GENERAL CROOK'S ADMINISTRATION
IN ARIZONA, 1871-75

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PREFACE

In the four years following the bloody attack on an Indian encampment by a Tucson posse early in 1871, the veteran professional soldier George Crook had primary responsibility for the reduction and containment of the "hostile" Indians of the Territory of Arizona. Crook's administration from 1871 until 1875 and again from 1882 until 1886 was more successful than that of any of his predecessors, and he has been justly regarded by many historians as perhaps the ablest Indian fighter Arizona ever knew. Yet both the military and political details of his first tour of duty in the territory have not been adequately described in any study. The purpose of the present study is to present such details in a proper perspective.

Any study of the Indian wars may be greatly enriched by the vast amount of primary material available in national and local repositories. Materials including diaries and memoirs of those who served or knew Crook, and Arizona newspapers have been used. Among the published primary materials consulted are the annual reports of the Departments of War and the Interior. Secondary materials including general histories, monographs, biographies, and
articles in learned journals were also consulted.

I am especially indebted to Professor John Alexander Carroll, director of this thesis, for his scholarly guidance in seminar and subsequently. Much assistance was also received from the staff of the University of Arizona Library, Division of Special Collections, and the Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society. I would also like to thank my husband, Raymond Bahm, for his aid in the final preparation of the draft.
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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

From June of 1871 until March of 1875 George Crook, a veteran professional soldier, served as commander of the Military Department of Arizona. He was confronted by an "Apache" problem which had been magnified by years of weakness and inconsistency, and his policies, while generally successful, were hampered by "peace" commissions and graft. General Crook brought valuable frontier experience to his assignment in the Territory of Arizona. His technique of turning tribes against one another by the use of Indian scouts was not novel, but during the Yavapai campaigns of 1872-74 it received full implementation as Indian commands were recruited and trained. Effective packing methods facilitated the carrying out of his strategy.

Following a sharp campaign against the Yavapais in the winter of 1872-73, the problem of civilizing the reduced tribes was concurrent with further operations against renegades. Civilian control of the reservations had proved ineffective before; Crook fought such encroachment on military prerogatives as far as his position allowed. In these four years Crook accomplished more than the military pacification of the hostiles. Internal improvements, including the telegraph, helped to bring Arizona out of the dark decade which had begun with the Bascom incident of
1861. In the spotted history of Indian reduction, Crook's management in Arizona was marked by sincere attempts at understanding and justice.
CHAPTER I

RECONNAISSANCE

The driver yanked his team off the main-traveled road on to what was little more than a path. A plan of action was agreed upon. They were going to outflank the governor of Arizona Territory himself. Even the hot press of air and the June sun became less noticeable as the men joked about the discomfiture of the welcoming committee, which was waiting for that distinguished soldier, Lieutenant Colonel and Brevet Major General George Crook, 1

1. The son of Thomas and Elizabeth Matthews Crook, George Crook was born on September 8, 1828, near Taylorsville, Ohio. He graduated from West Point in 1852 and was assigned to the Pacific Coast with the 4th Infantry. In May, 1861, he was promoted to captain, 4th Infantry. He served in the Civil War with the 36th Ohio Volunteers, was wounded at Lewisburg, was brevetted to major in 1862, and further brevetted for gallantry at Antietam, Farmington, and Fisher's Hill; late in 1864 he took command of the Army of West Virginia. Upon reorganization of the regular Army in 1866, he became lieutenant colonel of the 23rd Infantry, serving in Idaho. In 1868 he took command of the Department of the Columbia; two years later served in California as a member of the "benzine boards" which drastically reduced the officer corps. Upon his transfer to Arizona in 1871, he already had some reputation as an Indian fighter. See Martin F. Schmitt (ed.), General George Crook: His Autobiography (Norman, 1960); Frank C. Lockwood, Arizona Characters (Los Angeles, 1928), 82-110; John R. Murdock, Arizona Characters in Silhouette (Tempe, 1933), 73-76; Francis B. Heitman, Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, 1789-1903, 2 vols. (Washington, 1903), I, 340; and Thomas H. S. Hamersly, Complete Army Register of the United States for One Hundred Years, 1779-1879 (Washington, 1881), 383. For a critical analysis,
to arrive at Nine Mile Water Hole.\textsuperscript{2} Jolting across the desert, the army ambulance drew nearer to the green cottonwoods that marked the settlement of Tucson on the Santa Cruz River. Hangers-on gazed curiously as the ambulance passed through the streets of this "Naples of the Desert."\textsuperscript{3} Dogs aroused from their lethargy to yap and jump alongside of the rattling coach while the driver cursed, flicking his whip to keep them away from the sweating horses. The vehicle came to a stop at the adobe headquarters of Camp Lowell at Military Plaza.\textsuperscript{4} Thoroughly fatigued after two weeks of dirt, flies, and sleepless nights, Crook and

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2. Laguna Stage Station, a settlement of about eighty-five people, was nine miles from Tucson. It was the usual place for escorts to meet honored visitors to Tucson. Byrd H. Granger (ed.), Will C. Barnes, \textit{Arizona Place Names} (Tucson, 1960), 270.


4. First established in 1860 and abandoned at the start of the Civil War, Camp Lowell was reopened as a supply depot in 1862. It was moved to Rillito Creek, outside Tucson, in 1872. Ray Brandes, \textit{Frontier Military Posts of Arizona} (Globe, 1960), 49-50. Cameron Greenleaf and Andrew Wallace, "Tucson: Pueblo, Presidio, and American City," \textit{Arizoniana}, III, No. 2 (Summer, 1962), 21-23.
Archie McIntosh, his companion and scout, stepped down into the dusty square on June 19, 1871.

Dressed in that common suit, onlookers agreed Crook did not look much like a soldier. Yet he appeared to be the sort of man who could give the Indians something with which to contend. Over six feet tall and strong, the forty-one year old officer wore a bushy beard which minimized his deep-set blue eyes. He seemed dignified and rather taciturn. "A perfect salamander in the way of human endurance," editor John Wasson of the Tucson Citizen had described him. As if to verify this, Crook almost immediately set to work in the 103-degree weather.

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5. Archie McIntosh, an Oregon half-blood and guide, had been brought up by the men of the Hudson's Bay Company. He served Crook in both Arizona Campaigns as well as in the Northwest. Schmitt, 147. Dan L. Thrapp, Al Sieber, Chief of Scouts (Norman, 1946), 88-89 presents a detailed account of the colorful career of McIntosh.

6. Tucson Arizona Citizen, June 24, 1871.

7. Crook rarely wore a uniform, preferring a plain canvas suit. John G. Bourke, On the Border With Crook (Chicago, 1891, reprinted in 1962), 108-13. A classic in the field of western history, this was until recently the only major work about Crook.

8. Before coming to Arizona, Wasson had been a newspaper man in Silver City, Idaho. There he had first known Crook. The Tucson Citizen was started in 1870 by Richard C. McCormick, then delegate from Arizona Territory to Congress. Schmitt, 154; Prescott Weekly Arizona Miner, September 18, 1874; Biographical Dictionary of the American Congress, 1774-1961 (Washington, 1961), 1289.

With the help of an old acquaintance, Governor Anson Safford, Crook called in everyone who might be able to inform him about Arizona. Army men, scouts, guides, and civilians were interviewed by the general. They found him particularly concerned with terrain, trails and fords, soil and grasses, climate, and with the existing system of military supply. He seemed especially interested in the use of the pack mules. In the ensuing weeks he talked to Manuel Duran, Marijildo Grijalba, Oscar Hutton, A. F. "Charley" Banta and others who might be of assistance in a future campaign against the Indians. At the same time his forces were assembled at Tucson; troops B, D, F, H, and L of the 3rd Cavalry had been called in from various posts throughout the territory. He needed more horses and better equipment to supplement the battered and scanty

10. On April 7, 1869, Anson P. K. Safford was appointed by President Grant as the third territorial governor of Arizona. He served until June 8, 1878. Greatly interested in education and mining, he was author of The Territory of Arizona (Tucson, 1874). Cf. E. E. Williams, "The Territorial Governors of Arizona: Anson Peacely Killen Safford," Arizona Historical Review, VII, No. 7 (January, 1936), 69-84; Lockwood, 111-34.

11. Duran and Grijalba had lived with the Apaches for several years after being captured in their youth. Oscar Hutton, an American, was the post guide at Camp Grant. Albert Franklin Banta was a "border itinerant, printer, judge, self-appointed oracle on Arizona history" who believed himself to have had a key part in Crook's campaigns. The first three are discussed in John Cremony, "Some Savages," Overland Monthly (March, 1872), 201-10; Sidney Randolph DeLong, The History of Arizona (San Francisco, 1905), 91; and the Tucson Citizen, September 20, 1873. Banta's
supplies available. Anticipating a vigorous campaign, Major General John M. Schofield,12 commander of the Military Division of the Pacific, had already sent three companies of the 1st Cavalry under Captains George B. Sanford,13 Thomas McGregor,14 and Camillo C. C. Carr,15 as well as three hundred horses from California.16


12. Schofield, a graduate of the United States Military Academy in 1853, rose to major general of volunteers and brigadier general in the regular Army during the Civil War. He served as Secretary of War during 1868 and 1869. As a major general he commanded the Division of the Pacific for many years, and in 1888 became commander-in-chief of the Army. Heitman, 865.

13. A veteran of the Civil War, Sanford had been brevetted lieutenant colonel in 1865. Heitman, 859.

14. Born in Scotland, McGregor served in the Civil War and reached the rank of captain in 1866. As a result of his service in the Santa Maria Mountains of Arizona on May 6, 1873, he was finally brevetted major in 1890. Heitman, 667.

15. Carr was brevetted captain during the Civil War and attained that rank in the regular Army in 1869. Heitman, 284.

16. Tucson Citizen, June 24, 1871; July 1, 1871. U. S. Army, Office of the Adjutant General, Returns: Department of Arizona, June 1871, National Archives. A microfilm copy is in the Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, hereafter referred to as AFHS. This important source is hereafter cited as AGO Returns. Apparently more soldiers were not needed. Tucson Citizen, July 1, 1871: "General Crook . . . says that another regiment will be really embarrassing. It is not large numbers of soldiers that are needed to whip roving Indians, but prudent, constant, intelligent campaigns. . . ."
Not in short supply were the opinions thrust upon Crook by the Arizonans, appalled by the years of seemingly and useless struggle against the "hostiles." Settlers had looked forward eagerly to the arrival of a soldier who might "wage a most thorough war against the bloody savages." Even then, however, President Grant's "Peace Policy" was in effect. Rumor had it that a representative of the Board of Indian Commissioners was on his way to New Mexico and Arizona. Command of the Department of Arizona

17. In 1869 President Grant decided to make fundamental revisions in Indian policy. By the Indian Appropriations Act of 1871 the various tribes were no longer empowered to make treaties, but instead to be considered as individual wards of the government. To advise him on all matters relating to the management of the reservations, Grant established a Board of Indian Commissioners composed of prominent churchmen who suggested the nomination of Indian agents from various denominations. Arizona was to be the realm of the Dutch Reformed Church. It was first necessary, however, to complete agreements with the Indians and assign definite reservations to them. For a classic discussion of the Indian problem, see Helen Hunt Jackson, A Century of Dishonor (Boston, 1886). Cf. George W. Many-penny, Our Indian Wards (Cincinnati, 1880). Scholarly treatments of this problem include Henry E. Fritz, The Movement for Indian Assimilation, 1860-1890 (Philadelphia, 1963); Ralph H. Ogle, Federal Control of the Western Apaches, 1848-86 (Albuquerque, 1940); Loring B. Priest, Uncle Sam's Stepchildren (New Brunswick, 1942). Cf. Flora W. Seymour, Indian Agents of the Old Frontier (New York, 1941).

18. Bourke, 137. Crook to Adjutant General, Sept. 1, 1871, Office of Indian Affairs, Letters Received: Arizona Superintendency, 1863-81, National Archives. These records are on microfilm at the University of Arizona Library. This source is cited hereafter as OIA:LR.
was not an enviable assignment; Crook had refused it three
times before being prevailed upon to accept. Here
neither the physical nor the political climate was con­
ducive to a successful operation against the Indians.

As a focal area in the rivalry between the Depart­
ments of War and Interior, Arizona had seen three
commanders in the six years since the end of the Civil War.
The Indian problem which Crook now faced had its origins
in southeastern Arizona early in 1861 with an unfortunate
incident between Cochise's Chiricahuas and soldiers under
Lieutenant G. N. Bascom. Bascom's clumsy attempt to
capture Cochise at Apache Pass, and the subsequent killing
of six of his warriors, marked the beginning of hostili­
ties.20 A few months later when troops were recalled from
the territory to serve in the Civil War, the Indians were
able to overrun the area around Tucson. In 1862, however,
a tenuous coalition comprising the bands of Cochise and
Mangus Coloradus was defeated by the California volunteers

19. General George H. Thomas, General Schofield,
and Governor Safford approached Crook on this subject
while he was in San Francisco. Schmitt, 160.

20. This incident is treated in Robert M. Utley,
"The Bascom Affair: a Reconstruction," Arizona and the
West, III, No. 1 (Spring, 1961), 59-58; and in a subsequent
article by Benjamin Sacks (ed.), "New Evidence on the Bascom
Affair," Arizona and the West, IV, No. 3 (Autumn, 1962),
261-78.
in Apache Pass, and General Carleton ordered construction of the post which became Fort Bowie. In the northwestern part of the territory the flow of settlers to the newly located gold fields also created tension with the Indians. A fort was established to protect this area, though settlers there had already been forced to take matters into their own hands by organizing punitive expeditions such as those under King Woolsey. Much senseless killing occurred, and the half-starved Indians retaliated cruelly. The new settlement of Prescott became the only safe refuge in the northern wilderness. In June, 1865, General Mason took command of the district of Arizona, which was now a part of the Division of the Pacific. Using Arizona and California volunteers, Mason conducted a brief winter campaign and several hundred Indians were gathered at temporary reserves. In 1866, however, the volunteers were withdrawn, and lacking sufficient regulars, General McDowell, commander of the Department of California, was forced to follow a temporizing policy.

21. Robert M. Utley, "Historical Report on Fort Bowie, Arizona" (Santa Fe, 1958), 18-22. This mimeographed study of the National Park Service can be found at APHS. Fort Bowie was the center of activity in the long war against the Chiricahua Apaches. See also Brandes, 14-20; and Robert Y. Murray, "The History of Fort Bowie," unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Arizona, 1951.

22. Ogle, 52-64; Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888 (San Francisco, 1889), 552-56.
Arizonans became irate at any hint of protection of the Indians. When General Edwin O. C. Ord took command in 1869, he at first outlined a warlike policy but later switched to a reservation and feeding system. Arizona became a separate department to which George Stoneman was assigned in 1870. Preoccupied with building new roads and posts, and concentrating the few troops in the department, Stoneman also succeeded in gathering some Indians onto reserves. The settlers soon became impatient when his policies did not produce definite results. Attempts by friendly Indians to supply forts with grain and hay

23. An experienced soldier, George Stoneman served in the West in the 1850s with the 1st Dragoons and earlier as quartermaster for the Mormon Battalion. During the Civil War he won distinction as chief of cavalry and rose to colonel of the 21st Infantry in 1870. He retired from the Army after leaving Arizona and entered into California politics, serving on the California Railroad Commission in 1876 and later as governor. Heitman, 930. Some discussion of Stoneman's activities in California can be found in Viola Lockhart Warren (ed.), "Dr. John S. Griffin's Mail, 1846-53," California Historical Society Quarterly, XXXIII, No. 2 (June, 1954), 97-124; No. 3 (September, 1954), 249-70; and No. 4 (December, 1954), 337-47; and Gerald D. Nash, "The California Railroad Commission," Southern California Quarterly, XLIV, No. 4 (December, 1962), 287-303. A short pamphlet concerning his activities in Arizona is J. H. Marion, Notes of Travel Through the Territory of Arizona (Prescott, 1870).
threatened the economy of an area which needed to supplement profits from mining and agriculture with the army trade. Finally, on April 30, 1871, a posse of irate citizens from Tucson surprised and killed more than a hundred Aravaipa Apaches near Camp Grant. Westerners applauded this act, believing that it was just punishment for raids attributed to these Indians. Easterners deplored the barbarity of it and demanded a positive Indian policy. Meanwhile Governor Safford and the California and Arizona representatives in Congress appealed to President Grant for the assignment to Arizona of George Crook over higher-ranking officers. The President agreed, but also made plans to send a peace commissioner to the territory.


25. Adobe or log buildings and tents were used as quarters at Camp Grant, causing many soldiers to remember that garrison as "the most woe-begone parody upon a military garrison in that most woe-begone of military departments, Arizona." Bourke, 2-21. The camp had been established in 1860 on Aravaipa Creek, was finally moved to a more healthful location by General Crook in 1872. Brandes, 35-39. Jerome Stone, "History of Fort Grant," unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Arizona, 1941.

26. Prescott Miner, May 20, 1871: "He had recently made some very good moves for the protection of the citizens, and for thinning the ranks of the Apaches; also, for decreasing expenses. . . . But he erred, . . . gained the enmity of Tucson by ordering the abolition of the military depot at that place, and by so doing, brought upon himself a certain pressure. . . ." Crook, before
to make a personal investigation. The situation that Crook came upon in Arizona was, then, a hazardous one where political circumstance, local antipathy, and personal indiscretion could be as dangerous as the Indians themselves.

The Indians who were the subject of so much political controversy were themselves confused by the settlers. Categorically they were called Apaches, though in Arizona only the Chiricahuas and some Indians living in the Tonto Basin actually belonged to this Athabascan-speaking ethnic group. Most numerous were the Yavapais, who for hundreds of years had ranged from the Colorado and Bill Williams rivers to the San Francisco Mountains, east to the Verde Valley and Oak Creek Canyon, and south to the Salt River. In the Tonto Basin they had intermingled with Tonto Apaches, causing more ethnological confusion. Although closely related to Yumas, Yavapais, and Havasupais in language and culture, the Yavapais were consistently friendly only with the Yumas, Mohaves, Papagos, and Tonto

leaving for Arizona, dined with the Stonemans in Los Angeles. Usually ill at ease on such occasions, he found this one even more trying. "This assignment," Crook commented, "has made me the innocent cause of a great deal of heartburning and jealousy." Schmitt, 162.

27. Schmitt, 162.
Apaches. In 1871 the Yavapais probably numbered about 2,200 and traded as far north as the Hopi and Navajo settlements. Settlers who spoke of "Apache - Mohaves" usually were referring to the northeastern Yavapais; "Apache - Tontos" generally meant the southeastern Yavapais; and "Apache - Yumas" were the western Yavapais. This seriously complicated the whole problem because Arizona frontiersmen, having made agreements with one group, often retaliated indiscriminately for depredations and thus alienated even the natives who were peaceably disposed. Since both the Yavapai and Apache economies required far-flung gathering expeditions, frequent clashes on the fringes of white settlement occurred. Few in Arizona would disagree that the Yavapai was a "veritable Ishmaelite . . . a born murderer and marauder who delighted in blood and carnage."


Crook listened sympathetically to tales of past depredations but said little of his own plans for extermination or peace. It was evident, however, that he intended to act promptly. He was enthusiastically welcomed into the Tucson community and suffered through various social events. He was completing plans for an extended scout throughout Arizona to acquaint himself and his men with the terrain, to test equipment, and to evaluate the command. The Chiricahua band of Cochise was one target, but the recent news that Indian agents in New Mexico had induced many of that band to come onto reservations made interception of any Chiricahuas less than likely. On Governor Safford's recommendation, fifty Mexican scouts were hired for the expedition. These "destroying angels," as Crook called them, were known for their ability to travel fast and scout efficiently on the roughest terrain.

30. On June 29, Crook, Colonel Thomas Dunn of Camp Lowell, Chief Justice Titus, and Bishop Salpointe attended a program of "songs, speeches, and dances" by the young ladies of St. Joseph's Academy. The Fourth of July was marked by formal ceremonies at the courthouse where a resolution of welcome to the commander was read and adopted by the crowd. Tucson Citizen, July 1, 1871; July 8, 1871.

31. Prescott Miner, September 16, 1871; Tucson Citizen, August 26, 1871.

32. In his autobiography Crook spoke only of "Mexicans." Schmitt, 163-65. Bourke, however, recalls that there were Apaches, various other Indians, half-breeds and some Americans hired for the expedition. Bourke, 137-38.
himself had few personal preparations to make, and by Tuesday, July 11, 1871, the expedition of 204 men and scouts was marching under sultry skies to Fort Bowie in the Chiricahua Mountains of southeastern Arizona.  

With his scouts moving independently, Crook's command traveled four uneventful and oppressively hot days over the old Butterfield road to Fort Bowie. Pausing there to reassemble his scouts, Crook then moved out quietly on the night of July 17, in hope of avoiding notice by the ever-watchful Chiricahuas. None of Cochise's band was sighted, but there was evidence of Indians in the vicinity. In the area west of Dos Cabezas and the Graham Mountains, the scouts discovered much "sign" and the soldiers flushed several nests of Apaches. His location thus disclosed, Crook decided to move directly toward Camp Grant. On July 25, he halted about thirty miles from there in Aravaipa Canyon. While waiting for rations from Camp Grant, the travel-weary soldiers and stock rested.  

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33. Crook to Adjutant General, September 1, 1871, OIA:LR.
34. Schmitt, 164.
35. U. S. Army, Office of the Adjutant General, Post Returns: Camp Grant, Arizona, July 31, 1871, National Archives, on microfilm at APHS. (Hereafter cited PR: Camp Grant). The condition of the horses on this trip greatly concerned the general. Because of the shortage of mounts he ordered cavalry horses to be spared from escort duty or, if this were impossible, to be used with great conservatism. General Order No. 16, August 8, 1871; U. S. Army,
of August the men were moving again, through the higher and more hospitable country between the Gila, Prieta, and White rivers. Because there were friendly Indians in the area, Crook proceeded directly to Camp Apache, reaching it on August 12, a month from the time he had left Tucson.

The first of Crook's many conferences with the Indians of Arizona was held at Camp Apache. The bands of Miguel and Pedro were peacefully cultivating crops nearby.

Office of the Adjutant General, General Orders and Circulars: Arizona, 1870-76, National Archives. This material is on microfilm at APHS and will be cited as AGO:GO.


37. Located in a healthful mountain region, Camp Apache was one of the favorite posts in Arizona. It was established in 1870 at the end of a road into Coyotero Apache country. Cochise brought his band here briefly during 1870; in 1871 the name was changed from Camp Thomas to Camp Apache as a gesture of friendship toward the Indians. One account of army life at Apache is that of the wife of an officer stationed there, Martha Summerhayes, Vanished Arizona (Chicago, 1939). Cf. Ray Brandes, "A Guide to the History of the U. S. Army Installations in Arizona, 1849-1886," Arizona and the West, I, No. 1 (Spring, 1959), 61.

38. AGO Returns, August, 1871.

protected by troops under Major John Green, 1st Cavalry. 40

In the pine-scented air five hundred Indians listened to the tall commander who promised that they would be protected if they remained at peace -- but war would mean horrible punishment. Crook found the Indians "gratifyingly sincere" in their desire for peace and acquiescence in being enrolled. When he said that those who desired to be paid regularly might enlist as scouts, twenty-five Indians hesitantly signed up. In this way Crook hoped to fractionalize Indian resistance by showing that some bands were truly committed to the side of the Army. "This treatment," he reported, "would go farther to convince them of the benefit arising from their being our friends than all the blankets and promises Government could heap upon them." 41

40. Green, a native of Germany, was greatly disliked in Arizona because of his protection of the Indians near Camp Apache and his efforts to have them supply the post with hay and grain. Promoted to major, 1st Cavalry in 1868, he was a distinguished soldier and had received a Medal of Honor. He was transferred out of Arizona in 1872. For action in Arizona and California he was brevetted brigadier general in 1890. Heitman, 473; Colyer to Delano, September 1, 1871, OIA:LR.

41. Crook to Adjutant General, September 1, 1871, OIA:LR. Vincent Colyer charged that the Indians were forced to surrender up twenty-five men, against their will. Colyer to Delano, September 18, 1871, OIA:LR. Colyer's letters from Arizona can also be found in the report issued by the Board of Indian Commissioners, Peace with the Apaches of New Mexico and Arizona: Report of Vincent Colyer (Washington, 1872).
Other visitors soon arrived at Camp Apache. The party of Vincent Colyer, a special representative of the Board of Indian Commissioners, had reached the Cañada Alamosa reservation in New Mexico only to find that the Indians there had recently scattered to the hills. To call back the bands of Cochise, Colyer sent out teams of messengers and one of these now strayed into Camp Apache. Although apprehensive that these civilians were spies, Crook decided they could find little of interest except the newly-enlisted scouts. From them he learned unofficially of Colyer's mission. Angry with their trespassing and the permissive treatment of bands he considered a menace, Crook


43. Ogle, 89-91.

44. Crook to Adjutant General, September 1, 1871, OIA:LR.
ordered the group out of the territory. Before leaving Camp Apache, he dispatched Captain Guy V. Henry, with troops C, F, and H of the 3rd Cavalry, and a company of scouts, to operate between Camps McDowell and Apache against unreduced bands. Crook planned to organize five such expeditions to be kept continuously in the field. These would pursue individual bands of Indians until each was subdued. In this way the Indians would be forced to move constantly throughout the winter.

45. Guy Vernor Henry, a graduate of the U. S. Military Academy in 1860 was promoted to captain in 1865 and five years later transferred to the 3rd Cavalry. He fought bravely under Crook at the Rosebud. He had been brevetted five times during the Civil War and received the Medal of Honor for extraordinary heroism. Heitman, 523; Fairfax Downey, Indian-Fighting Army (New York, 1941), 304-310, 186, 188.

46. Camp McDowell was situated seven miles above the junction of the Verde with the Salt River. This location was chosen in 1865 because of its command of Indian trails through central Arizona. The fort played an important role in the campaigns of 1872-73. An undesirable place for assignment, it was a "dreary and desolate station, the climate, privations and monotony of which, reacted upon the temper and the nerves of the officers to such an extent that many of them were not on speaking terms." In 1890 it became headquarters for a reservation for Pimas and Yavapais. Brandes, Frontier Military Posts of Arizona, 52-55; Otto L. Hein, Memories of Long Ago (New York, 1926), 77.

47. Prescott Miner, September 16, 1871.

48. Crook to Adjutant General, September 1, 1871, OIA:LR
Guided by Archie McIntosh and a few Apaches, Crook's command left for Camp Verde. Under threatening clouds they passed through timbered land with an abundance of wildlife and grass. Constant scouting added to their meager knowledge of the unmapped wilderness of the Tonto Basin. Some evidence of Indians was seen; once they ran upon a group of unsuspecting Yavapais. The general was much encouraged despite difficulty in improvising a way along the Mogollon Rim. With improved packing methods his men and animals could live off the land. Knowledge of Indian habits gained on this trip would insure,

49. Crook states that no guides were taken along. Schmitt, 166. Bourke mentions a party of five guides that accompanied the command to the center of the Mogollons, which was then unmapped and little-known country. Bourke, 148.

50. Camp Verde was established in 1846. In 1871, because of its unhealthful location the post was moved one mile south to the location of the present town of Camp Verde. It was a feeding post for Yavapais, and here peace was concluded with them in 1873. The post protected the Rio Verde Reservation, which was abandoned in 1875. Brandes, Frontier Military Posts of Arizona, 70-72. For anecdotes about civilians and soldiers living in this area see Bonnie and Ed Peplow, Pioneer Stories of Arizona's Verde Valley (Camp Verde, 1954).

51. "The 'Basin' is a basin only in the sense that it is all lower than the ranges enclosing it -- the Mogollon, the Matitzal and the Sierra Ancha -- but its whole triangular area is so cut up . . . that it may be safely pronounced one of the roughest spots on the globe." Bourke, 145.

52. Schmitt, 167.
if not immediate, inevitable success in a campaign.\textsuperscript{53}

Coming down into Camp Verde on August 27, Crook received news of Colyer's arrival in Arizona. The commander immediately ordered the enlistment of Indian scouts discontinued.\textsuperscript{54} Now having no reason to remain at Camp Verde, he proceeded across the valley and into the mountains surrounding Fort Whipple.\textsuperscript{55}

In contrast to Tucson, Prescott was "thoroughly American. . . . a village transplanted bodily from the center of the Connecticut valley."\textsuperscript{56} Crook was pleased to return to departmental headquarters here.\textsuperscript{57} While the

\textsuperscript{53} Crook to Adjutant General, September 1, 1871, OIA:LR.

\textsuperscript{54} He had previously ordered enlistment of as many as one hundred scouts. Content to wait until the "Colyer star" had set, he did not want to be accused of interference with the peace commission. Farish, VIII, 225; Crook to Adjutant General, September 1, 1871, OIA:LR.

\textsuperscript{55} Fort Whipple, built in 1864, was in extremely poor condition when Crook arrived there in 1871. After many repairs, it was finally rebuilt in 1904. Presently its location serves as a Veterans' Administration Hospital. Brandes, Frontier Military Posts of Arizona, 75-80. Cf. Phillip D. Yoder, "History of Fort Whipple," unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Arizona, 1951.

\textsuperscript{56} Bourke, 158.

\textsuperscript{57} General Order. No. 17, August 18, 1871, AGO:GO. Stoneman had removed headquarters to Drum Barracks, Los Angeles, where he spent much of his time.
troops rested, he took up other problems of a department sadly inefficient and unprepared for a major offensive. He had known few of the men of his new command when he had begun the 685-mile trip. From acquaintances evaluated during the two months, he selected 2nd Lieutenant William J. Ross, 21st Infantry,58 and 2nd Lieutenant John G. Bourke, 3rd Cavalry,59 as his aides-de-camp.60 Both were

58. Born in Scotland, Ross was transferred to the 21st Infantry as a 2nd lieutenant in 1869 and resigned from the Army in 1875 to live in Tucson. Heitman, 847; Bourke, 136. More recent information is found in newspaper clippings collected in Mrs. Hughes' scrapbooks at APHS: Ross, V. 168.

59. John Gregory Bourke ranked eleventh in his class at West Point. Upon graduation he joined the 3rd Cavalry as a 2nd lieutenant in 1869, became a captain in 1882, and was brevetted major upon retirement in 1890. He received a Medal of Honor in 1887. Bourke was both an able soldier and scholar, the author of more than twenty-five ethnological studies, and two volumes concerning the Indian Wars. He died in 1896. See F. W. Hodge, "John Gregory Bourke," American Anthropologist, IX, No. 7 (July, 1896). For a modern appraisal, see J. Frank Dobie's introduction to Bourke's An Apache Campaign in the Sierra Madre (New York, 1958). Cf. Lansing B. Bloom, "Bourke on the Southwest," New Mexico Historical Review, VIII, No. 1 (January, 1933), 1-30. Bloom edited Bourke's notebooks, which are on file at the University of New Mexico Library, and presented excerpts from them in the New Mexico Historical Review, beginning in January, 1933 and continuing through 1938. Hereafter this source will be cited as Bloom. Heitman, 232.

60. General Order No. 18, September 1, 1871, AGO:GO.
alert young men who had served in Arizona for several years. While preoccupied with these and other administrative details, Crook was nevertheless cognizant of the movements and impending appearance of Vincent Colyer.

Colyer had arrived at Camp Apache from New Mexico on September 2 to confer with the Indians Crook had just left. Here the commissioner created a vast reservation and then left for Camp Grant, which he had already selected for a reserve. There, Colyer spoke to Eskiminzin, Chi-quito, and their followers. He assured them of a temporary home there with Lieutenant Royal E. Whitman61 as their agent. Shortly after Colyer left Camp Grant, Crook received word that the commissioner had refused to allow a large party of miners to cross that reservation because he feared they meant harm to the Indians there. This was a drastic, if unwarranted move, since it practically halted all traffic between Florence and Tucson.62 Crook censured Captain

61. Whitman incurred official as well as unofficial wrath for his championing of the Indians living near Grant. He was court-martialed on December 4, 1871 for drunkenness and gambling, no action; arrested in March, 1872 for failure to carry out General Order No. 10, 1871, Division of the Pacific. He was court-martialed again in May, 1872 and in October, 1872 he was court-martialed in San Francisco and reprimanded in General Orders. Hastings, 158; Farish, VIII, 157-61; Heitman, 1030.

William Nelson, the commanding officer at the post, for allowing this outrage to be added to those that Arizonans already felt themselves to be suffering at the hands of the peace commissioner.

At Camp Verde Colyer established the Rio Verde Reservation after consultation with Indians and post officers there. He then journeyed to Fort Whipple for talks with Crook about the "Apache problem." Most soldiers were disgusted by now with the high-minded actions of the commissioner, and most would concur with Bourke's description of Colyer as "that spawn of hell" who refused to listen to anything "not confirmatory of his preconceived views, scorning to seek information from the rascally citizens, the bloody-minded officers, or anyone else who knew anything about the real state of affairs." Nevertheless Crook, on the evening of Wednesday, October 4, cordially welcomed Colyer into his rough quarters.

63. Nelson, made brevet major in 1863 for his action at the siege of Vicksburg, had transferred to the 21st Infantry in 1870 and retired in 1874. Heitman, 743.

64. Ogle, 92.

65. Bloom, IX, No. 2 (April, 1934), 175.

Although they disagreed fundamentally, Crook convinced the commissioner of the practicality of establishing temporary reserves for the Yavapais at Camp Date Creek and Camp Beale's Springs until spring when they could be moved to Camp Verde more easily. On October 7 Colyer left, in a storm of journalistic libel, for San Francisco and Washington.

Because Crook realized that he might be made the military scapegoat if Colyer's plans went awry, he remained temporarily inactive. There was much other work to be done. "Hostilities against the Indians having been suspended," Crook reported, "attention was directed to

67. In 1868 Date Creek was moved to its final location, high above the south bank of the Date Creek, so-called for the abundance of wild dates, or yucca (datil) in the area. It was an unhealthy post because of disease-breeding dampness around the river forks. Temporarily a feeding station for Indians, the post was abandoned in 1874 after their removal to Verde. The thick rock walls that marked its only stone building still remain. For a description of life at this post see Mrs. Orsemus Bronson Boyd, Cavalry Life in Tent and Field (New York, 1894). Cf. Brandes, Frontier Military Posts of Arizona, 27-29; and Sidney B. Brinckerhoff, "Camp Date Creek, Arizona Territory: Infantry Outpost in the Yavapai Wars, 1867-1873," Smoke Signal (Fall, 1964).

68. Trouble with the Yavapais in 1871 led to the establishment of Camp Beale's Springs, forty-three miles east of Camp Mohave. When the Indians there were removed to the Colorado reservation in 1874, the camp was abandoned. Brandes, Frontier Military Posts of Arizona, 14; Granger, 202-03.

69. Colyer to Delano, October 5, 1871, OIA:LR.

70. Colyer to Delano, December 20, 1871, OIA:LR.

71. Schmitt, 168; Ogle, 94-95.
correcting the many abuses which were in existence in the administration of affairs in the department. . . ." The commander was momentarily inconvenienced until his departmental records arrived on October 2. From temporary quarters at the decrepit fort, Crook set up boards of survey, ordered inspections by competent officers, and saw a "general closing up of unsettled business inaugurated. . . ." Plans were made to sell inferior draft animals. Contractors, formerly lax in meeting their agreements with the Army were put under bond to supply forage and other supplies promptly. The problem of storage at the posts also awaited solution. While the leaves of autumn were falling, the soldier worked on at his compact writing desk in anticipation of the day he might take the field.

The Indian problem had not been solved by Colyer's mission. On Sunday, November 5, 1871, the first snow came

72. Crook to Schofield, September 21, 1872. This is Crook's report for 1872 which may be found in U. S. War Department, Annual Report of the Secretary of War for the Year 1872 (Washington, 1872), 72-80.

73. According to General Order No. 5, January 13, 1872, AGO:GO, Crook authorized construction of storehouses at various posts. Buildings where supplies had been kept previously were used for offices as well, and much theft of army goods had occurred.
to Prescott; on that day outside of Wickenburg, the stage was ambushed, probably by Yavapais. Six people, including three members of the Wheeler expedition recently surveying northern Arizona, were killed. At the time the dispatches came in to Fort Whipple Crook and his two aides were absent. They had left for Camp Mohave the preceding Thursday, November 2, on an inspection tour of the northern forts in the department. Captain R. F. O'Beirne, the commanding officer at Camp Date Creek, questioned whether the massacre was the work of Indians and sent Captain Meinhold to investigate. Crook, upon his return to Fort Whipple, was disappointed to learn that pursuit had been inadequate. Meinhold had provisions for only three days due to the lack of pack horses and equipment at Camp Date Creek, and the

74. Some pioneer reminiscences of Wickenburg in 1871 are to be found in the David S. Chamberlain Collection, APHS.

75. Prescott Miner, November 4, 1871.

76. Richard Fitzgerald O'Beirne was a native of Canada who fought in the Civil War, serving with the 14th, 32nd and 21st Infantries. When he came to Arizona he was a brevet lieutenant colonel. Heitman, 755.

77. Charles Meinhold, a native of Prussia, was "an elderly man of fine physique and great personal attractiveness" when he arrived in Arizona with the 3rd Cavalry in 1870. He had been promoted to captain in 1866. Meinhold died in 1877. Heitman, 702; Bloom, IX, No. 1 (January, 1934), 46.
perpetrators of the atrocity had escaped.™ Newsmen of Arizona were outraged at this damning proof of Coyle's pudding. The peace commission and its commissioner who had just arrived in Washington found a decidedly cool reception for their report.™

Because of the "unsettled state of the Indian question," troops were allowed only to pursue marauders during the first part of November.™ By November 21, however, a policy change in Washington became apparent, and from headquarters of the Division of the Pacific Schofield issued General Order No. 10 calling for the enrollment of Indians and prohibition of trade in weapons with them. In Arizona this was followed on December 11 by General Order No. 32, in which reservation limits were defined. The way now clear for offensive action, Crook issued General Order No. 35 on December 27: "All roving bands of Apache Indians are required to go upon their Reservations . . . [By] February 15th, 1872, on and after

78. O'Beirne to AAG (Prescott), November 6, 1871. O'Beirne to AAG (Prescott), November 29, 1871. Nickerson to O'Beirne, Date Creek, November 12, 1871. U. S. War Department, United States Army Commands, Letters Sent: Date Creek, A. T., 1871-72, National Archives. A microfilm copy of these letters is found at APHS.


80. AGO Returns, November, 1871.
which date all Apache Indians found outside of their Reservations, will be considered and treated as hostile." This order embodied some of the principles Stoneman had tried to put into effect.81

The mood of the residents of the Territory was clearly in accord with the plans for offensive action. As Crook issued General Order No. 32, one hundred citizens on trial for the Camp Grant "massacre" were acquitted at Tucson.82 Otherwise the month of December passed quietly for the embittered and discouraged Arizonans. The 3rd Cavalry had been called out of the department and the 5th Cavalry was bound for Arizona from service on the plains. The editor of the Miner, John Marion,83 commented: "A period of two months, at least, must elapse before the 5th Cavalry . . . can be rendered available, and hence before the work of subduing the Apaches can commence in good earnest. The 3rd Cavalry by leaving the Territory before


82. Farish, VIII, 161.

83. John H. Marion came to Arizona in 1865 by way of Louisiana and California. Initially interested in gold prospecting, he soon reverted to his trade as printer and became part owner of the Miner in 1866. Crook, one of the editor's close friends, trusted and approved of his reporting. Farish, V, 347-50.
the arrival of the 5th, leaves barely a sufficient number of troops in Arizona to do garrison duty.\textsuperscript{84} Crook and Captain A. H. Nickerson hunted five days in the pine-fringed mountains around the Verde early in December.\textsuperscript{85} They made it a point to observe the mountain passes and canyon accessibility of the area. To find out more about the mountains north of Prescott, the general also hunted there for deer and turkey shortly before Christmas.\textsuperscript{86}

On his first New Year's Eve in the new department, Crook, with Bourke, Ross, Boyle\textsuperscript{87} and others, met socially with people of Prescott.

\textsuperscript{84} Prescott Miner, December 9, 1871. See also George F. Price, \textit{Across the Country with the Fifth Cavalry} (New York, 1883, reprinted in 1959),

\textsuperscript{85} Crook's aide-de-camp and acting assistant adjutant general Azor Howitt Nickerson ("Archie") was also from Ohio and had served with Crook in Oregon. Originally a volunteer officer he became a captain, 23rd Infantry in 1868 and retired in 1882. He wrote several articles about his experiences, including "An Apache Indian Raid and a Long-Distance Ride" for \textit{Harpers' Weekly}, July 10, 1897; and "Major General George Crook and the Indians," a manuscript in the Army War College Library, Washington, D. C. Heitman, 747. General Orders No. 12, June 4, 1871, AGO:GO.

\textsuperscript{86} Prescott Miner, December 2, 1871; December 30, 1871; and January 6, 1872. "The fattest and best turkey" was consumed on New Year's Day by Crook, Marion, and other officers.

\textsuperscript{87} William Henry Boyle was assigned to the 21st Infantry in 1870. He became a lieutenant colonel in 1899. Heitman, 236.
On January 1 the Indian situation was still unsettled. Depredations were fewer, but only because of the inclement weather in most of Arizona. After Crook's order of December 27, Indians had flocked into the reservations to avoid punishment and receive food. But five hundred at Verde soon fled, and during January Indians were noted near Camp Hualpai and other posts. Crook visited Camps Verde, Grant, and McDowell at the end of January. He was present at McDowell when Indians fired on soldiers there and left for the mountains, taking with them a dozen government horses "in lieu of the usual passports." Crook found that the Indians on all the reservations were apprehensive about the rumored campaign. He wrote to Schofield: "Instead of making preparations to remain on the reservation they [have] been melting the

88. C. C. Carr to Nickerson, December 18, 1871, OIA:LR. Ogle, 109. After having General Order No. 32 explained to them many Indians doubted their ability to subsist wholly on a reservation where they would be unable to range over large areas to gather food. Half of them left; Carr endeavored to get the others on a muster roll.

89. Camp Hualpai was a short-lived post built forty miles from Prescott to guard the Prescott-Hardyville road in 1869. It was not used after the first campaign against the Yavapais. Brandes, Frontier Military Posts of Arizona, 45-46.

90. AGO Returns, January, 1872.

91. Prescott Miner, January 27, 1872.
lead from old cans, picking up fragments of iron, steel and such ammunition as they could, and generally using the present truce on our side to render themselves more formidable than ever. . . 92

Convinced of the necessity for action, Crook announced on February 7 that after nine days no Indian would be received onto a reservation except as a prisoner of war.93 As that time drew near, the weather abated and approximately eight hundred Indians fled Date Creek. More left Camp Verde. The hostiles dispersed north and west of Fort Whipple and began to harrass miners in the Sacramento district. On February 21 Crook headed for Camp Beale's Springs through snow and slush to organize a group of Walapai scouts to go after the Yavapais in this threatened area.94 Accompanied by Bourke, Ross, Captain Mason,95

92. Crook to Assistant Adjutant General (San Francisco), February 5, 1872, OIA:LR.

93. General Order No. 9, February 7, 1872, AGO: GO.

94. Crook to Schofield, February 20, 1872, OIA: LR. Prescott Miner, March 2, 1872; March 9, 1872; September 14, 1872.

95. Julius Wilmot Mason became a captain in the 5th Cavalry and was also brevetted lieutenant colonel during the Civil War. He died in 1882. Heitman, 695.
Lieutenant Frank Michler, Dr. Washington Matthews and ranchers of the area, Crook with his Walapai and Chima-huevi allies received the surrender of one band of about one hundred twenty-five Yavapais under Ahculahuata and Enacinyusa near the Cerbat Mountains. This band, suspected of the Wickenburg massacre, was sent to Camp Beale's Springs where they would be supervised by Captain Thomas Byrne.

96. A 2nd lieutenant with the 5th Cavalry when he arrived in Arizona in 1870, Michler was finally brevetted 1st lieutenant in 1890 for his action at Michos Canyones (September 25, 1872) and Tonto Creek (January 22, 1873). Heitman, 708.

97. Called "Old North Star" because of his endurance, Matthews was a native of Ireland. He was appointed assistant surgeon in 1868 and served at Fort Whipple as post surgeon. He later became well known as an ethnologist and author of fifty-eight papers, including several studies of Navajo myths and crafts. Heitman, 697; Prescott Miner, June 28, 1873; Dictionary of American Biography, 20 vols. (New York, 1937), XII, 420.

98. These mountains were located in the mining area north of present-day Kingman. Bourke describes what was probably this trip in great detail in his notebooks. Bloom, IX, No. 2 (April, 1934), 177-80.

99. "Irish Tommy" Byrne, grey-bearded and eloquent, was a fine soldier who played a significant part in the civilizing of the Walapai. Like many other soldiers his major failing was alcohol, but apparently Crook valued him enough to overlook this. Byrne served in the Civil War and was assigned to the 12th Infantry in 1871. He died ten years later. Heitman, 272. Bloom, IX, No. 2 (April, 1934), 181-83.
The offensive against the Yavapais was curtailed abruptly on March 7 when Crook received a dispatch from Schofield advising him to "prevent as far as possible collision between the troops and Indians in Arizona." The adjutant general had informed Schofield that lack of funds for conducting a war which would be unusually expensive was the reason for this change. Another peace commissioner was to be sent by the President. This emissary was to examine the shambles of Colyer's mission. This was a frustrating turn of events for Crook. He had been patiently examining evidence brought by Indian spies to ascertain which Yavapais were responsible for the Wickenburg massacre. He thought that he knew who the guilty ones were but now he was forced to call off the pursuit.

100. Prescott Miner, March 16, 1872. Schofield to Crook, February 21, 1872 (Circulated on March 8, 1872), AGO:GO.

101. Townsend to Schofield, March 6, 1872, OIA: LR.

102. Bancroft, 563.

103. Prescott Miner, September 14, 1872.
CHAPTER II

"I HAD MADE UP MY MIND TO DISOBEY"

The cold March wind swept over Granite Creek. Undismayed, the post laundresses at Fort Whipple worked on and forgot their chafed hands in gossip. Operations against the Yavapais had been suspended, but there was much other activity to discuss. Five companies of the 23rd Infantry, as well as members of its resplendent band with their wives and children, had arrived at the post. Now there was talk of "hops" for the young officers every Friday night. Gregarious Mary Crook, the general's wife, would arrive soon. Raw new buildings characterized the fort. The superintendent of Indian affairs in Arizona, Dr. Herman Bendell, was constructing his office in the shadow of departmental headquarters.  

1. Crook married Mary T. Dailey of Cumberland, Maryland, in 1865. Rumor had it that she had nursed him back to health in 1862; Mary, however, told one officer that she met Crook when he was staying at her father's hotel, Revere House, before Crook had been kidnapped by Confederate guerrillas. Schmitt, 155-60; 303-06; Hein, 83-85.

2. Commissioner of Indian Affairs Walker to Bendell, March 2, 1872, Office of Indian Affairs, Letters Sent: Arizona Superintendency, National Archives. These records are on microfilm at the University of Arizona Library. This source is cited hereafter as OIA:LS.
headquarters overlooked the river and distant mountains. The post certainly appeared more prosperous than it had last September. The animals, too, had benefitted from the slackening of action. Culls had been sold at auction around the middle of March, and Editor Marion observed that the government herd was now in splendid condition and capable of living off the land. 3

As the time drew near for the President's special peace commissioner, Brigadier General Oliver Otis Howard, 4

3. Prescott Miner, March 16, 1872; March 23, 1872; March 30, 1872; and April 6, 1872. In General Order No. 16, April 9, 1872, AGO:GO, Crook announced that his animals would exist on grass whenever possible in the field.

4. Howard's mission to the Indians of Arizona was his first experience with the West in the course of his already varied career. Born in Maine in 1830 he was educated at Bowdoin College and the United States Military Academy, graduating fourth in his class from the latter in 1854. He taught there for a short time and took part in an expedition against the Seminoles in 1856. Early in the Civil War he was made a brigadier general of volunteers. He lost his right arm in 1862 but recovered to take part in many of the major battles of the war. On the march to the sea he commanded the right wing of Sherman's army. In 1864 Howard became a brigadier general in the regular Army and was brevetted major general in 1865. At the end of the war he was appointed chief of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands and in 1869 also became president of Howard University. In 1874 Howard assumed command of the Department of the Columbia. He led campaigns against the Nez Perces, Bannocks, and Paiutes which provided material for several books including, My Life and Experiences Among the Hostile Indians (Hartford, 1907), and Famous Indians I Have Known (New York, 1908). He also wrote an obituary of Crook for the Chautauquan. In 1886 he was promoted to major general, a rank some believed that Crook should have received at that time. Dictionary of American Biography, IX, 279-81. Cf. Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography, 12 vols. (New
to arrive in Arizona, Crook arranged for Captain McGregor at Camp McDowell to take command at Fort Whipple on April 1. The general then departed at the end of March for Tucson. On the way south he was pleased to note the progress in construction at newly located Camp Verde. Pausing only a short time in Tucson, Crook accompanied by his two aides and a small escort, left for Camp McDowell on April 10 to meet Howard. Crook did not look forward to the meeting. Howard, two years younger than Crook, was already a brigadier general, and had been sent to Arizona because, among other reasons, he outranked Crook. The commissioner's task was to rectify the mistakes made by Colyer and to make peace with Cochise. Howard, Crook

York, 1888), III, 278; Howard, My Life; and Howard, Autobiography of Oliver Otis Howard, Major General, United States Army, 2 vols. (New York, 1908).

5. Prescott Miner, April 13, 1872; April 20, 1872. Bourke fails to mention Howard in either the notebooks (as they appear in New Mexico Historical Review) or in On The Border With Crook.

6. By this time Colyer had resigned as Secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners on February 17, at the request of Secretary of the Interior Delano. Prescott Miner, March 30, 1872.

later wrote, believed that "the Creator had placed him on earth to be the Moses to the Negro." Having "accomplished that mission" as head of the Freedmen's Bureau, Howard now "felt satisfied his next mission was with the Indian." 8

Although Crook and the Arizonans met Howard with misgivings, it was quickly to be discovered that his theories on peace were not as idealistic as those of Colyer. Already on March 25 Howard had stated, in an interview for the San Francisco Chronicle, that Crook's course was not disapproved by the government and that he had been sent to hear the conflicting opinions. "I am not a man who believes in patting the robbers on the back," Howard explained soberly, "I would like to save his soul, but I believe in his being punished for his crimes." 9 The "One-Armed Christian Soldier" and his aide-de-camp Lieutenant Wilkinson 10 came into the territory by way of Arizona

8. "I was at a loss to make out whether it was his vanity or his cheek that enabled him to hold up his head in this lofty manner." Crook was quite suspicious of Howard and believed that he was trying to prejudice the officers in the department against their commander. Schmitt, 169-70.

9. Prescott Miner, April 13, 1872. Bancroft (563-64) said of Howard, "Remembering Colyer, the Arizonians were prejudiced against Howard; but the latter was a very different man, his peace theories being strongly tinged with common sense."

10. Melville Cary Wilkinson was a 1st lieutenant in the 3rd Infantry at the time. Heitman, 1037.
City, Sacaton, and old Camp Grant. With him part of the way were Mrs. Crook and her brother James Daily, the Reverend E. P. Smith of the Indian Service.

Howard's official evaluation of Crook was a favorable one. "I am fully satisfied that Gen'l Crook has no other desire than to carry out your views as expressed in the letter I have from you to Gen'l Schofield," Howard wrote to President Grant shortly after his first conversation with Crook on April 15. "He is industrious, asks for no more forces, believes in punishing the guilty, but is far from being sanguinary in his purposes or practice. I would ask for no better officer to work with me in carrying out what I understand to be your Indian policy."

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12. Daily was one of the Confederate Rangers who had captured Crook during the Civil War. The Southerner probably hoped to join unofficially in the action in Arizona. Schmitt, 303-04.


14. Howard, My Life, 128; Prescott Miner, April 13, 1872.

15. Howard to Grant, April 15, 1872, OIA:LR. Howard had known Crook casually at the Military Academy. Howard, My Life, 57, 151.
next day he wrote to Secretary of the Interior Delano:
"My impressions now are that the truth lies between the extreme peace and the extreme war men. . . . Gen'l Crook disclaims emphatically being an extreme war man. I believe he fully agrees with me and you know what that means."^16

Crook left at once for Prescott, but Howard, Bourke, and Ross remained at Camp McDowell before traveling to Camp Grant. Crook paused briefly at the ranch owned by two former citizens of Prescott, George W. Smith and Joseph Akerman and then hurried on to Fort Whipple. Daily and Mary Crook, who had already begun the perennial task of rearranging the general's quarters, welcomed him home on April 19.17

Disturbed by recent attacks on mail stations in the area which had occurred in his absence, Crook authorized an escort of soldiers for the buckboard that carried mail between Prescott and Date Creek.18 News came of the murder

16. Howard to Secretary of the Interior Delano, April 16, 1872, OIA:LR. He described Crook as "very candid and evidently desirous to execute the orders he received with discretion and fidelity. Most certainly articles in the press . . . have not done him justice." Howard to Schofield, April 18, 1872, OIA:LR.

17. Prescott Miner, April 20, 1872.

18. Prescott Miner, April 27, 1872.
of Smith and Akerman by Indians three days after Crook had paused there. At the end of April Whitman's release from prison was requested by Howard, who wanted the soldier reinstated as agent at Grant. Because of the Indians' pleas for the return of their children kidnapped in the Camp Grant massacre, Howard also planned a conference to be held on May 21 and arranged with Governor Safford to have the children present. Early in the second week of May the commissioner, accompanied by the Reverend Smith, Dr. Bendell, and Lieutenants Bourke and Ross, rode into Fort Whipple past charred fragments of the old stables. Howard was "almost within gunshot to Prescott," Marion quipped when the commissioner took up temporary residence at the quarters of the departmental commander and his wife. "We are glad he is so situated." On Friday, May 10, Howard, Smith, and Crook were requested to address the citizens of Prescott. More than three hundred people gathered, as anxious to hear Howard's views, as to catch a glimpse of

19. Prescott Miner, April 27, 1872. AGO Returns, April, 1872.

20. Ogle, 104.

21. Prescott Miner, May 4, 1872; May 11, 1872. Howard, My Life, 151. The delapidated stables and corral caught fire and burned to the ground, killing two horses.
General Crook. Howard advocated a reservation policy as outlined in General Orders No. 32 and 35, and his speech was met with great enthusiasm by the crowd. Crook characteristically declined to make a statement. After the christening of Captain Nickerson's baby by the Reverend Smith on May 12, Crook, Howard, and Superintendent Bendell left for Camp Grant. They arrived in time for the scheduled conference on May 21.22

Also present for the conference with the Aravaipas were Governor Safford, United States District Attorney J. E. McCaffry, the six children and their Mexican families, and other interested Arizonans. The conference was elaborate, with speechmaking by both Indians and whites, and continued for three days. A climactic moment was reached when the Indians produced a stone to symbolize the finality of their vows of peace.23 Howard finally decided that the


23. Marion wrote caustically that during the Camp Grant conference Howard at one time wanted to refer to the stone that had been sworn upon the preceding day and which he had pocketed and then replaced on the center of the floor. The stone had disappeared and a furtive substitution was made from a small collection of stones brought by Howard's secretary to weight papers. "It is probable that very few noticed the incident and knew not on what a fearful brink they stood, how near all the results of the General's labors had been destroyed by the untoward accident and we again plunged into a savage war." Prescott Miner, June 8, 1872.
six children were to be returned to the Indians and twenty-two others brought back from Sonora. Tucsonans were outraged by Howard's action in taking the six away from their families. Because of Camp Grant's unhealthy location in close proximity to a white settlement, Howard ordered the transfer of the Aravaipas to a new location and promised them an increase in rations. The controversial general then completed his tour and recommended that Indians being fed at Camps McDowell, Date Creek and Beale's Springs instead be permanently settled on the White Mountain or Verde reservations. Several wary chiefs, including Santo, the father of Eskiminzin's wife, Miguel, and Pedro, were taken to Washington. Despite their differences, Howard recommended that Crook be allowed full freedom of action against the hostiles.24


In a letter found in the State Archives, Phoenix, from Crook to Safford, June 4, 1872, the general stated: "I was fully prepared to hear of Gen'l Howard's 'flopping'. I had fully satisfied my mind before I left Camp Grant that he had no sympathy for our people, but that it was all in the other side . . . Your plan of handling the subject is thoroughly approved . . . Our papers must not be wormed into saying anything against Howard." Presumably, Crook anticipated that Howard would sufficiently degrade himself.
Silently masking the exasperation he must have felt following the conference, Crook rode home to Fort Whipple. In his absence several things had transpired. Awaiting his attention were the semi-annual bids made at the end of May for contracts to supply the posts north of the Gila with transportation, grain and hay, flour, beans and salt. Nickerson had details for him of an Indian raid two miles from Fort Whipple in which two thousand sheep had been driven off. The troops had recovered the animals after trailing the renegades by night. May had been a chaotic month; at least four attacks on settlers' herds had occurred and three people had been killed. Crook commended 1st Sergeant Rudolph Stauffer, Guide Dan O'Leary and Company K, 5th Infantry.


27. AGO Returns, May 1872. Captain T. M. K. Smith to Assistant Adjutant General (Prescott), May 1, 1872, OIA:LR; Carr to Assistant Adjutant General (Prescott), May 24, 1872, OIA:LR.

28. O'Leary, one of Arizona's most famous scouts, was renowned for his knowledge of the Walapais. He was a native of Ireland. Thrapp, 56-57.
sent out from Camp Hualpai by Captain Mason for their work against these renegades. 29

Although Howard had left Arizona, he was expected to return in the fall to work out a reservation for the Chiricahuas of southeastern Arizona. 30 Meanwhile, Crook was not planning any major offensive for the summer. He anticipated, however, a punitive expedition against the Yavapais who had attacked the Wickenburg Stage. Early in June the general rode unescorted to Camps Hualpai and Beale's Springs where he intended to form a small force of Indian scouts from among the Walapais. He was not successful; the hot weather had forced the Indians into the Cerbat Mountains by the time he arrived. 31 Upon his return to Fort Whipple he made plans to break up the Camp Grant reservation as Howard had ordered. The Indians there were to be placed upon the White Mountain reservation; this would then be turned over to the Indian Department according to General Order No. 22, June 4, 1872, in which Howard had announced

29. General Orders No. 21, May 30, 1872, AGO:GO.

30. Howard returned late in September to talk with Cochise about the reservation. With the aid of Tom Jeffords Howard was taken to the chief and reached an agreement with him early in October, 1872. Bancroft, 564.

31. Prescott Miner, June 8, 1872; June 15, 1872.
his changes in this respect. Also to be completed were Crook's earlier plans to augment the mail escort by the construction of a buckboard to carry four soldiers.

June gave way to July and the stealing of livestock abated. After celebration of the Fourth, Crook one again set out for Camp Beale's Springs about July 15 with his aides to try once again to confer with the Walapais. With Captain Bryne's help he finally persuaded them to return to that post where, if they behaved, he promised they would be fed. To get them to return was an accomplishment because Camp Beale's Springs, "one of the meanest places on God's foot-stool," was excruciatingly hot in summer. Crook requested rations for the Indians and noted that they seemed to be of good will, much to the advantage of the miners in that area. He concluded, "These Indians are to play a very important part in the operations I am now inaugurating against the hostile Apaches, and any failure to feed them would be regarded as a breach of

32. Crook to Assistant Adjutant General (San Francisco), June 14, 1872, OIA:LR. Crook heartily disapproved the gathering of many different tribes in one place.

33. Prescott Miner, June 22, 1872.

34. AGO Returns, July 1872.

35. Bloom, IX, No. 2 (April, 1934), 180, 182-83.
faith on my part, which would not only destroy their confidence in me, but would completely frustrate my plans." 36

These plans concerned the capture of the perpetrators of the Wickenburg Massacre. During his last trip he had developed a scheme to attack certain Date Creek Yavapais. Soon he learned that they were plotting to murder him at the first opportunity. 37 When news of the sudden death of Captain Philip Dwyer 38 at Camp Date Creek reached Fort Whipple on Thursday, August 29, Bourke was dispatched to Date Creek to take charge. Crook soon arrived there and called the Yavapais to the post for a conference. Suspicious and in war paint, the Indians sidled in on September 8. Irataba, the chief who had reported the presence of some obnoxious Yavapais on the Mohave reservation to Crook, 39 was present with several of

36. Crook to Assistant Adjutant General (San Francisco), July 22, 1872, OIA:LR. Prescott Miner, July 6, 1872; July 20, 1872.
37. Bourke, On the Border With Crook, 167-68.
38. Dwyer, a native of Ireland, was commissioned first lieutenant in 1862 and promoted to captain in 1866. Hestman, 392.
his people. The general hoped they could identify the renegades who had been displaying money probably taken from the Wickenburg stage.

Among those present with Crook were the Reverend Smith and Bendell, who knew that the general intended to arrest the renegade chief Ochocama. Irataba, his son, and several other Mohaves, Charles Genung, Lieutenant Volkmar who was now in command at Camp Date Creek, and several packers including Hank Hewitt, dispersed among the Yavapais. During the fracas which ensued after the culprits were identified, Crook was hastily attacked. Ochocama escaped.

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States, "Plateau, XXIII, No. 3 (January, 1951), 33-43.

40. Bendell to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Walker, September 30, 1872, OIA:LR.

41. Genung had come to Arizona during the Civil War because of his poor health. He was a prospector, miner, and Indian fighter and finally settled in Kirkland Valley near Prescott. Thrapp, 37.

42. One of the party was stabbed and Crook narrowly escaped being shot. One probably apocryphal story about this occasion concerns the fact that Crook was supposed to have brutally knifed the Indian who shot at him and ordered the other participants to keep this secret. (Scrapbook, Sharlot Hall Museum, a newspaper clipping from St. Joseph, Mo., c. September 17, 1920. Correct date and source were not identified.) Farish, VIII, 305-11, gives Charles Genung's account of the conference and the events preceding it. Cf. with Bourke, On the Border With Crook, 166-68. Thrapp, 94-99, recounts the story as it was published in the Prescott Miner, September 28, 1872. Crook himself said very little about the conference. Schmitt, 174. The Tucson Citizen, December 6, 1929, carried an interview with George A. Ross, brother of William J. Ross, who saved Crook's life.
Crook returned to Prescott the next day, September 9, but the day after he received a dispatch in which Volkmar wrote that the now-penitent Yavapais desired another conference. Back at Date Creek, Crook promised amnesty for the assassins, with the exception of Ochocama. "They must sue to come in," he wrote, "and not feel all the time that they confer a favor upon us by doing so." The Indians could come in only if they took responsibility for those still out, and, if necessary, went with troops to find the hostiles.43

This proved to be the unofficial opening of Crook's first campaign against the Yavapais.44 Tommy Byrne notified Crook a week later that there were Yavapais in the vicinity of the Santa Maria River and around the Mohave and Colorado road. Immediately Crook sent Captain Mason from Camp Hualpai to scout the area. Mason's command of troops of the 5th Cavalry with Walapai scouts finally located and attacked Ochocama's band on September 24 at Muchos Canyones. They killed forty Indians and greatly demoralized the rest.

43. Crook to Assistant Adjutant General (San Francisco), September 18, 1872, U. S. War Department, U. S. Army Commands, Selected letters received relating to the activities of General George Crook in Arizona, 1871-1872, National Archives. A microfilm copy of this material can be found at APHS. Hereafter cited as USAC:SL.

44. Schmitt, 174.
On September 27, 1872, Crook, who had finally achieved the punishment of the murderers, issued General Order No. 32 to compliment the men on their victory.45

While the Date Creek drama reached culmination other events also took place in August and September. Military strength was increased; several more companies of the 23rd Infantry arrived in Arizona from the Platte. In the middle of August, Bourke was ordered to report to the East for assignment to the United States Military Academy to teach Spanish, a post he did not want and from which he succeeded in being released.46 Although the Indians had begun to file back onto the reservations in July, the killing of an important chief at Rio Verde reservation resulted in a second temporary exodus. Indians at Verde were placed under close arrest to prevent them from coming in only long enough to receive their rations. This resulted in the departure of many of the Yavapais, leaving only about 140 at that post.47 The last of August, before the Yavapais had come into Camp Date Creek, Crook, Major E. A.

45. Bourke, On the Border With Crook, 170; Prescott Miner, September 28, 1872; Mason to Crook, September 24, 1872, USAC:SL.

46. Prescott Miner, August 24, 1872; November 16, 1872; and February 22, 1873.

47. C. C. C. Carr to Assistant Adjutant General (Prescott), September 29, 1872, USAC:SL; Nickerson to Carr, September 24, 1872, OIA:LR. Prescott Miner, August 17, 1872.
Carr, Nickerson, Ross and others rode out to the head of the Hassayampa to scout Lynx Creek, an area relatively unknown to them where hostiles sometimes were seen.

By September 21, Crook felt war to be both warranted and reasonably well prepared for. Major Royall at Camp Grant was instructed to locate a suitable site for a new post and had found one on the southern slope of Mount Graham. In the south three companies of cavalry were on

48. Eugene Asa Carr graduated from the Military Academy in 1850 and was promoted to brigadier general of volunteers and major, 5th Cavalry, during the Civil War. In November 1871, he was ordered to move the headquarters of the 5th Cavalry to Arizona. He joined General Crook's staff in July 1872. Temporarily transferred to the 4th Cavalry in 1873, he rejoined the 5th Cavalry in that same year and began work at the new location of Camp Lowell in March 1873. An able soldier, he added class to remote Arizona posts when he rode in with his pack of English greyhounds, a gift from George Custer. Heitman, 285; Hein, 77. An excellent biography of Carr is James T. King, War Eagle (Lincoln, 1963). Cf. Thomas Peterson, Jr., "Eugene Asa Carr, War Eagle," Arizoniana, II, No. 3 (Fall, 1961), 24-28.

49. Prescott Miner, September 7, 1872.

50. Annual Report of the Secretary of War for the Year 1872, 72-80. At the end of his report, Crook listed the outrages attributed to Indians.

51. William Bedford Royall rose to the rank of major, 5th Cavalry, in 1863, and was brevetted colonel in 1865. He later served with Crook at the Rosebud. Heitman, 849. Bourke considered Royall to be "one of the ablest and most upright officers of our Army. What he says you can rely upon as Gospel." Bourke to Bendell, September 3, 1872, OIA:LR.

52. PR, Camp Grant, October 31, 1872.
active duty. The majority of soldiers and officers around Prescott were out tracking down hostiles. Victories included one on September 30 when Lieutenant Max Wesendorff's\textsuperscript{53} command, aided by guides John Townsend\textsuperscript{54} and Willard Rice,\textsuperscript{55} killed seventeen warriors at Squaw Peak.\textsuperscript{56} On October 24 Mason's command struck a band of fleeing Indians in the Santa Marias near Camp Hualpai, killing nine.\textsuperscript{57} However, since some critics continued to decry General Crook's

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{53} A Prussian, Max Wesendorff fought in the Civil War and was commissioned 1st lieutenant in 1868. Assigned to the 1st Cavalry in 1870, he was finally brevetted captain in 1890 for his gallant service at Squaw Peak, Arizona, on September 30, 1872. Heitman, 1019.
\item \textsuperscript{54} Townsend was idolized in Arizona, next to Crook himself, for his work against the Indians toward whom he had an almost pathological hatred. He was a half-breed Cherokee and former Confederate soldier who arrived in the territory in 1863. During his lifetime he was reputed to have killed sixty-five Indians. Lenard Brown, "John Benjamin Townsend: The Arizona Cherokee," Arizoniana, II, No. 3 (Fall, 1961), 29-31. Cf. Orick Jackson, The White Conquest of Arizona (Los Angeles, 1908), 20.
\item \textsuperscript{55} Willard Rice was born in Vermont in 1832. He, too, entered Arizona by way of the California gold fields. He served the Army as a post guide and carpenter. Thrapp, 107.
\item \textsuperscript{56} General Order No. 34, October 3, 1872, AGO: GO, commends Lieutenant Wesendorff for this action.
\item \textsuperscript{57} AGO Returns, October 1872.
\end{itemize}
policies it was with some trepidation that he prepared for the campaign to begin on November 15. 58

He evidently failed to realize the extent of his support in Washington and half-expected that his third effort to settle the Indian problem would be affirmatively halted. The Indians at Camp Verde were still under close military control in November, 1872; those at Camp Date Creek were peaceful after the recent campaign. To Camp Apache, Crook sent Captain Brown, 59 to assume control of the Indians there from the civilian agent. This greatly upset the agency staff and Crook feared official rebuke for his aggressive policy. "I had been reported to the Secretary of the Interior for outraging their service by

58. Schmitt, 175. Generally, however, officials did not try to prevent his action. U. S. Department of the Interior, Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the Year 1872 (Washington, 1872), 393. "That a semi-hostile condition still exists in some remote locali­ties, as in Arizona . . . , is no doubt properly attributable to the non-extension of the policy in its entirety over these sections as to its inefficiency or failure." (5) A concession is made, however: "The System now pursued in dealing with the roving tribes dangerous to our frontier population . . . requires the occasional use of the military arm. . . . Such a use . . . constitutes no abandon­ment of the 'peace policy', . . . [and] is not war but discipline."

The Department also sanctioned the use of Indian scouts, but only "under proper safeguards to prevent abuse."

59. William Henry Brown was promoted to captain, 5th Cavalry, in 1865, after service in the Civil War. In the same year he was brevetted major. He died in 1875, probably at Fort Hayes, Kansas. Heitman, 254; King, War Eagle, 150.
unwarranted assumptions. In anticipation, however, I had made up my mind to disobey any order I might receive looking to an interference of the plan which I had adopted, feeling sure if I was successful my disobedience of orders would be forgiven."60

The year of frustrations had been well spent by the commander. Government pack trains were in superlative condition -- especially for Arizona. When Crook had first come to the territory he saw that he could save the Government money and condition the mules by sending his pack trains to the Colorado River to pick up supplies and distribute them throughout Arizona. The pack trains were both locally and government owned.61 Crook had successfully used mules in Nevada, Oregon, and Idaho. Consequently three civilian trains purchased by the government when he was assigned to Arizona were transferred to the territory to augment others being organized by Chief Quartermaster James J. Dana62 at Whipple Barracks. Thomas Moore was assigned as Chief of Pack Trains.63 Civilian packers included Jake

60. Schmitt, 174-75.

61. Henry W. Daly, "Following the Bell," The American Veteran, (February, 1928), 111-17.

62. James Jackson Dana's wife and family accompanied him to Arizona. He had served as Crook's chief quartermaster since January 11, 1872. General Orders No. 3, January 11, 1872, AGO:GO. Heitman, 352.

63. Daly, 114. Moore was the author of the Critical Analysis of Alexander Grant's Packing Drill Manual (Omaha, 1877).
and Sam Miller, who owned the Iron Springs Toll Road; and Hank Hewitt and Frank Bartlett, proprietors of one of the Territory's finest pack trains. Their customary fee was $1.25 a day for each mule plus additional pay of about $90 a month for the packers.

Crook was greatly interested in pack trains and studied the methods of packing used on the Pacific coast. By selecting his men and animals with equal care he managed to obtain efficient trains cared for by skilled and devoted men. Attention was paid to the fit of the aparejos, or pack cushions. Formerly, those issued by the quartermaster's department had been "burlesques." When the best fitting outfit was combined for an individual animal, the outline of the ropes was marked on both animal and pack until the packer was completely familiar with it. From individualized attention both to pack and diet, Crook's mules were able to carry approximately 250 pounds in two side packs, each weighing from 100 to 150 pounds. The mules could travel for thirty miles a day in level country and fifteen miles.

64. Stevens, 19-20.

per day in the mountains, and subsist primarily on grass. Apparently the animals used were smaller than those in other areas but they were found to be profitable and efficient in Arizona.66

The scouts, Crook believed, had been ready since summer. He had recruited Yavapais, Coyoteros, Paiutes, Pimas, Maricopas, Opatas, Yaquis, Pueblos, halfbreeds, and Americans and Mexicans. The Maricopas and Pimas were soon found to be worthless because of their compulsion to perform lengthy purification rites immediately after an engagement; the more efficient Apaches and Yavapais were less punctilious in such observations. Among Crook's best scouts were Alchesay, Blanquet, Chiquito, Kelsay, Nantaje, and Nannisaddi. Reticent about divulging their real names, the scouts readily answered to their army-given nick-names; such as Humpy Sam, Tom Thumb, Stumpy, and Peaches.67

66. Alexander Grant, Packing Drill (San Francisco, 1874). This manual states that animals should be able to carry 200 pounds for twenty miles each day. Presumably these were larger mules than those used in Arizona. Bourke states that Crook's mules carried 300 pounds. Personnel of the standard government pack train included a packmaster, a cargador or assistant, farriers, cook, and ten packers. Animals included a bell horse that was never ridden, fourteen riding mules, and fifty pack mules. Daly, 113-14. See also Downey, Indian Fighting Army, 163-65. Downey is also the author of Army Mule (New York, 1945). Cf. George Crook, "The Apache Problem," Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States, October 1886, 257-69; Bourke, 150-54, gives additional description of the pack trains and the packers he knew.

Prescribed uniform for the Indians was a loose shirt and pants, mid-thigh moccasins, leather belt and a flannel band to hold back the hair. However, they usually wore much less. Their personal paraphernalia included a rifle, canteen, butcher knife, awl to be used for mending moccasins, tweezers for the beard and an identification tag. Sometimes they carried fiddles and pony-skin playing cards. Scouts were impeccably honest within their own standards and no government property entrusted to their care was ever stolen, nor did they leave bad debts. They stood rigorous campaigns well, and when soldiers suffered, the scouts stuffed their moccasins with dry hay for comfort, built small fires to huddle over at night, and stoically ignored any other discomforts. Even the more secularized scouts, however, preferred their own medicine men to the army "sawbones."

A major difficulty in the formation of Indian units, Crook discovered, was finding qualified army officers to take the command. The Indians were generally distrusted


and feared by the soldiers who had little personal experience in handling them. The scouts tended to be an exceptionally wild bunch because Crook had found that the "most negative characters" made the best scouts. "The nearer the Indian approaches to the savage state the more likely he will prove as a soldier. I therefore selected . . . the wildest that I could get," Crook wrote. The scouts were naturally adapted to the rough country they patrolled. They could travel forty to sixty miles a day on foot and rarely used horses. It was observed that they were "graceful, well formed, with legs of steel wire and active as a cat. . . . The Apache on the rocky hill-side is unapproachable." It was important, therefore, to secure young commanders who could keep up with their charges and retain the Indians' respect for their efficiency. Crook, at first, used his Indian scouts only in situations where they would not be under fire, but they came to be trusted in more dangerous situations. He was thoroughly convinced of their value as his "main dependence" in the campaign and

71. Don Rickey, Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay (Norman, 1963), 230; Crook, 263.
expected that success would be more than partially due to their efforts. 72

CHAPTER III

THE CAPTAINS' CAMPAIGN

"The troop leaders gathered, as they supposed to receive final instructions before starting out on the campaign, and were quietly told that they would 'get them as we went along'. This was marvellous; the new department commander was going to let the department run itself for awhile, while he ran after the Indians."¹ The plan was to attack the perimeters of their hideouts and force them into the rough Tonto Basin. There the troops and scouts would patrol constantly, and run the hostiles to the ground. The campaign Crook foresaw was a short, decisive, and essentially humanitarian one. The winter weather would

¹ Charles King, "General Crook," War Papers Read Before the Commandery of the State of Wisconsin, Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States (Milwaukee, 1891), 260-61. King graduated from the Military Academy at West Point in 1866 and was assigned to the 5th Cavalry in 1871. A 1st lieutenant when he came to Arizona in 1873, King was a participant in several engagements with the Yavapais. He was severely wounded at Sunset Pass and retired because of this disability in 1879. Many of his experiences in Arizona were retold in his novels, which include The Colonel's Daughter (Philadelphia, 1883) and Sunset Pass (New York, 1890). An intimate friend of General Crook, King wrote to Charles Gatewood that, in 1890, Crook had requested King to write the general's memoirs, a task that never materialized because of Crook's heart attack in that year. King did, however, write Campaigning With Crook (New York, 1890, reprinted in Norman, 1964), and Major-General George Crook, U. S. Army (Milwaukee, 1890), at that time. Heitman, 599. Cf. Curtis E. Green, "Captain Charles King: Popular Military Novelist," Arizoniana, II, No. 2 (Summer, 1951), 23-26.
make location of the Indians easier; and forcing them to move constantly would give them less opportunity to find food or get to cached supplies.  

The troops had been divided into expeditions, with thirty or forty scouts who were to scour the rough country to find trails for the soldiers to follow. Each group was accompanied by its own pack train. With provisions kept down to a minimum, commands could move swiftly.

Crook planned to put nine such expeditions in the field. Initially, the northern campaign around Camps Date Creek, Hualpai, and Verde would be supervised by Nickerson, who would move between Fort Whipple and Camp Verde. Crook would oversee operations in the south from headquarters at Camp Grant; there he would receive reports from all commands, coordinate their movements, and plan the sharp punitive

2. King, War Eagle, 133; Schmitt, 175-76; Bourke, On the Border With Crook, 176. Cf. U. S. War Department, Annual Report of the Secretary of War for the Year 1871 (Washington, 1871), 78. In his report to the Secretary of War, Crook stated: "I think the Apache is painted in darker colors than he really deserves, and that his villainies arise more from a misconception of facts than from his being worse than other Indians. . . . I am convinced that a hard, active campaign against him would not only make him one of the best Indians in the country, but it would also save millions of dollars . . . and the lives of many innocent whites and Indians."

3. Bloom, IX, No. 4 (October, 1934), 378.
campaign against Cochise that the commander had visualized since his entry into Arizona. Never before in the territory had there been such a thoroughly organized offensive against the hostiles. "For the first time all departments were working in harmony under a definite policy . . . Howard had offered the olive-branch, and Crook, with the sword, was enforcing its acceptance."^4

On Friday, November 15, 1872, Lieutenant Bourke arrived at Fort Whipple with recruits from San Francisco, and by the following Wednesday, Crook, his aides and a small escort were on the way to Camp Apache and old Camp Grant.5 Three expeditions of cavalry and Indians commanded by Captain Mason had been started from Camp Hualpai on the previous Saturday, November 16. They were bound toward Camp Verde by way of the San Francisco and Bill Williams mountains. Two more expeditions accompanied by Walapais had left Camp Date Creek and were scouting the Black Canyon area toward Camp McDowell. After instructing Captain Carr and his command at Camp Verde, Crook traveled on through fine country toward Camp Apache. Now the campaign was getting underway. The command reached Camp Apache by Friday, November 29. Here Crook was forced to remain for

4. Bancroft, 564.

5. Prescott Miner, November 16, 1872; Bloom, IX, No. 4 (October, 1934), 375.
three days to repair equipment and cope with the furor caused by Brown's actions there. The general organized an expedition under Captain George Randall which included a force of Indian scouts who had reluctantly volunteered. Brown informed Crook that, although rations were provided for fourteen hundred Indians, the military could only find eleven hundred. The Indians there seemed to carry on much traffic in rustled animals.

Peeved about the irregularities he encountered at Camp Apache, Crook turned toward old Camp Grant on Tuesday, December 3. After a forced march through rough country, he reached Camp Grant on December 7. There he conferred with the Indians and received Eskiminzin's promise to help

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6. William Henry Brown was promoted to captain, 5th Cavalry, in 1865, and brevetted major in that same year. He served gallantly in Arizona and died soon after in 1875. Heitman, 254.

7. George Morton Randall rose through the ranks during the Civil War and was promoted to captain in the 4th Infantry by 1865. Assigned to the 23rd Infantry in 1870, he fought well in the Arizona campaign, and in 1890, was brevetted lieutenant colonel for distinguished service at Turret Mountain, Diamond Butte, and the Finals. Heitman, 814.

8. Schmitt, 175. Prescott Miner, January 4, 1872; December 7, 1872. Crook to Assistant Adjutant General (San Francisco), December 13, 1872, USACSL.

9. Eskiminzin was never liked nor trusted by Crook. (See Schmitt, 68, 171-72, 175). According to Howard, though, the chief "never began a war, nor did he steal horses or cattle, or rob and kill white people," a rather large order for any Indian. As Eskiminzin grew older he apparently became a "good Indian," and found a champion in
in the campaign. The commander was able to enlist forty-one scouts and sent out two expeditions by December 11. The expedition under Captain Brown, accompanied by Bourke and Ross, were to scout toward Camp McDowell through the Mescal, Pinal, Superstition and Matizal Mountains for the bands of Chuntz and Delchay. Like the other expeditions they were instructed to avoid killing women and children, ill treatment of prisoners, and to enlist recently hostile Indians as scouts whenever possible. At Camp Grant, Crook found more discrepancies in the issuing of rations, and he was angered at the Indians' use of the reservation as a base for their raids. News reached him here that Cochise planned an early spring campaign from his Chiricahua reservation, but until some of the other bands were subdued Crook was unable to attack the Chiricahuas.


12. Crook to Assistant Adjutant General (San Francisco), December 13, 1872, USA:SL.
The commander at Camp Grant was constantly advised about the progress of the troops operating under Nickerson's direction and sought to keep the expeditions from Camps Apache, Grant, and McDowell maneuvering harmoniously with them. By this coordination of detachments constantly crossing each other's trails, meeting and reinforcing each other, the Indians were kept constantly on the move, "unable to reassemble in the rear of any passing column, as had so uniformly been done on previous occasions and . . .) having to keep an eye open for danger from all points of the compass in darkness as well as in daylight." The posts had been stripped of officers, but Crook counted on the presence of transient expeditions and constant harrassment of the savages to prevent untoward occurrences. This efficient campaign soon drew praise from Arizonans. "We fain to believe that the hostile oboriginees will be forced

13. Nickerson to Assistant Adjutant General (San Francisco), December 26, 1873, OIA:LR.

14. Bloom, IX, No. 4 (October, 1934), 380. Bourke, "General Crook in the Indian Country," For a complete listing of army engagements in Arizona from March 1870 to March 1873, see Heitman, II, 435-38. Cf. A. G. Tassin, "Reminiscences of Indian Scouting," Overland Monthly, August 1889, 151-69. The operations of a command of Indian scouts are described in this article. Although Tassin probably refers to the campaign against the Apaches in the 1880s, similar methods of operation were employed in Crook's first campaign. Tassin also wrote "Among the Apaches," Overland Monthly, September 1889, 311-22, and October 1889, 374-79. These articles are ethnological discussions of the Apaches.
to come to terms during the present winter," the editor of the *Miner* exalted.  

Crook remained at Camp Grant where he made his annual report and followed the progress in the north. Captain Adam and his group of Paiutes on a scout from Camp Hualpai into the Red Rock country killed eleven warriors. Captains Mason and Montgomery also reported successful encounters around and south of the San Francisco Mountains. Apparently the commands ran short of water; when they arrived at Camp Verde their Indian scouts hardly could be persuaded to sign up for fifteen more days. From Verde, Nickerson sent a group to rendezvous with Captain Price from Camp Date Creek and clear the Verde Valley down to Camp McDowell, "if


16. Emil Adam served with the Illinois Infantry during the Civil War. He was promoted to captain in the regular Army in 1867 and was assigned to the 5th Cavalry three years later. In 1890 the German was brevetted major for gallantry at Muchos Canyones. Heitman, 151.

17. Robert Hugh Montgomery was a captain in the 5th Cavalry. He, too, was brevetted major for gallantry at Muchos Canyones and in the Tonto Basin during November and December, 1874. Heitman, 720.

18. AGO Returns, November, 1872.


20. In August, 1872, George Frederic Price was promoted to captain, 5th Cavalry. He died in 1888, five years after the publishing of his *Across the Continent with the Fifth Cavalry*. Heitman, 806.
not successful in killing the Indians, at least make them move, and keep them moving."\textsuperscript{21} Word from Camp McDowell was that Randall had arrived there about December 15. Although Christmas was spent bleakly in the field by most officers, at Camp Grant Crook and his staff celebrated with venison steaks and baseball.\textsuperscript{22}

By the end of December Crook received word from Camp McDowell of Brown's successful action at Skull Cave.\textsuperscript{23} Seventy-six hostiles had been killed during a desperate five hour-long battle.\textsuperscript{24} Crook left for Camp McDowell immediately to meet the command and plan Brown's next move. Because Indians were thought to have fled to the Superstitions, the commander decided that troops would scout through that area on the way to Camp Grant. Crook, accompanied by Mason McCoy, chief of scouts for southern Arizona, then returned to Camp Grant about January 8, 1873. A week later, \textsuperscript{21}

\begin{itemize}
\item 21. Nickerson to Assistant Adjutant General (San Francisco), December 26, 1872, OIA:LR.
\item 22. AGO Returns, December, 1872; Bloom, IX, No. 4 (October, 1934), 387-93; Prescott Miner, December 21, 1872.
\item 23. Skull Cave has been variously referred to as Salt River Cave or Skeleton Cave because bodies of Apaches killed in the battle there were left unburied. In reality it was not a true cave but merely a hollow in the canyon walls overlooking the Salt River. It was apparently located about three miles east of the present Horse Mesa Dam. Granger, 176.
\end{itemize}
on January 16, Brown's command engaged a group of Indians, killed five warriors, and captured twelve others. The Superstitions were soon cleared; the troops were free to concentrate in the wilderness on either side of the Verde River. Crook probably received the news of Brown's latest success at new Camp Grant where the commander had moved to supervise the long awaited campaign against Cochise and his band, who were presently encamped in the Dragoon Mountains. 25

Crook had not been informed of the details of Howard's October agreement with Cochise, but it appeared that the chief had little intention of residing on any reservation. 26 Although war parties had not raided in Arizona, Crook had little faith that the Chiricahuas would keep the peace any longer than it was to their benefit. "The mere fact of their not having depredated on our people . . . proves nothing," he argued, pointing out that this was merely an Apache ruse. "After they have thoroughly aroused a neighborhood by their depredations . . . they cease operations in that locality until the unwary citizen


is thrown off his guard, when they will commence their outrages with renewed vigor." As a safeguard, Crook had placed Coyotero spies in the camp of the Chiricahuas to report any unusual moves.27

Although war parties avoided the Arizonans, they harrassed the Sonorans considerably. Late in 1872 the governor of Sonora had written General Crook to request troops to be stationed along the border. On January 9, 1873, he wrote again specifically to request help against Cochise's band.28 Crook was firmly convinced that locating a reservation next to Mexico had been a miserable mistake. It certainly afforded "great facilities for his [Cochise] outrages," the general concluded. Since he could not divert troops from the campaign to patrol the border at that time,
Crook suggested that the Chiricahua be sent to other reservations where they could be controlled more easily by the military. 29

After the successes in the Superstition Mountains, however, the general felt free to plan a campaign against the Chiricahua Apaches. He directed Captains Brown, Randall and Adam, with eleven companies of cavalry and forty-six scouts, to assemble at new Camp Grant. From here Brown's command was sent directly to Sulphur Springs, east of the Dragoon Mountains. After the intercession of Agent Tom Jeffords with the chief, Brown spoke to Cochise about his agreement with Howard. The captain learned of Howard's promise of immunity to Cochise. After hearing his suspicions confirmed by Brown, Crook was forced to cancel operations against the Chiricahuas on February 5. 30 "It had a bad effect on my Indians, as they thought I was afraid of Cochise. . . . They said there was no justice or sense in

29. Crook to Assistant Adjutant General (San Francisco), December 13, 1872, USAC:SL.

30. Bloom, IX, No. 4 (October, 1934), 403, 314-16. Here Bourke described Cochise as "a fine looking Indian of about (50 winters), straight as a rush -- six ft. in stature, deep chested, . . . a kindly and even somewhat melancholy expression tempering the determined look of his countenance. He seemed much more neat than the other wild Indians I have seen and his manners were very gentle."
not subjugating him, as he was the worst in the whole business," Crook complained.31

Crook immediately left for Fort Whipple to direct the final stages of his northern campaign. Stopping at Tucson to visit Governor Safford and Mary Crook, he rode on to old Camp Grant on February 9. Here he conferred with agent Wilbur and the Indians about their removal to San Carlos. After meeting troops at Camps McDowell and Verde he returned to headquarters at Prescott. He was satisfied with the results of the campaign in the south; now, three months from his initial departure from Fort Whipple, he was able to read optimistic reports concerning the impending conclusion of the war. Already on his desk was the text of a resolution of commendation forwarded by the territorial legislature32 and a dispatch containing the welcome news that the proposed transfer of the White Mountain and Chiricahua Reservations to the Department of the Missouri had been rejected by Secretary of War Belknap.33


32. Tucson Citizen, February 22, 1873; February 8, 1873; and February 15, 1873. See also George H. Kelly (comp.), Legislative History: Arizona, 1864-1912 (Phoenix, 1926), 55-56.

33. Crook's report of December 13, 1872 (USAC:SL) was cited in correspondence concerning this decision. Crook maintained that such a transfer would necessitate transfer of Camps Apache, Grant and Bowie as well. Crook to Adjutant General, February 2, 1873, OIA:LR.
Even during the final stages of the campaign, improvement of departmental installations continued. The new post at Mount Graham was officially occupied in April 1873.34 Old Camp Lowell became headquarters for the 5th Cavalry under E. A. Carr on March 1st; by the middle of that month Carr, with the help of Governor Safford finally found a new location for Camp Lowell, that was seven miles away from the fleshpots of Tucson. The troops were sent out on March 19 to begin construction. Supplies were removed to the new location and orders given that the old fort would be abandoned by March 31.35

March also saw the invasion of Arizona by the debilitating horse disease known vaguely as epizootic. Eastern stock had been ravaged by it; now the sickness cropped up in such widely separated areas of the Territory that the exact cause of infection was puzzling. The duration of the disease was about one week. If a horse was doctored carefully during that time he would probably survive and be reasonably sound again. It appeared in the Fort Whipple herds and in animals with commands in the field around the first of March. Although Captain Randall's


35. King, War Eagle, 136-38; Brandes, Frontier Military Posts of Arizona, 50; General Order No. 9, March 28, 1873, AGO:GO.
command in the Tonto Basin escaped serious initial prostration most others were greatly hampered by this disease, and the troops often had to continue the campaign on foot. 36

Scouting was unabated, however, and on the 11th and 12th of March about five hundred desperate and weakened Indians fled to the western country between the Gila and Colorado Rivers. From here some struck the Wickenburg area and killed three men near Wickenburg, one in a particularly brutal manner. Frightened and pursued somewhat ineffectively by Captain Price's command out of Fort Whipple, the majority of the Indians fled east to the Tonto Basin. Here Captain Randall's expedition out from Camp McDowell encountered their trail and began to close in on them in Bloody Basin 37 near the confluence of the two forks of the Verde River. A great battle at Turret Mountain on March 26, 1873, resulted in the death of about 36 warriors and the capture of many women and children. 38

36. This "horse disease" was probably epizootic lymphangitis. Symptoms included fever, inflammation of the throat and bronchial tubes, a discharge of mucus from the nostrils, coughing, and labored breathing. Tucson Citizen, November 9, 1872; Prescott Miner, March 29, 1873; March 15, 1873. Cf. Bourke, On the Border With Crook, 208; and Bloom, IX, No. 4 (October, 1934), 423.

37. Bloody Basin was so-called because of its history of fights with the Yavapais. This extremely rough area is located about thirty miles south of Camp Verde and just southeast of Turret Mountain. Granger, 335.

38. Hamilton, 398; AGO Returns, March 1873; Schmitt, 177-78. Turret Mountain was so named because of
This spectacular engagement was the last major one of the campaign, and commands in the field began to gather at Camp Verde. For some time the Indians had been coming into the reservations, spirits and bodies broken; now they came to Camp Verde to beg the general for peace. Their casualties had been so widespread that most Indians were thoroughly demoralized.\textsuperscript{39} Crook dispatched messengers to call in other bands still huddled in hiding places in the Tonto Basin. On Tuesday April 1, the general with Captain M. P. Small,\textsuperscript{40} Dr. Bendell,\textsuperscript{41} and others, left for Camp

\begin{itemize}
  \item Its resemblance to the black turret of a battleship. Barnes, 460. In his autobiography Crook gives one of the few descriptions of this battle. He relates the difficulty the soldiers had in climbing the peak and states that during the battle several warriors flung themselves over the edge of the mountain. Cf. Thrapp, 111.

  \item Schmitt, 179. Ogle, 116, suggests that perhaps Crook feared reprisal from peace partisans in the East if he continued the campaign too long.

  \item Michael Peter Small had recently been appointed Chief Commissary, Department of Arizona. He had graduated from the Military Academy at West Point in 1855 and was a captain, Commissary of Subsistence. Heitman, 892; General Order No. 6, February 20, 1873, AGO:GO. Cf. George W. Cullum, Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of U. S. Military Academy, 4 vols. (Boston, 1891), I, 616-17.

  \item Secretary of the Interior to Bendell March 26, 1873, OIA:LS. Bendell had sent in his letter of resignation and was waiting for a replacement at the time. John Tonner was eventually sent to the Colorado reservation. It was rumored that Bendell was going to Europe as a consul, but he returned to New York to resume his practice of medicine. Crook charged that he had received $50,000 in spoils while superintendent of Indian affairs in Arizona. Prescott Miner, April 12, 1873. Schmitt, 184-85. This charge was never authenticated. Since Bendell was Jewish it may simply
Verde. They stopped overnight at the Agua Fria Ranch and on Wednesday reached their destination where they were joined by Ross, Nickerson, and Hewitt. 42

While awaiting for Indians to gather the party surveyed the surrounding country as a possible location for Date Creek, Verde, Tonto Basin, and McDowell Indians. 43 Captain Brown's command returned in the meantime with their captives. The Indian scouts staged a jubilant war dance and Crook suggested that a few of his younger officers join them "as a manifestation of our friendly feeling for the peaceful red man." 44 The defeated Indians were pitiful sights. "Had it not been for their barbarities, one would have been moved to pity by their appearance," Crook recalled. "They were emaciated, clothes torn in tatters, some of their legs were not thicker than my arm." After the distribution of a few comestibles to the Indians, Crook began the conference with the Yavapais and Apaches on Sunday, April 6. 45

reflect a prejudice on the part of the general. See Howard, My Life, 170.

42. Bloom, IX, No. 4 (October, 1934), 432.

43. Prescott Miner, April 12, 1873.

44. Hein, 88. Brown himself dressed like an Indian and was supposed to have joined the others. Prescott Miner, April 12, 1873.

45. Marion says Crook bought the food himself. Prescott Miner, April 12, 1873. Schmitt, 179.
The principles Crook had outlined for the Indians on that warm day a year and a half before at Camp Apache he reiterated for the defeated group at Camp Verde. It was Chalipun who, bitter and tired, cited not just fear but poor weapons as a cause of their surrender. Crook, in turn, pointed out how well Apache soldiers lived and looked compared to the "crow-bait reds." Reservations were discussed as well as the idea of identification tags to identify reservation Indians from unreduced bands. Crook strove to make the Indians aware of the seriousness of their position. "They were abject in their plea for peace on the ground that every rock had turned into a soldier, and that they even sprung from the ground. . . . I endeavored to impress these Indians that while the government did not desire war, it was by no means anxious for peace; that if the Indians desired war, we were abundantly able to continue it and the disadvantage would be theirs not ours."

Convinced of their sincerity in seeking peace, Crook issued General Order No. 12, April 7, 1873, in which the surrender was announced. Here he reiterated his promise of government protection to those Indians who remained at

46. Wellman, 148.

47. Prescott Miner, April 12, 1873. Bourke, On the Border With Crook, 213. Crook to Assistant Adjutant General (San Francisco), April 12, 1873, OIA:LR. Schmitt, 179-80.
peace on reservations and complied with government regulations. Sternly he promised to pursue "straggling bands" after a reasonable length of time, until they would be "forced to surrender or to be destroyed." General Schofield agreed with Crook that the Indians had been thoroughly whipped and suggested that Crook's great success could be largely attributed to his control of the reservations which prevented hostiles from using them as "places of refuge when hard pressed by the troops." In General Order No. 13, issued on April 8, 1873, Crook's policy for the administration of the reservations and civilization of the tribes was outlined. For gallantry in the "Indian war that has been waged since the days of Cortez," he commended officers and men and cited some outstanding examples of bravery and skill in General Order No. 14, April 9, 1873.

The people of Arizona apparently concurred with Crook's optimistic faith in the peace, especially since it occurred in the spring when plentiful game and vegetable

48. General Order No. 12, April 7, 1873, AGO:GO. "The basis of this peace is simply that these Indians shall cease plundering and murdering, remain upon their several reservations, and comply with the regulations made by the Government, through authorized agents, for them."

49. Indorsement by Schofield, Crook to Assistant Adjutant General (San Francisco), April 12, 1873, OIA:LR.
food might have encouraged renewed resistance. Crook was extolled as the "Napoleon of successful Indian fighters and strategists" by his friend John Marion, who proclaimed, "He has put the right men in the right places; he has divined the enemy's tactics and intentions; has created divisions in their ranks; made fast friends and allies of many of them, and has never yet been thrown off his guard by the shrewdest war chief." Probably one of the few celebrations Crook sponsored and attended was the party at Fort Whipple. Officers were brought in from Camp Verde to attend. Some of them were decked out in the new uniforms that had been adopted by the Army in the previous December. There had been a "trifling loss of men" during the campaign, but about four hundred Yavapais and Apaches had been killed. The general was engrossed with

50. Prescott Miner, April 12, 1873.

51. Prescott Miner, March 29, 1873. General Order No. 33, March 22, 1890 (Washington: AGO) was issued to commemorate Crook's career. Here it was stated that Crook, "while commanding the Departments of Arizona and the Platte conquered the hostile Indians in campaigns without a parallel in Indian warfare." This document is on file at APHS.

52. Prescott Miner, January 15, 1873.

53. Schroeder, "A Study of Yavapai History," part 3, 163. Crook to Assistant Adjutant General (San Francisco), September 22, 1873.
plans for his charges' peaceful development; directly after the celebration he set out past a few sober but still red-eyed celebrants for Camp Beale's Springs. 54

54. Prescott Miner, April 12, 1873; April 23, 1873.
CHAPTER IV

SWORDS AND PRUNING HOOKS

At Camp Beale's Springs Paiute and Walapai scouts had gathered to turn in their arms and receive their pay.¹ As the general surveyed the relaxed groups idling on the parade ground there he realized that this was an excellent time to put into practical application his paternalistic ideas about Indian management. They centered on two important precepts. "Man is more or less savage according to the certainty with which his food may be obtained, and thus, all things being equal, the difficulty of subjecting any given race or people will be in the inverse ration of its food supply . . . ."² Private ownership of lands would make war unprofitable. "It requires but little knowledge of human nature, whether in white man or Indian, to see that when they shall become owners of such homes and property, which war would deprive them of, it will require

1. Prescott Miner, April 19, 1873.
more than the ordinary inducements heretofore prevailing to induce them to go upon the war path.\textsuperscript{3}

As the scouts were mustered out, Crook encouraged them to buy brood mares and cows with the pay they received. Dan O'Leary and Al Sieber\textsuperscript{4} were deputized to purchase the stock in California.\textsuperscript{5} Yavapai scouts, some of whom re-enlisted as reservation police were also encouraged to invest in animals. Crook considered purchase of seeds, tools, and stock for reservation Indians essential and promised to buy any crops they might produce.\textsuperscript{6} It was important that they be kept at work and paid.\textsuperscript{7} The Indians at Camp Verde were already digging an irrigation ditch, and Crook hoped to move the Date Creek Indians to the

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{3} Crook to Assistant Adjutant General (San Francisco), September 22, 1873, USAC:SL.
  \item \textsuperscript{4} Al Sieber was born in Germany in 1844 and fought in the Civil War. After the war he left his Minneapolis home to prospect in Virginia City, Nevada; from there he came to Prescott in 1869. He soon won fame as one of the top scouts and guides in Arizona and participated in Crook's campaign against the Yavapais. Sieber's later work at San Carlos and in scouts after Geronimo and the Apache Kid are detailed in Dan Thrapp's colorful biography, \textit{Al Sieber, Chief of Scouts}.
  \item \textsuperscript{5} Prescott Miner, April 19, 1873. Thrapp, 117.
  \item \textsuperscript{6} Bourke, \textit{On the Border With Crook}, 221-26; General Orders No. 13, April 8, 1873, AGO:GO.
  \item \textsuperscript{7} Crook, "The Apache Problem," 263. General Order No. 13, April 8, 1873, AGO:GO.
\end{itemize}
Verde reservation in time to plant crops. "Early and prompt action in this matter now may save much expense and even bloodshed in the future," he wrote.  

The process of civilization would take time and patience. Crook believed it could be fostered best under the paternalistic care of the Army. However, Indian policies should be the result of conference between civil and military agents. Above all, the agents were enjoined to act in harmony in the presence of their charges who were "so lately hostile and so apparently incorrigible." Agents must be honest and just, and make no absurd promises to the Indians. Conversely these ignorant children must not be allowed to deceive their guardians.  

On April 11, Crook sent Richard McCormick copies of the general orders that had been issued at the end of the war and thanked him for the "able manner" in which he

8. Bourke, On the Border With Crook, 215. Crook to Bendell, April 9, 1873, OIA:LR.  

9. Crook, "The Apache Problem," 268; General Order No. 13, April 8, 1873, AGO:GO.  

10. Born in New York, Richard Cunningham McCormick entered into business on Wall Street when he was twenty. He next turned to journalism and, as a reporter, covered the Crimean War and later the Civil War. Lincoln appointed him secretary of Arizona Territory in 1863; in 1866 McCormick was appointed governor. He started both of the Territory's leading newspapers: the Miner in 1866 and the Citizen in 1870, and served as a territorial delegate to Congress from 1869 until 1875. Biographical Dictionary of the American Congress, 1774-1961, 1289.
presented the territory's case in Washington. "Although we may have some scattering depredations, I feel that the main work is over," the general wrote. "I hope that by the time another election is held in the Territory I shall be able to give you a solid vote from my Indian friends!" Operations against the Yavapais were continuing. In the field Captain Randall and an expedition of scouts engaged Indians in the Tonto Basin at Canyon Creek, not far from Camp Apache. Here, after two encounters, Randall finally received the surrender of Delchay's band on April 25. Of the original band of 125 warriors, only twenty were left and all were taken to the Verde reservation.

Plans were made to settle the Date Creek Yavapais at Camp Verde, as Howard had suggested. The move was delayed until May 1, although this was too late for crops to be planted. The Verde reservation was extremely unhealthy in the summer and the Indians were reluctant to move. On April 27, Jemaspie's band of about 244 Yavapais fled Camp Date Creek to avoid removal. Reasoning that they would probably head for their old homes at the Colorado Reservation, Crook sent cavalry north to the Santa Maria

11. Crook to McCormick, April 11, 1873, quoted in Prescott Miner, June 7, 1873.

12. AGO Returns, April 1873; Schmitt, 180; Prescott Miner, May 10, 1873.
Mountains to head them off. Meanwhile, the removal of the remaining four hundred Indians proceeded quietly under the direction of Lieutenant Schuyler and twenty-five men. As summer passed the Indians' fears were realized. The number of malaria and dysentery cases reached epidemic proportions and Crook feared many Yavapais would break out of the reservation.

Since officially the Arizona problem had been resolved, and the Modoc Wars were increasingly in the spotlight, soldiers freed from full-scale warfare in Arizona were transferred to the Department of the Columbia. Five troops of the 1st Cavalry were pulled out, which left Crook with less than 2000 men. This move met with indignation

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13. Schuyler was one of Crook's favorite young officers and received most of the General's papers. Following service in the Civil War, Schuyler graduated from the U. S. Military Academy in 1870 and was assigned to Arizona with the 5th Cavalry as a 2nd lieutenant. He was later brevetted for action at Muchos Canyones and several other engagements in Arizona. Heitman, 867. Schmitt, 181.

14. AGO Returns, April 1873; Crook to Assistant Adjutant General (San Francisco), May 2, 1873, OIA:LR. Prescott Miner, May 3, 1873. Jemaspie's band was attacked on May 6 by McGregor, Nickerson, troop "A" of the 1st Cavalry and Walapai scouts and left for Camp Verde on June 12. Thomas to Commanding Officer, Camp Date Creek, June 11, 1873, OIA:LR.

15. Crook to Assistant Adjutant General (San Francisco), September 22, 1873, USAC:SL; Dr. William F. Corbu-sier, "The Apache-Yumas and Apache-Mohaves," The American Antiquarian, VIII, No. 5 (September, 1886), 277.
from Arizona citizens. Marion protested that Crook's General Order No. 12 had been misunderstood, and that the majority of Indians were still not subdued. "We must remember that only fear and hunger had forced those now on reservations to occupy their present position. They know of the success of the Modocs, and have been heard to rejoice over it. They notice the departure of the cavalry and understand the reason thereof nearly as well as we do."^16

In verification of the editor's forebodings, on May 27 tragedy occurred at San Carlos reservation. Charles F. Larrabee,^17 who was appointed agent there in February, 1873, had met with constant plotting by former agent Wilbur who hoped to get himself reinstated at San Carlos. Larrabee realized that his authority had been greatly undermined and felt compelled to request cavalry from Camp Apache at the end of March.^18 As the weather grew hotter agitation


17. Larrabee was brevetted major in 1865 and was discharged from the Army in 1871. Heitman, 616.

18. Dr. Wilbur of Tucson had been appointed temporary agent at Camp Grant when the Indians had been removed to San Carlos by Crook on February 10, 1873. Because Wilbur had a lucrative business in arranging the supplies for the reservation he resented Larrabee's intrusion and plotted to have him killed. See Ogle, 138-41. Larrabee to Commissioner of Indian Affairs E. P. Smith, June 30, 1873, OIA:LR; Wilbur to Commissioner of Indian Affairs E. P. Smith, June 12, 1873, OIA:LR.
increased among the Indians and on May 27, Larrabee was threatened by the truculent Sheshet of Cochinay's band. The agent called for soldiers, and in the resultant melee, Lieutenant Jacob Almy\(^1\) was shot. Cochinay and Chuntz fled with ten of their warriors. As a result, Captain Brown took over and was instructed by Crook to impose strict discipline upon the Indians.\(^2\)

Crook left Prescott on June 7 for San Carlos after delaying only long enough to talk with General Sacket,\(^3\) inspector general of the Army, who had come to the Department of Arizona. At San Carlos the commander

\(^{19}\). Almy, a graduate of the Military Academy in 1867, had risen to serve as regimental commissary of subsistence in the 5th Cavalry, 1869. Heitman, 161.

\(^{20}\). Nickerson to Brown, July 3, 1873, OIA:LR. Here Brown is advised to offer "impartial justice to all who do well, the olive branch to all who desire to be at peace, but certain punishment to the wrongdoers." Cf. Ogle, 140. Eskiminzin, believed to be in on the plot, was sent to Camp Grant to make adobes for construction there. Britton Davis, The Truth about Geronimo (Chicago, 1929), 62; James M. Barney, Tales of Apache Warfare (Phoenix, 1933), 10; and Prescott Miner, June 7, 1873.

\(^{21}\). In 1861 Delos B. Sacket was appointed colonel and inspector general of the Army. He was brevetted major general in 1865 and died twenty years later. Heitman, 856. Sacket declared he was well satisfied with the military situation in Arizona. "Indeed," Marion remarked, "he is so huge, fleshy and good-natured, we doubt if he ever feels peevish." Prescott Miner, June 7, 1873; Tucson Citizen, August 2, 1873.
jailed Concepcion the interpreter and eventually sent him to prison at Yuma for being an accessory to Almy's murder. Speaking sternly to the Indians on the reservation Crook exacted their promise to deliver up the warriors who had fled. The general returned by way of Camp Apache where, hoping to keep dissent from spreading, he made the young Indian, Pitone, head chief on the White Mountain reservation. "Pitone is a young man thoroughly attached to the whites and anxious for the continuance of peace," the editor of the Miner explained. "He is the bravest of the brave, and his appointment over the old chiefs has not offended them" Tired and sick most of the way home, Crook returned to headquarters on June 25, accompanied by Dr. Mathews and Corydon E. Cooley.

Cooley was to play a part in Crook's plans for building more roads between posts and through the Tonto Basin.

22. Prescott Miner, June 14, 1873; Tucson Citizen, July 12, 1873. Crook had only a small escort on this trip. This aroused some concern for his safety while traveling through the Tonto Basin. Crook to Assistant Adjutant General (San Francisco), July 3, 1873, OIA:LR. In this letter he reports the details of his trip to San Carlos and the investigation of the circumstances attending Almy's death.

23. Prescott Miner, July 3, 1873.

24. Prescott Miner, June 28, 1873. Cooley came to Arizona and established a ranch on the road north from Camp Apache at the present location of McNary. He and his Apache wife Mollie established another ranch which was named Show Low, but they moved back to Camp Apache in 1890. He was a competent scout and guide for Crook and was much respected by him. Thrapp, 79.
Basin. The general had cherished this idea since his first rigorous scout across Arizona. In February, 1873, he had pointed out to the adjutant general that a road between Prescott and Camp Apache would shorten that arduous trip considerably. Cooley was hired to select a route along the Mogollon Rim. Crook had already located a good route from Camp Verde to the summit of the rim. The completed road would be about two hundred miles long with plenty of water, grass, and game to be found in the surrounding pine country.25 On July 1 Bourke was appointed engineer officer of the Department in charge of mapping this area.26

Although Crook was taking advantage of the summer to make improvements in the department, he still had several troops operating against the renegades and Dan O'Leary was enlisting more Paiute scouts. On June 12, Captain McGregor had received the surrender of Tosapie and his Apache-Mohave band in the Santa Marias. On June 16, Lieutenant Babcock,27 out from Camp Apache, received the surrender of two bands of Yavapais in a "brilliant action" near Diamond Butte,


26. Prescott Miner, August 9, 1873. General Order No. 23, July 1, 1873, AGO:GO. Bourke organized a military survey of Fort Whipple so that land occupied by squatters could be opened to them.

27. In 1868 John Breckinridge Babcock was commissioned 1st lieutenant in the 5th Cavalry. For his gallantry at Tonto Creek he was brevetted lieutenant colonel in 1890. Heitman, 178.
seven miles northeast of the fork of Tonto Creek. Here fourteen hostiles were killed. In the first part of July, Captain James Burns\textsuperscript{28} scouted unsuccessfully for Walapais renegades in the vicinity of the Castle Dome Range northeast of Yuma. He eventually obtained the unconditional surrender of two hundred Yavapais in the Santa Marias. This group was believed to be "the last remnant of all the struggling renegades in Northern Arizona."\textsuperscript{29}

Meanwhile troubles continued to plague the reservations and early in August Delchay\textsuperscript{30} fled Camp Apache with a few warriors. They sought refuge at the Verde reservation where they told agent Williams that at Camp Apache Delchay's life had been threatened. Crook found the story

\textsuperscript{28} James Burns, a native of Ireland, rose through the ranks during the Civil War and was promoted to captain, 5th Cavalry, on March 1, 1872. He died in August 1874. Heitman, 265.

\textsuperscript{29} In General Order No. 24, July 15, 1873, AGO:GO, Babcock, McGregor, Burns, and Randall are cited for their work in executing General Order No. 12, 1873. Cf. Babcock to Post Adjutant Camp Apache, June 28, 1873, OIA:LR; AGO Returns, June 1873; and Burns to Assistant Adjutant General (Prescott), July 14, 1873, OIA:LR. See also 2nd Lieutenant William J. Ross, 21st Infantry, Acting Assistant Quartermaster: Letterbook, September 4, 1872 -- January 15, 1875, Prescott. This source is on file in Special Collections, University of Arizona Library. It is hereafter cited as Ross Letterbook.

plausible and asked Williams to accept them. The agent acquiesced but told the renegades that this was their last opportunity to live on a reservation. A short time later Chapo, another renegade from Camp Apache, caused an uproar at the Verde reservation by declaring that soldiers and scouts were coming from the south to massacre the Indians. On August 12, nine hundred Tontos "flew to the mountains like a flock of quail and . . . lit running." Scouts led by Al Sieber finally halted their hegira. Crook returned to Camp Apache on August 12 and called in Eschetlepan for a conference. Eventually about six hundred Indians sidled back to their homes.\(^{31}\)

Delchay caused other problems at the Verde reservation for Schuyler. Crook advised that the rogue be arrested and imprisoned. When Schuyler attempted to do this by calling in his Indians for a count, he found that he had been duped. The interpreter Antone had warned Delchay of impending arrest, and Delchay threatened to kill Schuyler. The young soldier was saved by a loyal Indian, Mohave Charlie, who rallied the Yumas to take Delchay prisoner. Shortly afterward on September 14, however, Delchay escaped.\(^{32}\)

\(^{31}\) Prescott Miner, August 23, 1873; Blount, 151; Schmitt, 180.

\(^{32}\) Apparently Delchay did not leave the night of the incident, as Crook wrote. Johnson, 528-30.
Two weeks before Delchay's escape attention focused on an event at Fort Whipple. On Tuesday September 2, while the band played, officers, soldiers, and many important guests from Prescott applauded when Mrs. Crook broke ground for the first telegraph pole in Arizona. Mrs. Dana swung the christening bottle of champagne, and soldiers rapidly set up three poles and strung them before the admiring community. Captain Nickerson, speaking for the reticent general, pointed out a paradox: the Army, usually considered to be destructive, was doing something truly constructive. Then work began in earnest, while civilians and military men congratulated each other.  

Construction of a telegraph represented the culmination of efforts by both groups. Crook had suggested the idea in his first report from Arizona, and the Secretary of War had recommended it to Congress. On January 21, 1873, McCormick managed to have a rider attached to legislation. This rider provided for the financing of a telegraph line from San Diego to Maricopa Wells by way of Yuma, where branches would extend to Prescott and Tucson. The first reconnaissance was made in June by Captain Price and Mr. R. R. Haines of Western Union. They located the route for the

33. Prescott Miner, September 6, 1873.
line and arranged for the supply of poles. Now building proceeded from Prescott and San Diego. 34

As the general composed his annual report in September, he could take justifiable pride in the year's progress. Camps Hualpai, Date Creek and Crittenden 35 had been closed. Roads were plotted from Fort Whipple to Camp McDowell with a spur to Camp Apache. Camps Lowell and Grant were under construction although troops there still lacked adequate shelter. Unnecessarily large and expensive pack trains had been eliminated which reduced the cost of supplies. The experiment with climate-seasoned timber which the soldier had recommended in his first report improved government transportation remarkably. A more efficient system for paying the troops was also initiated. Crook did request additional troops, although "fully cognizant of the great demands upon our small Army." He explained, "The building of the telegraph line and various new roads through the country, have imposed great burdens upon the little force at my command, which, although they

34. Tucson Citizen, December 6, 1873.

35. Camp Crittenden was established in 1867 between the present towns of Sonoita and Patagonia. It was to provide protection for the Santa Cruz settlements. On June 1, 1873, it was officially closed. Brandes, Frontier Military Posts of Arizona, 26-27.
have borne cheerfully, will become too severe unless
lightened by some other means."  

At the end of September news of a mass exodus of
about one thousand Indians from the Verde reservation was
conveyed to Crook. The Indians, disheartened and frightened
by rampant sickness, had fled. The general immediately
rode out to investigate. He found that the Indians'
condition there had materially improved under the leadership
of agent Williams, but the agent reported that only about
half of the registered Indians appeared at ration time. Schuyler was sent out from Camp Verde to find the renegades
who were thought to be near Turret Mountain. After a scout
of several weeks the lieutenant reported surprising a
rancheria and killing fourteen Indians on October 23. Crook, after ascertaining the cause of the flight at Verde,
had gone on to Camp Apache to inspect progress made on the
new road. Upon returning to headquarters on October 13, he
confidently predicted completion by October 31.

36. Crook to Assistant Adjutant General (San Fran-
cisco), September 22, 1873, USAC:SL.
37. Tucson Citizen, October 18, 1873. Prescott
Miner, October 4, 1873.
38. Ogle, 123.
39. AGO Returns, October 1873.
40. Tucson Citizen, November 1, 1873; Prescott Miner,
October 11, 1873. "The rumor that he had been lost in the
mountains for several days, arose from the fact that while
out hunting one day he got too far away from camp to find his
Some administrative changes occurred in October and November. Nickerson, who had been sick during much of the arduous campaign of the last winter, revealed that he intended to leave Arizona temporarily for a trip through the States and Europe with his family. Crook announced that Bourke would take over as adjutant general. At this time Major A. W. Evans was appointed acting assistant inspector general of the department. On October 25, Crook and Evans departed on a month tour of the department to evaluate the condition of Indian affairs and progress made by expeditions pursuing renegades. At Camp Verde the situation was now calm and well organized. At Camp Apache and San Carlos reservation Captain Randall and agent Roberts seemed to have good control over the Indians. Randall disciplined harshly and the Indians had quieted down after the turbulent summer. Generally the "Indian business" was in a "tolerable satisfactory condition" but required constant surveillance.

way back before dark, and so camped where he was when darkness set in." Prescott Miner, October 18, 1873.

41. Prescott Miner, October 25, 1873.

42. Andrew Wallace Evans attended the Military Academy at the same time Crook did. Rising through the ranks he became a major, 3rd Cavalry, in 1867. For action against the Comanches, he was brevetted colonel in 1868. Heitman, 409. General Order No. 35, October 20, 1873, AGO:GO.

43. Prescott Miner, November 1, 1873, November 8, 1873; Tucson Citizen, November 22, 1873. AGO Returns, November 1873.
When Crook rode into Tucson news of his spectacular promotion had preceded him and telegraphed congratulations from Schofield, Nickerson, and others had been flashed over the telegraph just completed between Prescott and Yuma. On October 29, 1873, Crook was promoted to brigadier general and replaced Phillip St. George Cooke, who was retiring. This promotion of Crook over more than two dozen full colonels was anticipated because of his successful campaign. "This seems a case when merit of extraordinary character and service of the most dangerous, trying and important nature should be recognized as it has been," commented one newspaperman. In celebration, on Saturday

44. Phillip St. George Cooke graduated from the Military Academy at West Point and was commissioned in 1827. He served in the Black Hawk War of 1832. During the Mexican War he served with Kearny and later commanded the Mormon Battalion. He was promoted to lieutenant colonel during the Civil War and brevetted major general in 1865. He wrote several books about his experiences in the West, including The Conquest of Arizona and New Mexico (Chicago, 1964, originally published in 1878). Cf. Otis E. Young, The West of Phillip St. George Cooke, 1809-1895 (Glendale, 1955). Dictionary of American Biography, IV, 389; Heitman, 324.

45. Tucson Citizen, November 15, 1873. Schofield in his Annual Report for 1873 described the operations in Arizona as having been "characterized by consummate skill displayed in the plans of the departmental commander. . . ." Nelson A. Miles, who took Crook's place in Arizona in 1886, commented, "General Crook had been trying for years to bring the Apaches to terms, and on several occasions within thirty years they had pretended to surrender. . . ." Nelson A. Miles, Personal Recollections and Observations of General Nelson A. Miles (Chicago, 1896), 445. Miles' chief biographer has been Virginia Weisel Johnson, The Unregulated General (Boston, 1962).
November 22, the 5th Cavalry band serenaded Crook, his wife, and their host Governor Safford. A ball in the general's honor was held at the Congress Hall Saloon. "It must not be supposed that because he is such a thorough business man and soldier that he don't enjoy society; but when it comes to dancing, he wins rather more applause in a war-dance or the performances which precede it," Wasson observed. Uneasy at being the center of attention for so long, Crook, after inspecting progress at Camp Lowell, left for Prescott with Mr. E. N. Fish, a local merchant.  

Shortly after his return to Prescott, Crook took the oath of his new rank. Meanwhile, he was informed that scouts under Rice and Schuyler were operating in the wintry Tonto Basin. Schuyler had moved south from the Verde River toward Cave Creek and attacked two rancherias; from Camp Apache the Babcock command had made a strike on Christmas Day.  

The general took time to hunt in the snowy San Francisco Mountains to provide meat for the

46. Prescott Miner, November 15, 1873; Tucson Citizen, November 29, 1873.

47. William Fletcher Rice rose through the ranks during the Civil War and served as regimental quartermaster in the 23rd Infantry from 1873-1884. He was killed in 1884 when he fell from a railroad train. Heitman, 827.

48. AGO Returns, December 1873; Prescott Miner, December 5, 1873.
festivities of the year's end. There was much to ponder. His policy seemed to have been vindicated. Rumor had it that there was some problem about the confirmation of his promotion. News had already leaked westward about scandals concerned with Howard's handling of funds of the Commission of Indian Affairs. The papers abounded with stories of his intrigues during the trips to Arizona.⁴⁹

There was still friction between the Departments of War and the Interior over control of the reservations. The following year would probably determine the victor in the struggle to control and civilize the Indian.

⁴⁹. Prescott Miner, December 19, 1873; Tucson Citizen, December 20, 1873.
CHAPTER V

"THE GALLANT SOLDIER AND URBANE CITIZEN"

The year 1874 was initiated in a raging snowstorm and soon characterized by troublesome unrest among the Indians. Over a thousand Indians, including many of the scouts who had been enlisted the preceding November, fled San Carlos reservation after Captain Randall's peremptory arrest of Eskiminzin. Crook heartily approved this action because he had never trusted the chief.\(^1\) The bands gradually returned but fled again after the renegade Chuntz instigated an attack on teamsters near the San Carlos agency. Although most of the Indians caused no harm, one band wreaked havoc in the area around Tucson, Florence, and old Camp Grant.\(^2\) The troops were powerless to punish

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1. It was said that Eskiminzin was arrested because Randall did not like him. Apparently no specific charges had been filed against the Indian at the post. Clum, "Es-kim-in-zin", 414.

2. Lockwood, The Apache Indians, 207; AGO Returns, January 1874; U. S. Army, Office of the Adjutant General, Register of Enlistments of Indian Scouts: 1866-1877. This document is found on microfilm at APHS. In a statement published in the Tucson Citizen, March 28, 1874, Crook affirmed that the Indians left the reservation because of Cocheney's murder of the teamsters. Some of the Indians swam the flooded Gila to the post to tell the authorities. See also Agent White's report in Department of the Interior, the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1874 (Washington, 1874), 294-95.
the marauders because of bad weather, "the most inclement and vigorous ever experienced in Arizona since American occupation."  

To complicate Crook's problems the Walapais at Camp Beale's Springs balked at the idea of moving to the Colorado Reservation, "compelling the detail of a force sufficiently strong to enforce their submission or hold them in check." Crook had to travel to Camp Beale's Springs and check on the situation. Immediately upon his return to Prescott he set off on February 6 for Camp Verde with Dr. Magruder to enlist scouts and prepare expeditions to take the field against the San Carlos refugees. Some of the Indians straggled into that post, but Crook refused to accept their surrender. Terrified, they begged for mercy; finally, dramatically, the general promised them amnesty if they brought in the ringleaders in the plot to kill Schuyler. Soon after, several heads were rolled out for inspection at

3. Crook to Adjutant General, April 10, 1874, OIA:LR. The country was flooded by "swollen torrents," and the ground was so soft that pack trains could not travel.

4. David Lynn Magruder had become a major during the Civil War. Heitman, 684.

5. Prescott Miner, February 6, 1874.
Camp Verde and San Carlos. Two reportedly belonged to Delchay. Crook paid a bounty for both without comment.  

On February 10, two days after he returned to Fort Whipple and inspected the new water works there, Crook sent a telegram to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The soldier advocated immediate construction of an irrigation ditch at Verde reservation. This project would save the government $50,000 annually. Sometime around the end of February, the general at his wife's urging had his photograph made by Mr. Flanders at Prescott. The formal uniform of the brigadier general had seen little other use since it had been sent from Los Angeles.

As the weather cleared in February, plans for a second campaign were completed. No mercy was to be shown and few captives were to be taken, the general ordered his troops. Early in March Crook rode out with Ross to organize

6. Schmitt, 181-82; Crook to Adjutant General, April 10, 1874, OIA:LR.
7. Prescott Miner, February 13, 1874.
8. Crook to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Smith, February 10, 1874, OIA:LR.
9. Henri Pension, Flanders' partner, had died on February 6, 1874, and Flanders carried on their photographic business alone. He told Marion of Crook's arrival in a blinding snowstorm to have his picture taken. Newspaper clippings found in the D. P. Flanders file, APHS.
10. Prescott Miner, March 6, 1874.
and dispatch commands from Camps Verde and Grant. Captain Hamilton had already left Camp Lowell on February 13 and received the surrender of Cassadora's band of ninety; on February 26, the renegade Nostonnotte from the White Mountain reservation had been killed. Captain Randall with sixty scouts killed thirteen warriors and captured thirty-four women and children near Camp Pinal on March 8. 

Indian casualties were numerous in the second punitive campaign and aroused the indignation of friends of the peace policy. Others were angry that peaceably disposed Indians must remain out until the ringleaders were eliminated. "I find it to be a secret order," one settler charged, "that officers in the field are instructed not to report to their chief officially the full amount of killings so that the public cannot find out their actions."

The writer had recently visited several army posts. He claimed, "Officers are distinguished by their chiefs for their butcheries of Indians, and recommended in order, to the War Dept. for promotion for valiant service in the field

11. A native of Canada, John Morrison Hamilton had risen through the ranks to captain by the time he was assigned to the 5th Cavalry in 1870. For gallant service against the Tontos in the foothills of the Tortilla Mountains on January 16, 1873, he was brevetted major. He was killed in the Spanish-American War in Cuba. Heitman, 493.

12. AGO Returns, February 1874, and March 1874. Tucson Citizen, March 7, 1874; Prescott Miner, March 6, 1874.
against Indians, which are generally found beating a hasty retreat at the first glimpse they get of a soldier.\textsuperscript{13} Another Arizonan alleged that the newspapers had been "bought up" by the military. "The Indians over at St. Carlos are now butchered pretty well and by the way things are getting along we will soon have a war with Cachise -- It is true he don't want it, but officers out here since Crook was made General for fighting Indians, wants promotion, so whether Mr. Cachise likes it or not he soon must fight."\textsuperscript{14}

Crook believed this course necessary if the Indians were to be taught that irresponsible behavior would no longer be tolerated. Typical of many of the commands was the expedition under Lieutenant Bache,\textsuperscript{15} 5th Cavalry. Leaving Camp Apache on March 28, Bache's command ran across John Cleche's group and killed more than thirty-one Indians, including women and children. Crook, on his way from Camp

\begin{enumerate}
\item J. C. Morrill to Bishop Whipple, March 29, 1874, OIA:LR.
\item George Sanders to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Smith, April 2, 1874, OIA:LR. Ross Santee, \textit{Apache Land} (New York, 1947), 200-01, states that Chief Cassadora sent an emissary to Captain Hamilton, who had been instructed to take no prisoners. The chief offered to surrender his whole band to be shot because of their miserable, starving condition. Hamilton disobeyed orders and returned them to San Carlos reservation.
\item Alfred Boyce Bache entered the Army after the Civil War and was commissioned 1st lieutenant in 1868. He died in 1876. Heitman, 178.
\end{enumerate}
Grant to Camp Verde met Bache in the field on April 3 and sent for John Cleche. The general reiterated his demand that either the renegades' heads be brought to him or his troops be guided to their rancherias. John finally agreed to do the latter but the ensuing scout to locate Cocheney proved unsuccessful. John and his band of one hundred eighty were then sent under guard to San Carlos. Hamilton, scouting south through the Pinal and Mescal Mountains to the junction of the Gila and San Pedro rivers, reported similar results.

The campaign continued into April when the general was occupied with additional matters. Five hundred sixty Walapais had arrived at the Colorado River reservation from Camp Beale's Springs on April 16, but their commander Captain Byrne had gotten drunk and failed to accompany them. Colorado River reservation agent Dr. Tonner, was shocked to receive the party from an escort of only two men. He wrote to Crook, implied negligence in the commander's failure to appear and asked for more soldiers to patrol the Indians. Disgusted and preoccupied with the campaign, Crook replied that he

16. Prescott Miner, March 27, 1874; April 10, 1874; Bache to Randall, April 11, 1874, OIA:LR; AGO Returns, April 1874.

17. Hamilton to Randall, April 16, 1874, OIA:LR; AGO Returns, April 1874.
could not have been present because of his duties in the south and he could not spare extra men from the field.\footnote{18} Tonner's subsequent attempt to blame Crook for the idea of the removal brought the newspapers down on his head. "Crook knows, and so does every citizen of the Territory that Camp Beale's Springs is no good place for these Indians," Marion wrote, "since it is upon a Territorial thoroughfare, in a section of country where there is no good farming land and close to large settlements of whites."\footnote{19}

Near the end of April affairs at Camp Verde were disrupted when the agent, Dr. Williams, went insane.\footnote{20} Crook informed the commissioner of Indian Affairs, promised that Williams' condition would remain secret and that a good man would be kept in his place until Crook received further advice.\footnote{21} Chapman, the clerk at the agency, remained temporarily in charge, but on June 23, Schuyler under orders from Crook, demanded and received reservation keys, papers, and supplies.\footnote{22} At Camp Apache other peremptory assaults on
civilian control occurred. Agent James Roberts had put the Indians to work building irrigation ditches near the agency. Shortly after the completion of this project Crook ordered that the Indians be allowed to farm only near the post. Then in July Randall began to punish Indians who carried passes issued by the agent, instead of the military. 23

Camp Beale's Springs was closed on May 4 and the troops transferred to Camp La Paz, a post located about fifteen miles west of Quartzsite and established on April 20, 1874. 24 Crook visited here early in May and returned to Camp Verde by way of Fort Whipple to check on the progress of the campaign. On May 23, he attended the funeral of John Townsend. It was a decorous occasion. The 23rd Infantry band played and more than two hundred people gathered in Prescott. After this solemn occasion Crook, Bourke, Ross and others left for a short hunting trip into the mountains southeast of Prescott. They returned to headquarters about the first of June. 25

June 24, 1874, OIA:LR. Chapman to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Smith, August 10, 1874, OIA:LR; Bourke to Schuyler, June 17, 1874, OIA:LR.


25. Prescott Miner, May 1, 1874; May 15, 1874;
On June 13 scouts brought the head of Chaundesi to Camp Apache; in July scouts located Chuntz and Delchay, who apparently had not been killed before, and decapitated them. The surrender of Chuntz's entire band marked the end of the second campaign. This was especially timely; the 5th Cavalry and 23rd Infantry were to be transferred to the Department of the Platte. "It is with a feeling of more than passing regret that the Department Commander, in obedience to the order transferring it to another field of duty, parts with the Twenty-third Infantry," Crook wrote and commended the gallantry of the members of his old regiment.

An association that commenced in the winter campaign of 1866-7, in the mountain passes of Idaho, a campaign of unusual hardship from the terrible cold and driving snows that characterized it; continued in every part of the Pacific Slope where a hostile Indian has made war on civilization from British Columbia to Mexico; and closing with the late campaigns under the burning sun of Arizona; has convinced him that the regiment numbers among its officers and men as thorough and devoted soldiers as the service can boast. . . . Surely the twenty-third Infantry deserves well of its commanders and the country. . . .

May 22, 1874; May 29, 1874.


27. Prescott Miner, February 20, 1874; June 12, 1874; July 3, 1874. General Order No. 15, July 8, 1874, AGO:GO.
The 23rd Infantry left an attractive settlement at Fort Whipple, where the headquarters and barracks had been recently completed. With the exodus of the troops, the buildings stood almost deserted, but departmental work continued at the suddenly quiet post. Topographic maps made by officers who had scouted much of the little-known regions of Arizona during the Yavapai campaigns were collected. They would be sent to San Francisco for reproduction, and would eventually form a composite view of the Tonto Basin. 28 Thomas Ewing was sent to California to purchase 275 horses. The stock was sold for about $25 a head to Indians at Camps Verde and Apache. 29 Around the last of June, Crook remitted the sentence of the infamous Chimahuevi Sal and saw him returned to his people at Yuma. 30 In the field there were still several scouts after stragglers and renegades. But the department was comparatively quiet

28. Prescott Miner, July 10, 1874; July 17, 1874.

29. Tucson Citizen, August 1, 1874. Cf. John Coble (ed.), Life of Tom Horn (Denver, 1904), 27. Tom Horn was a scout for Crook in 1875. Horn is also discussed in Dane Coolidge, Fighting Men of the West (New York, 1932).

30. Prescott Miner, September 4, 1874; Nickerson to Commanding Officer, Fort Whipple, June 27, 1874, U. S. Army, Department of Arizona, Selected Documents from Post Records: Fort Whipple. These documents are on microfilm at APHS. This source is hereafter cited as Fort Whipple Records.
and Crook went on two hunting trips north of Prescott at the end of the month. 31

Underneath the superficial quietness was the continuing struggle between military and civil authorities for control of the Indian reservations. "The Gen'l seems to hold that he is the Superintendent of Indian affairs in Arizona, and this gives tone to the opinions and action of the officers at the Agencies," a disgusted observer wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Crook did believe in eventual civilian control of the agencies, but only after the Indians were reasonably civilized. He did not anticipate the sort of agent who came to San Carlos in August. John Clum, 32 twenty-two years old, balding, and purposeful, arrived in Arizona on August 1 and took control of San Carlos from the temporary agent there. Clum was

31. Prescott Miner, July 24, 1874; August 7, 1874.

32. John Clum was born in New York in 1851. He served in Santa Fe as a weather observer for the U. S. Signal Service from 1871 until 1873 and as agent at San Carlos until 1877, the year he boldly arrested Geronimo in Hot Springs, New Mexico. He owned the Tucson Citizen for a short time and later founded the Tombstone Epitaph. During his colorful life Clum also had real estate dealings in California and, as an agent for the Post Office Department, traveled to Alaska and the Aleutian Islands. Pat M. Ryan, "John P. Clum: Boss-with-the-White-Forehead," Arizoniana, V, No. 3 (Fall, 1964), 48-60. Cf. Rufus Kay Willys, Arizona: The History of a Frontier State (Phoenix, 1950), 201-03; Woodworth Clum, Apache Agent (Boston, 1936), 114-33.
soon confronted by the well-entrenched military. Commanding officer Babcock feared the new agent could not maintain order alone. While Babcock sparred verbally for control, the cavalry was held in readiness, and Crook kept in constant contact. He telegraphed orders to Babcock through August and early September. Finally, on September 3, 1874, the Army was forced to accede to the agent's authority and allow him "entire supervision of Indian affairs at San Carlos, without further opposition or interference."

Engagements with the hostiles continued throughout August. About a week after troops of the Eighth Infantry had arrived in Arizona, a mail rider was killed by Indians near Sunset Crossing on the road to Fort Whipple. This area was one of the last strongholds of the renegades. Three days later, on September 6, word was received at Fort Whipple of the murder of a settler, William Roberts, near the Agua Fria. The hostiles responsible were soon overtaken and fourteen warriors were killed. Crook received this news on September 11 when he and friends returned from hunting in the mountains south of Prescott. Near the Little

33. Woodworth Clum, 132-33; Clum to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Smith, September 8, 1874, OIA:LR.

34. Sunset Crossing was an early ford across the Little Colorado. Travelers crossed on a rock ledge which extended from bank to bank. It is located six miles east of Winslow. Barnes, 431.
Colorado sixteen more Indians were killed at the end of October by troops from Camp Apache. 35

While scouting gradually reduced the hostiles, on September 21 Crook, accompanied by Bourke, Governor Safford, James Daily, and others, left Prescott. The commander wanted to make a tour of the garrisons and reservations in Arizona before he submitted his annual report. At San Carlos conditions were encouraging. The Indians seemed clean, well-fed, and obedient; their orderly village was inspected often; and disease was rare. Agent Clum impressed Crook's aide as a "good man" who "has quietly adopted all the military rules of management."

That night the Indians honored the "Nantan Lupan" with solemn dances that evoked memories of their savagery in the observers. The next day Santos, John Cleche and other spokesmen conferred with Crook and voiced the hopes of their people to live and work in peace. 36

From San Carlos Crook's group moved to Camp Apache on September 30. Crook talked to Randall and Babcock, who was leaving with his regiment. Here Crook, Randall, Rice, 

35. AGO Returns, September 1874; October 1874; Prescott Miner, October 30, 1874. Brayton to Nickerson, September 23, 1874, OIA:LR.

and forty Apache police posed for photographer Flanders, who was also touring the military installations. Later, representatives of the more than seventeen hundred Indians spoke favorably of Randall's regime. Crook assured them that Brevet Major Ogilby, who was to take charge there, would continue the same sort of practices. Administrative details concluded, Crook fitted out supplies for a trip to the Hopi pueblos and the Grand Canyon. By October 7, Crook and Bourke were heading north, accompanied by Apache guides Mickey Free, Santos, and Huero. They spent one pleasant night at Corydon Cooley's ranch and then proceeded on to Chevelon's Fork and Oraibi.

The travellers could not help being impressed by the vast country of eastern Arizona. After leaving the

37. Tucson Citizen, October 24, 1874.

38. Frederick D. Ogilby had served with the 1st, 33rd, and 8th Infantries and had been promoted to captain during the Civil War. He died in 1877. Heitman, 757.


40. Chevelon's Fork was named after a trapper who frequented the area. It refers to the confluence of Chevelon Creek with the Little Colorado. Barnes, 90.

41. Prescott Miner, October 23, 1874; Bloom, X, No. 1 (January, 1935), 5.
pine hills around Cooley's ranch they started across the high plateau with its strange petrified forests, many-hued deserts, and great mesas stretching into the hazy distance. Near the Hopi mesas the country was dry and inhospitable. They traveled "for 80 miles across a desert without wood or grass and with only one watering place of importance and that one . . . with current so turbid and sedimentary that after bathing in it our faces and hands are encrusted with red clay. . . ." The party arrived at the villages during peach harvesting. They found the Hopis to be a light skinned, industrious people, very different from the Yavapais. The purpose of Crook's visit was to ascertain whether the Hopis had been supplying renegades to the south with arms purchased from the Mormons and Utes, and to warn them against it.42 "I became satisfied that they had such a traffic," he wrote, "but the fright we gave them put an end to it." When the group was unable to obtain a guide, they had to forego the trip to the Grand Canyon and returned to Prescott about October 20.43

After inspecting George Crook Marion who had been born on October 19, Crook turned his attention to completing


43. Schmitt, 183. Tucson Citizen, October 17, 1874; Prescott Miner, October 9, 1874; October 16, 1874; October 23, 1874.
the telegraph line between Verde and Whipple as quickly as possible. Early in November he welcomed Colonel August Kautz and his family to Fort Whipple. The family was taken in temporarily by Mary Crook who was planning her return to the East. The festivities that climaxed her stay in Arizona were spectacular culmination for the many hops and socials she had initiated. Although Crook had journeyed to Camp Verde to discuss the proposed removal of the Indians to San Carlos, he returned home for her farewell ball. The post was awakened at 4 A. M. on the night of his return as fire devastated the old hospital. Soldiers barely managed to rescue the patients in time. The ball, something of an anticlimax after the excitement of the morning, was nevertheless pronounced "smashing." On November 15, Mary left the "Marvelous Country" for California. Crook escorted her to Camp Mohave and returned to Prescott about

44. Nickerson to Commanding Officer, Fort Whipple, October 3, 1874, Fort Whipple Records. Prescott Miner, November 13, 1874. The last telegraph pole in this link was completed on November 12, 1874.

45. August Valentine Kautz, a native of Germany, graduated from the United States Military Academy in 1852. He received five brevet promotions during the Civil War and, in 1865, was a member of the military commission which tried the conspirators in Lincoln's assassination. He was promoted to colonel, 8th Infantry in June 1874. Dictionary of American Biography Vol. V, 263-64. Heitman, 586.

46. Prescott Miner, November 20, 1874.

47. Prescott Miner, November 20, 1874. Marion commented that the newly-published book by Cozzens, should have been in a yellow cover.
the middle of December. Scouts were out but the department was quiet. Crook and Nickerson hunted near old Camp Hualpai before Christmas and found that the wildlife, no longer bothered by Indians, was more plentiful than usual.48

The possible removal of the bands at Rio Verde to San Carlos that had been rumored for a year clouded the Christmas festivities. In April 1874, Crook had protested this move to the adjutant general and pointed out that control of so many Indians at San Carlos would be extremely difficult because of the rough country over which the troops would have to operate. In his report for 1874 Crook again alluded to this idea. He repeated the promise he had made to the Indians that the Verde reservation was to be their home "for all time." They would probably resist being moved, he wrote. In that case, he believed that the "responsibility for turning 15 hundred Apaches loose upon the settlers of Arizona should rest where it belongs."49

But the rich farm land in the Verde valley and the combined influence of the commissioner of Indian affairs, the Board of Indian Commissioners and the Dutch Reformed Church people defeated Crook's attempts to maintain the

48. AGO Returns, November 1874; December 1874. Prescott Miner, December 11, 1874; Ogle, 131.

Verde reservation. Probably other factors also contributed to the final decision. It was rumored that Tucson merchants had formed a pool to insure the abandonment of Verde; this would certainly divert more trade to them. Faced with the inevitable move, Crook dispatched young Lieutenant George Eaton, six hundred soldiers, and forty Indian police from San Carlos to accompany the group from Camp Verde. The former superintendent of Indian affairs in New Mexico, Edwin Dudley, was to oversee the 180-mile trip. That 1476 Indians submitted to the move on March 1 was a surprise to everyone. Kautz observed that they obeyed probably because "the impression was made upon them either directly or indirectly, that the troops would be used to compell them, and that they did go without resistance simply shows how completely they have been subdued by the troops." A brief fight between two groups led to the flight of a few Indians, but the majority was delivered quietly to Clum.52
On March 12, Crook was notified of his transfer out of Arizona. Before he was due to leave the department, however, two matters awaited solution. In June, 1873, he had sent the adjutant general a list of twenty-three men and ten scouts whom he felt deserved medals of honor for "important services, gallantry and conspicuous bravery" in their action in Arizona from 1872 to 1873. His request was refused because current policy allowed medals only for Civil War actions. But Crook continued his efforts and requested brevet promotions for his courageous men. "I am very anxious that the officers receive some mark of recognition for service that involved the greatest personal discomfort and tested to the fullest extent their courage and ability. They feel . . . discouraged that the only reward they can receive though in many respects an empty one, is withheld." On March 27, only a few days before Crook's departure, the adjutant general authorized the distribution of medals of honor for twenty-seven men and ten scouts.  

53

Department, Annual Report for the Year 1875 (Washington, 1875), 133-34. Cf. Hiram C. Hodges, Arizona As It Is (New York, 1877), 176. Hodges states that as a result of this move the Indians lost faith in Crook and, "chagrined and mortified, he had to be transferred from Arizona."  

53. Vincent to Crook, July 31, 1873, Fort Whipple Records; Crook to Belknap, February 19, 1875, quoted in Tucson Citizen, March 27, 1875. Townsend to Commanding Officer, Department of Arizona, March 27, 1875, Fort Whipple Records.
The other problem concerned the reservations. Roberts was having problems at the White Mountain reservation. Overly zealous, Captain Ogilby seized the occasion of a delayed ration issue to take over the agency by force. Military control was short-lived, however; the agency was soon transferred to Clum's control. Crook admitted Ogilby's action was wrong, but added, "I regard him as a most worthy and conscientious officer, and that without doubt, he did what he considered absolutely necessary to prevent an outbreak." The general also expressed hope that Clum could eliminate the problems Roberts had experienced.  

Crook's assignment to the Platte caused some excitement although it had been anticipated for some time by the officers at Fort Whipple. Immediately Mrs. Kautz and other ladies of the garrison began planning a farewell ball. The citizens of Prescott arranged a public reception for Tuesday, March 23, and congratulatory messages from Randall and other members of the 23rd Infantry, as well as admiring Arizonans, flooded his headquarters. A large crowd had already gathered at Hatz's Restaurant on the evening of the 23rd by the time Crook and his staff arrived at the scene. Speeches included one in which the general expressed  

54. Crook to Adjutant General, March 12, 1875, OIA:LR.
his gratitude for the sympathy and assistance of the people of Prescott and introduced Colonel Kautz, his successor, in warmly complimentary terms to the audience. Music, and the reading of complimentary telegrams, and refreshments rounded out the program. One message read, "General George Crook, the gallant soldier and urbane citizen: He found Arizona convulsed with savage warfare. He leaves it tranquilized by his wisdom." With this, the audience that swarmed up to shake the general's hand, certainly agreed.55

Crook had relinquished command of the department on March 22. The Whipple ball, "one of the finest affairs ever known on the Pacific Coast," finally drew to a close early in the morning of March 25. After breakfast with Kautz and his wife, Crook, riding with Marion, was escorted out of Prescott. Three miles out on the Mohave road, the procession of townspeople, troops, and friends stopped for refreshments, music and concluding speeches. This time, however, the general was unable to respond to the warm praise in the gracious speech of farewell made by Kautz. To a chorus of cheers, the General, Nickerson and his family, and Bourke drove off toward old Camp Hualpai and California.56


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