views in his lifetime to how he might view more recent developments in his southwestern haunts reinforces this sense of his naiveté. Paradoxically, the religiously-rooted moralism that informed his civilizing ideology and, he hoped, to others, his authenticity as a pioneer and his own sense of his legacy to western history.

For the explicit division by Clum of Apaches into "good" and "bad," see W. Clum, Apache Agent, 743.

20 Clum to Ferris, 16 February 1880, OIA, Dutch Reformed, Harn, "The San Carlos Indian Reservation," 3-4; Tombstone Epitaph, 10 January 1886; Clum to Secretary of the Interior, 31 May 1912, Clayton Collection.
21 Clum was, for the most part, simple and unimaginative in his outlook on life. He would have rejected recent arguments by at least one historian of a "devil's bargain" in tourist-related development. And, yet, he once spoke of San Carlos as "my first love [sic]." In St. John's apocalyptic vision on the island of Patmos, the risen Christ admonished Christians in Ephesus: "Nevertheless I have somewhat against thee, because thou hast left thy first love. Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works" (Rev. 2: 4-5a). San Carlos seemed to haunt Clum. Perhaps there was that in him which now and again brought to the surface of his consciousness a suspicion: had he inadvertently made a "devil's bargain" in leaving San Carlos for progress and prosperity elsewhere?

Even in death, Clum's association with Protestantism is apparent. The Rev. Dr. R. C. Brooks, director of religious education at the Claremont Colleges, a liberal Congregationalist and "a close friend" of Clum, conducted Clum's funeral in 1932. Clum's religiosity was seldom verbalized, but the persistence of his religious associations indicates that they must be taken into account in any future assessment of his role in the history of the West.

Further, Clum's ideological blend of three civilizers and a magician reminds us of the permeable boundaries between religion and other aspects of culture. A lay liberal Protestantism such as Clum's infused with an inchoate sense of the sacred processes that bound the West to a world market. Both then and later, many of the liveliest sectors of western society—resource extraction, military bases, tourism, recreation, environmentalism, high-tech—have been promoted by their partisans, with or without formal religious commitments, with sensibilities that Clum, for one, would recognize.