SOLDIER IN THE SOUTHWEST:
THE CAREER OF GENERAL A. V. KAUTZ, 1869-1886

by

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Volume I

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
In The Graduate College
THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
1968
I hereby recommend that this dissertation prepared under my direction by Andrew Wallace entitled Soldier in the Southwest: The Career of General A. V. Kautz, 1869-1886 be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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PREFACE

Shortly after the disaster on the Little Big Horn River of Montana, in the summer of 1876, the personal effects of Lieutenant Colonel George A. Custer were gathered and returned to his widow. Among them was a small book, only three by five inches, bound in pebble-grained brown cloth that bore a gold eagle and shield device, all faded and worn from much handling. The spine was stamped: "Customs of Service for Officers of the ARMY." Had Elizabeth Custer looked beyond her husband's ink inscription on the end paper, she would have noticed that the volume was written by an officer whom her husband had known but slightly, but whose modest handbook was widely read in the army of the latter nineteenth century, Brevet Major General August V. Kautz. The author's advice to cavalry commanders such as Custer was to watch over his men and horses, "so that they may be in the best possible condition for the moment of action. When that moment arrives, he should receive it confidently, and should 'go in' with a method akin to rashness, counting only on success, and regardless of the cost." In a later paragraph, Kautz had written: "...pure Cavalry cannot hold positions on the defensive—it must either fight to win or run away," and Custer had underscored the last six words.
The present work is in part an effort to explain what sort of man wrote the manual that luckless Custer read with such attention, and to place him in proper relationship with his contemporaries. For although it will be seen that August Valentine Kautz was a soldier of something less than Napoleonic achievements, his forty-six years of service were more fruitful than Custer's meteoric nineteen. Specifically, this is a narrative of the post-Civil War career of Kautz, his life and times from 1869 through 1886. In that period he commanded Fort Stanton, New Mexico, for twenty-six months; served in Arizona twice as commanding officer of the 8th U.S. Infantry; and commanded the Military Department of Arizona for three years.

In the period that Kautz was in the Southwest, there were ten military departments in the United States. Seven comprised the Western states and territories and were divided between the Military Divisions of the Pacific and the Missouri. By any test, the Division of the Missouri, commanded by Major General Philip H. Sheridan, was the most important and contained four departments: the Missouri, the Platte, Dakota, and Texas. Most of the Far West, however, fell within the Division of the Pacific which embraced the Departments of California, of the Columbia, and of Arizona.

The western military departments were usually commanded by brigadier generals, or by brevet major generals...
who served temporarily in their brevet rank as Kautz did in Arizona. These commanding generals were simultaneously administrative and tactical directors of invariably large geographic areas, each of which included many posts and camps and might have subordinate territorial commands called districts. Each department was garrisoned by several regiments whose colonels were always junior to the general. If the department had a subordinate district, a regimental colonel would command it. According to the 65th Article of War, a department commander had the same authority as a general commanding a field army in wartime. The Army Regulations gave him powers second only to those of the War Department itself.

The work of the soldiers in the frontier departments involved very little combat and less glamor. The cavalrymen, usually a regiment in each department, bore the lion's share of routine patrols, Indian chases, and police duty on the reservations. The infantry, with less mobility, had usually to be employed locally about the posts, but department commanders did not hesitate to use them for mounted service when horses, wagons or mules were available. While popular writers have made out the cavalry to have been the "Indian fighters," it is noteworthy that nearly all departments were commanded by generals who formerly were infantry officers.
At any rate, to characterize the post-Civil War history of the military frontier as one of continual Indian warfare is a distortion of the army's role in the settlement of the West. Here and there the army had first to pacify a tribe or to punish renegades from a reservation. The most serious troubles arose on the Plains where the proud horse-and-buffalo Indians constituted a real barrier to white settlement. Elsewhere, as in the Southwest, the primary function of the army was to watch the Mexican border, discourage outlaws; police the reservations, and improve communications. In Arizona and New Mexico the army was as important for economic reasons as for military contingencies. By 1874, when Kautz arrived in Arizona Territory, the army there had become purely a corps of laborers and a constabulary. They were engaged in building camps and roads; stringing telegraph lines and escorting mail wagons; and keeping order on the Indian reservations where the civilian agents of the Interior Department were unfitted to their jobs, hampered by red tape, or absent, and sometimes all three. The duty, nevertheless, was strenuous. No legionnaire of France has soldiered so hard as the men in dusty blue who kept the peace in the Southwest. Then as now, peacetime soldiering drew little applause from civilians who imagined themselves alone to be making commonwealths in the wilderness. A good many soldiers,
in fact, took their discharges in Arizona and became miners or stockmen or merchants. Not a few deserted to find a more lucrative occupation after the Quartermaster paid their freight to the land of sun and thorn.

The Department of Arizona, for its part, was far less important than most others, and most others had commanding generals at one time or another far abler and better known today than Kautz. Why, then, a study of him? In the first place, he was one commander of whom we have remaining an adequate record for a biography. His papers in the Library of Congress reveal something more of the man beneath the shoulder straps than we shall ever know of, say, John Pope or Alfred Howe Terry. The voluminous writings of Kautz—official and private, published and unpublished—reveal his military thought and relationships in positive terms. In the second place, his length of service exceeds some others and spans the era between the Mexican War and the Spanish-American War. As a youth, Kautz marched off to Mexico with a muzzle-loading, black-powder musket; and in the last years of his active duty he was president of a board that considered adoption of the army's first modern repeating rifle. Moreover, analysis of Kautz' performance in Arizona provides instructive comparison with the similar career of George Crook whom he succeeded and who was perhaps the ablest commander of any in the Western departments.
Aside from didactic considerations, the life of Kautz is worth knowing because the nineteenth century military scene is incomplete without him. If his accomplishments were not great, he was at any rate a prominent fixture on the contemporary stage of events. Every officer of the wartime army knew of him, many of the most noted leaders from General Grant downward had served with him. Many younger officers of the postwar years served under Kautz and never forgot him. He was the querulous gadfly of bumptious superiors and the representative of an old-fashioned class that has disappeared from the modern army.

Throughout this study, whenever possible, I have written from Kautz' own viewpoint. This is not to say that I have accepted his version of all events or ignored contemporary criticism. Rather I have tried to unfold events in the manner that Kautz himself probably perceived them, and then to explain why he acted as he did. While Kautz was very contentious and opinionated, many of his views had great merit and his own criticisms were frequently well founded.

I have also limited the geographical and temporal framework of the biography very narrowly, touching mainly on Kautz' life in New Mexico, Colorado, and Arizona from the summer of 1869 to the spring of 1878. It is well to remark that the term "Southwest" in the title is a mere
convenience, for I do not believe that army life in the Southwest can be examined profitably when separated from the remainder of the West. That there was a distinctly Western army sired by Reconstruction there can be no doubt, but it was homogeneous. The Southwest worked no major influences on the thought or actions of the army. It was a great convenience, however, to find that General Kautz performed all of his most important service in that one area, and the fact was of immeasurable help in tracing his movements and reflecting his civilian connections.

It is doubtful that a straight-forward biography of August V. Kautz will ever be in order. As we examine his Southwestern career, where he assumed the greatest responsibilities and was the center of controversy, his service in the Pacific Northwest and his rise to general grade in the Civil War are seen as prologue. Only the most detailed Civil War history will have room for his exploits, colorful as they were. As a senior officer of the army his modest fame must be reconciled with his record on this frontier.
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<td>A.A.G.</td>
<td>assistant adjutant general (of a military department or division)</td>
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<td>A.G.O.</td>
<td>Adjutant-General's Office</td>
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<td>A.P.H.S.</td>
<td>Library, Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, Tucson.</td>
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<td>Bvt.</td>
<td>brevet</td>
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<td>C.G.</td>
<td>commanding general</td>
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<td>end.</td>
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<td>G.C.M.O.</td>
<td>general court-martial order</td>
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<td>general order</td>
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<td>Hq.</td>
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<td>I.G.</td>
<td>Inspector General</td>
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<tr>
<td>J.A.G.</td>
<td>Judge Advocate General</td>
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<tr>
<td>R.G.</td>
<td>Record Group (in the National Archives)</td>
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<td>Quartermaster General</td>
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<td>N.A.</td>
<td>National Archives, Washington, D. C.</td>
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<td>S.O.</td>
<td>special order</td>
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<tr>
<td>T.A.G.</td>
<td>The Adjutant General of the U.S. Army</td>
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<tr>
<td>U.S.M.A.</td>
<td>United States Military Academy</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vol.</td>
<td>Volunteer (an individual or unit of the United States Volunteers)</td>
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ABSTRACT

August Valentine Kautz was born January 5, 1828, in Germany. In that year his parents emigrated to America and eventually settled near Ripley, Ohio. Kautz enlisted for the Mexican War, fought in the Battle of Monterey, and gained admission to West Point in 1848. Graduating in 1852, he was sent to the Pacific Northwest. At the outbreak of the Civil War, he was promoted captain in the 6th U.S. Cavalry and next year was commissioned colonel of the 2nd Ohio Cavalry. In 1863 he joined in the pursuit of the Confederate raider Morgan through Indiana and Ohio. Thereafter he served in Tennessee and on the staff of the Cavalry Bureau until appointed brigadier general of Volunteers in May, 1864. He led the cavalry division of the Army of the James in the Petersburg campaign until March, 1865, when he was given a colored division. After Lee's surrender, Kautz led his troops into Richmond, then he served on the commission which tried the conspirators in the Lincoln assassination. In January, 1866, he was mustered from the Volunteers with the regular brevet of major general. In September he accepted the lieutenant-colonelcy of the 34th Infantry, but meantime he served in his brevet grade on the staff of General Sheridan at
New Orleans. In December, 1866, he joined his regiment in Tennessee, then served in Mississippi until his wife died in June, 1868.

After a six-month leave in Mexico, Kautz was sent with the 15th Infantry to New Mexico where he served three years. While at Fort Stanton, he induced the Mescalero Apaches to go on their reservation. In 1872 he took recruiting duty in Kentucky where he again married. From November, 1873, until next August, he commanded Fort Garland, Colorado. In June, 1874, Kautz became colonel of the 8th Infantry, moving with it to Arizona. In March, 1875, he replaced General George Crook as commander of the Military Department of Arizona on his brevet rank. The three years in which Kautz administered the Arizona department were marked by disputes with the territorial governor and officials of the Indian Bureau. The governor retired in April, 1877, after he failed to get Kautz removed, but the general carried his quarrels into his official family. In March, 1878, General Sherman transferred Kautz to California. During his command, Kautz had forced salutary attention on the Indian service, caused the establishment of Forts Thomas and Huachuca, and encouraged road construction.

Kautz served at posts near San Francisco until the 8th Infantry returned to Arizona in July, 1886. In
November his regiment was sent to Nebraska. Kautz was promoted to brigadier general in 1891 and briefly commanded the Department of the Columbia until his retirement next year. He made his last home in Seattle and died September 5, 1895.
CHAPTER I

THE EDUCATION OF A SOLDIER

On the tenth day of June in 1869, a train of cars bearing the red and yellow markings of the Kansas-Pacific Railroad rushed across the prairie on the track from Fort Leavenworth. The little 4-4-0 locomotive clawed the rails and threw sparks to the rattling cars behind where a few dozen passengers alternately regarded their discomfort and marveled at such swift passage as twenty-five miles per hour.

One of these passengers was a man in the dark blue coat of the army, his shoulder straps displaying the silver oak leaves of a lieutenant colonel; his sky-blue kersey trousers, the deep blue infantry stripe. Momentarily he was alone, but at Manhattan, Junction City, or Abilene, or one of the other whistle stops along the line, more soldiers in blue would be coming and going. Yet this man would scarcely

1. Diary of A. V. Kautz, 1869. Beginning in 1853, Kautz made a daily entry in this journal, filling a small pocket book for each subsequent year of his life. Several volumes have been lost, but most survive in the Kautz Papers in the Library of Congress; cited hereafter as Diary, together with the year.

2. The K.P.R.R. track had reached Sheridan, Kansas, in August of 1868 and was nearly to Denver by June of '69. For its history, route, and a timetable, see S. S. Wallihan & Company, The Rocky Mountain Directory and Colorado Gazetteer.
notice them in his reverie. His loneliness was of the spirit.

The officer was August Valentine Kautz of the newly reorganized 15th U. S. Infantry, late brigadier general of Volunteers and brevet major general, U. S. A., bound for Fort Wallace on the Kansas frontier. While the perfectly flat landscape slipped monotonously by his window, his inner thoughts dwelled alternately upon a family cemetery plot near Youngstown, Ohio, and upon the memory of another railroad in southern Virginia. In the latter place he had known the closest thing to martial glory he was to experience in forty-six years as a soldier, and though but four years in the past its memory seemed a saga from some Norse legend. The other focus of his lonely reflection was the Tod family burial ground on their Brier Hill estate. There he had laid to rest his beloved wife Charlotte over a year before. He had been married to her less than three years. Yet she seemed on this June day of 1869 still physically present, her death an incomprehensible tragedy.

Colonel Kautz was forty-one years old, somewhat under six feet tall, still slim and solid with a generous shock of black hair and a beard of moderate dimensions for a hirsute age. He might have been taken easily for a man

for 1871 (Denver, 1870), 119-21 and advertisement at back. Description of rail travel and costume based on Foster-Harris, The Look of the Old West (New York, 1960), 180-90.
ten years younger were it not for the somber look in his blue eyes and the lines of his careworn face. More than half of his life had been spent in the service. In his youth his robust health had survived the pest-hole of Camp Camargo on the Rio Grande during the Mexican War. West Point had been followed by nine years on the Pacific Northwest frontier. In the late Rebellion he had served four years as a cavalryman, most of the time in the field. While his life in bivouac and on horseback had been essentially healthful, he now suffered from a delicate digestion, recurrent migraine headaches, and an occasional attack of malaria contracted crossing the Isthmus of Panama. To his fellow passengers he could have appeared nothing less than the personification of the professional soldier, alert, agile, and reserved.³

He was German. Yet so thoroughly American was the family of August Kautz that one almost views his origins as

³ The best physical description of Kautz is by Richard J. Hinton in the San Francisco Post, June 9, 1877, except that Hinton judged him to be "a man of Sheridan's height--middle stature, if not rather below it," which is contradicted by all other references. His eulogist, who was his adjutant in later years, said that he was "of medium height, strong build." Lt. Wilds P. Richardson's obituary of Kautz, 1896 Annual Report, Assn. of Graduates, U.S.M.A., 30-37. Strangely, no official description of Kautz as a Mexican War soldier seems to have survived in the Adjutant-General's records of the National Archives. The author has compared numerous photographs of Kautz against the existing descriptions.
a curiosity of genealogy. Both his parents were born in Germany in 1800. His father, John George Kautz, had been a cabinet-maker as a young man in the Grand Duchy of Baden, one of the petty states of the German Bund created at the Congress of Vienna. In 1827 John George married Dorothea E. Lewing of Hesse-Cassel. Their first child was born January 5, 1828, and christened August Valentine at Ispringen, a village less than five kilometers northwest of Pforzheim on the Enz River. Within a few months the little family emigrated to the United States, settling in Baltimore, where another son, Frederick, was born in 1829. Three years later, the Kautzes moved permanently to the Ohio Valley. For a brief time, the father made his living in Cincinnati. In the spring of 1833 they moved to Georgetown, Ohio, seat

4. "I never heard my father speak German or Spanish. He was the most American of Americans." Letter of his daughter, Navarra Kautz Beall, to the author, January 24, 1964. After the Civil War, Kautz admitted that it was difficult for him any longer to read and compose German.

5. Passing references to his parents’ age in the Diaries are substantiated by their tombstone inscriptions which, however, say no more than "1800." All printed references to Kautz’ father call him simply "George" but General Kautz’ nephew says the full name was "John George." The correct name of Kautz’ mother, variously given in printed sources, is likewise confirmed by her tombstone inscription. Lillian Colletta and Leslie Puckett, Tombstone Inscriptions of Brown County, Ohio, Volume I (Denville, New Jersey, 1963), 48. Letter, Ray C. Kautz to the author, July 21, 1965. The History of Brown County, Ohio (Chicago, 1883), Part V, 23, 70-71.

6. Only Kautz’ frequent statements attest to his birth date. In 1859, while on leave in Europe, he sketched the "little church in Ispringen where I was christened." Diary, 1859.
of Brown County, where George Kautz was a carpenter for eleven years. In 1844 he moved his wife and seven children to Ripley, Ohio, there to pioneer in grape-growing. Young August, of course, remembered nothing of Germany, and his father apparently brought to America little more of the Swabian culture than the language. There was about the oldest Kautz boy, however, an essential "Germanness" that was to characterize his adult personality.

At Georgetown, August and Frederick were joined by four more brothers and a sister. George, third son of John George Kautz, emigrated to Illinois and was a volunteer in the Union Army. After the Civil War he became a successful banker in Christian County, Illinois. Louis Kautz, a fourth son, and a daughter, Sophia, remained all their lives in the Ohio Valley. Louis eventually had a prosperous lumber business in Cincinnati; Sophia married a man named Schafer and they later lived with her widowed father at Ripley. The third son, John, was early afflicted with tuberculosis. He remained at home until the "consumption"  

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8. Ibid. George may be buried in the Higginsport Cemetery of Lewis Township, Brown County. The tombstone gives his dates as 1832-1920, but the name is inscribed "George M. Kautz" while other sources have his initial as "A." Collette and Puckett, Inscriptions, 161. Sister Sophia was married to Schafer on May 21, 1866. Diary, 1866.
drove him pathetically to seek a southern climate in 1866. He died at home in January, 1867. The youngest of the Kautz family was Albert, born in 1839, who carved a noteworthy career for himself in the navy. He graduated from the U. S. Naval Academy in 1861 and saw much action in the war. When he died in 1907, he was a rear admiral.

August, as the oldest boy, must have assumed some degree of responsibility for the younger children, and Albert reciprocated with not a little hero worship. Only Frederick, however, seems to have had the inclination to go west and finds a place in our later narrative. He was a captain of the Ohio Volunteers in the war and afterward farmed near Georgetown.

In the years at Georgetown, August Kautz grew quickly into a solid muscular youth, accustomed to hard

9. Diary, 1866, 1867. See p.157 below. John settled in Newport, Florida, a few miles from St. Marks, in June, 1866. Then he moved to St. Augustine but by November had returned to Ohio. By December he was too weak to climb stairs and he died January 4, 1867, according to Kautz’ Diary.


manual labor, skilled at carpentry, and fond of horses. The town had a subscription school run by John D. White which August attended until the family moved to Ripley. The schoolhouse, which still stands, was a large, two-room, white-plastered brick building. Mr. White, who also was a surveyor, was from North Carolina. Under his stern hand, young Hiram Ulysses Grant studied the fundamentals between 1828 and 1836. Ulysses' father, Jesse R. Grant, operated a tannery in Georgetown and was a close friend of George Kautz.

Although August was scarcely a "classmate" of Grant (who was six years older), he fell under the same influence of schoolmaster White who was a staunch Democrat and "a kindhearted man, ... much respected by the community." Grant himself has left a description of the education the boys received in Georgetown:

> The schools ... were very indifferent. There were no free schools, and none in which the scholars were classified. They were all supported by subscription, and a single teacher ... would

12. History of Brown County, 399-400.

13. The background of Jesse Grant is well described in the unfinished biography of Ulysses S. Grant begun by Lloyd Lewis with the volume, Captain Sam Grant (Boston, 1950), 3-38. Jesse's friendship with George Kautz, however, is substantiated only by Kautz family tradition and by frequent references to the Grants in the Diaries. Kautz was a pallbearer at Jesse Grant's funeral in 1873.

have thirty or forty scholars, male and female, from the infant learning the A B C's up to the young lady of eighteen and the boy of twenty, studying the highest branches taught—the three R's, "Reading, 'Riting, 'Rithmetic." I never saw an algebra, or other mathematical work higher than the arithmetic, in Georgetown, until after I was appointed to West Point. 15

Kautz could not attend the private high school in Ripley, Ohio, as Grant did, and Ulysses went off to West Point in 1839 when August was just eleven. 16 The two men, however, partook of a common environment in their youth.

In 1844 George Kautz, Sr., took up land in Union Township near Ripley. The town, founded about 1812, was the chief river port and the largest community in Brown County. It was already the site of a thriving trade and a boat-building industry, and Kautz introduced grape culture. The farm prospered and he was eminently successful as a vintner. 17

August Kautz was a schoolboy of fifteen when, in the autumn of 1843, the Mexican Government declared its intention to fight the United States if Texas were annexed. For the next two and one-half years, excitement at the prospect

15. Ibid., 24.
17. History of Brown County, 415-16; Part V, 70-71.
of war with Mexico mounted along the Ohio River, commented upon, no doubt, by Kautz' schoolmaster. Doubtless, too, Kautz heard from his father what a splendid figure Jesse Grant's boy cut in his suit of army blue. Brevet Second Lieutenant Ulysses S. Grant (the name had slightly changed after admission to the Academy) was sent to Louisiana with the Army of Observation in May of 1844. The Whigs might make the preposterous assertion that only the slave states wanted Texas for slavery, but most people on both banks of the Ohio knew Mexican treachery from the lesson of the Alamo. A strong and precocious patriotism, which never slackened the rest of his life, came over August Kautz in those years.

The question of whose troops were on foreign soil has vexed the study of the Mexican War since the 11th of May in 1846 when the Congress declared a state of war to exist, pursuant to a call from President James K. Polk. Two weeks before, a company of U. S. Dragoons was fired upon by Mexicans near Matamoros; and two days after, the States were requisitioned for volunteer troops to enlist for twelve


months. The response to that request, especially in the West, was extraordinary. The first quotas were quickly overfilled. Ohio raised three regiments and had them at Camp Washington near Cincinnati in three weeks. Across the river in Kentucky, the governor had to stop the volunteering by special proclamation. Tennessee, the home of Sam Houston and Davy Crockett, raised more than thirty thousand men in response to a request for only two thousand and eight hundred.

20. Robert Selph Henry, *The Story of the Mexican War* (Indianapolis, 1950), 47, 52, 65. The War with Mexico was the best reported war in United States history. Yet the average American today is almost totally unfamiliar with its details. Henry attributes this circumstance to long acceptance of the New England Whig canard that the war was fought for slavery; Singletary, to the modern textbook view that the war was merely prologue to the Civil War. The student should begin with Justin H. Smith's nearly definitive work, *The War with Mexico* (2 vols.; New York, 1919) which is still reliable and immensely detailed. The bibliography of Singletary, *Mexican War*, 166-68, is only a summary but up-to-date. A fairly complete description of the literature to 1914 is in Henry E. Haferkorn, *The War with Mexico, 1846-1848: A Select Bibliography . . .* (1914). Of the several one-volume histories, Henry's is probably the best and was the basis for most of the succeeding paragraphs.

21. [Luther Giddings], *Sketches of the Campaign in Northern Mexico in Eighteen Hundred Forty-Six and Seven, by an Officer of the First Regiment of Ohio Volunteers* (New York, 1853), 19. Not only is this work specially pertinent, but also it is known that Kautz owned a valued copy and read it several times without criticism. Kautz prepared a rough memoir of his own experience, but the appearance of Major Giddings' work may have discouraged him from publishing his own account.

Georgetown, Ohio, was the place of muster for Company G of the 1st Ohio Volunteer Infantry. There on June 8, August V. Kautz enlisted as a private. The Captain was Sanders W. Johnson. Carr B. White, the schoolmaster's son, also enlisted, but he was soon elected an officer in the company. Other companies from Dayton, Hamilton, Portsmouth, Sandusky, and Cincinnati assembled with them at Camp Washington.

The colonel of the 1st Ohio was Alexander M. Mitchell, a former Regular Army officer who had resigned in 1837. The moving spirit behind the raising of the regiment, however, was the flamboyant, red-haired lawyer and rising politician of Georgetown, Thomas L. Hamer. He was mustered

23. Cadmus M. Wilcox, History of the Mexican War (Washington, 1892), 682, lists the captains of the 1st Ohio; and Diary, 1886, confirms that "Judge Sanders W. Johnson" was once his company commander. Carr Bailey White, however, was promoted to Captain February 1, 1847, and he is most frequently referred to by Kautz. Francis B. Heitman, Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army (2 vols.; Washington, 1903), I, 1027; cited hereafter as Heitman. Kautz was mustered in at Cincinnati on June 26. Extract from rolls of the Record and Pension Office, War Department, in the Pension File of Mrs. Fannie Kautz, RG 94, National Archives.

24. Heitman, I, 1027; Giddings, Sketches, 21.

25. Mitchell was an 1835 graduate of the U. S. Military Academy. After several years as a civil engineer, he practiced law in Cincinnati. When the 1st Ohio disbanded in 1847, he returned to his law practice. He died at St. Joseph, Missouri, in 1861. George W. Cullum, Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U. S. Military Academy, from 1802 to 1867 (rev. ed., 3 vols.; New York, 1879), I, 480; cited hereafter as Cullum.
as a major, but on the 1st of July his obvious capability for military leadership was recognized with his appointment as brigadier general of all three Ohio regiments.26

The men of the 1st Ohio were "chiefly from the rural districts," as Major Luther Giddings recalled. They had followed, he wrote,

those manly and laborious avocations that trained them admirably for the fatigues of war. But every trade and profession was represented in the ranks, so that it was no difficult matter . . . to obtain . . . a corps of skillful laborers in any branch of industry. There were workers in metal, wood and leather,—men who could make clothes, harness, wagons, mills, bridges, forts, laws, and pills; all of whom, of course, knew how to make a charge.27

The three regiments, once organized and drilled in the "school of the soldier," were visited by Brigadier General John E. Wool, enroute to Texas to organize his Army of the Center for an invasion of Chihuahua, who reviewed them and mustered them into the service for one year. In the first days of July, the Buckeye brigade went on steamboats down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to New Orleans, thence by ocean vessels to Camp Belknap at the mouth of the Rio Grande.28 Conditions there—the sand, heat, flies, and


27. Giddings, Sketches, 20.

mosquitoes—were bad enough, but Camargo, 110 miles inland, was to be worse. By the 23rd of August the 1st Ohio was encamped near the little city on the San Juan river together with fifteen thousand other soldiers. The camp has been described as a "yawning grave yard." Hot as hell, the sun-baked valley was covered with powdery dust, and the small stream that emptied a few miles below into the Rio Grande could scarcely supply enough water for men and beasts. Of the latter, there were thousands, for mule pack-trains were to be the chief mode of transporting supplies on campaign. Dysentary, measles, and malaria quickly invaded the invaders' camps and struck down fully half the volunteers. Scores of men from the Ohio Valley were consigned "to that vast and common cemetery, the chapparel." How many of his young friends did August Kautz see go to a shallow grave, wrapped in their blanket a thousand miles from home, who had never heard a shot in anger?

If the volunteers could not fight Mexicans, however, they would occasionally fight each other. The tedium of camp life was frequently broken by fisticuffs and the conflict of rival regiments. While still at Camp Belknap one day, the Baltimore Battalion disputed the possession of a catfish with

29. Ibid., 70, 82; Henry, Mexican War, 130.
30. Giddings, Sketches, 83.
some men of the 1st Ohio. Men and officers alike assembled under arms and it was said that ammunition was issued, but the quarrel was stopped short of bloodshed. Colonel Mitchell broke his sword on some Baltimoreans and the officers finally restored order.31

At Camargo the 1st Ohio was brigaded with the 1st Kentucky under General Hamer, all as part of a division under command of a volunteer major general, William O. Butler. This was one of three divisions in the army of Major General Zachary Taylor.32 On September 6 Private Kautz took up the march for Cerralvo, State of Nuevo Leon, on the road to Monterey where Butler's division arrived on the 10th. It was a cruel, hot march.33 The route "lay through dense chaparrel . . . higher than our heads" which stilled any breeze and confined the clouds of suffocating dust. The first of the four days was the worst. Major Giddings remembered that,

the vertical rays of the sun fell like fiery arrows upon the column, and so heated the burnished metal of our accoutrements, that it could not be held in the naked hand without pain. . . . Even the sable descendants of Ham--the servants of the officers--dropped beneath it like blasted


blades of corn. Before one third of the day's march was accomplished, our ... soldiers had consumed all the water in their canteens ... 34

At Cerralvo they basked in a higher, cooler country of clean air and running streams for nearly a week.

Some troops started forward again on September 11, but Hamer's brigade did not march until the 15th. They reached Marin on the 17th, where they joined the two divisions of regulars; and next morning, now numbering but six thousand effectives, 35 the army set out early. Hamer's brigade, however, was the last to break camp and did not get in motion until 9 o'clock. Just before the hour, the waiting troops were aroused by the appearance of an excited Mexican on a mule crying that the bandit-guerrilla Canales was approaching. The regiments formed at once for action as the drummers beat the long roll. "All were anxious for an encounter with the much talked of Canales, the Bayard of the Greasers, and every eye was turned in the direction whence the flying Mexican had come." The pursuing horsemen, however, proved to be the mounted Texan regiments of Colonels John C. Hays and George T. Wood. 36

34. Ibid., 112.

35. Ibid., 121; Wilcox, History, 88. The Mexican troops in Monterey could not have numbered less than 10,000.

At sunrise on the 19th General Taylor's little army started the final push to Monterey, half expecting to find the city of over twelve thousand evacuated. Instead the advance guard was fired upon that morning, and during the day the Americans made camp three miles away in the grove called Bosque de San Domingo, or "Walnut Springs." From a gentle hill nearby, "The houses of Monterey, covered with a hard, white stucco that glistened like polished marble, were seen in glimpses through the acacia and orange trees of the suburbs."38

The Battle of Monterey was fought from the 20th to the 24th of September, 1846.39 On the 20th Brigadier General William J. Worth, with the Second Division, commenced the envelopment of the city around the north, while the rest of the army demonstrated ineffectually before the eastern side. The battle began in earnest on the next day with Worth's assault on the western defenses and the penetration of the eastern suburbs by the First Division of Brigadier General David Twiggs and the volunteer division of General Butler.

37. Ibid., 139-43; Henry, Mexican War, 144-45.
38. Giddings, Sketches, 144.
39. The following account is based on Henry, Mexican War, 146-53; Lewis, Grant, 167-81; and Wilcox, History, 91-110.
Twiggs' division got into the city, only to be twice bloodily repulsed. Next the volunteers advanced. While the 4th U. S. Infantry (part of the First Division and the regiment with which Lieutenant Grant was serving) futilely attacked the fort known as the Tenería, the 1st Ohio advanced on their right. Private Kautz moved up with Company G, under Captain Johnson and Lieutenant White. They charged the Mexicans who held the bridge across the Rio Santa Catarina, a stream which had stopped the advance of the 4th Infantry. "We moved rapidly through a labyrinth of lanes and gardens," recalled Major Giddings, "without knowing or seeing upon what point of the enemy's line we were about to strike."\(^40\) When they came into the open, they met some of the regulars and learned of the failure of their assault. Colonel Mitchell then halted his command, in a broad street, parallel with, and not more than two hundred yards from the enemy's works, at the stream heretofore described. Though screened from view by a dense hedge of pomegranate, the Mexicans seemed well informed of our position, and, during the few minutes we stood quietly . . . there, sent some terrific rounds of canister into our ranks.\(^41\)

Some casualties were suffered, and Lieutenant Matthew Hett of Company H was killed. General Butler then ordered them to retire.

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\(^40\) Giddings, *Sketches*, 169.

Before Kautz and his comrades could fall back beyond range of the Mexican fire, word was received that the Tenería had been captured by the volunteer brigade of the 1st Tennessee and the Mississippi Rifles. The latter regiment was led by Jefferson Davis. It was the turning point of the Battle of Monterey. Capture of the fort allowed Twiggs to extricate the 4th Infantry, and although adjacent units were withdrawn at nightfall, the 1st Kentucky occupied the Tenería all night.

When they heard the fort was seized, the Ohio men were returned to the fight, this time crossing the river away from the fortified bridge, and sent against Rincón Diablo, the next fort in rear of the Tenería. As they passed through the part of the suburbs fought over by the regulars earlier, the groans of the dying were heard and the cries of the wounded for water. A soldier of Kautz' company climbed an orange tree, oblivious to stray bullets which whipped through its branches, and plucked some fruit for a wounded man. Soon they were in the streets of Monterey, and they found every house was a Mexican fort.

For August Kautz, this was the closest encounter of his life with the reality of war. The enemy had barricaded streets with rubble and they occupied the flat-topped adobe roofs from which they poured musket fire and grapeshot.

42. Ibid., 171.
Their escopetas, notoriously ineffective at any range beyond fifty yards, were deadly up close; and the bursts of light cannon fire that filled the air with lead were more terrible than machinegun fire. The Americans were issued paper cartridges charged with buck-and-ball; only the fortunate Mississippians and one company of the 1st Ohio carried accurate rifles. In the assault on Fort Diablo, the Ohioans had to cross a ditch in waist-high water that flooded their cartridge boxes.

Clearing the ditch, the 1st Ohio met a withering fire. "There and then," declared their chronicler, "by that bloody baptism, did the 1st Ohio regiment obtain a name to which no pen has yet done justice."\(^{43}\) They charged across an open square and gained a protective wall. For a short time they hoped that, aided by supporting fire from the captured Tenería, they might gain Fort Diablo, but the Mexican defense was very hot. As they lay before the barricades, a man named Myers,

a soldier of the Rifle company was shot in the mouth, which was fortunately closed at the moment, so that the ball after summarily extracting divers molars and incisors, lodged in the upper part of the throat, whence it was easily removed. The gallant Rifleman, spitting out the teeth and blood, and coolly remarking, (in a voice singularly changed,) that the pill had salivated him, continued with his company . . .\(^{44}\)

\(43.\) Ibid., 172.

\(44.\) Ibid., 174–75.
Both Colonel Mitchell and General Butler were wounded by the enfilading fire. Vainly the volunteers probed the works until General Hamer, now commanding the division, ordered the regiments back.

As the 1st Ohio retreated across the plain outside the city led by its Lieutenant Colonel John B. Weller, the enemy organized a counterattack. The Americans took cover behind a brush fence from which they repulsed an assault by the Mexican 3rd and 7th Lancers. The spear-carrying horsemen were seen to lance fifty or more Ohio wounded men lying beyond the wall. Altogether on the 21st of September, the 1st Ohio lost 394 officers and men.

On the next day Worth's division succeeded in carrying the last of the city's western defenses which overlooked the important road to Saltillo. Within the eastern environs,

45. Weller, a lawyer, was an unsuccessful candidate for governor of Ohio after the war. He later moved to California and was fifth governor of that state, 1858-60. His part in the Battle of Monterey is reported by Giddings, Sketches, 179. He raised a company for the 1st Ohio regiment, then served as a private until elected its lieutenant colonel, Heitman, II, 72; and Wilcox, History, 681. There is a good sketch of Weller in the book by H. Brett Melendy and Benjamin F. Gilbert, The Governors of California (Georgetown, California, 1965), 81-90, but it contains several inaccuracies concerning his earlier career.

46. Giddings, Sketches, 179-82. There is no distinction between killed and wounded, but the kind of action and weapons employed would suggest a very small percentage of killed in action. Wilcox lists Lieutenant Hett as the only officer killed; Wilcox, History, 682.
however, there was only desultory firing. About midnight
the Mexican general, Ampudia, abandoned his outer defensive
works and withdrew into the heart of the city. In daylight
the Americans discovered the withdrawal and pressed their
attacks into the streets toward the central plaza from both
east and west. The losses on the 23rd were much lighter
than on the 21st, primarily because the attackers stayed
under cover between rushes by squads and they approached
defended buildings by burrowing through the walls. In that
manner, by midafternoon, they had dug and fought their way
to within two blocks of the plaza when Taylor ordered a
withdrawal. Worth then brought up the only mortar with the
army, a little ten incher, and shelled the plaza through
the night of the 23rd to 24th.

A truce was asked by Ampudia early on the morning
of the 24th. Negotiations followed during the day until
late in the evening when the Mexicans surrendered under
generous conditions promised by Taylor. They were permitted
to carry away their small arms, six field guns, and all
their ammunition; they were required only to retire forty
miles beyond the mountains; but the Americans were pledged
to hold still for eight weeks.  

47. The Mexican envoy, one Colonel Morino (sic),
was met by General Hamer and passed through the 1st Ohio
position; Giddings, Sketches, 203-4. The wisdom of Taylor's
conditions has been endlessly disputed; the text of the
convention and Taylor's correspondence with the War Depart­
ment is in House Exec. Doc. No. 60, 30th Cong., 1st Sess.,
344-50.
Private Kautz and the 1st Ohio went into camp in the grove of San Domingo, where, during the ensuing weeks of drill and boredom, the discipline of the volunteers proved inadequate to the peace. "The volunteers," it was said, "think nothing of robbing and killing the Mexicans." In fairness to them, however, it must be noted that Taylor did little to regulate the swarm of civilian sutlers, Mexican peddlers, prostitutes, and miscellaneous camp followers who crowded near San Domingo, where the volunteers bivouacked, and into Monterey, garrisoned by General Worth's regulars. It required a month of disorder for Taylor finally to impose a stringent regulation of his men, and then order was only restored because the Texas brigade departed, their term of service having expired.

If Ohio soldiers do not figure prominently in contemporary accounts of the disorders at Monterey, it is likely that such comparatively well-educated, self-disciplined men as Kautz gave little trouble to their harassed officers. Kautz was one of the lucky few to receive passes into the city, where a youngster from the "Valley of Democracy" could marvel at the sights around the Great Plaza of an ancient pueblo. The Ohioans, too,

49. Henry, Mexican War, 173-77.
were more interested in drill, maneuvers, and military ceremonies than their neighbors from Kentucky and Tennessee.

Disease continued to take its toll. On December 3 Kautz was present at the funeral of General Hamer who had been ill with dysentery since the landing in Mexico. He had died the evening of the 2nd. His health had somewhat improved after the command left Camargo. During the battle of the 21st his conduct had been marked by a calm and unbending courage, his illness apparently forgotten. Hamer it was, who had coolly led Butler's division out of the fire-swept streets of Monterey.50 His illness had returned, however, and grown worse in the last week of November. The troops of the 1st Ohio buried him with full military honors in the woods of San Domingo, and later his remains were removed to Ohio.51 Hamer's death was a tragic loss to Taylor's army. The grief of the Ohioans was plainly expressed in a letter home by Lieutenant Grant: "His death is a loss to me which no words can express." Taylor doubted

50. When General Butler was wounded, Hamer took command of the volunteer division. Giddings, Sketches, 178; Lewis, Grant, 177.

51. Ibid., 184-85; Giddings, Sketches, 243-46. Giddings misdates the funeral as December 4, possibly a typographic error; see Lewis, Grant, notes, 450: ch. 11, 7. Hamer had been elected again to Congress in November.
that he had another officer who could pacify the unruly volunteers as Hamer had done. 52

For Kautz and the 1st Ohio, the war was virtually over. In mid-December Taylor commenced a movement on Victoria, capital of the State of Tamaulipas, but scarcely had he started with two brigades when the operation was interrupted by the rumor that Santa Anna was about to attack. The volunteers in reserve at Monterey were ordered on the road to Saltillo to the relief of the main army. General Butler took with him the Ohioans. They camped near Saltillo during the last two weeks of 1846, then were back in camp at Monterey by January 4. 53 Neither of the Ohio regiments fought in the climactic action at Buena Vista late in February; the 1st Ohio remained at Monterey, and the 2nd was still at Camargo. In that month Carr B. White became captain of Company G. 54 As their terms of enlistment drew near to expiration, the Ohio volunteers marched back to the Rio Grande and all the way down to Point Isabel,

52. Ibid., 184. General Taylor was heard to exclaim, on hearing of Hamer's death, "I have lost the balance-wheel of my volunteer army!" Giddings, Sketches, 244.

53. Ibid., 255-74.

54. Heitman, I, 1027. Cf. n. 22, above, and Lewis, Grant, 165, 180. In May, 1861, White was commissioned in the 12th Ohio Inf. and became colonel of the regiment in October. He received a brevet of brigadier general for service in the Civil War and died in 1871.
and finally sailed for New Orleans. On June 14, 1847, Kautz was mustered out of the army. 55

To say that Kautz was deeply impressed by his experiences is to state the obvious. Yet there is little else to explain his determination to make the army his career. The nineteen-year-old veteran was scarcely home when he sought an appointment to the U. S. Military Academy. Perhaps the wanderlust which affected him all his life had taken hold; certainly he had a clear future in Ohio without further education, for as the oldest son he probably was assured possession of the family farm and vineyard within a dozen years, or a farm of his own. Soon after returning from the war, he was nominated for an appointment to the academy by Congressman Jonathan D. Morris of Batavia, Ohio. On March 20, 1848, he was accepted. 56

Kautz reported to West Point in June of 1848 and for the next four years proceeded through the course of instruction with undistinguished success. Already taciturn and dignified, he became noted for his industry and his methodical, analytical approach to problems. If there was


56. Notification of acceptance and copy of appointment, Kautz Papers.
any subject in which he could be said to have excelled, it was drawing. Otherwise he was usually in the lower half of his class, graduating thirty-fifth among forty-three. Kautz attended the Academy with John M. Schofield, Philip H. Sheridan, and George Crook. Only the last can accurately be called a close friend. One of his teachers was Lieutenant George H. Thomas, an instructor in tactics, and the dignified Virginia gentleman made a lasting impression on Kautz. Noteworthy is the long list of Southern cadets many of them to die on Civil War battlefields, with whom Kautz fraternized. Of the Class of 1852 alone, eleven served the Confederacy. That Kautz was friendly with many may not be doubted, and a page in the surviving order books, dated October 14, 1851, records that Cadet Kautz and Cadet Francis R. T. Nicholls were to be released from arrest and returned to duty, both thereafter to perform extra tours of guard duty for offenses committed more than a month before.

57. Academic Record of August V. Kautz, Class of 1852, in the Library of the Military Academy, West Point, N. Y.

58. Heitman, I, 865, 881. Schofield was in the Class of 1853, as was Sheridan; Sheridan, however, was admitted at the same time as Kautz and it was commonly said they were in the same class.

59. Cullum, I, 44-45, 600.

Nicholls, who was from Louisiana, became a brigadier general in the Confederate Army in 1861. 61

More poignant was Kautz' association with Archibald Gracie, Jr., of New York. On July 1, 1851, they were ordered to be "confined to the limits of the camp when not on duty one week," and in addition were required to perform four extra tours of guard duty. Gracie and Kautz had been absent together from camp, from 9:30 to 10 p.m., on June 25 "without sufficient excuse." 62 Gracie, appointed from New Jersey in 1850, has been described as a "large and splendid" youth who came to the attention of Superintendent Robert E. Lee after Kautz graduated. 63 Lee, who replaced Captain Henry Brewerton as superintendent in September of 1852, placed Gracie in arrest for fighting on the parade ground with another cadet. When the second cadet, Wharton Green, asked to share Gracie's penalty, Lee released them both. Lee's biographer suggests that the episode so endeared Gracie that the New Yorker chose to fight with the South. At any rate, he resigned in 1856 and next appeared in uniform as a brigadier general, C.S.A. In 1864, as Kautz and Gracie

61. Heitman, I, 746.
faced each other over the trenches of Petersburg, Gracie was killed in action. 64

Kautz' closest friends in his own class were Charles R. Woods, George H. Mendell, Alexander McD. McCook, and Crook. All but Mendell were from Ohio. Woods and Crook later served alongside Kautz with the 4th Infantry in the Pacific Northwest. Three of the most distinguished men of the Class of 1852 were Thomas L. Casey, who graduated number one, became Chief of Engineers, and was responsible for construction of the Library of Congress in Washington; Joseph Christmas Ives, the fifth man, explored the Colorado River and northern Arizona as a lieutenant in the Corps of Topographical Engineers, then resigned to serve the Confederacy; 66 and the eleventh, Jerome N. Bonaparte, a grandson of the King of Wurtemberg and a grand-nephew of Napoleon, was to serve in the French

64. Ibid., 337-38; Heitman, I., 467.

65. Records of the Class of 1852 are in Cullum, II, 304-33; and III, 221-28. For Casey, see ibid., II, 304-5; and III, 221.

cavalry from 1854 to 1870. Kautz himself was two files ahead of his crony George Crook, and away ahead of a volatile youth from Rhode Island named Sylvester Mowry. The roles of Kautz, Crook, and Mowry were all to be played upon the same stage at different times—the frontier of the Far Southwest. But the Gadsden Treaty had yet to be made when they graduated in June of 1852 and received brevet commissions as second lieutenants.

67. Cullum, II, 311-12. Jerome N. Bonaparte was born in Baltimore, fought in the Crimean War, and by 1870 had risen to Lieutenant Colonel. In that year he was visiting America when war with Prussia broke out. He immediately returned to France where, it is said, he fought not as a Frenchman but as a monarchist. During the siege of Paris he was proscribed by the Commune and escaped to Baltimore. He died in Massachusetts in 1893. D.A.B., I, 429.
CHAPTER II

THE TRAGEDY OF LESCHI

Indians and shrewd enterprisers: those had been familiar figures on the frontier when Kautz was a young officer in the Pacific Northwest before the Civil War. Little had changed by 1869. As Kautz' train neared Ellsworth, Kansas, a civilian who introduced himself as Mr. Siegerson bent his ear for an hour or more about the novel trade in livestock that had started up with Texas. It appeared that longhorned range cattle were the chief commodity, and Siegerson would, if one believed him, soon make a fortune by building a stockyard at Ellsworth. Kautz, always with an attentive ear to business but a poor judge of investment, formed a grudging admiration for the scheme.1

The Indian element was also uncomfortably close. Only six days before, Cheyennes had pulled up the track of the K.-P. Railroad at Grinnell Station; and up north on the Solomon River the 7th U.S. Cavalry was hard-pressed to defend the outlying white settlements in the Department of the Missouri.2

1. Diary, 1869.

2. Record of Engagements with Hostile Indians within the Military Division of the Missouri, from 1868 to 1882, Lieutenant-General P. H. Sheridan, Commanding (Washington, 1882), 21.
Meanwhile the slaughter of the Indians' cattle, the vanishing buffalo, went relentlessly on. Kautz perhaps recalled the words of the Nisqually chief, uttered thirteen years before: "We had just as well go to war and be killed as to be put off where we have no home and starve."³

The U. S. Army, as Kautz may have reflected in 1869, always at last turned its face to the West. So calamitous and awful was the Civil War that this fact of nineteenth century military history is now commonly overlooked. To the army of that day, however, it was an ever-present reality not to be long ignored. By 1869 Kautz had crossed the continent twice, headed west, and almost his first experience as a commissioned officer had been a hazardous ocean and land passage to California via the Nicaraguan isthmus.

After his graduation from the Academy in June, 1852, Kautz' first duty station was Fort Columbus on Governor's Island in New York Harbor. He was assigned to the 4th Infantry, then serving on the Pacific Coast under command of the aged explorer, Lieutenant Colonel Benjamin L. E. Bonneville.⁴ Kautz and three classmates--John Mullan, Ezra Meeker, Pioneer Reminiscences of Puget Sound [and] The Tragedy of Leschi (Seattle, 1905), 416.


John Nugen, and George Crook—sailed from New York "per steamer" in the first week of November for San Francisco. Kautz was an adaptable traveler by land or sea, but the foul-smelling, rolling little steamship sickened Lieutenant Crook, who scarcely left his bunk until they reached Nicaragua. Crook was so ill that he "was indifferent to life, and cared but little whether the vessel went to the bottom or not."\(^5\)

Their route across the isthmus was by way of the San Juan River and Lake Nicaragua.\(^6\) On the afternoon of their arrival off San Juan del Norte, at the mouth of the river on the Atlantic side, they were lightered from the ship onto three small river steamers, and they commenced a journey upriver in weather that was hot and muggy, with frequent rain showers. That part of their journey made an

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\(^6\) Martin F. Schmitt, General George Crook, His Autobiography (new ed.; University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), 3, 267. Essentially autobiographical, this work has been annotated and supplemented by Schmitt until it amounts to the only reliable biography of Crook; cited hereafter as Crook Autobiography.

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indelible impression on Crook. "The banks of the river," he recalled, "were one dense, impenetrable jungle of trees, with vines intertwining their branches." They saw alligators on the shore, "watching their chances for prey," and "lizards climbing in the branches . . . , at least four feet long, flights of parrots screaming at the tops of their voices."

The boat, he said, was

so crowded that there was scarcely standing room for its passengers. When night came on, it was inky dark. It thundered and lightned and rained hard. At intervals all was hushed save the waters rushing against the overhanging boughs. . . . Altogether it presented one of the wildest and most weird scenes I have ever witnessed . . . 7

The young officers traveled all night, pausing once while passengers were transferred from one boat that was badly damaged by the overhanging trees. There was nothing to eat and no place to rest; to doze off meant perhaps to fall overboard. Shortly after daybreak, they reached the head of navigation below Castilla rapids, where they rested all day. Next afternoon they boarded two more-capacious and better-equipped boats above the rapids, and by evening they had reached San Carlos on Lake Nicaragua. No time was lost in steaming across the huge inland sea the same night. On the western shore the last leg of the overland journey was undertaken by mule-back next day, down twelve miles to San Juan del Sur on the Pacific Ocean.

"The passage here," said Crook, "was the worst I have ever seen. It was one gigantic mudhole, places where mule and rider would almost sink out of sight." Most of the passengers, including Crook, Nugen, and Mullan, reached San Juan del Sur in the evening, though "one mass of mud from head to foot." Sometime during the night, however, "Dutch Kautz came trudging along, carrying his carpet sack; said the last he saw of his mule was its ears sticking out of the mud." They bathed in the ocean next day and in the evening set sail for San Francisco where they debarked about the 1st of December.8

Lieutenants Crook and Nugen were assigned to companies of the 4th Infantry at Benicia Barracks, twenty-eight miles east of San Francisco; and Mullan, an officer of the 1st Artillery, was ordered to proceed to his regimental headquarters. Kautz was sent to the 4th Infantry headquarters at Columbia Barracks, across the Columbia River from the future city of Portland. His stay at the barracks was brief but he visited with Sam Grant, the regimental

8. Ibid., 5-6. Most of the 4th Infantry had been shipped to California in the summer of 1852 and suffered terribly from disease crossing Panama. This possibly was the reason Kautz and his companions were sent by way of Nicaragua. James A. Leyden, "The Fourth Regiment of Infantry," in Theophilus F. Rodenbaugh and William L. Haskin (eds.), The Army of the United States (New York, 1896), 461-62; cited hereafter as Army of the U. S. Cf. Lewis, Grant, 298-307.
quartermaster, who was a decade out of West Point but not yet a captain.⁹

In March of 1853 the new Democratic Congress of President Pierce formed the Territory of Washington from the northern half of Oregon Territory. Save for a good many settlers on the lower Columbia River, and some hardy pioneers on the shores of Puget Sound, the interior wilderness of Washington was known only to trappers, traders, and missionaries.¹⁰ It was the home of several thousand Indians, fragmented into a great many tribes and subgroups, and periodically hostile to the encroaching whites.¹¹ Despite agreement with Great Britain over a boundary to be drawn along the 49th parallel of latitude, troublesome questions with the Hudson's Bay Company relating to property and trading rights remained.

⁹. Ibid., 310-32; Crook Autobiography, 6-7; Cullum, II, 313, 321-22.

¹⁰. Hazard Stevens, The Life of Isaac Ingalls Stevens (2 vols.; Boston, 1900), I, 280-81. General I. I. Stevens was first governor of the territory and ex officio superintendent of Indian affairs; see n. 41 below. His son, Hazard, worked from 1877 to 1900 to produce a classic American biography. Antipathetic to Kautz and other Regular Army officers who opposed his father, he nevertheless corresponded with Kautz while the latter was commander of the Arizona military department and was scrupulously honest in his statements. Coming to the Northwest with his father as a youth, he was himself a perceptive pioneer. He gives the white population of the territory in 1853 as 3,965; I, 411.

¹¹. Ethnographic background for this chapter conforms with Frederick Webb Hodge (ed.), Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico (2 vols.; Washington, 1912), passim.
Simultaneous with the creation of Washington Territory, Lieutenant Kautz was sent with Company C, 4th Infantry, to Fort Steilacoom, an outpost on Puget Sound. Steilacoom, established in 1849 as one result of the Cayuse War, was in the country of the Nisqually Indians. While Columbia Barracks, soon to be renamed Fort Vancouver, protected the lower valleys of the Columbia and Willamette rivers, Fort Steilacoom guarded the southern reaches of Puget Sound. Both places had been settled long since by the British, and until 1860 British property rights were respected though the international boundary had been fixed in 1846. Indeed, so uncertain was the title of the United States to the land around Fort Vancouver that most of the buildings of the old British fur trading post were rented from the Hudson's Bay Company; and at Steilacoom, both land

12. Powell, Fourth Infantry, 43. Frances Kautz, "Extracts from the Diary of General A. V. Kautz," The Washington Historian, Vol. I (1900), 115. The published extract of Kautz' diary for 1853, edited by his daughter, is apparently all that survives of the first four years of his journal. The first volume in the Library of Congress, a copy of certain damaged books (see n. 118 below), spans the period June 1, 1857, to December 31, 1861. Frances published her extract, some of it later reminiscences rather than actual journal entries, in three numbers of the Historian, 1900-1901.

and buildings were leased from the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, an H.B.C. subsidiary.  

Company C, 4th Infantry, numbered about forty men and was commanded by the aristocratic New Yorker, Captain DeLancey Floyd-Jones. Although Floyd-Jones was a Mexican War veteran and a West Pointer, he had served with Scott's army and came from a background that was alien to Kautz. There is a strong note of antipathy between the two men. The only other officer at the post was Second Lieutenant William A. Slaughter, whose wife was the only woman. There also was an affable surgeon assigned, Dr. John M. Haden. Slaughter was a Kentuckian and Haden from Mississippi, and Kautz got on well with them.  

Picturesquely situated at the foot of Mount Rainier, Steilacoom was rude and still rather isolated, though the country was fast filling up with farmers, lumbermen, and merchants. The post buildings included a hospital, storehouse, barn, and workshops, in addition to the log houses for officers and enlisted men. As a contemporary inspector observed, "Four of these miserable buildings [including the  


principal officers' quarters] were hired of the Hudson Bay, or Puget Sound Agricultural Company, at an annual cost of 600 dollars.\textsuperscript{16} The Indians in the region were estimated to number about nine hundred warriors, who were nominally at peace but not disposed to be friendly. The American population within fifty miles was reckoned at more than three hundred.

All in all, Kautz found his new home much to his liking. "There was plenty to eat," he noted, "and little to do, and pleasant surroundings."\textsuperscript{17} On March 24 he was made a full-fledged second lieutenant.\textsuperscript{18} The months of April through July were spent pleasantly "hunting, riding, fishing and making friends." Once he took a reconnoitering party out to the Lower Sound by boat.\textsuperscript{19}

Events were already in motion, however, to remove Lieutenant Kautz from his idyllic surroundings.\textsuperscript{20} Gold had

\textsuperscript{16}. Colonel Joseph K. F. Mansfield, in Frazer, \textit{Western Forts}, 180-81.

\textsuperscript{17}. F. Kautz, "Extracts," 116.

\textsuperscript{18}. \textit{Cullum}, II, 326.

\textsuperscript{19}. F. Kautz, "Extracts," 117-19; 181 ff.

been discovered in southern Oregon in 1851, and the influx of prospectors into the region between the Cascade Mountains and the Pacific led to an inevitable clash with the natives. Numerous acts of violence on both sides inflamed the white settlers in the valley of the Rogue River until a general outbreak occurred in the summer of 1853. As volunteers assembled to fight the Rogue Indians, Colonel Bonneville shifted some of his meager regular troops southward. Early in August, Lieutenant Kautz reported to Fort Vancouver and on the 24th he was dispatched with a small howitzer and six men of the 3rd Artillery to the scene of trouble. The regulars were accompanied by forty volunteers under Captain James W. Nesmith.

On August 17 a battalion of volunteers had skirmished with the hostile Indians in the upper Rogue valley, about fifty miles south of Roseburg, Oregon Territory. On the 21st, near Table Rock, only fifteen miles south of the first encounter, upward of two hundred white soldiers assembled under dynamic Joseph Lane, former governor and now

21. The letter from Bonneville's adjutant to Governor George L. Curry, announcing detachment of Kautz, is in N. Pac. Hist. Co., Pacific Northwest, I, 412, as is the roster of the volunteer company.

22. Nesmith (1820-1885) became a colonel and was one of the most important militia leaders in the Northwest. He succeeded Governor Stevens as superintendent of Indian affairs in Washington Territory, and in 1861 succeeded Joseph Lane as Senator from Oregon. His life is sketched in the D.A.B. by Joseph Schafer, Vol. 7, pt. 1, 430-31. See also Stevens, Life of I. I. Stevens, passim.
brigadier general of the militia.\textsuperscript{23} Lane divided his force into two battalions and retraced the route up the valley. On the day Kautz was leaving Vancouver, the 24th, Lane fought a short, sharp battle with the Indians. The tribesmen suffered little damage but were overawed by Jo Lane's reputation. They sued for peace, and it was arranged they should meet with the whites after the first day of September to make a treaty. Meantime, both parties moved back to the vicinity of Table Rock. Lane was delaying treaty-making to give the regulars and Captain Nesmith time to arrive, as well as the superintendent of Indian affairs, Joel Palmer.\textsuperscript{24}

Although other hostilities continued, Lane held the Indians near Table Rock for ten days. He parleyed with them while a company of the 1st Dragoons arrived, followed shortly by Superintendent Palmer and more volunteers. At last, on September 9, Lieutenant Kautz and the howitzer entered General Lane's camp. The Indians stood in abject

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item The career of Lane (1801-1881) is outlined also by Joseph Schafer in the \textit{D.A.B.}, Vol. 5, pt. 2, 579-80.
\item Joel Palmer (1810-1851), who went to the Oregon country in 1845, published a book in 1847 that served for a decade as a guide to the Oregon Trail. It is still the most complete record of travel on the trail. Palmer returned to Indiana in 1846 and next year took his family to Oregon. He always showed marked restraint in his dealings with the Indians and largely for that reason was removed from the superintendency in 1857. \textit{D.A.B.}, Vol. 7, pt. 2, 186-87.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
terror of the big gun and begged that it not be fired. Thus reinforced, Lane made the Treaty of Table Rock on September 10, 1853.\textsuperscript{26}

The Rogue Indians were cowed but far from defeated. To keep them in check, it was decided to station more troops in the river valley. Eighteen days after the treaty, Fort Lane, named for the popular general, was established near Table Rock. The garrison—the dragoons under Captain Andrew J. Smith—was already at hand.\textsuperscript{27} These troops, however, had come from Port Orford on the coast, a small town twenty-five miles north of the mouth of the Rogue River, and had to be replaced. Lieutenant Kautz with a detachment of twenty-five men of the 3rd Artillery was detailed.\textsuperscript{28}

The army had gone to Port Orford in 1851 mainly to satisfy about fifty white settlers who were constantly threatened by Indians, but Brevet Major General Persifor F. Smith, commanding the Pacific division, hoped that a post might also serve as a sub-depot for supply of a major garrison to be established inland on the trail from Oregon.

\textsuperscript{26} "Treaty with the Rogue River [Table Rock]," in Charles J. Kappler (ed.), \textit{Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties} (2 vols.; Washington, 1904), II, 603-605; cited hereafter as Kappler. Jo Lane and Kautz were the witnesses. The Indians called "Rogues" or "Rogue River Indians" were probably Chastas and Chastacostas, and perhaps other minor bands; Hodge, \textit{Handbook}, I, 236.

\textsuperscript{27} Frazer, \textit{Western Forts}, 112-14. The post was abandoned three years later.

\textsuperscript{28} \textit{Ibid.}, 171, 182. Kautz reached Fort Orford October 17.
to California. The place was called, with some confusion, Fort Orford. Kautz found the post to be a cluster of log huts on a hill that overlooked the ocean, west of the town. The quarters, nevertheless, were comfortable, and plentiful supplies came in by ship directly from the Benicia depot.\textsuperscript{29}

Kautz was not at Fort Orford many weeks before he discovered why the white settlers were in need of protection. In January, 1854, the miners at Coos Bay, about fifty miles up the coast, induced the citizens of Port Orford to join them in a punitive expedition against the Coquille Indians who lived over the mountains on the river of the same name. Although these vigilantes had grievances, the particular band of Indians they chose to attack was blameless. About thirty whites marched over the mountains, raided a Coquille village, and massacred sixteen Indians including two squaws; they also took twenty hostages. The Indians were then forced to make a treaty. Kautz reported the incident\textsuperscript{30} and observed that, "From all that we could gather of the circumstances, there does not appear to have been sufficient cause to justify such a hasty attack . . . I make this statement in order that the Commanding General may not be misled

\textsuperscript{29} Ibid., xxvi-xxvii, 118-19.

\textsuperscript{30} House Exec. Doc. No. 76, 34th Cong., 3rd Sess., 86-87.
43

by newspaper statements." The commanding general was John E. Wool, who had just assumed command of the area then called the Department of the Pacific. Wool agreed with Kautz, and with many other officers, that settlers brought most of the Indian trouble on themselves.

Life at Fort Orford was so healthy and invigorating that the surgeon, Doctor Rodney Glisan, believed his services were unneeded, "Were it not for an occasional accident." Doctor Glisan and Lieutenant Kautz enjoyed the splendid trout fishing on Elk River. They frequently were obliged to entertain the numerous visitors who stopped with steamships en route to Washington Territory.

While the influx of miners and other generally lawless elements into Oregon continued to cause friction.
Congress delayed ratification of the treaties made by Superintendent Palmer. In June, 1855, the Rogue Indians increased their retaliatory raids, and by October the Indian uprising had become general. By previous agreement, the Indians in Washington Territory also went on the warpath. The first major battle, however, was begun by a company of Oregon volunteers who attacked an Indian camp on Butte Creek near the Rogue River. In the bloody fight, the volunteer leader was killed, but twenty-three Indians were slaughtered, mostly old men, women, and children. The Indian survivors fled to Fort Lane where their agency was located. 34

The battle on Butte Creek occurred October 8; next day, the Indians commenced to strike the many isolated farms up and down the Rogue valley. By October 15 war was a fact, and the governor of Oregon, George L. Curry, issued a proclamation that called for nine companies of mounted volunteers and asked assistance of the army. Over nine hundred citizens responded, and regulars from forts in Oregon and California took the field.

Oblivious to the impending storm, Lieutenant Kautz at Fort Orford prepared an expedition to leave for the upper Rogue River valley on October 10. 35 The purpose was to

34. Details of this and the next paragraph summarized from Glassley, Indian Wars, 109-16; and N. Pac. Hist. Co., Pacific Northwest, 439.

examine a route proposed for a road over the mountains to Jacksonville, south of Fort Lane. He set out on the appointed day with ten soldiers and a civilian guide. They headed due east across the mountains and marched southeast toward the big bend of the Rogue. There they found a party of civilians who were greatly excited about the outbreak and gave Kautz the first information he received of affairs. Plainly, both Kautz and the settlers needed help. The latter were in fear of their lives, and the few soldiers were ill-equipped and short of supplies. He was already forty-five miles away from Orford and to take everyone back was impractical, so he left his men to assist the civilians and hastened with his guide back to the fort. He arrived on the 16th at one o'clock in the morning. Securing arms, ammunition, and some food, he set out that same night for the Rogue River.

Kautz and his party continued their march up the valley until October 25. Then, in the words of George Crook, "He met some Indians in the woods." What happened next was the subject of some dispute, but Crook drolly recalled that Kautz

saluted them [the Indians] with compliments of the season, when they answered his salute with a volley at close range. One ball struck him in the chest, and would certainly have killed him but for two books in his pocket. The ball struck the corner of one, going through it, but was stopped by the other, knocking him down. The soldiers started
to run, saying the Lieutenant was killed, but he jumped up and prevented the stampede. As it was a thick, bushy country, he had no trouble in getting away. 36

Whether the surprised soldiers even returned the fire is not recorded, but Kautz exerted sufficient leadership to bring them to a place called Bates Station. One account 37 says that two soldiers had been killed and another besides Kautz had been wounded. He left them at Bates Station and rushed on to Fort Lane where he reported the incident to Captain Smith of the dragoons. Captain (Brevet Major) Edward H. Fitzgerald, with sixty men, went out to find the Indians. It was supposed that two or three hundred of them were on a high range of rugged hills between Grave and Cow creeks. He reported back to Smith who organized a force of 105 dragoons and Kautz' men, and took the field on October 28. The officers included, in addition to Major Smith, Lieutenant Kautz, Lieutenant Horatio G. Gibson of the 3rd Artillery, and Lieutenant Benjamin Allston of the 1st Dragoons. On the evening of the 29th they were joined by a battalion of 250 Oregon volunteers commanded by Colonel John E. Ross. The entire force camped on Grave Creek. 38


37. Glisan, Journal, 263. It is likely that Glisan referred to casualties suffered later at the Battle of Hungry Hill (see below).

38. This and the next three paragraphs are based on the account in N. Pac. Hist. Co., Pacific Northwest, 440-41. Cf. Glassley, Indian Wars, 82-85.
The foe had been located on an extremely inaccessible hill. Smith and Ross agreed that they should make a night approach on the 30th so as to be within striking distance and on the highest ground by dawn of the 31st. Movement at last got under way about midnight and the soldiers barely reached their objective at first light, but, not surprisingly, the Indians had departed. Some hours of scouting revealed the hostiles in another strong position on a mountain four miles from the camp of the 30th. Again the troops struggled over the hills. At ten o'clock they at last contacted the enemy on the top of Bald Peak, or Hungry Hill.

The Indians must have been concealed in great numbers, for they stopped the first impetuous rush of the volunteers with a deadly fire. The battle continued all day without a lull and Captain Smith made several assaults with the regulars. The whites could not carry the Indian position, however, and at nightfall they retired to camp exhausted and without supper. Five volunteers had been killed, twenty wounded; one man was missing in action. Of the regulars, four men had been killed, one of them belonging to Kautz. Five were wounded.

On the first day of November the weary battalion was attacked in its bivouac by the Indians, who kept up a steady but ineffective fire for some hours. Lieutenant Gibson was severely wounded. The Indians at last broke off
their attack and "left the field to the whites," but it was no victory. The volunteers straggled home and the regulars returned to Fort Lane. On the way they met a detachment of the 4th Infantry which proved to be George Crook's company from Fort Jones, near Yreka, California. Kautz had not seen his friend since they had parted in San Francisco in 1852.

Thus ended the Rogue River War so far as Kautz was concerned. On November 18 he returned to Fort Orford. By this time, however, the Indian war was smoldering in other parts of the Pacific Northwest and was destined to draw him into danger and controversy.

The first Governor of the new Washington Territory, Isaac I. Stevens, had hurriedly concluded four treaties

41. Isaac I. Stevens (1818-1862), though born in Massachusetts, possessed a sense of honor, combative nature, and an absolute belief in Manifest Destiny that gave him a character usually associated with men of the West and South. Although sympathetic to abolition, he was slandered early in the Civil War as a secessionist. He was an 1839 graduate of the Military Academy and served 14 years in the Corps of Engineers. In the Mexican War, he received brevets of captain and major. Resigning to become governor of Washington, he caused the northern route of the Pacific Railroad to be surveyed en route to his new post. As ex officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs, he treated with virtually all the Indians of the Northwest. His term of office was
with the Indians in the vicinity of Puget Sound in December of 1854. While he had not succeeded in reaching an agreement with all of the Indians west of the Cascade Mountains, he had "extinguished the Indian title" for nearly all the land. As winter advanced into 1855, he hastened to the other side of the mountains to present the white man's law to the other tribes of Washington.42

In May of 1855, Stevens met the Yakima chief Kamiakin, and the other leaders of several powerful tribes, in a great council in the Walla Walla valley near Waiilatpu. Represented were the Nez Perces, the Cayuses, and the Walla Wallas. A treaty was at last concluded in June which gave the Nez Perces a fifth of a million dollars for their relinquished land and a reservation. The Yakimas and Chief Kamiakin settled for a similar payment and a reserve south of the Yakima River. Stevens had originally wished to herd all these Indians onto one reservation, but he could persuade

marked by a bitter controversy with the military commander, Wool, which concerned Indian affairs and the Governor's declaration of martial law, but which had its origin in Mexican War jealousies. In 1861, Stevens gained a commission as Colonel of the 79th N.Y. Infantry. He quickly became a brigadier and major general, but was killed at the Battle of Chantilly. See n. 10 above.

42. Stevens, Life of I. I. Stevens, I, 448-80. 
"By ten treaties . . . he extinguished the Indian title to a domain larger than New England . . . and during the four years, 1853-56, he . . . dealt with over thirty thousand Indians . . .," ibid., 448. The Nisqualli (sic) Indians were the most important of the Puget Sound peoples according to Hodge, Handbook, II, 76.
only the Walla Wallas and Cayuses to combine; they got $150,000 and a tract in the Umatilla valley. 43

Kamiakin was not an Indian lightly to be reckoned with. He was a powerful warrior, impatient with the peace lovers of his own tribe and influential throughout the territories of Oregon and Washington. Congress delayed ratification of his treaty, his people were dissatisfied with Governor Stevens' gifts—which they wrongly looked on as payment for the land—and the miners continued to commit outrages in passing through his country. Some miners were murdered in retaliation. Acts of hostility by Yakimas began early in the summer of 1855, culminating in the murder of the agent to the Yakimas, Andrew J. Bolon, on September 23. 44 The army then acted, sending two expeditions into the hostile country. On October 2, Captain Granville O. Haller, 4th Infantry, moved from The Dalles northward with a hundred men, and Lieutenant Slaughter set out from Fort Steilacoom with forty-eight men to meet Haller in the Yakima River valley. Haller's command was attacked by 1,500 Indians and driven headlong out of the country. Slaughter

43. Ibid., II, 415-16, 983-84; these were all Salish Indians and the Yakimas were the most warlike. Hodge also has a sketch of Kamaiakan (sic), I, 648. The treaty-making is described by Stevens, Life of I. I. Stevens, II, 1-9, 27, 31-65.

44. Ibid., II, 157-58; Glassley, Indian Wars, 109-13.
perceived his own danger in time and retreated back to Stellacoom. As before related, the Rogue Indians commenced warfare after the Butte Creek massacre on October 8. The war then spread.

At Steilacoom, Captain Maurice Maloney had now called on Charles H. Mason, the acting governor of Washington Territory, to issue a call for volunteers. One of the companies subsequently formed was that of Captain Gilmore Hays, recruited at Olympia. No sooner was it sworn into service than it was sent to assist Captain Maloney. On October 24, Maloney and Hays, with 240 men who had assembled at Connell's Prairie, left for the Yakima country via the valley of White River and the Nachess Pass.

The operation of Maloney and Hays was intended as another joint effort with a force from the south that was to follow Major Haller's route. Coordination proved impossible, however, and Maloney set out without knowing his counterpart at The Dalles would be delayed nearly three months.

45. Ibid., 113-14; Meeker, Reminiscences, 266, 279, 286.

46. Maloney was an illiterate Irish emigrant who enlisted in 1836 and was commissioned in the 4th Infantry in 1846. He received the brevet of captain in the Mexican War but was regularly promoted also in 1854. In the Civil War he was Colonel of the 13th Wis. Infantry. He died in 1872. Heitman, I, 686. Charles Prosch, Kautz obituary, Seattle Post-Intelligencer, September 8, 1895; cited hereafter as Obituary.

weeks. The force from Steilacoom ran against the entire Yakima nation in arms and Maloney prudently withdrew. While he was camped on October 29, an express rider named William Tidd reached their command with messages from Steilacoom. Maloney ordered Tidd to return at once to the fort over the same route he had come, through Connell's prairie. He also sent with Tidd an escort of five men and his volunteer "aide-de-camp," one A. Benton Moses. The fate of Tidd’s mission might pass unnoticed in this brief summary, except that it begot a tragedy into which August V. Kautz was eventually drawn.

Tidd and his party arrived at Connell's Prairie on the afternoon of October 31 and there encountered a band of encamped Nisqually Indians who seemed very nervous if not actually afraid of the soldiers. The Indians professed friendship, however, and Tidd with his escort moved west from the prairie through a swamp. The defile caused by the marshy, wooded ground proved to be occupied by a second unseen party of Nisqually Indians. They ambushed the white


49. Meeker, Reminiscences, 287. The basis for the next two paragraphs is Meeker’s account, 205-212, 277-78, 280-85, 287-88; but he relied on numerous contemporary pioneers whom he cited and frequently quoted, including Kautz.
men and killed two of them, Moses and a man named Joseph Miles. Tidd and the others rushed blindly from the swamp without pausing to recover the bodies.

The return of Tidd to Fort Steilacoom with the news of the ambush presented a bloody climax to events set in motion after he had left on the 27th. On October 22 Governor Mason had made a final attempt to quiet the seething discontent over the Stevens treaties by enlisting the aid of the most influential Indian on the coast. This was the Nisqually chief Leschi. Leschi saw the Governor in his office at Olympia on that day, but apparently the Indian leader refused to do more than personally to keep the peace. Two days later a volunteer company styled the "Eaton Rangers" went out at the Governor's direction to arrest Leschi at the Indian's home on the upper Nisqually River. The chief and his brother Quiemuth were surprised while they plowed a wheat

50. "Leschi was the greatest Indian orator on the coast," was the opinion of Col. Benjamin F. Shaw, interpreter and prominent militia leader. The Indians knew Leschi as a brave, good-hearted man, a dead shot and a great hunter, who was rich by their standard. He had served Mason as a guide. He was at this time in his thirties, nearly six feet tall, and weighed about 175 pounds, "a true flathead." Leschi was not, however, a chief, as tribal government had ceased among the Nisquallies before the advent of Americans. His mother was a Yakima, which gave him some influence with that tribe. Meeker, Reminiscences, 205-21; Hodge, Handbook, I, 764.


52. Also called, perhaps more officially, the Puget Sound Rangers. Stevens, Life of I. I. Stevens, II, 170.
field, but they easily escaped the Rangers who then contented themselves by rounding up some good Indian horseflesh and marching up the Puyallup River. 53 Meantime, a detachment of regulars under Lieutenant John Nugen from Steilacoom was conducting a scout northward to Seattle. Both the militia and the army scouted the Puyallup and White river valleys without seeing a hostile Indian. 54 On the morning of October 27, Captain Charles Eaton dispatched his lieutenant, named McAllister, and one other settler, to reconnoiter the road from their camp at Connell's Prairie to White River and to investigate a report of "two to five hundred" Indians camped at the crossing. Shortly after they left camp, the two men were ambushed, very near the same place that Tidd was to be attacked four days later. 55 In fact, the bodies of McAllister and his comrade were not recovered until Captain Maloney brought in the bodies of Moses and Miles on November 6.

The Indians around the Upper Sound, the Klkitats and Nisquallies, now determined to make a general assault on all the white settlements. Doubtless they had many local

leaders such as the treacherous old murderer Kanasket, but it is claimed to this day that the leader of the warring natives was their principal chief, Leschi. Other evidence, however, would indicate that he took no part in the initial uprising. Be that as it may, on October 28 several bands of warriors descended on the isolated farms near the mouth of the White River, sixteen miles south of Seattle. In the early morning, nine whites were brutally murdered, and during the day nearly all the cabins in the whole length of the White and Duwamish river valleys were plundered and burned. It was one of these bands that ambushed Tidd's party on October 31.

As winter drew on, the Indians about the Sound were content to gloat on their easy victories and to hide in the forests. Captain Maloney and Lieutenant Slaughter,

56. Stevens, Life of I. I. Stevens, II, 120-21, 157-59, 184; Glassley, Indian Wars, 127. Cf. Erasmus D. Keyes, Fifty Years' Observation of Men and Events, Civil and Military (New York, 1884), 253-54. "Klikitat," meaning robber, was the name given by the Sound Indians to the Yakimas. The former numbered about 8,500, including those on the Strait of Juan de Fuca. The extent of Yakima participation has never been estimated, but they were usually enemies of the Nisquallies and probably contributed little to the war west of the Cascades. Stevens, Life of I. I. Stevens, I, 453-54; II, 121.

57. Meeker, Reminiscences, 213, 289. Evidence brought to light after the war implicated the Yakimas in the White River massacre, at least in part. Ibid., 302-303.
commanding Companies A and C of the 4th Infantry, undertook a campaign in the cold and rains of November without achieving any results.\textsuperscript{58} Late in November, Slaughter was joined by two companies of volunteers for an extended scout into the White River country. While encamped on November 25 they were raided in typical Indian fashion: a dense fog allowed complete surprise, not an Indian was harmed, and the white soldiers lost forty horses.\textsuperscript{59} Nine days later, after a month of fruitless campaigning, Slaughter camped at Brannan's Prairie, near the junction of the White and Green rivers. At nightfall, Lieutenant Slaughter went to a cabin to confer with Captain C. C. Hewitt, a volunteer officer who had just marched with his company from Seattle to join Slaughter's expedition. Suddenly, in the dim light, a party of Indians led by Kanasket erupted from the woods and fired into the cabin. Slaughter was killed instantly, as were two volunteer soldiers.\textsuperscript{60}

\textit{iii}

Advancement in the army was based almost solely on rank and precedence, and there were but few ways that an officer could obtain promotion. The death of Lieutenant Slaughter

\textsuperscript{58} Ibid., 309-23; Powell, Fourth Infantry, 45.

\textsuperscript{59} Meeker, Reminiscences, 324.

\textsuperscript{60} Ibid., 325. The best account of Slaughter's death is in Keyes, Fifty Years, 252-53.
on December 4, 1855, made one opening in the 4th Infantry, and within a few days Second Lieutenant A. V. Kautz received an official letter at Fort Orford which offered him promotion to First Lieutenant, "vice Slaughter." If he chose to accept he was to join Company C at once. Kautz accepted. Slaughter's tragic death at the age of twenty-eight thus involved Kautz and the two companies at Steilacoom in the Yakima War. The remainder of his regiment was occupied by duties that ranged from the Puget Sound to the mouth of the Rio Colorado.

The Yakimas posed such a threat that the War Department sent the 9th Infantry to the Department of the Pacific. Command of the regiment had recently fallen to an officer of the 4th Infantry, George Wright, who took a promotion to colonel and a transfer to the 9th in March of 1855 after seven years in the 4th. In December, 1855, the 9th Infantry sailed to California, and Wright proceeded with most of his troops to Fort Vancouver. From there he sent two companies to Fort Steilacoom under command of Lieutenant Colonel Silas Casey, who took over the Puget Sound district.

61. Glisan, Journal, 267, 269; Cullum, 326.
63. Heitman, I, 1062.
64. Keyes, Fifty Years, 254.
On January 25, 1856, the Indians made an unprecedented attack on the town of Seattle. Although it was the first incident since the killing of Lieutenant Slaughter, and the last before the regulars were to take the field in February, the settlers were badly frightened. On January 29, Colonel Casey arrived at Fort Steilacoom with the two 9th Infantry companies, and Lieutenant Kautz joined his company of the 4th Infantry. In addition to the four infantry companies, the garrison had been reinforced in November by a dismounted battery of the 3rd Artillery to serve as foot soldiers. There was now a strong battalion of nearly three hundred men at the post. The hostiles, on the other hand, were not so strong as it seemed. Kautz later wrote that they were "considerably disaffected among each other. The winter had given them time to reflect. They would willingly have made peace if they could have done so with safety to themselves. The winter passed without any act [around Steilacoom] of hostility."  

65. Stevens, Life of I. I. Stevens, II, 167; Glassley, Indian Wars, 128. Meeker has a good account of the attack on Seattle in Reminiscences, 348-52.  

66. Keyes, Fifty Years, 254.  

67. This unit was brought up by Captain Erasmus D. Keyes, later secretary to General Winfield Scott and Major General in the Union Army. So far as Kautz is concerned, Keyes' account of the Battle of White River (below) may be taken as authentic, as Kautz himself wrote it for Keyes. Diary, 1878; Heitman, I, 596.  

68. Quoted in Meeker, Reminiscences, 207.
The first move of Colonel Casey, on February 13, was to establish a blockhouse with a small garrison at the Muckleshoot Prairie. The outpost, in a central location, would support further operations throughout the district. Communication with Steilacoom was assured by stationing three companies of volunteers in another blockhouse at the crossing of the Puyallup River. Late in February, Casey himself marched out with his battalion to Lemmon's Prairie where he made a fortified camp. There, on the night of February 27, Kanasket met his end. The bitter old Indian was a leading spirit of the hostiles. He was killed in a characteristic attempt to sneak into the soldiers' camp and assassinate Casey.

While Casey was just north of the upper crossing of the Puyallup on the 27th, he had split his command. He had sent Lieutenant Kautz with a company to the left, in a direction parallel with the Stuck valley, to proceed from thence by a trail directly to the Muckleshoot Prairie, between the White and Green rivers. This region was regarded as the heart of the hostile country. Kautz' command reached

69. This and the next three paragraphs are based principally on ibid., 355-58; Keyes, Fifty Years, 254-61; N. Pac. Hist. Co., Pacific Northwest, 590-93.

70. Capt. Keyes took credit for devising a plan of safeguards for the camp at Lemmon's Prairie which resulted in the capture and death of Kanasket; Fifty Years, 256-61.
the prairie next day where he received a dispatch from Casey who requested he send a detachment to White River crossing, there to meet the main force. On March 1, so Kautz recalled,

I started out with a command of fifty men. When we arrived at the ford of the White River the Indians appeared in our rear and threatened an attack. I at once sent a dispatch to Colonel Casey telling him the Indians had made their appearance, and that I would endeavor to hold the ford until he arrived. I made disposition of the men on a bar of the river, among some drift wood, to await the coming of the troops. The Indians worked their way around us on both sides of the river, but were not able to make any impression... 71

Casey received Kautz' message about noon of March 1. He at once sent his second-in-command, Captain Erasmus D. Keyes of the 3rd Artillery, with about one hundred men to the relief of Kautz and to secure the ford. It required only about three hours for Keyes to reach the river where he could see some of the soldiers behind their breastwork. The Indians were well hidden in the thick brush on a bluff above them. Keyes ordered his men to deploy as skirmishers, and"Kautz, who had left the wood-pile, did the same," after which Keyes ordered a charge. Then, "The Indians fired a volley, enough to kill every one of us; but they aimed too high, and only one man was struck; and that was Lieutenant Kautz. A rifle ball passed through his leg; but I was not

71. Quoted in Meeker, Reminiscences, 356.
aware that he had been wounded until the battle was over."  

The Indians fled after most of the soldiers had fired but once. The soldiers tried to pursue them through the woods perhaps a mile when the Indians reached a hill with good cover on top and bare on the sides. It was an ideal defensive position, as both sides had only small arms. To press the attack meant the soldiers had to charge uphill, exposed for nearly two hundred yards. Yet press it they did, while the redskins hurled "derisive epithets." Second Lieutenant David B. McKibben, 9th Infantry, was in front and without hesitation led his company gallantly forward. The Indians were so startled at his audacity that most of them fired high and only two soldiers were killed. The Indians were completely routed, though none were captured, and the fight proved to be the last the regulars had with hostile Indians west of the Cascade Mountains.

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72. Keyes, Fifty Years, 258.

73. The Phrase is Keyes', ibid.

74. McKibben attended the Military Academy, 1846-48, without graduating. He obtained a commission in the 9th Infantry in 1855. During the Civil War he was colonel of two Pennsylvania Volunteer regiments and received the brevet of brigadier. After the war he served in the 14th, 21st, and 10th Infantry. He was a major of the 10th Cavalry from 1870 until retirement in 1875; he died in 1890. Heitman, I, 673.

75. Hazard Stevens disposes of the regulars' action in one sentence as a "sharp fight" and gives the wrong date; then goes on to emphasize the work of the volunteers; Life of I. I. Stevens, 356-58. By most accounts, the war
For two more months the army and the volunteers scoured the country until it was evident that the majority of hostiles were either hiding out or else had gone to the camps of the Yakimas beyond the mountains. Kautz meanwhile nursed his wound—the second within six months—at Fort Steilacoom. Colonel Wright finally took the 9th Infantry into the Yakima country and gave them a drubbing that brought permanent peace to the Pacific Northwest. The Nisquallies were completely subdued. In June Leschi surrendered. Adopting the advice of Wright, he "laid aside his rifle and repaired to Puget Sound." 76

By April, Kautz was recovered from his wound and led his company on a scout to the foothills of Mount Rainier. On the Mashel River they found the survivors of an Indian village that had been attacked by the volunteers—old men, women, and children. The lieutenant took them back to the fort where he saw that they were well treated. Some were later sent back to their people to induce the former hostiles to surrender. 77

had ended west of the Cascades, but Governor Stevens persisted in keeping large numbers of men under arms and declared martial law when his course was resisted by many civilians as well as the regular army. His controversy with Wright and Wool was acrimonious.

76. Glassley, Indian Wars, 132-50, is a good account.

77. Captain Granville O. Haller, quoted in Meeker, Reminiscences, 209.

With Leschi's return to the Nisqually valley, most of the hostiles had already come in. For the great chief, however, his troubles were only commenced. The whites forgot that, during open hostilities, Leschi had caused many tribesmen to take a moderate course characterized, as Kautz observed, "by greater intelligence and humanity than any of the other chiefs." Leschi protested the killing of white women and children and was against plundering the white settlements. Kautz attested that,

On several occasions during the war he had individual white men in his power, and his influence saved them from being killed by Kanasket. But Leschi's name seems to have become unaccountably familiar in the mouths of the people, and obtained a notoriety beyond that of any other Indian in the war.80

Worse, Leschi was the particular target of Governor Isaac I. Stevens who, in December of 1854, had been insulted by the Indian leader and nearly thwarted in the Medicine Creek treaty council. When the Governor had attempted to unite all nine tribes from the Upper Sound on one small reservation, Leschi tore up his commission and stalked out of the council. Although his mark appeared subsequently on the Medicine Creek Treaty, it was claimed that Stevens forged the signature.81 Now, with the war at an end, the Governor

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80. *Ibid*.
and a large part of the settlers were clamoring to have the chief's hanged. Leschi once again took refuge in the forest, knowing that Stevens had a special reason for vengeance.

By the autumn of 1856, Leschi was supposed to be the most important hostile chief surviving. A reward was offered for his capture and a disaffected nephew named Sluggia betrayed his uncle for fifty blankets. Leschi was formally arrested on November 13, charged with the murder of A. Benton Moses who had been killed from ambush over a year before. Leschi was delivered for safekeeping to the military authorities at Fort Steilacoom. He received a speedy trial, only four days after his arrest, but the jury failed to agree. When he was returned to the fort to await a second trial, the responsibility of the guard fell to Lieutenant Kautz.

I, 456-62, wherein the incident is not mentioned, but Leschi is listed as a signatory. Meeker suggests that Governor Stevens was intoxicated and unfit for transacting business at the time, but given the prevailing 19th century view of Indian affairs, and Stevens' known determination to "extinguish the Indian titles," no such aspersion is needed.


83. Ibid., 413-14; Stevens, *Life of I. I. Stevens*, 240.

84. Tacoma Ledger. April 9, 1893.
Leschi was a Christian Nisqually and spoke English well. The army officer was greatly impressed by the Indian's sincere religious convictions, his natural leadership, his stolid forbearance, and his compassionate acceptance of his fate. The weeks of close association with Leschi framed an attitude in Kautz' mind that remained with him for life. As the days passed, Kautz was convinced of the prisoner's innocence. Kautz came to feel that Leschi was blameless for the war in general and specifically innocent of the charge of murder. He helped the Indian all that he could with the preparation of his defense. The second trial was scheduled for March of 1857.

Others at Fort Steilacoom took an interest in the Nisqually chief's defense. For one, was August Kautz' brother Frederick who was employed at the fort. Fred apparently had succumbed to gold fever, or perhaps inherited the same wanderlust as his brother; he had gone from Ohio to California in 1850. Just when he arrived in the Oregon country is uncertain; but as he is not mentioned by Doctor Glisan at Fort Orford, we may assume he came to Steilacoom after his brother was stationed there in January.

85. This and the next four paragraphs are based on certain items in Kautz Papers: essay on the history of Leschi, note book on Leschi, and several loose newspaper clippings. See also Meeker, Reminiscences, 415-54.
1856. Other white men who now befriended Leschi included Doctor William F. Tolmie, manager of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company; J. M. Bachelder, the post sutler; and Colonel Casey, district commander. In view of August Kautz' predilection for legal affairs, it is surprising he did not offer himself as counsel for Leschi.

The second trial of Leschi was held, unfortunately, in the capital city of Olympia, where Governor Stevens' influence was greatest. At the conclusion of the trial, the presiding judge took the unusual view, and so instructed the jury, that they need only to "believe the defendant was present aiding and abetting" in the killing of Moses and Miles; that there was no distinction between principals and accessories to the alleged crime. In order to prove that Leschi was present near the swamp where Tidd's party was

86. History of Brown County, Part V, 23. The earliest extant diary begins June 1, 1857, by which time Fred was already at Fort Steilacoom.

87. Dr. William Fraser Tolmie first came to the Upper Sound with the H.B.C. in 1833 to help establish Nisqually House. He organized the Puget Sound Co., a subsidiary of H.B.C., in 1840-41 in London, England. In 1843 he returned to Nisqually, which was near the site of later Fort Steilacoom, and managed not only the farm but large herds of cattle and sheep tended by Sandwich Islanders. When the Americans arrived, he immediately got on friendly terms. He was interested in the spiritual wellbeing of the Indians and promoted the Gospel. Meeker, Reminiscences, 118-22; and Clarence B. Bagley, "In the Beginning," ibid., 473-87.

ambushed, the prosecution produced its sole witness, a man named Babbeson. 89 Since the trial in November, it had become common talk that Babbeson was perjured; that he had, in fact, no close knowledge of Leschi's activities in October of 1855, or any exact knowledge of the manner in which Tidd, Moses, and the others were ambushed. Nevertheless, Babbeson again mounted the witness stand to repeat his story substantially as before. The verdict was this time, "Guilty as charged . . . and that he suffer death." The execution was set for June 10.

Leschi was not executed, however, without the formality of an appeal to the territorial supreme court, which was delayed until December. The delay was engineered by Leschi's counsel, one Frank Clark, whose reputation for the unscrupulous defense of criminals, and the interposition of legal technicalities to free them, was well known. 90 Doubtless Kautz and his friends thought it worthwhile to employ such a man as Clark, but the attorney's presence

89. Hazard Stevens mentions A. B. Babbeson as a settler near the farm of the Puget Sound Co. in 1854. In the fall of 1855, he was appointed captain of Co. B, 2nd Regt., Washington Volunteers, and was stationed at various posts around Fort Steilacoom during the campaign of Governor Stevens against the Yakimas. On March 10, 1856, he was present at the Battle of Connell's Prairie under Major Gilmore Hays. Life of I. I. Stevens, I, 412; II, 169, 171, 185-86.

probably went far to alienate the jury at Olympia, who knew him well. On December 17 the appeal was denied, and Leschi was re-sentenced to hang on January 22, 1858.91

Kautz and some interested residents of Steilacoom at last turned to more active measures to save Leschi. William Tidd, accompanied by Lieutenant Kautz and Doctor Tolmie, went to the scene of the 1855 ambush and surveyed the ground. They measured distances and, assuming Leschi was present at the Nisqually camp on Connell's Prairie on the day of the killing, they prepared an elaborate diagram to show that Leschi could not have been in the swamp where Moses and Miles were struck down. Doctor Tolmie sent a long letter to Lafayette McMullen, who had just succeeded Stevens as governor.92 Stevens, however, was not without influence, for he was now a delegate to Congress and still published the only newspaper in the Territory, the Olympia Pioneer and Democrat.93 An encouragingly large minority of settlers in northern Washington apparently believed Leschi innocent and began to say so.

It was to no avail, however, and the date for execution approached without promise of a reprieve. Casey refused


to allow the hangman's scaffold to be erected within the fort. Kautz and the post sutler, Bachelder, prepared a surprise for the sheriff, George Williams, who was to carry out the execution. Bachelder, a federal employee, was also a U.S. Commissioner. At the instigation of Frank Clark, a warrant charging Williams with the sale of liquor to Indians was drawn and handed to Bachelder. Bachelder then deputized Lieutenant McKibben and Fred Kautz to serve the warrant on Williams. Before noon on January 22, Sheriff Williams was arrested by the deputies while he had the death warrant for Leschi in his possession. Commissioner Bachelder held Williams until the next day, when the legal time for the execution had passed. Williams, too, was apparently involved in the scheme, for he made no effort to secure his own freedom, and he refused when requested to hand the death warrant over to the territorial secretary, Charles H. Mason.

These shenanigans could not secure a Presidential review—the only hope left—nor long impede the will of the majority. On January 23, the territorial legislature met and passed a special law to effect the execution of Leschi. Then a special session of the district court was held, and a new date was set for the hanging, February 19.


96. Ibid.
Kautz and the other officers at Fort Steilacoom, in a final effort to help Leschi, went into print. As Delegate Stevens owned the only newspaper, which was blatantly proclaiming Leschi's guilt and demanding his execution, they had to print their own. It was Kautz who suggested using the little printing press at the fort, and on February 3 there appeared the first issue of the Steilacoom Truth Teller. Edited by "Ann Onymous," only two of the one-sheet papers were issued. The masthead proclaimed the paper to be "Devoted to the Dissemination of Truth and Suppression of Humbug." In it, the friends of Leschi paraded the evidence of his innocence, including a crude woodblock rendition of the "Plan of Tenalout or Connell's Prairie" that was based on the survey by Kautz, Tolmie, and Tidd.97

Nothing could stop the legal murder now, however, and Leschi was strangled to death on schedule.

In at least one respect, Leschi's long association with Kautz was repayed with more than disillusionment. The Nisqually Indians dwelled on the lower slopes of Mount Rainier, 14,408 feet high and the fourth highest mountain

97. Meeker says four numbers were issued and has a photograph of one; Reminiscences, 445. Charles Prosch (see p. 73 below) recalled only two numbers; Obituary.
Ever since he was first stationed at Steilacoom in 1852, Kautz had longed to climb to its summit and to see the glacial origins of the many streams that watered Puget Sound. From Leschi, the inquisitive lieutenant learned much about the approaches to the mountain and how it might be conquered. By the summer of 1857, Kautz had determined to attempt the ascent. "I had expressed so often the determination . . . without doing it," he later wrote, "that my fellow officers finally became incredulous, and gave to all improbable and doubtful events a date of occurrence when I should ascend Mount Rainier." 99

Armed with knowledge gained from Leschi, Kautz finally set out on July 8, 1857. 100 He was accompanied by Assistant Surgeon Robert O. Craig, an Indian guide, and four enlisted men to handle the pack animals. They left the horses and two men on Mashel Prairie, where Kautz had been during his scout of the previous April. By the 16th the party had struggled across glaciers, through snow and sleet, to within a mile of the summit. Kautz did not

100. This paragraph is derived from the article by Kautz, ibid., 393-403; and Aubrey L. Haines, "Mountain Challenge, 1857: Journal of Lt. August V. Kautz on Mount Rainier," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, Vol. 48 (Oct. 1957), 134-38.
actually climb to the top, nor did he ever make such a claim, and he confided in his diary, "We have . . . been much more successful than I anticipated." The mountain climbers had as difficult a time coming down as going up—more difficult, if possible, because of worsening weather. Doctor Craig was near total exhaustion, and the Indian guide became for a time snowblind. Kautz lost his hat in a crevasse near the summit and improvised a red flannel cap in which he returned to Fort Steilacoom. A short rest at their base camp revived them somewhat, and Kautz and the doctor rode ahead into the fort on July 21. The lieutenant had lost fourteen pounds, and a diet of wild berries permanently impaired his digestion.

Kautz' exploit on Mount Rainier served conversation around the community of Steilacoom after the fading excitement of the Indian war. Then the lieutenant, the other officers at the fort, Fred Kautz, Doctor Tolmie, and Sutler Bachelder provided further excitement with the abortive defense of Leschi who languished in the post guardhouse. One of Kautz' officer friends, John Nugen, with whom he had crossed the Isthmus in 1852, died on October 22. As

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101. But he got much closer than he is generally given credit for. He reached the saddle between Peak Success and Columbia Crest, less than 400 feet in altitude below the highest point. Haines, "Mountain Challenge," 137n. Today, a creek and a glacier bear Kautz' name in Mt. Rainier National Park. N.P.S., Mount Rainier, 2, 16-17 (map).

102. Heitman, I, 754.
winter set in, even the routine of army life was difficult to maintain, but the post was fortunate in having a thriving civilian community nearby.

Steilacoom, incorporated in 1854, was one of the oldest towns in Washington Territory, though its population by 1860 was only 826.103 Confidence was its major asset, and Kautz joined the land speculation by purchasing twelve lots.104 Like most frontier communities, it craved to have its own local newspaper, and this need Charles Prosch sought to meet in the spring of 1858 with the Puget Sound Herald.105 As the transformation of words into type ever held a fascination for Kautz, he became a frequent visitor to the Herald office. In later years Prosch remembered the lieutenant from Ohio as "highly educated and, while very plain in manners, he . . . seemed to expect that the time would come when the knowledge he had acquired of international law and military tactics, would be of service." Prosch judged that, "Among his superior officers were few, if any, so well educated as he."106


104. Diary, 1858.

105. During Gov. Stevens' campaign for territorial delegate to Congress, to which office he was elected July 13, 1857, he was opposed by the first newspaper in Steilacoom, the Washington Republican. The sheet expired with the campaign. Meeker, Reminiscences, 445.

106. Obituary.
The knowledge of "international law" which Prosch mentioned was not the result of any formal application to books but rather the result of Kautz' experience in 1858 and 1859 as quartermaster for the Northwest Boundary Survey Commission and his interest in the imbroglio over ownership of San Juan Island. The Boundary Commission, charged with running the 49th Parallel line between Canada and the United States, began its work in the summer of 1857 under the direction of First Lieutenant John G. Parke, Corps of Topographical Engineers. They started to run the land portion of the boundary from Boundary Bay on the Gulf of Georgia eastward. In the spring of 1858 the Commission

107. Kautz' diary gives no clue to his official duties with the Commission, but Cullum, II, 326, designates him "Acting Quartermaster." As Mr. J. Nevine King was the regular quartermaster and commissary, from May 21, 1857, to January 15, 1861, it is likely that Kautz' oversaw the supply of the Commission from California to Bellingham Bay. Marcus Baker, Survey of the Northwestern Boundary of the United States, 1857-1861, U.S. Geological Survey Bulletin No. 174 (Washington, 1900), 14. Charles Prosch recalled that Kautz had been "disbursing officer for the Puget sound district and the department quartermaster," which would have made him the logical officer to obtain supplies for the Commission as it penetrated the interior. Obituary.

108. The only published account of the survey is by Baker (n. 107 above) who, writing in 1900, admitted that the fame of the dispute over San Juan Island made the concurrent history of the land boundary "very imperfectly known." He gives a few facts in the U.S.G.S. bulletin, pp. 13-18. See also: William H. Goetzmann, Army Exploration in the American West, 1803-1863 (Yale University Press, 1959), "Epilogue," 427 et seq.
was joined by a British party and together they blazed a straight path through the wilderness until they reached the Skagit River at the end of the season. Kautz was detached from Fort Steilacoom to join a 9th Infantry detachment at a camp on Bellingham Bay, where he arrived October 17. Apparently Kautz was entrusted with the procurement of supplies for the international commission and had some responsibility for transportation to a point where the commission's field quartermaster, a civilian, could take delivery.

In the 1859 season, the commission stretched the boundary all the way to the Columbia River, 240 miles inland. During the summer, however, the efficient but unheralded work of the land surveyors was overshadowed by a dispute over which nation owned San Juan Island west of Bellingham Bay. Brigadier General William S. Harney, commanding the new Department of Oregon, ordered Captain

109. Diary, 1858.

110. The department existed only from September 1858, through 1860, and included all of the territories of Washington and Oregon, except the Rogue River and Umpqua districts of Oregon. Harney assumed command October 25, 1858, with headquarters at Fort Vancouver. He was succeeded briefly by Colonel George Wright in 1860, and in January, 1861, the command was merged into the Department of the Pacific. Raphael P. Thian (comp.), Notes Illustrating the Military Geography of the United States, 1813-1880 (Washington, 1881), 85-86; cited hereafter as Thian.
George E. Pickett, 9th Infantry, to secure exclusive jurisdiction over the island, by force if necessary. Pickett, of later Gettysburg fame, defied the Royal Navy with the two companies of the 9th Infantry and with Companies A and C, 4th Infantry, from Fort Steilacoom. Although Pickett at last withdrew after General Winfield Scott investigated, the dispute was not settled until it was arbitrated in 1871. Kautz missed the expedition to San Juan because he was with the Boundary Commission and, in June of 1859, he was granted leave. The whole procedure was watched intently by Kautz, however, and he collected all the pertinent printed information he could gather.

By 1859 August V. Kautz was thirty-one years old, already a veteran soldier with a close acquaintance of full-scale war and a taste of Indian fighting. But he had been away from his Ohio home for nearly seven years. As a bachelor first lieutenant in a remote station he had managed his pay with imaginative frugality. In the summer of 1859 he secured a leave of absence with permission to "travel beyond seas," and on June 29 he departed Fort Steilacoom on a ship for San Francisco. From California he journeyed via the Isthmus of Panama to New York. After a brief stay

112. *Kautz Papers*. 
in Ohio, he sailed for Europe and traveled on the Continent until March of 1860.\textsuperscript{113} Returning to the States, Kautz was ordered to report to Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, and to take a company of recruits to Oregon.

Left to his own devices, Kautz probably would have made the return trip to Oregon by steamer around Cape Horn. The overland journey was the brainchild of Kautz' classmate, John Mullan. Lieutenant Mullan had assisted Isaac I. Stevens in the survey of a northern route for the Pacific Railroad in 1853.\textsuperscript{114} Afterward, Mullan had laid out a military road from Walla Walla, Washington Territory, to Fort Benton, Montana Territory, the latter being the head of navigation on the Missouri River. In the first weeks of 1860, the "Mullan Road" was not yet complete but Mullan thought that travel over the route would be feasible by spring. Such a route would appreciably shorten the time, and reduce the cost of transportation, for sending troops to the Pacific Northwest. At just this moment, the regiments in the Department of the Columbia, particularly the 9th

\textsuperscript{113} Diary, 1859, 1860.

\textsuperscript{114} In April, 1853, Mullan was detailed by the Secretary of War to assist Stevens. He proceeded to St. Louis, Missouri, and thence accompanied the Eastern Division of the Survey up the Oregon Trail (another promising officer named George B. McClellan headed the Western Division at work in Washington Territory). Mullan's valuable work is fully described in the Pacific Railroad Reports (13 vols.; Washington, 1954-58), Vols. 1, 12 (pt. 1), and 12 (pt. 2), passim, much of which he wrote for Governor Stevens. For their personal relationship, see Stevens, \textit{Life of I. I. Stevens}, I, passim; and II, 275, 296.
Infantry, were in serious need of replacements because of the double attrition of duty there—gold fever and Indian wars. In March, 1860, a special order was issued to the recruiting superintendents to organize three hundred recruits for the 9th Infantry and to send them to Jefferson Barracks for an overland march to their command.115

Kautz reported to Major George A. H. Blake, 1st Dragoons, who was to command the expedition. Blake assigned Kautz command of one of the four recruit companies. They embarked on three steamboats on May 3, together with seven laundresses, two doctors, and their guide, Pierre Chouteau, Jr. The tedious voyage up the Missouri consumed sixty-one days. From July 3 to August 7 they camped at Fort Benton, awaiting Mullan and organizing a wagon train. "Mullan," Kautz wrote in his diary, "is quite a monomaniac about his road." The Blake Expedition followed the trail to Coeur d'Alene where it arrived on September 15. From Coeur d'Alene, Kautz took 149 recruits, two other officers, and one of the doctors to Colville, W.T. From there he went himself to Fort Chehalis, a new 4th Infantry post in western Washington. He was to serve the next seven months there with Company A under command of Captain Maloney.

115. The history of the Mullan Road is traced in Martin F. Schmitt, "From Missouri to Oregon in 1860: The Diary of August V. Kautz," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, Vol. 37 (July 1946), 193-230. This and the next two paragraphs are based on Schmitt's account as well as the diary.
Far from the Pacific Northwest, in November of 1860, the national election for President was drawing the attention of all thoughtful Americans. Without political concern, professional army officers were nevertheless fully aware of the contest's implications. Kautz' inclinations at this time, as they were in later life, were toward the Democracy of Jackson as it was understood in the Ohio Valley. He had many Southern friends, no particular emotions about slavery, and a deep respect for the sovereignty of individual states.

As the Democrats gathered in convention at Charleston, South Carolina, in April of 1860, Kautz followed political events in the newspapers. It was soon evident that sectionalism was about to destroy the last remaining national political organization. The delegates who represented the Lower South withdrew when a platform of Western ideals was adopted and, when the remaining delegates failed to find a majority for the apparent favorite, Stephen A. Douglas, they adjourned to meet again in Baltimore. With the further loss of Southerners, the rump convention in June nominated the "Little Giant" of Illinois.

116. Diary, 1860.

117. The literature on the causes and coming of the Civil War is a field of study in itself too immense to summarize in a footnote. For the details of events alluded to in this and the next four paragraphs, one may begin with Allan Nevins, The Emergence of Lincoln (2 vols; New York, 1950), and Ulrich B. Phillips, The Course of the South to Secession (New York, 1939). Older but still good is the work
The Southrons held their own convention in Richmond and nominated John C. Breckinridge, James Buchanan's Vice-President. This choice was not nearly so sectional as that of Douglas, a Chicago booster, for Breckinridge was a Kentuckian and a Westerner. Breckinridge, furthermore, selected as his running mate Joseph Lane, the redoubtable Indian fighter from Oregon whom Kautz had met at Table Rock. The Northern Democrats tried to ameliorate their regional character by choosing as Vice-Presidential nominee, Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia.

The new Republican party held their convention in May, in Chicago, while Kautz was navigating the Missouri River. They nominated, on the third ballot, Abraham Lincoln. It is possible Kautz had never heard of the Illinois politician, isolated as he was in the wilds of Washington Territory, but the autumnal elections of 1858 had drawn more or less national attention to Lincoln as he debated the issues of slavery and popular sovereignty with Douglas. Kautz was an avid reader of newspapers and probably knew well the public careers of both men.

Before Lincoln won a majority of Electoral College votes in November, 1860, several Southern leaders threatened by Dwight L. Dumond, The Secession Movement (New York, 1931). The agony of decision passed through by many Southern army officers is epitomized by the experience of Robert E. Lee, masterfully traced in the first volume of Freeman, R. E. Lee.
that their states would secede from the Union rather than submit to a Black Republican victory. Similar threats in the past had, however, gone unfulfilled; and most regular army officers—in common with Northern civilians—thought the threats mere bluff. Yet in the four months between Lincoln's election and inauguration, November 6, 1860, to March 4, 1861, seven states of the Lower South did secede. Not only that, but in February of 1861, the seceding states formed a new government, styling themselves a "Confederacy." This somber development confronted the officers from Southern states with the necessity for decisions that many would rather not have made. When the government of the Confederate States was formally proclaimed in February, the Southern officers began to resign by the score and to offer their swords to their native states.

After the fall of Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor, on April 14, 1861, there could be no doubt that war had come. President Lincoln prudently moved to increase the regular army and called on the loyal states to furnish volunteers to help restore the Union. At this juncture four more slave states seceded, including the key state of Virginia, and the army lost more valuable officers who looked on their homes with a higher loyalty than on their coats of army blue. On April 22, Colonel Robert E. Lee,
1st U.S. Cavalry, accepted the command of the "military and naval forces of Virginia."\footnote{118}

On May 1, 1861, Kautz received at Fort Chehalis orders to report to the Superintendent of the Recruiting Service at New York City. On the 12th, he departed. One exasperating delay after another plagued him. First he lost his baggage in crossing the Chehalis River;\footnote{119} next he could not get passage on a steamer at San Francisco and was finally forced to take a sailing vessel. On the Isthmus of Panama, he was delayed ten days in crossing. Perhaps, on later reflection, the delay was worthwhile; for on arrival in New York on August 2, he found that he had been appointed a captain in the 3rd U.S. Cavalry, constituted under the Act of July 29. He was to hold rank from May 14.\footnote{120}

On August 9 he was given orders to proceed to Pittsburg. The regiment had been recruited largely in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Western New York, by its actual commander, Lieutenant Colonel William H. Emory.\footnote{121}

\footnote{118} Ibid., I, 463-64.

\footnote{119} Diary, 1861, and introductory note to the volume containing the journal for June 1, 1857, through December 31, 1861. This volume is a copy of the original books which were waterlogged but recovered from the river. Some of the earlier volumes may have been lost at this time, though Frances Kautz published excerpts from 1853 in the The Washington Historian (n. 12 above).

\footnote{120} Cullum, II, 326.

\footnote{121} Major David Hunter was made colonel of the new regiment on May 14, but three days later he was promoted to
Since he had climbed Mount Rainier, Kautz' health had been delicate, and on one of his crossings of the Isthmus he had contracted recurrent malaria. Now an attack put him to bed in New York, and he did not reach regimental headquarters until August 16. He was surprised to find that he no longer was an officer of the 3rd Cavalry, but rather of the 6th. On August 10 the two old dragoon regiments, and the Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, had been redesignated as the first three regiments of cavalry. The three new regiments just organizing were now called the 4th, 5th, and 6th, and Kautz was assigned a company of the 6th Cavalry.\footnote{122} On August 26, they moved their camp of instruction to Bladdensburg, Maryland, and two weeks later Captain Kautz began a week's leave to visit Ripley, Ohio.\footnote{123}

\footnote{122} Other company commanders soon to win fame were John Irvin Gregg, William Price Sanders, and Charles Russell Lowell; \textit{ibid}. Kautz had Co. B, in which Byron Kirby, later brevet brigadier general and lieutenant colonel of the 3rd Md. Cavalry, served as a private until November 29, 1861; \textit{Diary}, 1874, and Heitman, I, 603.

\footnote{123} \textit{Diary}, 1861.
When the Kansas and Pacific train stopped at Ellsworth, Kansas, on a pleasant June evening in 1869, Kautz soon found the company of a fellow colonel with flowing hair and mustachios. George A. Custer and several young officers of the 7th Cavalry were stopping overnight on their way to Fort Harker. That evening at the Larkin House was passed in conversation. Custer’s companions probably availed themselves of the establishment’s liquid refreshment, but both of the senior officers were abstemious and circumspect. They had met before in Sheridan’s camp near Petersburg, and each was acquainted with the other’s reputation. They would not meet again before "Yellow Hair" was cut down at the Little Big Horn.

1. Diary, 1869. The post was four miles southeast of town.

2. The town’s first hotel was built by Andreas Larkin in the fall of 1867, a few months after Ellsworth was nearly wiped out by a flood of the Smoky Hill River and was moved to higher ground. Then only a few weeks after Kautz stayed there, a fire started in the hotel which destroyed more than a block of buildings. A. T. Andreas (publ.), History of the State of Kansas (Chicago, 1883), 1276-77.
Early next morning, June 11, the train steamed from Ellsworth onto the plains, shimmering in summer light. The only growth was buffalo grass, and along the right-of-way were only wood stations and water tanks. The next town of consequence was Hays City sixty miles down the track, enjoying some fame from its town marshal, "Wild Bill" Hickok. Soon after starting, Kautz saw a scattered herd of buffalo, some "outside bulls," and the passengers amused themselves by shooting at them as they raced the train. Antelope also sported at a distance. The dreary ride stretched through the long day. As evening approached, the train slowed; the wooden cars rattled and telescoped; the wood-burning locomotive chuffed to the platform in the shanty town. "Sheridan, end of the line!" called the conductor.

Kautz rose wearily from his seat, looked briefly out the window to the station, lonesome in the twilight. Hoisting his bulky carpetbag with his saber strapped to its side, and donning his broad blue hat, he descended to the dust of Sheridan, Kansas, temporarily end-of-track for the

3. Ibid., 1291.

4. Diary, 1869. Additional description of rail travel across this part of Kansas, but in June of 1871, may be gained from John H. Tice, Over the Plains, on the Mountains: Kansas, Colorado, and the Rocky Mountains... Described (St. Louis, 1872), 39-53.
fast-building K.P. Railroad. He had completed the most rapid and comfortable part of his long journey to the Territory of New Mexico. From here he would have to go by stagecoach to Fort Union and there await his regiment, the 15th Infantry, which was marching through Texas. There was no hurry and he decided first to visit his old friend Charlie Woods, who commanded nearby Fort Wallace on the bleak Kansas plains.

The rude rooming house in Sheridan afforded at most a bed, and at nine o'clock next morning, June 12, Kautz took the stage to the fort. It required a two-hour ride to cover only six miles in the crowded coach. As he had hoped, he found Lieutenant Colonel Charles R. Woods who commanded the garrison at home. Woods' invitation to stay and take the next day's coach to New Mexico was accepted with alacrity.

Fort Wallace was on the South Fork of the Smoky Hill River, at a point where the stream was a beautiful rivulet of clear running water. The river passed the fort about three hundred yards from the bluff on which it was built. To an Easterner at least, the river was the only thing of beauty. There was no timber for sixty miles; the entire country was rolling grassland as far as the eye could

6. Diary, 1869.
see. The two-story, clapboard officers' quarters lined the north side of the parade and looked south to the river, the view obstructed only by the guardhouse and the magazine.

For some of the 180-odd men, there were two barracks of marl with low roofs and with walls two feet thick. All other buildings were of makeshift wooden frames with canvas roofs and only partly floored. "The cheerlessness of these accommodations," said the official description, "is mitigated by a rigid system of cleanliness and whitewashing," inspired, one may assume, by the post commander.  

Woods was about Kautz' age, a native of Ohio, and a West Point classmate. Before the war he had served in

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7. U.S. Army Surgeon General, A Report on Barracks and Hospitals, with Descriptions of Military Posts, Circular No. 4 (Washington, 1870), 309-12; cited hereafter as Surgeon General Report, 1870. The quote is on p. 310 and concludes that the post had an "unfinished and temporary aspect." Contemporary photographs, however, show attractive two-story frame houses.

8. Charles R. Woods (1827-1885) was appointed to the Academy from Ohio. Upon graduation, he was assigned to the 1st Infantry and went to Texas in November, 1852. In 1855 he transferred to the 9th Infantry and two years later went to Washington Terr. Promoted to captain in April, 1861, he was appointed to command in succession the 76th, 44th, and 10th Ohio regiments, all between October 13 and November 18. In the next two years he served in several commands in the West and Southwest, participating in the capture of Vicksburg and the Battle of Chattanooga. On August 4, 1863, he became a brigadier general and shortly after took over the 1st Division of the XV Corps, which he led until the capture of Atlanta and the end of the war. After the war he commanded several Reconstruction districts in the South until appointed lieutenant colonel of the 5th U.S. Infantry in March, 1869. In 1874 he became colonel of
Texas as well as in Washington Territory. In April, 1861, he had commanded the expedition sent with the Star of the West to relieve Fort Sumter. Later, he had risen rapidly as an officer of Ohio Volunteers, fighting in the Mississippi Valley and participating in the Atlanta campaign under Sherman. Like Kautz, he had been brevetted a major general, but after the war he had returned to the regular army as a major of infantry. He had married in 1860 and in June of 1869 Kautz found Cecelia Woods looking "as youthful as ever," though the post was "terribly dull" and her husband was frequently on campaign.9 Their quarters consisted of three small rooms partitioned from a single room forty by twenty feet.10 The Woods, however, had no children.

As it happened, the next day's stage was filled, and Kautz decided to lay over until Wednesday, the 15th. The weather continued perfectly clear and mild, but very windy. "The wide bleak plains," Kautz noted, "spread out in every direction and there is no place to go and nothing to see."11

the 2nd Infantry but was retired shortly after for dis­

9. Diary, 1869.
11. Diary, 1869.
It must have been a pleasant interlude, nevertheless, for Kautz to have stayed so long. He and Woods spent all of Monday talking over their battles and reminiscing of their army adventures.

In October, 1861, Woods had been fortunate to receive the colonelcy of the 76th Ohio Infantry while Kautz was still a captain of the 6th Cavalry. Woods' troops captured Fort Donelson in February, 1862, and led the assault that carried Lookout Mountain at Chattanooga, in 1864. After brief Reconstruction duty, he had come out to Kansas in 1870. Despite failing health, he was continually in the field against hostile Indians. The two men probably talked most, however, about their mutual interest in the Pacific Northwest, where Woods had served four years, and of the final months of the war when both were division commanders. 12

Kautz thought himself fortunate to have been a cavalry officer. Promotion was too slow in that arm now, 13 but in 1861 it was exhilarating to fight with mounted troops and to know the excitement of being always in the van. During the first months of the war, the 6th Cavalry had spent most of its time in camps of instruction in Maryland


and near the national capital. In November of '61 Captain Kautz had suffered so badly from rheumatism that he went on sick leave and traveled to New York City for "electrical baths." On March 10, 1862, the regiment at last joined Major General George B. McClellan's Army of the Potomac, and it was soon serving under Brigadier General George Stoneman for a reconnaissance to Cedar Creek. On the 27th they embarked at Alexandria, Virginia, for Fortress Monroe. During these marches, heavy rains and inclement weather prevailed. After a severe snow storm while at sea en route to Fortress Monroe, Kautz was taken seriously ill. He lay in hospital for the first twenty-eight days of April.

14. William H. Carter, From Yorktown to Santiago with the Sixth U.S. Cavalry (Baltimore, 1900), 14-21. Eight companies had been organized when the regiment reached the camp in Washington, north of the Congressional Cemetery, on October 12. There, three more companies were organized. The last company joined in July, 1862. Ibid., 16-17; cited hereafter as Yorktown to Santiago.

15. This was medically accepted therapy in the latter 19th century: "Placed on the insulated stool, . . . the patient is . . . highly charged with [static] electricity . . . The hair is deflected from the scalp, . . . the action of the heart is quickened, and an abundant perspiration breaks out over the body." It was thought that static electricity had "distinct tonic effects," to procure which "the patient is placed in the electric bath, and sparks are drawn [with an insulated brass knob] from the organs of vegetative life . . . " Roberts Bartholow, Medical Electricity: A Practical Treatise on the Applications of Electricity to Medicine and Surgery (Philadelphia, 1882), 158, 160-62.

16. Yorktown to Santiago, 22-23. Kautz, however, was detailed to a general court-martial in camp near Alexandria, March 21-25; Diary, 1862.
1862. When he rejoined his regiment it was engaged before rebel-held Yorktown. His discharge from the hospital, however, proved premature, and a relapse prevented him joining in pursuit of the enemy consequent to the evacuation of Yorktown on May 4.

By May 10 Captain Kautz felt well enough to ride, and he again joined his regiment encamped on the Pamunkey River north of Richmond. He took command of a squadron composed of Companies B and H in "the extreme advance of the army." These troops were the only ones armed with carbines, and the squadron was placed in advance each day that the regiment moved to drive back enemy outposts. The rest of the regiment was armed only with sabers and pistols. As the army moved very slowly, not more than six miles per day, they had several skirmishes, and on May 23 Kautz's force brought on the action at Mechanicsville. On the 29th they initiated the Battle of Hanover Court House having come upon


19. Unless otherwise credited, all direct quotations are from ibid.

the enemy between his advance guard and the main rebel
force, separated them, and driven the advance guard to
the right. Kautz pursued with the Union force following
"until the main body of the enemy coming from the left
attacked our troops in the rear." In the ensuing battle,
the federals repulsed the rebels "speedily . . . with heavy
loss" and captured their advance guard of about five
hundred men.21 The 6th Cavalry was at this time under
command of Major Lawrence A. Williams, a classmate of
Kautz.22

21. The operations of the 6th Cavalry and the
Battle of Hanover C.H. are described in the report of
Brigadier General William H. Emory, commanding 1st Brigade,
Cavalry Reserve, Army of the Potomac; and the report of
Major L.A. Williams, commanding 6th Cavalry; in Fred C.
Ainsworth and Joseph W. Kirkley (eds.), The War of the
Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the
Union and Confederate Armies (130 vols.; Washington, 1880-
hereafter as O.R., with all references to Series I unless
otherwise noted.

22. Lawrence Abert Williams and his brother,
William Orton, were regular army officers from Virginia and
were friends of the Lees. In May, 1862, Lawrence was accused
of "communication with the enemy" and was arrested. His
conduct had indeed been peculiar (see Diary, 1862), but he
was exonerated. On June 26, 1862, he went on sick leave
and never rejoined the regiment. From September 3, 1862,
to March 11, 1863, he had special duty in New York City;
on the last date he was dismissed the service for being
A.W.O.L. He died in 1879. His brother's fate was more
tragic. Resigning his commission in June, 1861, William
became a captain in the Confederate cavalry. He was captured
in June, 1863, wearing a Union uniform, and was promptly
hanged as a spy at Franklin, Tennessee. Yorktown to
Santiago, 33-41; Heitman, I, 1041, 1043; Cullum, II, 328.
The 6th Cavalry performed picket duty on the right flank of the Army of the Potomac during June until the Seven Days Battles. Major Williams became sick, and on June 25 Captain Kautz succeeded to command of the regiment when it was ordered to destroy the bridges on Totopotamy creek and to obstruct the roads by which the enemy under "Stonewall" Jackson was advancing. In successfully performing this mission, the 6th and several other regiments were cut off and forced to retreat under leadership of General Stoneman back to Fortress Monroe. The 6th Cavalry rejoined the Army of the Potomac on July 7 at Harrison's Landing.

All through July and August, Kautz continued in command of his regiment. The greater part of this time they were employed only in picket duty, but there were skirmishes daily. On August 5 they were sent to Major General Joseph Hooker to perform reconnaissance toward Malvern Hill. After four days at this task, in which Kautz was lightly engaged with the enemy and lost several men, the 6th Cavalry was assigned to the rear guard of the army and the brigade of Brigadier General Alfred Pleasonton, while McClellan evacuated Harrison's Landing. The brigade was detained at Yorktown until August 31 awaiting transport. 

23. Kautz was cited for gallantry on this occasion by Colonel Emory. *Yorktown to Santiago*, 44.

On August 26, 1862, Captain Kautz was placed in arrest by Pleasonton and deprived of command of the 6th Cavalry, pending disposition of charges of "disobedience of orders" and "highly insubordinate conduct." The charges stemmed from what Kautz termed, "General Pleasonton's irregular mode of action."

Returning to camp near Yorktown on August 23, the general had seen Corporal Michael Molkay of Company L, 6th Cavalry, "struggling with a horse whose mouth was bleeding, and, without investigation, ordered him to be tied to a wagon wheel, where he remained for four hours." Afterward, Pleasonton's adjutant came to Kautz and stated that the general wished "to reduce that man." Kautz inquired, "What man?" The adjutant replied, "That man tied to a wagon wheel over there," motioning in the direction of brigade headquarters. Kautz, up to this moment entirely ignorant of the circumstances, merely answered with a shrug, "Very well." After some reflection, Pleasonton's actions seemed so irregular that Kautz "gave the matter no further attention."

A day or two later, Captain (later Brevet Major General) James S. Brisbin, Corporal Molkay's company commander,

25. Such punishment was not unusual in the Civil War army. More extreme penalties included branding deserters and drumming incorrigibles out of the service and they were still allowed as late as 1872 when the Bureau of Military Justice virtually abolished them. See the Washington, D.C., Army and Navy Journal, January 13, 1872; cited hereafter as A.N. Journal.
transmitted to Kautz a complaint from the abused enlisted man against the general, in which it was stated that he, Molkay, had been tied to a wagon wheel four hours for "obeying his captain's orders." According to Molkay, Brisbin had instructed the corporal to break a horse of a vicious habit of rearing up and falling back on a rider. The corporal, at Brisbin's direction, had placed a standing martingale on the animal, which had caused its mouth to bleed. Brisbin endorsed the corporal's statement as truth and forwarded the complaint to Kautz, acting regimental commander. Kautz, in turn, forwarded the letter to the next higher headquarters—General Pleasonton's. As soon as it reached the general, Kautz was placed in arrest. As was expected, the charges never came to trial.

Kautz, nevertheless, continued in arrest. Although Pleasonton would liked to have removed him permanently from command, no equal officer was available in a regiment already much depleted. They were at last taken to Alexandria and deployed in front of the Capital and the entrenchments of Upton's Hill. Kautz was restored to duty later, and they moved across the Potomac River and upriver toward South Mountain, all the time in the advance guard and frequently engaged. On the morning of September 10, 1862, Kautz received

a dispatch from the governor of Ohio, David Tod, wherein he was tendered command of the 2nd Regiment of Ohio Volunteer Cavalry. Kautz perhaps had applied for the position and certainly was glad to be out from under Pleasonton; he accepted, and the court-martial charges were dropped, and he proceeded to Washington.

It was necessary to obtain a leave of absence from the regular army to accept a Volunteer commission, and this Kautz did on September 12. Eight days later he reported to Governor Tod at Columbus, Ohio. There he received a commission of colonel of Ohio Volunteers, to rank from

27. David Tod (1805-1868), a lawyer and postmaster of Warren, Ohio, was elected in 1838 to the state senate. He ran twice unsuccessfully for Governor as a Democrat, and in 1847 he was appointed minister to Brazil by President Polk. He returned to the U.S. in 1851. Meantime he had amassed a fortune from coal mined on the Brier Hill farm and from the production of iron at Youngstown. With others he sponsored construction of the Cleveland & Mahoning Valley R.R. In 1860 he was a Douglas Democrat, but on the outbreak of war he was nominated for Governor by the Union Party. He was easily elected. He had much trouble with the Peace Democrats, Clement L. Vallandigham, and a threatened invasion of Ohio by Confederate General Edmund Kirby Smith in September, 1862. In 1864 he failed of renomination, but he loyally supported the ticket on which John Brough was elected. Although he had seven children, and many of his papers are in libraries, he has never attracted a biographer and is almost unknown in his native state. His life is sketched in the D.A.B., Vol. 9, pt. 2, 567-68.

September 2. He also learned that his new command, the 2nd Ohio Cavalry, was much dispersed with elements in Kansas, Missouri, and Arkansas. It was said to be "completely broken down and unserviceable." Headquarters was nominally at Fort Scott, Kansas, but it comprised but a few dismounted men. About a hundred more were serving at the fort in quartermaster, commissary, and ordnance units. Another hundred soldiers of the 2nd Ohio constituted the provost guard in the neighboring town. All of the troopers with serviceable horses and arms—about 250 men—were serving under Brigadier General James G. Blunt in western Arkansas. Another detachment of 175 dismounted men had been formed into an artillery battery under the same command. A further detachment of fifty men was on the Neosho River, in southwestern Missouri, guarding the Indian frontier.

Understandably, Kautz hesitated to accept command of the regiment, and he did not do so until October 20.29 After much delay and a dispute with Major General Samuel R. Curtis, commanding the Department of Missouri, Kautz succeeded in having the regiment drawn together at Fort Scott. On December 18, Kautz brought his new command into Camp Chase near Columbus, Ohio, for refitting and remounting.

29. Special Order No. 18, 2nd Ohio Vol. Cavalry, October 20, 1862, in the compiled service record of Kautz (RG 94, National Archives).
Both Camp Chase and Camp Thomas, the headquarters station in Columbus, were in charge of Brigadier General James Cooper. But the former camp alone contained four or five regiments, some five thousand paroled Union prisoners, and another five thousand Confederate prisoners of war. In addition, there were numerous casual draftees and unassigned stragglers for the provost marshal to sort out. Several senior colonels present waived their right to command the camp and Kautz was given the assignment.

Administration and discipline of Camp Chase occupied nearly all of Kautz' time, leaving little opportunity for the instruction and inspection of his own regiment. He succeeded, nevertheless, in organizing schools for officers and non-commissioned grades and when weather permitted they drilled. New horses at last arrived and on April 1, 1863, Kautz reported his regiment ready for service in the field. A week later he reported to Major General Ambrose E. Burnside, commander of the Department of the Ohio, at Cincinnati.30

30. Ambrose Everett Burnside (1824–1881) was an Academy graduate, Class of 1847, but resigned as a lieutenant of artillery in 1853. He had a brief career as an arms manufacturer until the outbreak of war when he was made colonel of the 1st R.I. Inf. In August, 1861, he became a brigadier general. Modest and forthright, he accepted command of the Army of the Potomac to succeed McClellan only under protest. After the federal disaster at Fredericksburg in December, 1862, he was relieved at his own request. Later he commanded a corps in the same army. To some extent he was betrayed by subordinates, and in later years he was recognized as a good soldier who simply was unfitted to large command. His life is described at length by G. J. Fiebeger, D.A.B., II, 309-13.
Late in the previous September, when he had visited Governor Tod in Columbus, Kautz had been introduced to the governor's two charming daughters, Charlotte and Grace. When he returned to command Camp Chase, the dashing colonel paid court to Charlotte, the eldest, and in subsequent months took every opportunity to visit her at the family mansion at Youngstown called "Brier Hill." Official pretexts for visits to the Governor were easy to arrange and Kautz must secretly have been glad that it required so long to refit his troops. When he reported to Burnside in Cincinnati, he began a correspondence with Charlotte Tod that only the rebel raider, John Hunt Morgan, could interrupt.

The 2nd Ohio Cavalry marched into Kentucky and bivouacked at Mount Sterling on April 11, whence Kautz dispatched his report to Brigadier General Quincy A. Gillmore, but he was instructed to report instead to Brigadier General Samuel P. Carter who then commanded the 4th Division of the

31. Diary, 1862. The volume for 1863, unfortunately, has not been found.

32. The 2nd Ohio was assigned by Burnside to the District of Central Kentucky per Paragraph 5, Special Order No. 99, Dept. of the Ohio, March 17, 1863. When Kautz reported to Burnside on April 7, he was ordered (Par. 7, S.O. 121) to march to Mount Sterling and "upon his arrival report by letter to Brigadier-General Gillmore . . ." O.R., Vol. 42, pt. 1, supp., 341, 350.

33. Samuel Powhatan Carter had been an officer of the U.S. Navy and had progressed from midshipman to lieutenant commander, 1840-62. He was appointed a brigadier in the
Army of Central Kentucky. Kautz marched his regiment to Somerset, via Standford, and joined the division north of the Cumberland River. Carter was preparing to attack the rebels concentrated south of the river under Major General John Pegram at Monticello. When the attack commenced on May 1, Pegram withdrew; and on May 8 the federals returned to Somerset.

On May 11, 1863, Kautz was assigned to command a cavalry brigade composed of his own regiment and the 7th Ohio. At about the same time, the rebels reoccupied Monticello, and on the 25th they attacked the Union pickets at Hart's ford. The enemy inflicted a few casualties and took twenty horses with some Union prisoners. On the night of May 29, Kautz was sent with a mixed force to retaliate. He approached Monticello from the east and in a bloodless raid swept away thirty-three horses and many rebel prisoners.

On June 8, Kautz was directed to make a feint attack on Monticello to divert attention from a raid into eastern Tennessee by Colonel William P. Sanders, a classmate who had been a captain in the 6th U.S. Cavalry and now commanded the Tennessee Volunteers in September, 1861, and served in the army until January, 1866, when he returned to the navy as a commander. He was retired in 1881 and promoted to the grade of rear admiral in 1882. Hamersly, Officers of the Navy, 35-36; Heitman, I, 288.
5th Kentucky (Union) Cavalry. Reinforced with some of the 2nd Tennessee (Union) Cavalry, Kautz' brigade encountered the rebels about five miles north of Monticello on the morning of June 9. Although the enemy was much stronger, they mistook Kautz' force for the entire 4th Division and abandoned the town. Kautz also retired as he actually had only eight hundred sabers. No sooner were the federals in retrograde motion, than the rebels discovered the ruse and pursued. Kautz' rear guard was overtaken, whereupon the colonel took some fifty troopers back and, in the gathering dusk, staunchly defended the position until darkness ended the contest. It was said that Pegram commanded the enemy force in person, five regiments of nearly 1,800 men. Kautz' command suffered about thirty-five casualties. Another reconnaissance in force to cover the return of Sanders was carried out by Kautz' brigade on June 20-23. He advanced as far as Jamestown, Tennessee, only to find that the enemy had again abandoned Monticello to pursue Sanders. Sanders had altered his route, and Kautz returned to Somerset without finding either force.

34. Sanders had followed Kautz in command of the 6th Cavalry. His exploits are well reviewed in Yorktown to Santiago, 58-75, passim. He took the 5th Ky. Cavalry on March 4, 1863, and in October became a brigadier. Heitman, I, 858.

In the winter of 1862-63, August V. Kautz gave expression to a project that had suggested itself since the outbreak of the war: the writing of a guide for military administration. Thrown together with hundreds of Volunteer officers who were abysmally ignorant of administrative procedures, and faced himself with hurriedly educating a vast number of clerks and company officers at Camp Chase, he prepared a small manuscript titled "The Company Clerk" and submitted it to J.B. Lippincott & Company of Philadelphia. About the time he was engaged with Pegram's Confederates around Monticello in early June, the volume was published and was an immediate success. Reprinted twelve times during the war, The Company Clerk took its place alongside Hardee's Tactics as an indispensable guide to new officers.

The concentration of Confederate Brigadier General John Hunt Morgan's cavalry in the vicinity of Burkesville

36. The Company Clerk: Showing How . . . To Make Out All the Returns, . . . and other Papers, . . . How to Keep All the . . . Records . . . Required in the Administration of a Company . . . in the Army . . . (Philadelphia, 1863). The copy in the author's possession was printed in 1864 and bears endorsement of the commanding general, District of Columbus, Army of the Ohio, who advised that the work "can be purchased at the bookstores in Columbus and Cairo, at St. Louis, &c.; and all officers in the volunteer service are recommended to acquaint themselves with its very valuable . . . information." Its flyleaf reflects ownership by three Volunteers in succession.
and Creelsboro, Kentucky, in the early days of June, 1863, greatly alarmed the federal commander in Kentucky, General Burnside. Morgan's purpose was unknown, but he had made a daring raid in 1862 and all the available Union cavalry was prudently assembled near Jamestown, Kentucky, where Kautz arrived with part of his brigade on June 28. They watched Morgan from a distance until July 3 when the rebels drove in the Union outposts along the Burkesville-Columbia road. On Independence Day, Kautz was ordered in pursuit as soon as it was ascertained that Morgan was headed for the Ohio River. The order came in the evening for the 2nd Ohio and the 1st Kentucky (Union) Cavalry of Colonel Frank Wolford to join the brigade of Brigadier General Edward H. Hobson as part of Burnside's cavalry division. That division, unfortunately, was commanded by the incompetent Henry M. Judah, now a brigadier general of Volunteers.38

37. The following account of Morgan's raid is based on Report of Service and "August V. Kautz in the Great Rebellion," unpub. Ms. in the Kautz Papers.

38. Judah was commissioned from the Academy in the 8th Infantry in 1843. He served with distinction in the Mexican War as a lieutenant and brevet captain of the 4th Infantry. In Oregon, in 1854, he commanded Co. E in which George Crook served. Crook characterized him as "considerable of a demigog" and an "unmitigated fraud," who "was in the habit of snubbing persons for volunteering suggestions." Crook averred that, "I had such contempt for him that his sight was obnoxious to me." Judah's favorite recreation was the bottle. He died January 14, 1866. Hiltman, I, 584; Crook Autobiography, 17-20, 35-38, 59.
The legendary Morgan led 2,500 of the best Confederate cavalrymen through Kentucky—home state of many of them—into Indiana and Ohio. He easily broke through the federal screen along the swollen Cumberland River and galloped to the Green where, on July 4, he fought a stiff engagement with a Michigan infantry regiment that soon fled. Pausing only long enough to bury the dead, he struck north and reached Lebanon, Kentucky, next day. The Union cavalry of Hobson and Brigadier General James M. Shackleford, though poorly deployed by Judah, had not been dilatory. Kautz and Wolford reached the scene of the skirmish on Green River only a few hours after it occurred, and they were at Lebanon on July 6. There they found not only Hobson's brigade—the 9th and 12th Kentucky—but also that of Shackleford with the 8th and 3rd Kentucky regiments. There were, in fact, bits and pieces of at least eleven regiments in and near Lebanon, but the cavalry numbered less than four thousand sabers. Kautz' own force counted only five hundred men. As Judah had gotten himself lost, and Burnside could only reach Hobson by telegraph, the entire force at Lebanon was placed under Hobson's orders and told to get moving.

39. Included in the literature of Morgan's exploits are two books exclusively devoted to the 1863 raid. A copy of A Complete Account of the John Hunt Morgan Raid (Louisville, 1863) by Flora E. Simmons is in the Kautz Papers. The best and most recent work is by Allan Keller, Morgan's Raid (Indianapolis, 1961).
For the next nine days Hobson's movement resembled more a steeple chase than a military operation. Once Morgan was across the Ohio, all that the federals could do was ride in his wake. Morgan was in enemy territory, at least when he left Kentucky, yet he seemed to go as he pleased, looting, cutting telegraph lines, and destroying railroad tracks. Hobson was assisted by the civilian population; he marched day and night with horses as fresh as Morgan's; but he could not catch him. The bluecoats reached the Louisville & Nashville R.R. south of Bardstown, Kentucky, on July 7 and marched across the modern Fort Knox military reservation to Brandenburg on the Ohio River, crossing the 9th. They headed due north into Indiana and swung east to Lexington where they camped on the 11th. For three days they drove north by east to the Ohio state line above Cincinnati. For two more days they marched east and southeast around Cincinnati, which was so alarmed that all the ablebodied men formed militia companies, but Morgan had wisely declined to enter the city. On July 15 Hobson came to a halt at Sardinia, Ohio.

On July 16 Hobson's tired troops rode southeastward to Winchester where he conferred with his officers. Kautz observed that they were no nearer the enemy than when they had united their forces at Lebanon. Could it be they were too large and compact a formation for such a
chase? Hobson thereupon instructed Kautz, an Ohioan now in his own backyard, to take the advance guard with the best horseflesh and to pursue Morgan as closely and as fast as possible. The idea was for Kautz to catch hold of Morgan's tail and to hang on long enough for Hobson to bring up a force large enough to do some damage. Armed with his new authority, Kautz immediately dispatched an officer to the railroad at Chillicothe, fifty miles northwest, with instructions to take the cars there, to get ahead of the rebels, and to persuade civilians to obstruct roads in Morgan's path. Then Kautz and his cavalry dashed ahead of the main body.

About this time another fresh force joined the weary Hobson. William P. Sanders and his regiment, with some Michigan cavalry, had ridden at top speed from their raid in eastern Tennessee and boarded river steamers to reach Cincinnati, whence Burnside had sent him to join Hobson. Not only was Sanders a daring and effective cavalry commander, but also his horses were relatively fresh and rested. This unit Hobson placed at the head of the main body, only two or three hours march behind Kautz.


41. Ibid., 141, 156.
On July 16 Kautz reached Jasper, Ohio, where Morgan had burned a bridge. Kautz speedily rebuilt it and at 3 a.m. on the 17th moved on, after being joined by Sanders. That day they reached Jackson, and on the 18th they marched straight toward a fording place of the Ohio River at Buffington Island which it now seemed was Morgan's objective. Morgan had been in Jackson about midnight on the 16th. Next day he had marched down to the river at Middleport but then had taken the road northeast toward Chester, skirting the town of Pomeroy. Militia defending the latter place had ambushed the Confederate van and had kept up a running fight for five miles, the hottest fight the raiders had had since leaving Kentucky. On the evening of the 18th, after several days of debilitating skirmishes, Morgan reached the Ohio River opposite Buffington Island.

By now a giant dragnet was fast closing on the Confederates. Besides the hounds of Hobson that were baying on Morgan's track, the remainder of Judah's cavalry division had left its boats at Portsmouth and was following the roads along the river bank about a day behind. The bibulous, befuddled Judah had twice before tried to outguess Morgan


and become stranded each time. This time he guessed Morgan was attempting to cross at Portsmouth and therefore disembarked. On the river, Navy Commander LeRoy Fitch and a fleet of gunboats were near Gallipolis, about to take on board a division of troops under Brigadier General E. Parker Scammon. Scammon had come down from the hills of central West Virginia to the Kanawha River and floated his men on boats to the Ohio.\(^{44}\)

On July 18 Kautz marched ahead of Sanders through Rutland, Ohio, to Chester, thence to Portland north of Buffington Island. At 4:30 p.m. he paused in Rutland to send the following dispatch to Hobson:

The rebels tried to force an entrance into Pomeroy, and have been repulsed. Captain Higley, Seventh Ohio Cavalry, left Morgan's rear an hour ago on Chester road, between 7 and 10 miles from here. They are supposed to be marching for Buffington Island, about 25 miles from here, where they will try to ford the river. It is too high, however, and the gunboats are on the alert... I have stopped to feed and rest, and shall push on tonight.\(^{45}\)

Kautz forged through the night on exhausted animals, his "brigade" now reduced to only two hundred men, and approached the banks of the Ohio in the first gray light of Sunday morning, July 19. Sanders with the 5th Kentucky Cavalry, a few troops of Michigan soldiers, and two light

\(^{44}\) Ibid., 166-68.

field guns, was leaving the town of Chester, some fifteen miles in Kautz' rear. 46 Hobson, with the brigades of Shackleford and Wolford, was somewhat farther back.

John Hunt Morgan and his rebel cavalry, reduced to less than two thousand men, had gotten down to the river the previous evening and had lain all night on their arms. They were unable to use the ford in the darkness until they might overcome a small band of home guards forted up on commanding ground. In the first light of the misty July morning, they had charged the redoubt to find it empty; then some of the raiders moved downstream where they surprised the advance of Judah's column and exchanged volleys. The Union troops quickly fell back and Morgan turned to organize a rear guard to defend his crossing. 47

Kautz' cavalry emerged from the mists above the ford to see the gray-clad raiders preparing to cross. They pressed the enemy pickets back through the timber that bordered the river. The skirmish must have consumed at least an hour, for at just the moment when Kautz' dismounted troopers had driven the Confederates into open ground along the river bottom and the sun had dispersed the fog, Sanders appeared on the high ground above. Dutch Kautz kept his

46. Shackleford's report in ibid., 640.
own people in the shelter of the timber and got word to Sanders to open fire with his cannon. In another minute the guns spoke. So prompt and effective was the fire of Sanders' two pieces that Morgan believed General Hobson had arrived with his main force. At the first discharge, the wildest confusion swept the Confederate ranks. Morgan's command disintegrated in a rout, accelerated by the attack of General Judah's whole force and the timely appearance on the river of Commander Fitch's gunboats.

The blow at Buffington island destroyed Morgan's army as an effective force. Nearly nine hundred rebels, however, escaped in small groups northward along the river, Morgan among them. They were subsequently pursued and harassed by both the aroused citizenry and Judah's troops for another week. They sought to double back across their earlier line of march at Pomeroy. Near Chester they were stampeded again by Shackleford's brigade. Morgan and a few hundred survivors again made for the Ohio River and attempted to cross at Cheshire. Nearly captured again, he turned and fled northeastward for a hundred miles. At Scraggsville Church, three miles south of New Lisbon, Ohio, on July 26, Morgan with four hundred men was captured by Shackleford.

48. Ibid., 237-69.
Kautz and his troops did not join in the final pursuit of the rebel raider. He retired to the town of Cheshire to handle the hundreds of Confederate prisoners. On July 22 he was ordered by Judah to take command of all the troops in his own and Sanders' force and to restore order in the counties over which Morgan was pursued. He was instructed to collect arms and equipment, especially horses, and to forward everything to Cincinnati. Soon after, his brigade disbanded.

On August 10, 1863, Colonel Kautz was ordered to the staff of the XXIII Army Corps, Major General George L. Hartsuff commanding, as Chief of Cavalry. On September 11, after the federals occupied eastern Tennessee, the headquarters entered Knoxville. Two weeks later Brigadier General Mahlon D. Manson took over the corps. In mid-November the rebels moved to recapture the city, and the corps was virtually besieged until December 5 when they were relieved by the approach of Major General William T. Sherman. In the subsequent pursuit of Confederate General Longstreet, however, Kautz had no part, for his position


had been rendered superfluous by the assignment of Brigadier General Samuel D. Sturgis as commander of all federal cavalry in eastern Tennessee.

Meantime, Burnside had been replaced as army commander by Major General John G. Foster. Kautz heartily wished to see his home and beloved Charlotte once more, and when his staff job terminated he applied for leave. Foster would neither grant the leave nor send him to rejoin the 2nd Ohio Cavalry (which he had not seen for four months), but instead appointed him president of a general court-martial. While attending this duty in Knoxville, between December 23 and January 4, 1864, Kautz once again met his childhood hero, Sam Grant, who was reconnoitering a route for supply of the Army of the Ohio through Cumberland Gap. Grant characteristically interceded for his friend. On January 5 he wrote to Foster,

General: In conjunction with your move against Longstreet, . . . I think it will be advisable to send a cavalry expedition against Abington and Saltville . . . . The Tennessee troops now organizing in Kentucky I think will be sufficient for this move . . . . Kautz will be a most excellent officer to entrust this expedition to, and if selected had better begin at once organizing it. 52


And that very day Foster had orders prepared sending Kautz
to Camp Nelson, Kentucky, there to organize refugee Unionists
from eastern Tennessee into a cavalry brigade. Two days
later Kautz departed for Kentucky but suffered many delays
and did not reach Nashville until January 14. Fortuitously
he learned that his new command was in transit to that place
from Kentucky, and he obtained from Grant a leave to wait
their arrival.

August Kautz' friendship with Charlotte Tod had
warmed to genuine affection in the first months of 1863, and
after he led the pursuit of Morgan's raiders through Ohio
in July, the dignified old Governor Tod could scarcely
refuse to approve the romance. In the long months since,
there had been no opportunity for travel to Youngstown and
in their letters alone they kept in touch. We may imagine
the joyous reunion when August briefly visited Charlotte
in January of 1864.

Kautz was in Philadelphia on January 29 to confer
with his publisher Lippincott about another military textbook
when he received a telegraphic order to report to the Secre­
tary of War. At Washington two days later, he was inter­
viewed by Secretary Stanton and assigned as chief assistant

53. Par. 2, S.O. 6, Hq., Dept. of the Ohio, in ibid., 38.

54. This is only supposition, as the Diary for January 1, 1863, to January 19, 1864, is missing.
to the head of the Cavalry Bureau, Brigadier General James H. Wilson. The Bureau was concerned mainly with supply functions and Kautz' time was consumed by inspections of depots until the end of February. He returned to the Capital but after a short time Wilson was sent to the field and was replaced by a colonel junior to Kautz. Whether the simple fact of seniority caused the subsequent reorganization of the bureau, or Kautz had been marked as a creative innovator by his superiors is difficult to assess. At any rate, Secretary Stanton solicited Kautz' views on the function of the bureau, and Kautz expressed the opinion that it should be an agency for inspection and

55. James Harrison Wilson (1837-1925) entered the Academy from Illinois and, in 1860, took his commission in the Corps of Topographical Engineers. In the first year of the war he held several engineering posts, but in September, 1862, he volunteered as aide-de-camp to General McClellan. After Antietam he joined Grant's staff as chief topographical engineer and later was his inspector general. In October, 1863, he became a brigadier general, and in January, 1864, was given charge of the Cavalry Bureau. When Grant opened the Richmond campaign, he secured Wilson for command of a division in the cavalry under Sheridan. Thereafter Wilson's conduct of independent cavalry operations was unexcelled, though his later work with Kautz was attended by near disaster. He was promoted major general in October, 1864. A brilliant organizer with a keen legal and scientific mind, he resigned from the army in 1870 to devote his energy to various railroad enterprises. Still vigorous, he participated in the Spanish-American War (1898-99) as a major general of volunteers, and he went to China with the relief expedition during the Boxer Rebellion of 1900. Retired as a brigadier, he once again was advanced to major general in 1915. He was an author of considerable talent and wrote an autobiography, Under the Old Flag (2 vols.; New York, 1912).
supervision of cavalry troop units directly under the General Commanding. According to Kautz' account, the Chief of Staff, Major General Henry W. Halleck, concurred in this view and caused a general order to be issued dividing the old bureau into a quartermaster department and a "cavalry inspectorate" of which Kautz was named the chief. Before any such plan could be effected, however, Kautz was himself made a general officer and sent to the field.

By 1864, eight of August V. Kautz' classmates from the Academy had become general officers, the first promoted having been Henry W. Slocum in August of 1861. Except for William Myers, who received the brevet of brigadier at war's end, Kautz was the last of his class to advance so high. Thirty officers of the next ten classes, however, had become generals by 1864, the last having been Kautz' comrade from the Morgan episode, William Price Sanders. He had been appointed a brigadier general in October, 1863, at age

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56. War Department General Order No. 162, 1864. Paragraph 11 pertaining to Kautz was deleted from the draft order. Report of Service.

57. The others were Alexander McD. McCook (promoted September 3, 1861), David F. Stanley (September 28, 1861), George L. Hartsuff (April 15, 1862), Milo S. Hascall (April 25, 1862), George Crook (September, 1862), John P. Hawkins (April, 1863), and Woods (August, 1863). Crook and Hawkins had ranked lower than Kautz in the Class of 1852. Heitman, passim.

58. 1853 through 1861; there were two classes graduated in the last year. Cullum, passim.
Kautz was thirty-six years of age when he was commissioned a brigadier general of Volunteers on April 17, 1864. His advancement, therefore, was not singular either for his age or for its rapidity. General Grant, again, seems to have been his benefactor.

Pursuant to the same order that promoted him, Kautz reported on April 20 to Major General Benjamin F. Butler, commanding the Army of the James at Fortress Monroe where

59. And who died of wounds in November, 1863. Heitman, I, 858.

60. War Dept. Special Order No. 150, April 17, 1864. Kautz Papers.

61. On April 13, General Butler urgently requested a cavalry commander for the army of the James. General Grant offered to send Kautz, with the opinion, "He is a good cavalry officer." Next day Butler accepted him, and on April 15 Grant wired Halleck to have Secretary Stanton issue the appointment as brigadier general. Stanton consented but Halleck worried about a replacement in the Cavalry Bureau. On April 16 Grant again wired Halleck, "General Butler is absolutely without a cavalry commander, and I can think of no one available equal to Kautz." The order was issued April 17, and the next day Stanton addressed a letter to Senator Henry Wilson, Chairman of the Military Affairs Committee, concerning several promotions. He repeated Grant's telegram of the 16th, explained that a vacancy existed, and expressed hope that the appointment (which had to be confirmed by the Senate) would "be acted upon at the earliest possible moment." It is noteworthy that Stanton began the letter with the words, "At the request of Lieutenant General Grant, the President has nominated Colonel Kautz . . ." O.R., Vol. 33, 862-79, passim. Stanton's letter to Wilson is in the Stanton Papers, Library of Congress; I am indebted to Dr. John Y. Simon for its notice.

Butler had established his headquarters. Butler at once appointed Kautz as Chief of Cavalry for the army and ordered him to Portsmouth, Virginia, to organize a division. The troops which he found encamped near Portsmouth comprised four regiments of Volunteer cavalry:

- 11th Pennsylvania, Colonel Samuel P. Spear commanding
- 5th Pennsylvania, Colonel Robert M. West commanding
- 3rd New York, Colonel Simon H. Mix commanding
- 1st District of Columbia, Colonel Lafayette C. Baker commanding

Kautz brigaded the Pennsylvania regiments under Spear and the other two under Mix. Captain Myer J. Asch, 2nd New Jersey Cavalry, reported as assistant adjutant general for

63. Ibid., 930. Kautz technically became chief of cavalry for the Department of Virginia and North Carolina.

64. Brigadier General Charles K. Graham, commanding at Norfolk, was ordered to take independent command of the city's defenses, leaving all cavalry for Kautz. Ibid., 931-32.

65. Report of Service. Cf. Kautz' General Order No. 1, April 28, 1864, in O.R., Vol. 33, 1013. Baker, colonel of the 1st D.C. Cavalry, had been a member of the San Francisco vigilance committee and was a spy for the Union early in the war. Escaping from Richmond with valuable information, he was next employed as the chief of a large detective force in Washington. He was, according to Margaret Leech, "a sinister figure whose extraordinary powers and oppressive acts made him feared and execrated throughout the nation." He was commissioned to command the regiment, said to have been recruited chiefly in Maine, in May of 1863. His nefarious career is traced in Leech, Reveille in Washington, 1860-1865 (New York, 1941), 148, 266, 430f. Kautz' diary is strangely silent concerning Baker, possibly because Baker was seldom present for duty.
As aides-de-camp, Kautz selected Lieutenant Ellis of Mix's regiment and Lieutenant Monroe of Spear's regiment. The strength returns submitted to Captain Asch showed the division to have an aggregate of 6,637 officers and men present for duty, but the arms and other equipment were sadly deficient for the proposed campaign.

Grant was moving on Richmond. Part of his plan of campaign was a movement by Butler's army up the south bank of the James River. The Army of the James was to cooperate with a concurrent approach to Richmond from the north by the Army of the Potomac under Major General George G. Meade. Butler's army was organized in two corps: the X Corps under Major General Quincy A. Gillmore and the XVIII Corps under Major General William F. "Baldy" Smith. The army had, altogether, about 36,000 men.

67. Robert S. Monroe was later a Major in the 11th Pa. Cavalry. Ellis has not been identified. Heitman, II, 130.
69. Ibid., 419, 516.
70. Grant's own account of the campaign is in his Memoirs, II, 116-57, 555-632. The classic study of these events, however, is by W. Birkbeck Wood and James E. Edmonds, Military History of the Civil War, with Special Reference to the Campaigns of 1864 and 1865 (New York, 1937), 79-139, 279-305.
71. Both of these officers were essentially engineers but had good reputations as combat leaders. Smith had fought well as a division commander at Antietam, and Gillmore had
Before General Kautz had departed Fortress Monroe, Butler had briefed him on the forthcoming operation. To deceive the Confederates into thinking that the Union Army would repeat McClellan's move up the Peninsula in 1862, Grant had ordered Butler to concentrate his army on the York River. At the last moment they were to be taken around the Peninsula and up the James to Bermuda Hundred Neck, a point where they could threaten both Richmond and Petersburg. Meantime, the cavalry division was to strike out from Portsmouth and sever the rebel railroad between Petersburg and Weldon before rejoining the army at Bermuda Hundred. Butler proposed to Kautz that the cavalry should burn the rail bridge across the Meherrin River at Hicksford. At Portsmouth, Kautz and his staff turned to the plan for the cavalry operation. Close study revealed that it would require them to cross the Blackwater River at an unfordable point and after a week Kautz reported that this appeared impractical. He secured approval of a different approach; it was now planned to send the cavalry division around the captured Fort Pulaski, Georgia, in April of 1862. Smith especially was trusted by Grant as a steady commander and a gritty fighter, and when reinforcements were needed at the Battle of Cold Harbor in May, 1864, Smith was ordered up. An abler general than Butler could have been expected to invest or capture Petersburg easily with such subordinates, though Gillmore failed miserably in June. Smith's life is sketched in the D.A.B., IX, 362-63; and see William H. Powell, Records of Living Officers of the United States Army (Philadelphia, 1890), 556; cited hereafter as Powell.
head of Blackwater, then to destroy the two rail bridges at Stony Creek and the Nottoway River.

During the night of May 4-5, 1864, the army of the James was carried in boats around the Peninsula as planned, and on May 6 they disembarked on the south bank opposite Bermuda Hundred. Kautz' cavalry, meanwhile, on May 5 and 6 marched from Portsmouth to Suffolk and swung north to the head of the Blackwater. Next day Kautz crossed the Nottoway twice and finally struck the railroad at Stony Creek where he captured the rebel guards, destroyed the railroad facilities, burned the bridge, and tore up track. On May 8 he burned the rail bridge across the Nottoway River and destroyed Jarratt's Station. The cavalry then turned northward and marched without incident to City Point on the James below Petersburg, arriving on May 10. Next day they joined the Army of the James.

During all this, the Confederate forces holding Petersburg and Richmond did not number more than six thousand effective troops, in addition to their artillery. General Peter G. T. Beauregard, who had been sent by Lee from the south, was intent on moving another nineteen thousand men into the cities, but none of these troops had arrived at Petersburg by the 4th of May. Next day, the leading elements of Beauregard's force reached the city. As late as the afternoon of May 6, Butler's reconnaissance
north of Petersburg revealed only a handful of rebels attempting to hold open the Richmond & Petersburg Railroad. Furthermore, the destruction wrought by Kautz on the Petersburg & Weldon Railroad had greatly hampered the Confederate reinforcement.\(^{72}\) When Kautz reported to Butler at the end of his march, he confirmed the tenuousness of the Confederate hold upon Petersburg. Ben Butler, however, ordered instead an immediate advance upon Drewry's Bluff where Beauregard held his strongest position. By the 12th of May when the Union forces were ready to attack, the Confederate general had three infantry divisions there totaling seventeen thousand men, plus artillery and cavalry. In Petersburg there were still but two infantry brigades and one of cavalry.\(^{73}\)

Butler's assault on Drewry's Bluff was little more than a demonstration, though if pressed vigorously even that Confederate strong point might well have been seized by Gillmore. While it went on, the cavalry was free to raid; and after participating briefly in Gillmore's movement, Kautz launched his division westward through Chesterfield, Virginia, to Powhatan Station on the Richmond & Danville

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\(^{73}\) Ibid., 116-17.
Railroad which they burned on May 13. They also captured a freight train and, after reprovisioning themselves, destroyed it. In the succeeding four days, Kautz' cavalry made an unhindered and destructive circuit of Petersburg. He rode south to Wilson's Station, pausing to burn Cnula Station and disable a locomotive, on the 14th. He then ravaged the Southside Railroad from Wilson's to Blacks-and-Whites (modern Blackstone), tearing up track at three points. The cavalry next marched south to Lawrenceville and then struck eastward.

At Jarratt's, which they had demolished only a week before, the Union cavalry surprised a rebel pontoon train that had been used on the Nottoway River while the railroad bridge was out. Kautz destroyed it also. Then his division marched north again to City Point, arriving on May 17 with fifty Confederate prisoners. Their entire loss since the 5th of May amounted to fourteen men killed, sixty wounded, and twenty-seven missing.

At Drewry's Bluff a real battle had developed on May 16 but not the one Butler expected. Beauregard had counter-attacked and succeeded in turning the right flank of the federal army. The Union forces managed to hold out until a dense fog halted the Confederate movement whereupon Butler withdrew into the peninsula of Bermuda Hundred.\(^{74}\)

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\(^{74}\) See William F. Smith, "Butler's Attack on Drewry's Bluff," in Battles & Leaders, IV, 206-12.
Therefore he was "confined in a bottle, of which Beauregard held the cork."  

The action at Drewry's Bluff was broken off on May 17, but the cavalry did not cross over the James River to rejoin the army until the 22nd. In the interval Grant was coming to grips with Lee's army at Cold Harbor. On the 26th, perceiving that Butler had accomplished about all he was willing to do, Grant ordered him to send General Smith northward with a corps of three divisions. As Baldy Smith's troops pulled out, Kautz' cavalry division occupied their line as an economy force. In these positions Kautz repulsed a Confederate attack on June 2, his troops armed mainly with pistols and numbering only about eight hundred effective men.  

While the Army of the Potomac was locked in bitter combat about Cold Harbor, one attempt was at last made to seize Petersburg. The city's defenses consisted of a more-or-less continuous perimeter of redans about two miles from the outskirts, all connected by hasty entrenchments.  

75. Wood & Edmonds, Military History, 117. The original simile about the corked bottle was composed by Grant (Memoire, II, 568), but this version is mere felicitous.  


Beauregard's forces, however, had obviously been weakened when he sent two divisions to aid Lee. On the night of June 8, General Gillmore, with about two thousand infantry and all the available cavalry under Kautz, crossed the Appomattox River. The cavalry marched around to the Jerusalem plank road and followed it up to the lightly held rebel entrenchments south of the city. The Virginia militia—for such proved to be the defenders—fought gallantly but could scarcely resist Kautz' attack. The Union movement unfortunately, had required a longer time than expected and Kautz' assault was not delivered until nearly noon. He erred seriously, furthermore, in not communicating with Gillmore who meanwhile demonstrated against the stronger works on the east, made no effort to carry them by storm, and withdrew before Kautz entered the city. For an hour Petersburg lay open to Kautz, but he was threatened by some artillery in front and from Confederate reinforcements to the east. When it was apparent that Gillmore had withdrawn, Kautz withdrew.

80. Although Kautz was negligent in failing to communicate with Gillmore, the failure to take Petersburg on June 9, 1864, manifestly rests first with Butler and second with Gillmore. Characteristically Butler tried to dodge his own responsibility as senior commander. The exchange of notes between Gillmore and Butler on the day of the attack is in O.R., Vol. 36, pt. 3, 718-20. On June 10 Butler wired Grant:
The retirement of Grant from Cold Harbor freed Baldy Smith's corps and permitted another major effort to take Petersburg before the rebels could again garrison the place. It was now obvious to the Union generals that the city was evacuated of nearly all troops, and on June 12 Grant ordered Smith to rejoin Butler's army "for the express purpose of capturing Petersburg." The troops reached Bermuda Hundred on the evening of the 14th, accompanied by Grant himself. Word had been sent ahead, and Kautz's cavalry already was moving across the Appomattox with orders to demonstrate against the enemy right flank. Smith, despite the casualties and fatigue of his divisions, was urged to cross by daylight on the 15th and to assault the enemy left. Smith's troops spent the greater part of June 15 crossing the river and reconnoitering. Kautz, meantime, had arrived

... Yesterday General Kautz charged enemy's works at Petersburg, and carried them, penetrating the town, but not being supported by General Gillmore, who had withdrawn his forces without a conflict, General Kautz was obliged to withdraw without further effect. General Kautz captured 40 prisoners and 1 piece of artillery ... It is a misfortune that General Gillmore did not support him ...

Ibid., 740. Gillmore was an effective organizer and a fine engineer, but he was not really suited to a large command. On June 17 he was relieved from the X Corps and assigned to the defenses of Washington. Kautz, "Operations South of the James River," 534; Hamersly, 69.

81. Grant, Memoirs, II, 571.
before the enemy trenches on the Norfolk & Petersburg Railroad. His dismounted troopers probed and generally threatened until 5 p.m., "hanging on all day by the eyelids." Then, owing to a shortage of ammunition and the non-appearance of Smith, he withdrew. Casualties were light but Colonel Mix of the 3rd New York was killed. At 7 p.m. Smith at last assaulted and easily tore a one and one-half mile gap in the rebel line, capturing many prisoners and sixteen guns. Although he was reinforced with the corps of Major General Winfield Scott Hancock, he did not press the attack. On June 16 the Union forces retired to Bermuda Hundred.

82. Quoted by Major General David B. Birney in his report of the battle, O.R., Vol. 40, pt. 2, 643-44. Birney commanded the 3rd Division of II Corps (Hancock) and met Kautz withdrawing on the Norfolk road after 7 p.m. while Hancock was reinforcing Smith.

CHAPTER IV

A RAILROAD IN VIRGINIA, A GRAVE IN OHIO

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The wind died as the gloom of evening gathered over the Kansas prairie. The glow of cigars brightened and subsided on the veranda while swallows circled and dove along the river three hundred yards away. Kautz and Woods sat in the warm dusk quietly recounting a thousand memories of the conflict four years past, both painful and pleasant.¹ To the end of his days, Kautz would recall with pride his exploit on the Weldon railroad in June of '64, and it is likely that he told the story again to Woods on that June evening five years later as he paused en route to New Mexico.

By the time the Army of the Potomac had begun the investment of Petersburg, its easy capture was impossible, for the North's ablest enemy had also arrived on the scene—Lee was in Petersburg, and he was rapidly drawing to himself the entire Army of Northern Virginia.² On June 21, 1864, Grant commenced operations with the object of reducing the

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¹ Diary, 1869.

² Freeman, Lee, III, 425; Grant, Memoirs, II, 298-99.
Confederate capital of Richmond while Petersburg was to be closely encircled, a goal never fully realized. 

Grant's plan was to destroy the lines of supply to Richmond and Petersburg from the remaining area of the Confederacy. It was to be a siege of nine months whose end would decide the outcome of the war. For Robert Lee it would be the most difficult defense he ever conducted. The Confederate battle lines initially extended twenty-six miles, and in addition to holding these, and covering the rebel capital against surprise attacks at other points, Lee had to keep open the railroads on which his army was totally dependent. Grant perceived this, and his first move was an effort to turn the southern Confederate flank, seize the Petersburg & Weldon Railroad, and get possession of the Southside Railroad. While two Union army corps were attempting to sidestep the rebel defenses, Grant sent Major General James H. Wilson with his own and Kautz' cavalry divisions to cut the Southside and the Richmond & Danville railroads.

3. Ibid., 299, 563-64, 570-71, 576-77; Wood & Edmonds, Military History, 122-24. Although he had not yet succeeded in having Butler removed, Grant had assigned the investment of Petersburg to General George G. Meade, commander of the Army of the Potomac.

The Petersburg and Weldon line ran directly south from Petersburg, a link in the main coastal route that led to Wilmington, North Carolina. The track of the Richmond & Danville R.R. ran southwestward from Richmond, which gave the capital another connection with northwestern Georgia. But in addition to those lines, it was imperative for the rebels to hold open the Southside line because at Burkeville it crossed the track of the Richmond & Danville. Supplies from North Carolina could be transferred to the other road at Burkeville and thence be carried into Petersburg.5

On June 20 Kautz was ordered to report to Brigadier General James H. Wilson with a view to operations against the Confederate communications southward from Petersburg.6 Kautz' command, about two thousand horse, joined Wilson's division six miles east of Petersburg in the vicinity of Mount Sinai Church.7 At two o'clock on the morning of the 22nd, the corps moved out with Kautz' division in the van. Five hours later they seized Reams' station from the Confederates and burned a freight train. Kautz was under orders to march next to Sutherland Station on the Southside

5. Ibid., 450-53.
7. The following narrative of Wilson's raid on the Weldon R.R. is based for the most on Report of Service.
Railroad, but he had discovered Confederate Major General William H. F. ("Rooney") Lee camped squarely in his path with a cavalry division. There was no time to consult with Wilson. Kautz, however, had seen Wilson's order from Grant which directed Wilson to go to the intersection of the Danville and Southside lines and there to commence destruction of the road. To attain that end it was clearly necessary at this stage to avoid an engagement. Kautz, therefore, decided to mislead the enemy by marching down the railroad to Weldon as if intending to destroy that line.  

After proceeding about eight miles, Kautz turned west to Dinwiddie Courthouse, thence north through Five Forks, and arrived at last on the Southside Railroad, striking it between Ford's and Sutherland's stations. Kautz' division had marched in one day nearly fifty miles. They had left in rear the rebel cavalry under Rooney Lee, who had followed Wilson's division toward Black's-and-White's (present Blackstone).

Kautz' division reached Burkesville on June 23 and next day marched to Keyesville, thence to Roanoke on the

8. Kautz further explained, "My reasons were satisfactory to General Wilson, but I assumed the responsibility of deviating from a very positive order . . . with the ultimate end in view I avoided an engagement with [W. H. F.] Lee's troops, which would have been necessary had I followed my orders literally, and a battle at that period of the raid would have defeated the expedition." Report of Service.
25th. "Between these points," he later recalled, "the railroad was almost entirely destroyed. The road was [made of iron] strap rail, on pine string pieces. There had been no rain for a month and these timbers were very dry, as well as the fence rails which we used to pile length-wise on the track, and to which we set fire."

They burned the Burkesville station and the track was destroyed for a considerable distance in both directions. General Wilson meantime joined Kautz and together their troops attempted to burn the bridge across the Staunton River. The Confederates, however, commanded the ground on the Union side by fire from the opposite shore, and Kautz' division suffered sixty casualties before they gave up the effort.

Virginia at this time was in the grip of a severe drought and the summer heat was intense. As the troopers wearily turned their mounts along the road east to Williamsburg on the morning of June 26, the dust choked off conversation and many dozed in their saddles. Wilson had again placed Kautz' division in the place of greatest danger, at the rear of the withdrawing column. The main body with three batteries of horse artillery and the trains set out to rejoin the Army of the Potomac. They marched without hindrance through Christianville and camped near the Meherrin River. They crossed next day and reached the

9. Ibid.
Boydton plank road. On the night of the 27th there was a heavy rain, the first in forty-seven days, and their departure next morning was slowed.

Wilson had first proposed to return by way of Ream's Station, the way they had come, but on June 28 he left the Boydton road and crossed the Nottoway River at Watt's Mill. The change of plan, coupled with the delay in marching, allowed Confederate Lieutenant General Wade Hampton to intercept the bluecoats at Stony Creek late on the 28th. Wilson's advance guard was repulsed and the entire column halted for twelve hours. Shortly after midnight, Wilson directed Kautz to take his division toward Ream's Station and from there try to open communication with the army around Petersburg. The contemporary reports are vague and laconic, but this sudden move of Kautz by the left flank must have been born of desperation and the knowledge that the Confederates had at last concentrated a considerable force to block withdrawal. Wilson, in addition, had burdened his trains with nearly two thousand freed Negroes and about a hundred wounded.

Kautz moved off in darkness toward Ream's. Shortly after sunrise on June 29 his advance reached the objective to find it held by a Confederate division under Major General

10. Wood & Edmonds, Military History, 127.
William Mahone. True to his orders, Dutch Kautz went in fighting. The bluecoats had suffered a few casualties and captured a large part of an Alabama regiment in the effort to force a passage when word came that Wilson's command had been attacked on the opposite flank by Major General Fitzhugh Lee with a cavalry division and two rebel brigades of infantry. Disaster loomed. "It soon became apparent," wrote Kautz, in his "Report of Service,"

that we were beset by all the enemy's cavalry, and a strong force of infantry, almost entirely surrounding us. About one o'clock in the day General Wilson decided to retreat by the way he came, and I was directed to bring up the rear. Before my command could take the road the enemy penetrated our lines and separated our commands, the 2nd Ohio and 5th New York regiments, of Wilson's command, took refuge in our ranks. I immediately took up my own line of retreat, and by keeping the woods on the north bank of Rowanty Creek until I had turned the enemy's flank, I escaped with the greater portion of my division and part of General Wilson's.

In the melee on the Weldon Railroad, the Union cavalry corps lost thirteen pieces of artillery, the entire wagon train, and all the loot and freed Negroes that had been gathered in the week's campaign. The wounded and ambulances were abandoned, many more Yanks became rebel prisoners, and both generals were fortunate to have escaped Fitz Lee and Mahone. Kautz got across the Weldon line a short distance south of Ream's, and about nine o'clock that evening reached friendly lines with half of his own people and two regiments of Wilson's division. Not until July 2
did Wilson with the rest of the cavalry corps return to the army by way of Jarratt's Station and Cabin Point on the James River. Kautz was gratified to learn that still more of his men were with Wilson. When all was over, the loss in Kautz' division was about five hundred.11

Tactically, the Confederates had achieved a neat local victory on the Weldon railroad. The Union cavalry was routed, and the losses in killed and missing were nearly 1,500, of whom a thousand were prisoners of war. It seemed for a few hours that all the staff of Lee's headquarters except the general himself were oblivious to the real damage that Wilson's raid had accomplished. The current joke was that after the Yankee Wilson had "torn up" the railroads he had with equal alacrity "torn down" the roads to escape.12 A civilian letter writer13 in Petersburg set on paper a good illustration of the southern impression of Wilson's raid:

Sheridan with his cavalry was left on the north of the James River with General Wade Hampton to oppose him; and Generals Wilson and Kautz


13. Identified as "John Tyler" of Petersburg but probably Robert Tyler, son of the former President. The letter was addressed to Confederate Gen. Sterling Price, July 9, 1864; Price then commanded the Confederate District of Arkansas. O.R., 40, pt. 3, 758.
were thrown to the south side with their cavalry . . . The first [Sheridan] ravaged the whole country . . . robbing the inhabitants . . . , burning and destroying as they went, but at last were caught up with by Hampton . . . and retributively cut to pieces . . . The north bank of the river being thus liberated, Hampton also crossed over and proceeded to Petersburg . . . Wilson and Kautz had not only proceeded to destroy the country through which they passed, as did Sheridan, often perpetrating enormities upon women too horrible to record, but they had succeeded in cutting all of our communications with the provisioning States of Georgia and Alabama. In forty-eight hours more their work would have been so fully completed that our soldiers would have suffered before repairs could have been made, but again Hampton came to the rescue. He struck the rascals in front and rear, and hurled them back upon Grant by Ream's Station, on the Weldon [rail] road, where General Mahone received them with his infantry and General Fitz. Lee with his cavalry, and their deeds were washed out in their blood . . .

Aside from the fabrication of "enormities upon women" and undue credit to Confederate General Hampton, the above account seriously underestimated the harm done to General Lee's communications. The damage done by Wilson on the Southside line was considerable, and the break in the Richmond & Danville R.R. caused by General Kautz was not repaired until July 25. After the Civil War, the officer in charge of the Confederate railways, Brigadier General Isaac M. St. John, was to speak of the raid as "the heaviest blow the Confederacy ever received, until it was destroyed at the battle of Five Forks."14 Kautz' conduct of operations was

unexceptionable and he should be credited with extricating most of Wilson's force from a very bad situation.  

Kautz' cavalry division remained in camp at Bermuda Hundred through July of 1864. On the 26th they joined in the attempt by General Hancock to turn the Confederate right flank, to which the explosion of the Mine at Petersburg was

15. Bvt. Lt. Col. Carswell McClellan, a perceptive critic of Grant, claimed that the general gave Sheridan "undue commendation" in the Memoirs and alleged that Wilson and Kautz had in fact accomplished much more by their raid on the railroads than had Sheridan by his raid around Richmond in May. Furthermore, wrote McClellan, Wilson's force had suffered more heavily because of Sheridan's failure to hold Hampton. McClellan, The Personal Memoirs and Military History of U.S. Grant versus the Record of the Army of the Potomac (Boston, 1887), 227-31.

16. Although they needed rest after Wilson's raid, they were still without adequate arms. A letter from Kautz, accompanying an ordnance report, is itself interesting for its illustration of the condition of Union cavalry this late in the war, and it also suggests some basis for Gen. Ord's later criticism of Kautz (see n. 41 below). "It will be observed," Kautz wrote, "that in addition to the great variety of arms . . . that there is a great deficiency of the proper arms for cavalry." Most of the command was still armed with Springfield rifled muskets, and Kautz reiterated his requests for breech-loading repeaters and metallic cartridges. "Spencer's carbine is preferred," he suggested, "next the Henry . . ." He noted that the Sharps carbine was "a favorite arm" but that the paper cartridges became unserviceable if carried long by mounted troops. As for the Merrill carbine, issued just before Wilson's raid, it seemed "to have been a very defective arm in the manufacture." He noted that 280 were issued to the 11th Pa. Cavalry on May 1, and that regiment now had but 117, "due almost entirely to defects in the arm itself." Kautz to Hq., Dept. of Virginia and North Carolina, July 14, 1864; O.R., 40, pt. 3, 250.
the bloody conclusion. On July 31 Kautz' division relieved
the division of Brigadier General Alfred T. A. Torbert in
position at Lee's Mill. Next day, the cavalry was moved
again to Jordan Point to outpost the roads and to secure the
country around Sycamore Church. Early in August the
division was attached to that of Brigadier General David
McMurtrie Gregg, to compensate the loss of Sheridan's
cavalry corps, absent in the Shenandoah valley, and to
secure the rear of the army. Gregg's division was employed
on the Southside of the James against the Weldon railroad
from August 22 to 25, leaving Kautz with a picket line
thirty miles in length that extended from Yellow Tavern to
Cox's Mill.

Meanwhile, toward the end of August, Kautz' second
literary effort was published. Encouraged by the great
success of his manual, The Company Clerk, Kautz had begun
another guidebook for soldiers while serving at the Cavalry
Bureau in Washington early in 1864. Entitled Customs of
Service for Non-Commissioned Officers, it was a useful but
apparently unneeded guide for volunteer non-coms in the
performance of their routine duties. By the time Kautz
was reading the final galley proofs from Lippincott after

Wilson's raid, the army had passed its phase of confused recruiting and most regiments had developed a seasoned corps of enlisted leaders who needed no books to get their jobs done. The work was scarcely noticed and sales were disappointing.  

Early in September, Kautz was consulted as to the prudence of returning a herd of 2,400 beef cattle to their pastures in the vicinity of Jordan Point, from whence they had been removed earlier on advice that the animals were not safe. Again Kautz stated that his picket line and supports were too weak to protect the herd. The cattle and some herders were nevertheless sent back to the commissary depot on Jordan Point without Kautz' knowledge. On the morning of September 16, Confederate General Wade Hampton attacked the Union picket line with six thousand cavalry near Sycamore Church. The rebels swept along the line for six miles and captured some three hundred men of the 1st D.C. Cavalry. A part of Hampton's command simultaneously drove off the herd of Union cattle. Kautz mounted about five hundred troopers and pursued the raiders as far as the Jerusalem plank road, but he could not catch up until dark and an expected reinforcement failed to coordinate. By next

19. Diary. 1864, 1865.

20. Report of Service. I cannot find written record of these statements in the O.R.
morning, Hampton and the beef had disappeared into the hungry Confederate lines.\textsuperscript{21}

A few days after the beefsteak raid, Kautz was ordered to support an effort of the XVIII and X Corps to capture the Confederate defenses along Bally's Creek and at Chaffin's Bluff, and afterward to advance on Richmond. The XVIII Corps was commanded by Major General Edward O. C. Ord. For this operation, the cavalry division was attached to the X Corps under Major General David Bell Birney. On the night of September 28, Kautz crossed the James at the bend of Deep Bottom with the X Corps. At the same time, Ord's corps advanced astride the Varina road. While the XVIII Corps successfully assaulted the Confederate redoubt called Fort Harrison on the morning of the 29th, and carried the whole of the enemy's exterior line,\textsuperscript{22} Birney and the cavalry moved up the Darbytown road to the vicinity of the Tollgate. There


\textsuperscript{22} The capture of Fort Harrison was one of the great episodes of the war. See Wood & Edmonds, \textit{Military History}, 136; Freeman, \textit{Lee}, 499-500.
Kautz found the rebels strongly entrenched and covered by artillery. He started to sidestep the defenses and to get around to another road that would have taken him into Richmond from the east; but, before he could break off, his advance guard brought on a general engagement. As night fell, the cavalry were committed to a battle they could not hope to win and it was too late to bypass after they had disengaged. Birney withdrew the infantry and Kautz got away under cover of darkness on the morning of the 30th, the entire corps returning to Bermuda Neck.23

Captured Fort Harrison was reinforced, and a new line of Union trenches was dug to connect the redoubt with the line between Dutch Cap and Fort Walthall on the Appomattox River. Yet the Union flank was badly exposed on the north despite the possession of the new strong point. Although Birney had demonstrated the difficulty of advancing beyond Bailey's Creek, the same ground might carry a sudden rebel sally down the Darbytown and Charles City roads. To guard against this, Kautz was ordered to establish a strong picket line between the two avenues of approach and to extend his left flank to Newmarket.24 Other troops were assigned to hold the ground between there and Dutch Gap.

24. Ibid.
In the first week of October the cavalry of the Army of the James, now reduced to three small regiments by the transfer of the 1st D.C., threw out a "grand guard" to protect the right flank of the army. Kautz made his headquarters in the vicinity of Darbytown. His bivouac, however, was in a swamp around the head of Four Mile Creek. He had only one road on which to exit, "and that a very bad one." Kautz reported to General Butler that his position was dangerous,

and that if the enemy attacked in force I could not possibly get my artillery out. The General replied that it was of the utmost importance that I should hold my position, and that I must remain where I was. I asked for entrenching tools to make my position as strong as possible, and was informed that the 18th and 10th Corps had all the entrenching tools in use. I enquired what was expected of the cavalry when the infantry found it necessary to entrench in the rear of it. He replied, that "cavalry had legs and could run away." 25

General R. E. Lee had already grasped the promise of the tactical situation. Kautz received intimations on October 6 that a Confederate attack was in the making. 26

As Lee had failed to recapture Fort Harrison by direct assault on September 30, Kautz concluded the rebels would now try an indirect attack in his front to regain the outer defenses of Richmond. Although his force numbered scarcely

25. Ibid.

1,500 effective troops, he made every preparation possible to resist an attack from the morning of the 7th on. He was right.

Two rebel infantry divisions commanded by Major Generals Charles W. Field and Robert F. Hoke were moved up close to the new federal line that extended northeast from Fort Harrison, between the Newmarket and Darbytown roads. Another division of cavalry under Major General Martin W. Gary, reinforced by an infantry brigade, was marched northward beyond the right end of the federal trenches and in front of Kautz' picket line. The plan of General Lee was for Gary's dismounted cavalry to sweep down the Union line from the north. As soon as Gary might be successful, Field's division next to the Darbytown road would attack. If the sweep could be continued, Hoke's division would attack and get in rear of Fort Harrison. The Confederates apparently did not know that only Kautz' pickets blocked the Darbytown road.

At first light on October 7, Kautz' pickets were driven in and the Confederates soon developed a strong attack. As Kautz had received no instructions about withdrawal, he held his position as long as he could. By about eight o'clock, however, his men had been driven back at all points and the enemy captured nine pieces of artillery still in position.

27. Freeman, Lee, 507-8.
without limbers or horses. General Gary occupied the woods in rear of the Union trenches and sent the disorganized cavalrymen scurrying through Four Mile swamp. Kautz' adjutant, Captain Asch, was captured and Kautz himself narrowly escaped as his headquarters was overrun.

After Gary turned the Union flank, Field attacked and easily carried the line before him. The rebels who dispersed Kautz' division, however, ran against strong entrenchments which stopped Gary's attack. Confederate General Hoke failed to attack at all. When Field made a fresh attempt, it was repulsed with the loss of Brigadier General John Gregg, killed at the head of his brigade. When the battle ended, Fort Harrison was untouched and Union Brigadier General Alfred H. Terry held the position on Newmarket road. Despite the precipitate retreat of Kautz' cavalry, only 204 officers and men had been captured; there were seventy-two other casualties, of whom only eighteen were killed. On the next day, October 8, the division had no difficulty in reoccupying their old positions. For his gallant conduct in this battle, Kautz was breveted a colonel in the regular army.29

29. Report of Service. See also Kautz' report in O.R., 42, pt. 1, 821-26; and those of his subordinates, 826-39, 844-47. He had already been recommended for brevet promotion to major general of Volunteers; See n. 32 below.
During the two weeks that followed what proved to be the last serious attack against the Army of the James, there were several command changes. General Ord had been severely wounded the afternoon of September 29, and the XVIII Corps was finally given to Brigadier General Godfrey Weitzel who had been awarded the regular army brevet of colonel for his service in the capture of Fort Harrison. General Birney had fallen ill and Terry was promoted to command of the X Corps. Kautz had been recommended by Butler for a brevet promotion to major general, but it had not been acted upon. Meantime, the cavalry division was strengthened by assignment of two fresh regiments: the 1st New York Mounted Riflemen, commanded by Colonel Edwin V. Sumner; and the 1st Maryland Cavalry, commanded by Kautz' old classmate, Colonel Andrew Wallace Evans. These were brigaded under Evans; the 3rd New York, 5th Pennsylvania,

31. He died October 19. Heitman, I, 220.
32. In a lengthy dispatch to Grant on October 6, Butler said, "I would also recommend Brigadier-General Kautz . . . as brevet major-general, for gallant and meritorious services in conducting the cavalry expedition and cutting the Weldon railroad on the 5th of May, 1864, and again cutting the Danville and Richmond road on the 16th of May; again for gallant service in the expedition under General Wilson, bringing his own cavalry safe from the attack of the enemy; and, lastly, for his vigilance and successful movements in the late advance on the north side of the James." The promotion was requested to date from September 29. O.R., 42, pt. 3, 98.
and 11th Pennsylvania continued as a brigade under Colonel Robert M. West. The division covered the right flank of Terry's futile attack on October 13, but, shortly afterward, Kautz was again incapacitated with malaria and on the 24th was granted sick leave. Kautz thus missed the last battle of 1864 in the Virginia theater of war, wherein West led his brigade in support of Terry's attack along the Charles City road on October 27.

August Kautz had not seen Charlotte Tod since the preceding January, and one does not wonder that romance somewhat flagged in the tedious and dangerous months that intervened. In the summer, Charlotte had accepted his proposal of marriage and had consented to be his, "sometime in November or December." In September, however, while he contended with the Confederate cattle rustlers, Charlotte had expressed her anxiety to wait until the war was over. Ill and depressed, August took the cars for Cleveland where the Tods were living temporarily. His diary reveals a determination to wed at once or break the engagement, but the reunion in Cleveland apparently brought the

33. On December 2 the 3rd N.Y. Cavalry was ordered transferred and on December 8, the 20th New York arrived to take its place. Four companies of the 1st D.C. Cavalry remained with Kautz, and in January he brigaded these with the 11th Pa. Cavalry under Col. Spear, thus making three brigades in the corps: West's, Evans', and Spear's. The 4th Btry., Wisc. Light Artillery remained assigned throughout. Report of Service; O.R., 46, pt. 2, 338.

34. Diary, 1864.
weight of the family on him to accept the delay. He spent
the remainder of his leave with his family.

August found his brother Fred at home. He was a
captain in the 59th Ohio but his term of service had expired.
Colonel Carr White, his old Mexican War comrade, came down
to visit from Georgetown. Though afflicted with consumption,
he wanted August to use his influence with Grant to get him
back in the army as a brigadier. On Tuesday, November 8,
August Kautz cast a ballot for Abraham Lincoln. It was
possibly the only time he ever voted in a national election.
The last few days of his leave Kautz spent traveling to
Cleveland and Brier Hill to see Charlotte, thence to Phila-
delphia and Washington. On November 18 he reached his
command which he found still on picket duty on Darbytown
road and already occupying huts for the winter.

On October 28, 1864, the War Department passed
Butler's recommendation for brevet promotion of Kautz in the
Volunteer army. From that date he was to rank as a brevet
major general "for gallant and meritorious service in the
campaign against Richmond."

The confirmation meant little,
however, as he was not to command a corps. On December 2
the 3rd New York Cavalry was transferred, and, shortly after,
they were replaced by the 20th New York commanded by Colonel

35. Cullum, II, 505.
Newton B. Lord. They joined in time to resist a strong Confederate demonstration which took fifty-two Union casualties but failed to penetrate the picket line. Meanwhile, half the Army of the James had begun an abortive effort to capture Fort Fisher on the North Carolina coast. The expedition was led by Butler himself, whose conduct was so incompetent that Lincoln was at last forced to relieve him of command at the end of December.

Before Butler set out on his ill-starred attempt at Fort Fisher, the main body of the Army of the James was reorganized, which event did not at once affect the cavalry but which must be explained in view of Kautz' last service in the war. The recruitment of Negroes for the Union Army had proved, on the whole, a failure. In spite of isolated examples of bravery and effectiveness, the colored troops seemed of little use so long as the regiments were spread through the armies. The Army of the James alone had thirty-two colored regiments, and it was thought expedient to group them all in one army corps. Accordingly, on December 3 the War Department ordered that the "colored troops of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina will be organized into a new corps, to be called the Twenty-fifth Corps"; and

37. Battles & Leaders, IV, 592.
further, that the "present corps staff and artillery of the Tenth Corps will be transferred to the Twenty-fifth Corps." General Godfrey Weitzel was given the dubious honor of commanding the new XXV Corps.

Simultaneously, the white troops of the old X and XVIII Corps were consolidated into another new corps, the twenty-fourth. The staff and artillery of the old XVIII Corps were assigned to the XXIV. Command was given to General Ord who was, however, on sick leave, and the actual command devolved upon General Terry who had for a time commanded the old X Corps. It was Terry then who received in January the mission of finally capturing Fort Fisher, taking with him on the expedition the 2nd Division of Brigadier General Adelbert Ames. When Terry was transferred to Sherman's army in the Carolinas, the XXIV Corps was given to Major General John Gibbon.

The replacement of stormy Ben Butler was not accomplished until January 8, 1865, when Grant picked General E. O. C. Ord to command the Army of the James. The choice was unfortunate for Kautz. Almost at once Ord complained that the cavalry of the army was in bad condition

38. General Orders No. 297, War Dept., A.G.O., Dec. 3, 1864. General Orders were printed and published at Washington, numbered consecutively through each calendar year. Cited hereafter as G.O.

39. As well as the 3rd Div. of the XXV Corps and a brigade of his own 1st Div. O.R., 46, pt. 2, 214.

and that he was dissatisfied with General Kautz's management. Ord was plainly hostile to Kautz who asked for a ten-day leave to avoid an open conflict. Grant tactfully approved the leave; and when Kautz returned to the army on March 23, he found a special order awaiting him which transferred the cavalry division to the command of Brigadier General Ranald S. Mackenzie. Eight days later, at the Battle of Five Forks, Mackenzie was to cap his already

41. "I never could understand General Ord's dissatisfaction with me. The reasons he alleged [sic] were groundless . . . It [the cavalry] could not have been in better condition, and the most favorable report was made of it at the time he was most severe in his condemnation, by Colonel [Samuel H.] Starr, Special Inspector of the Cavalry Bureau." There is little doubt that the cavalry division was relatively ineffective; Ord's return for January, 1865, showed 5,514 officers and men assigned but only 3,609 present for duty. Its armament was insufficient; see n. 16 above. But these were not Kautz' responsibilities. Ord probably believed his own assignment to command the army was a mandate to clean up the mess Butler had made; he likely disliked everything about his predecessor and may have viewed Kautz as one of Butler's pets. Butler had recommended Kautz for major general. On February 2, 1865, Grant relayed to Ord a Confederate rumor that Kautz' cavalry had nearly entered Richmond in January but had failed to seize the advantage; Ord sent a confidential note to Kautz quoting Grant "to stir him up." Kautz' reply was a querulous denial. Only a week later, Ord asked Kautz to intercept a small rebel force that had penetrated the Union line near Ft. Magruder. Kautz' reply was nearly a direct refusal to act. O.R., 46, pt. 2, 321, 356, 363-64, 537.

42. It was Grant who ordered Mackenzie's assignment. On March 24, Kautz noted in his diary, "There does not seem to be any improvement in the army not withstanding the Genl's. strenuous efforts at reform. He has assumed that everything was wrong . . ." See O.R., 46, pt. 2, 977; pt. 3, 55. Cullum, II, 505.
distinguished Civil War career with Kautz' "broken down" division.

To add insult to injury, Ord sent Kautz to Weitzel's "Corps d' Afrique." On March 27, the former commander of cavalry was assigned to command the 1st Division of XXV Corps. The war in Virginia was rapidly drawing to a close and Kautz played no significant part, while Ord accompanied the Army of the Potomac with his XXIV Corps and General Mackenzie won honors serving in Sheridan's cavalry. Weitzel and Kautz were left behind in the trenches north of the James River. On the morning of April 3, the XXV Corps marched into burning Richmond and Weitzel received the surrender of the rebel capital. Kautz' soldiers arrested the conflagration. "The colored troops," he observed, "behaved in the most orderly manner, and the least possible disorder that could be expected from any troops occurred."^44

With Lee's surrender, the war was virtually over. Ord, who had been present at that historic moment in the McLean house on April 9, returned to Richmond and directed that the XXV Corps should concentrate near Petersburg. On April 13, Kautz marched out from the capital of the late so-called Confederacy. In their bivouac three days later

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^44. Report of Service.
the troops learned of the tragic murder of President Lincoln on April 15. On May 3, just as the XXV Corps was about to board ships at City Point for movement to Texas, a special message came from the War Department to Kautz. He was directed to proceed to Washington and there await further orders.45 After reporting to General Grant, he was assigned a few days later to serve on a military commission for the trial of the conspirators alleged to have plotted Lincoln’s assassination.

The trial of the eight conspirators was calmly conducted with surprisingly little excitement. The military court met first on May 9, and nearly every day thereafter except Sundays, until June 20. These days naturally were full with the awesome burden of the state trial, but Kautz spent several evenings with the former Kansas governor and old family friend, General James W. Denver.46 The redoubtable Democrat, whose public career had spanned the continent,

46. James William Denver (1817-1892) was born in Virginia and raised in Wilmington, Ohio. Shortly after admission to the Ohio bar in 1844, he moved to Missouri. In 1847 he raised a volunteer company and served under Scott in Mexico, returning to Platte City, Mo., in 1848. There he edited a paper until he joined the Gold Rush in 1850 as a merchant. In California he rose in the Democratic Party to become a Congressman in 1855. Two years later President Buchanan made him Commissioner of Indian Affairs, which duty carried him to Kansas; late in 1857 Buchanan appointed him successively territorial secretary and governor of the troubled territory. He enforced law and order, and in 1858 he organized Arapahoe County, later a part of Colorado. He
observed that the younger man was "strongly bent on carry­ing out his notions about the power and authority of the Military Commission." Denver thought him wrong. "I am satisfied," he wrote his wife in Cincinnati,

that it [the Commission] was so constituted that a majority . . . were ready to do any bidding. One of the worst signs of the times is that a man of as much good practical sense as August should get so bewildered about what is right and what is wrong, as he has done on this subject. He insists that the members were bound to meet and organize . . . because their commanding officers ordered them to do so. Then, because there is no law authorizing such a tribunal . . . he alleges there is no limit to its powers.\footnote{47}

In Denver's view, the actions of the Commission were little better than lynch law. Yet his arguments with Kautz neither interfered with the Commission nor affected their friendship.

On June 30, after exhaustive review of the testimony, all of the accused were convicted and four were sentenced to

\footnote{47} Denver to his wife, June 18, 1865, in ibid., 323.

\footnote{48} Denver to his wife, July 2, 1865, in ibid., 324.
The procedure, under the presidency of Kautz' old regimental commander, Major General David Hunter, has been severely criticized in later years. The record of the trial, however—more so Kautz' own diary—amply reveals its fairness; and given the circumstances of the crime, it is hard to see how any but such a special body could have handled so unusual a case. In the words of one respected legal commentator, "the verdicts and the sentences on his [Booth's] accomplices, with one exception [Mrs. Surratt], time has abundantly vindicated."51

On the first day of July, Kautz was ordered on indefinite leave to await reorganization of the army. He had elected to stay in the service. Meanwhile, he set out to redeem Charlotte's promise of marriage. Until September 13, he spent most of his time at home, or in short visits to the Tods, and to relatives in Ohio and Illinois. On the 14th of September, in a simple ceremony, General Kautz was married to Charlotte Tod at the Cleveland home of Governor Tod. The couple immediately took a train for Niagara Falls and spent their honeymoon there and in New York. From

49. Diary, 1865; G.C.M.O. No. 356, War Dept., A.G.O., July 5, 1865. The four, Herold, Atzerodt, Payns, and Mrs. Surratt, were hanged the same day.


51. Ibid., xi.
October 7 until mid-February, General and Mrs. Kautz lived with the Tod family in Cleveland, with frequent trips to Brier Hill. In this period Kautz finished his most ambitious literary undertaking, a guide for officers. He had outlined the work after his leave in November of 1864. On March 13, 1865, he had made a contract with the publisher Lippincott, but he had suspended work after his assignment to Weitzel's corps. On February 2, 1866, the manuscript was finished. Three months later it was published under the title, *Customs of Service for Officers of the Army*. It was well accepted, though its distribution was necessarily more limited than his work concerning military administration. It was regarded as the standard authority in the regular army for at least two decades.

On January 15, 1866, Kautz was formally mustered from the Volunteer army. The Congress, however, had not as yet moved to reorganize the armed services. Kautz was consequently left in an anomalous position: though he held the rank of major general by brevet, he had not received

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54. The brevet had been awarded in October of 1864 (see p.146 above); but as a preliminary to reorganization, all Volunteer brevets had to be reviewed by Congress for
a promotion in the regular army since his assignment as a captain in the 6th Cavalry. In February he was ordered to New Orleans to serve in his brevet grade on the staff of Major General Philip H. Sheridan, commander of the Military Division of the Gulf. On February 23 Kautz and his bride boarded the steamboat Ruth at Cairo, Illinois, accompanied by Charlotte's brother George. A week later they arrived at New Orleans and took rooms in a boarding house.

Phil Sheridan appointed Kautz his Judge Advocate General, which may reflect the perceptive Irishman's estimate of his friend's talent. The two men had been attracted to one another at once, and in the ensuing months Kautz enjoyed the most congenial assignment of his military career. Sheridan, still a bachelor, frequently visited the Kautzes, and they would borrow his carriage for outings. Sometimes Kautz would go to the local race track to see Sheridan's horses run and they occasionally rode together after Charlotte left. When Sheridan was required to write an extensive report of his wartime service, he feared that

regular army recognition and the dates of rank adjusted. In the four years following the war, Congress confirmed several hundred brigadier and major generals by brevet. At one time the Senate entertained a resolution to automatically confirm every Volunteer general brevet ever awarded. In August, 1866, Congress made 68 brevet major generals in the regular army, Kautz among them, to rank from March 13, 1865. The legislation may be reviewed in the A.N. Journal for this period.
he could not express himself clearly and implored Kautz to serve as amanuensis. Kautz’ rejection of that plea probably closed the door to later staff assignments.

At division headquarters, Kautz began to move in a new circle. The brilliant Wesley Merritt was there, also a major general by brevet and eventually to join the new Negro 9th Cavalry as its lieutenant colonel.55 Brigadier General George A. Forsyth, who would win greater fame on the Plains in the Beecher’s Island fight as a major of the same regiment, was also serving in his brevet grade.56

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55. Merritt (1834-1910) graduated from the Academy in 1860 and entered the 2nd U.S. Cavalry. He served on the staff of Gen. Philip St.G. Cooke and afterward in the defenses of Washington until April of 1863. He was aide to Gen. George Stoneman in the latter’s raid toward Richmond, April and May of 1863. Then he took command of the 2nd Cavalry and rose to brigade and division command while serving constantly in the field in dozens of cavalry engagements. He became Sheridan’s most trusted subordinate and especially distinguished himself at the Battles of Winchester and Cedar Creek. His Civil War career was matched by his handling of cavalry on the Plains, and in the period 1882-86 he was superintendent of the Military Academy. He was commanding the Department of Missouri when the Spanish-American War began and he was sent to the Philippines. He retired in 1900. Hamersly, 124-27; D.A.B., Vol. 6, pt. 2, 572-74.

56. Forsyth enlisted in the "Chicago Dragoons" at the outbreak of war. Later he secured a commission in the 8th Ill. Cavalry. Through the war he rose to the rank of Volunteer brigadier and afterward accepted a majority in the 9th Cavalry. Another personal favorite of Sheridan, he served in several capacities on his staff; but he was to distinguish himself the most in Texas and New Mexico fighting Indians. Eventually he became lieutenant colonel of the 4th Cavalry. In 1890, while commanding Fort Huachuca, Arizona, he embezzled government funds, or was at least very
renewed his acquaintance with George L. Hartsuff, a major general of Volunteers since 1862 and a comrade from the Class of 1852 who was now Sheridan's adjutant. Old Major General Andrew A. Humphreys called on the Kautzes, and Brevet Brigadier General Marcus A. Reno, future controversial major of the 7th Cavalry, was a frequent visitor.

The climate of the Mississippi delta was too hot and humid for Ohio-bred Charlotte. She perhaps had not really planned to stay the summer; at any rate, on April 7 she and George took a steamer for home, but she consented to return in October if her husband were not sooner transferred. He paid their board and rent and took rooms with Captain Calvin D. Mehaffey of the 1st Infantry. Early in July the captain moved to Jackson Barracks.

In that busy spring of 1866, Kautz had received a melancholy visitor whose condition depressed him as nothing before. Brother John, long ill with consumption, had

indiscrete in his administration of money. He was court-martialed, suspended from rank or command, and placed on the retired list. Powell, 215, 677-79.

57. Hartsuff (1830-1874) was from New York. He graduated 19th in Kautz' class, going to the 4th Artillery. Early in the war, he was chief-of-staff for Gen. William S. Rosecrans. He was brevetted a major general of Volunteers in November of 1862 for gallantry at the Battle of Antietem, in which he was severely wounded. Later he commanded the XXIII Corps in Kentucky and Tennessee, but he was incapacitated for field duty. In the closing days of the war, he commanded the defenses of Bermuda Hundred. He retired for disability in 1871. D.A.B., Vol. 4, pt. 2, 369-70.
commenced a tour of the South at the war's end to seek relief. On the last day of April he appeared in New Orleans. "He coughs a great deal," noted August, "but not so badly as I expected."\(^{58}\) August had him examined by a reputable local doctor who confirmed the trouble as tuberculosis and pronounced one lung inoperative. Toward the end of May, John went to Florida on his brother's advice. He lived there until September.

Tension mounted along the Texas-Mexico Border, as Benito Juarez sought to drive the French invaders from his country. Phil Sheridan watched the reports in New Orleans, but early in June he would have to go to the Rio Grande in person.\(^{59}\) Meantime, in mid-May, he and Kautz, with Hartsuff and some other officers, took a steamer on the Gulf to Mobile.

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58. Diary, 1866. John's health improved somewhat in Florida but he returned to Ohio in November and died the next January. See n. 9, Ch. I.

59. Gen. Weitzel, with headquarters at Brownsville, had over 50,000 troops on the Rio Grande frontier to intimidate the French. Had active operations been necessary, however, Sheridan was to assume command. It was widely rumored that should Juarez fail to expel the French, Sheridan would lead an army into Mexico through El Paso where he was in touch with the Republican army. Meantime, Weitzel sought to control the hostile Texas population that was unresigned to defeat and sheltered hundreds of still-dangerous rebels. His repressive measures were a foretaste of later Radical Reconstruction. An interesting view of affairs along the Rio Grande may be found in Frank A. Burr and Richard J. Hinton, The Life of Gen. Philip H. Sheridan (Providence, R.I., 1888), 317-29. Hinton was quite familiar with the Southwest, having published a Hand-book to Arizona (San Francisco, 1878). See also O'Connor, Sheridan, 277-89.
Alabama, and paid a visit to Charlie Woods who commanded the Department of the South. Sheridan was in Texas from June 11 to the 21st. He returned for a month to headquarters but on July 22 departed again for the Brazos. He did not appreciate the dangerous turn that Reconstruction politics had taken in the first days of July.

A movement among the Republican Radicals had developed in southern Louisiana for the introduction of Negro suffrage. If the blacks could vote, the Republicans might retain their new-found power. To accomplish this, steps were taken early in July to reassemble the state constitutional convention of 1864. The opponents of Negro suffrage denied the legality of the move, but the Radicals went ahead with plans to reconvene in New Orleans at the Mechanics Institute on July 30. On the 28th, a Saturday, Kautz observed that, "Much apprehension is felt in the community for next Monday, a riot is apprehended by the people. The Convention of 1864 is reconvened to meet on that day, and there is much feeling manifesting itself ...." Next day he remarked, "The people expect a riot."  

61. Diary, 1866.
On Monday, about 1:30 p.m., a terrible riot was indeed announced at headquarters. A crowd of Negroes, parading to the Mechanics Institute, had clashed with hostile white spectators. Shots were fired. The police attempted to arrest some Negroes who resisted, and the white citizens joined the struggle, driving the blacks to the meeting hall. The white mob stormed the building and mercilessly shot down nearly two hundred Negroes and their sympathizers. Kautz did not go to the scene of the riot. While he sat at dinner in his boarding house, a messenger came from Brigadier General Absalom Baird, Sheridan's deputy, summoning Kautz to headquarters. There he learned that Baird had proclaimed martial law and that he, as the Judge Advocate General, was appointed military governor of the city. He proceeded at once to the city hall where he took up quarters in the office of Mayor John T. Monroe, the same man whom Ben Butler had deposed in 1862.  

Although the army had stopped further bloodshed, Kautz got no sleep that night.

62. Ibid.; Bowers, Tragic Era, 129; Burr and Hinton, Life of Sheridan, 334-35. Cf. William A. Dunning, Reconstruction, Political and Economic (New York, 1907), 79; and John H. Franklin, Reconstruction after the Civil War (Univ. of Chicago, 1961), 63-64. The New Orleans riot and a race riot in Memphis, April 30 to May 2, 1866, were the two events in the South which convinced the Radicals to take charge of Reconstruction. When Congress convened in December, it limited presidential powers and set up new and harsher administration of the former Confederacy. Franklin, Reconstruction, 64-72.
The next day, July 31, Kautz also spent entirely in the mayor's office. Sheridan had returned to the city during the night and confirmed Baird's actions. Kautz now ordered all of the city officials to report for instructions and obviously took great relish in the new role. All disturbances in New Orleans were quelled by Wednesday, August 1, when Kautz was permitted to retire in the evening to his usual quarters. For the next two weeks, however, he worked daily in the city hall. Not until August 16 was he relieved of most of his duties as military governor, a title he continued to hold until he departed the city.

The threat of France to Mexican independence meanwhile alarmed many Americans. It had been to discourage the French that Sheridan had "shown the flag" on the Rio Grande in July of 1866, and rumor had it that he was prepared to intervene if Juarez were unable to drive out the invaders. In addition, there was a natural uneasiness about Southern reaction to Reconstruction measures, especially among the Radicals who contemplated more oppressive laws. These two factors so intimidated the Congress that at the close of the session in July they allowed Secretary of War Stanton to institute the largest peacetime military establishment yet known.63 Twenty-six more regular infantry

regiments were organized than had served in the wartime army. Nine units, to be numbered 29 through 37, were recruited or expanded from the third battalions of four existing regiments. There now were a total of forty-five regular army infantry regiments, of which twenty-six were assigned to duty in the conquered South. The needs of the Indian frontier were not forgotten either. Four new cavalry regiments were authorized in addition to the six that had served through the war. The 9th and 10th were to be experimental, composed of colored troopers and white officers. Four infantry regiments, the 38th, 39th, 40th, and 41st, also were recruited from the freedmen.64

The regiments were authorized, but whence the commissioned officers were to come was a question that nearly prevented the act from reaching the floor of Congress. Resourceful politicians at once recognized in the expanded army a wonderful opportunity to exercise patronage, if the new commissions were distributed among worthy Volunteers. It was at first suggested not to allow any of the new openings to be filled directly from the regular officer corps; then the debate settled onto what portion was to be regular and what Volunteer. There was no question that regular

officers might apply for openings on the basis of their Volunteer service, but both enlisted and commissioned Volunteers were to be considered. In May, Kautz wrote a letter for publication in the *Army and Navy Journal* on the subject. When printed it ran one-third of a full page. The burden of his essay was that Congress should not make special legislation for Volunteers. They should, he wrote, make all appointments competitively and with regard to prior service. He also struck at the idea of enlisting Negro troops and of forming certain infantry regiments from wounded veterans. He concluded his letter:

> The provision for Veteran Reserves and for colored troops are not founded in proper consideration of the welfare of the Army. ... It is well enough to have negro soldiers when you cannot get whites; but it will be far wiser to let it turn upon that contingency than to fix such a measure upon the service by law.

The act, nonetheless, became law on July 28. More than two-thirds of the commissioned vacancies in the new regiments were allotted to Volunteers.

A Regular Army officer might secure a place in a new regiment if selected from the seniority list; he had, of course, the option of returning to his permanent regular

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65. The subject was well ventilated in the columns of the *A&N. Journal* in the spring and summer of 1866.


67. The bill was printed in its entirety in *ibid.*, August 4, 1866.
slot—a captaincy in the 6th Cavalry in the case of Kautz. It was also permitted, however, for regulars to apply on the basis of Volunteer service and Kautz apparently did so, even before leaving Ohio in February of 1866. Although David Tod was no longer governor, his political influence was strong and he gladly advanced his son-in-law's petition. On August 11, it was learned that the War Department would submit the names of Volunteer applicants for commissions to the appropriate Congressional delegations for approval, and Governor Tod went to Washington to lobby.

While Kautz continued as military governor of New Orleans, the Division of the Gulf was reconstituted a department to embrace the states of Louisiana, Florida, and Texas. Each of the states had previously had their own departmental headquarters, and Judge Advocate General Kautz inherited a tremendous load of records and duties. Sometimes bored in the past, he remarked on the 24th of August that the "office . . . is no longer a sinecure . . . I have plenty of work to do now." At month's end, however, he obtained a generous thirty-day leave, with permission to extend it from month to month. He was being considered for

68. Thian, 66. Each state had previously been a department with its own headquarters. In March of 1867, the Department of the Gulf became the 3rd and 5th Reconstruction Districts.

69. Diary, 1866.
a field grade position in one of the new infantry regiments, not yet organized, and he planned to stay with his wife at the Tods until duty called.

Kautz arrived at Cleveland on September 3, and next day he and Charlotte went to Brier Hill. On the 23rd he received his appointment as lieutenant colonel of the 34th U.S. Infantry. A month later, having received notice the regiment would recruit at Nashville, Tennessee, he took Charlotte to the new station. Congress, however, again failed to approve funds for raising the new regiments, and on December 6 the Kautzes returned to Brier Hill, very much disgusted. Yet ten days later Lieutenant Colonel Kautz was again ordered to active duty and on December 19 he took quarters at Cumberland Barracks. The newly appointed colonel of the regiment was the precocious soldier from Pennsylvania, Galusha Pennypacker, but he was excused from

70. He was to rank from July 28, date of the reorganization act. Cullum, II, 505.

71. At this time only twenty-two years old, Col. Pennypacker had enlisted as a private on the outbreak of war and was commissioned a captain in the 97th Pa. Infantry in August, 1861, age 17. Four years later he was colonel of the regiment. He engaged in the operations against Charleston and was with the X Corps in the attack on Drewry's Bluff, in May of 1864, where he was thrice wounded. During the assault on Fort Harrison in September, he led a brigade and was again wounded. In the final successful attack on Fort Fisher under General Terry, he led his brigade with great bravery and received severe wounds which confined him to hospital until April, 1866. Meantime he had been promoted to brigadier of Volunteers on February 18, 1865, at the age of twenty. He never recovered fully from
reporting for ten months and Kautz took command. He thus commanded the post of Nashville and the Barracks as well.\textsuperscript{72}

The return to troop duty was not very satisfying. The recruits soon proved ill-suited to discipline and had little enthusiasm for military life. The temptations of the city and the animosity of the Southern citizens caused a great deal of trouble which the junior officers, likewise inexperienced, were scarcely able to control. The regiment was serving, however, under a soldier Kautz much admired, Major General George H. Thomas, whose headquarters was at Louisville where Kautz found frequent opportunity to

his wounds and was retired for disability in 1883. In 1867 Congress awarded him the brevet of regular major general for gallantry, and in 1891 he was awarded a Medal of Honor "for bravery in the battle of Ft. Fisher, N.C., where he was severely wounded 15 Jan. 1865 while leading the charge over a traverse and planting the colors of one of his regiments thereon." He died in 1916. Hamersly, 400; Powell, 455; Heltman, 1, 782-83; D.A.B., Vol. 7, pt. 2, 448f.

\textsuperscript{72} The 34th U.S. Infantry of which Kautz was lieutenant colonel was not the same as the modern 34th; the latter was to be organized in 1916. Rather, Kautz' command was a short-lived progenitor of the present day 16th regiment. A unit designated 16th Infantry had been organized in 1861 on the French three-battalion pattern, but only two battalions were activated during the war. Not until April, 1866, did the War Department activate a third battalion, but by the end of May Congress had determined to organize 26 new regiments. In September, the 2nd Bn., 16th Infantry became the new 25th Infantry, and the 3rd Bn. became the new 34th Infantry. Later the 34th was consolidated with the 11th Infantry to become a new 16th Infantry, which designation is carried to this day by several active battalions of the U.S. Army. Lineage Book, 20, 67, 108-9, 115, 134, 161.
visit. The general had been an instructor at the Academy while Kautz was a cadet. Thomas, born in 1816, could not have been a close friend, but their relationship inspired Kautz, ten years later, to name a permanent camp for him in Arizona. 73

In April, 1867, the 34th Infantry was ordered to Mississippi. The late Reconstruction Act had divided the former Confederacy into military districts, to be ruled like conquered provinces under martial law. Mississippi, the home of Jefferson Davis, was in the Fourth District commanded by Edward O. C. Ord who had been promoted a regular brigadier general in the reorganization of July, 1866. 74 The headquarters of Kautz' regiment was to be Granada, Mississippi, where the Kautzes arrived on May 5. In July, Charlotte once again went north to escape the summer heat.

73. Gen. Thomas was known fondly in his Army of the Cumberland as "Pap" Thomas, a reference to his deliberate, dignified methods and his immaculate habits and rather paternal relations with staff and troops. He was withal a stubborn fighter, the "Rock of Chickamauga," and the defender of Chattanooga. When Kautz joined the new 34th Infantry at Nashville, Thomas was still stationed in Tennessee where he had fought his last Civil War battles. Himself a Virginian, he had overcome considerable doubt as to his loyalty to the Union. Although he served in Bragg's artillery at Monterey in 1846, it is doubtful Kautz knew him there. In 1851-52, however, he was Kautz' favorite instructor at West Point. Oliver L. Spaulding, "George H. Thomas," D.A.B., Vol. 9, pt. 2, 432-35.

74. Heitman, I, 759.
Sometime in the preceding year, an unappeasable discontent had taken root in August Kautz’ mind like some noxious weed. He was dissatisfied with the reorganization of the postwar army, though not from personal disappointment; his lieutenant colonelcy was as much as his political influence and services could expect to secure. Perhaps he was dissatisfied with marriage; Charlotte had turned out a mama’s girl with little inclination to cut the apron strings. He was only thirty-nine years old, but perhaps an early despondency of middle age had infected his mind. Certain it is that from 1867 onward Kautz demonstrated an increasing disposition to cynicism and an almost paranoiac tendency to feel imposed upon. The first outburst of discord occurred shortly after General Ord arrived at Granada in August, 1867.

On August 21, Ord verbally approved Kautz’ application to take leave within a fortnight so that Kautz might bring Charlotte back to Mississippi. Doubtless Charlotte’s family was pressuring her to disregard her wifely duty and the requested leave was deeply important to Kautz. It should also be noted that, on August 17, Colonel Pennypacker had at last joined his regiment and there was little necessity for the lieutenant colonel to remain. When, on September 1, Ord wrote formally to deny Kautz’ leave and to order him to take station at Columbus, Mississippi,
Kautz penned a reply that was intemperate and querulous. Ord responded by preferring charges of insubordination against Kautz, and placed him in arrest.75

Kautz moved to Columbus and took command of the federal camp. On September 24 he received two letters from Charlotte. "One of them," grumbled August, "is a note saying that she is glad to hear that I am in arrest as she now knows where to find me on the 1st of October."76 On October 28, his wife having failed to appear, Kautz was granted ten days to fetch her. They were back in Columbus on November 6. Not until December 2 was Kautz' court-martial held at Vicksburg. The court took an uncommonly long time to publish its findings, but on January 18, while Kautz was in Granada, he learned that he had been found guilty of insubordination as charged under all the specifications and was sentenced to be reprimanded in general orders. It was, so Kautz confided to his diary, very mortifying. When the proceedings reached General Grant, however, the sentence was remitted and Kautz was ordered to "resume his sword."77

75. Cullum, II, 505; Diary, 1867.
76. Ibid.
77. G.C.M.O. No. 104, War Dept., A.G.O., December 26, 1867.
The new year of 1868 opened in Columbus with warm summerlike days. On January 5, Kautz was forty years old. The weather soon cooled again and a fire was needed in the Kautzes' quarters. On the 30th it froze solid. There was a perceptable thaw in the headquarters of the Fourth Military District, however, as Colonel (Brevet Major General) Alvan C. Gillem replaced Ord. Gillem was not only more friendly to Kautz, but he also relaxed the strain of Radical Reconstruction. On February 28, Kautz wryly noted, after he received news of the impeachment proceedings against President Johnson: "The people here have come to the conclusion that there is to be no war in the north after all, and some of them seem to be quite disappointed about it." By mid-March, spring had come. There would be one more light frost, but the Kautzes' garden bloomed. They began to relish the lettuce, tomatoes, radishes, onions, and greens that had been absent through the winter. What they could not know was that on the garden truck lingered

78. Gillem, like Gen. George H. Thomas, was a Southerner who had stuck to the Union in '61. He was from Tennessee and served for a time under Thomas. He was a close friend of Lincoln's Vice-President, Andrew Johnson, who encouraged Gillem to take a prominent part in the reorganization of the Tennessee government after the war. As Ord's successor, he was noted for a decided relaxation of rigorous military rule in the 4th District. D.A.E., IV, 287-88.

79. Diary, 1868.
the organisms of *bacillus typhosus*, the deadly typhoid. August apparently was immune, probably inoculated by infection in Mexico long ago. He noted in his diary that there seemed to be "much disposition to chills & fever . . . at this time" in Mississippi. On March 24, Charlotte was ill with a strange nervous disorder that caused severe nausea. Characteristic of the fever, it alternately abated and grew worse through the months of April and May. In May the doctor gave her morphine for the pain, but she ate nothing for a week and vomited almost hourly for several days. Only at night would she rest. On May 20 she took her last real meal.

The Tod family meantime became concerned and on May 23 the Governor asked Kautz to bring Charlotte home. She was unable to travel. On the 30th she began to have hallucinations and her mind wandered. On the next day, Kautz telegraphed her father that he should send someone for her. Not until June 2 did the doctors diagnose the disease definitely as typhoid. Early on the morning of June 3, Charlotte succumbed. "The agony I suffered all day," wrote Kautz many days later, "was far greater than any I have ever gone through."80 Next day Mrs. Tod

80. Ibid.
arrived and the sorrowing mother and husband took the mortal remains of young Charlotte home to Ohio.

Charlotte Tod Kautz was interred at Brier Hill on June 9. Six days later, August left for Washington with a letter from David Tod to General Grant asking that Kautz be transferred and assigned to other duty. On June 18, Grant interviewed Kautz, who asked the possibility of assignment to the Military Academy. As the superintendency was to remain unchanged for some time, August requested that he be sent to Mexico City—on official business if it could be arranged, on indefinite leave at half pay if not. Grant gladly consented, and Kautz returned to Mississippi.81

On July 2, Lieutenant Colonel Kautz left the 34th Infantry and the South for good. He tarried briefly at Ripley and on the 13th set out to inspect vacant land in western Iowa with a view to investment. He took the train to Omaha and ventured as far west as Cheyenne, Wyoming. There on July 25 he learned that Grant had gone through with an excursion party to the end-of-track on the Union Pacific at Benton. Kautz decided to make the trip himself. He had supper at Laramie about 8:00 p.m. Near Laramie, at Fort Sanders, "the sleeping car [of Grant's special train] in which we had fared sumptuously was left. Ft. Sanders, 81. Ibid."
Cheyenne and Laramie resemble the towns of California in the flush times." At two o'clock in the morning, Kautz met the train bearing the general's party, and returned with it to Sanders where we had a good breakfast. Genl. Potter and Genl. Gibbon divided the distinguished guests between them. Sherman, Augur, Wessels & I breakfasted with Potter. . . . Grant & Sheridan breakfasted with Gibbon . . . About ten o'clock we started for Cheyenne . . . I dined with Genl. Harney. 82

Kautz was back at the Tod family estate in Ohio by the end of July where he found his order for indefinite leave awaiting. His last visit with David Tod was quite pleasant. The old man was perhaps the only one of the family who appreciated his son-in-law's qualities. Before Kautz departed for New York on August 8, the governor gave him two hundred shares of stock in the Mahoning Valley Railroad which formerly had been held in trust for Charlotte.

Kautz was still seeking some official pretext for his leave, and, failing to find any at Army Headquarters in New York, he went to Washington to obtain his passport. By chance he met the ministerial appointee to Mexico, General William Starke Rosecrans, and discussed with him the diplomatic situation. The ambassador was cordial but

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82. Diary, 1868. At Fort Sanders, the party had their picture made in front of Gen. Gibbon's quarters. Kautz does not mention Gen. Grenville M. Dodge, but he is in the photograph and used it in his book, How We Built the Union Pacific Railway and Other Railway Papers and Addresses (Council Bluffs, Iowa, c. 1911-14), facing 36. Kautz stands at the extreme left, next to Sheridan. Grant, Sherman, and Harney are in the center with Mrs. Gibbon and children.
could offer no mission to Kautz, nor did a visit with Secretary of State William H. Seward elicit any special instruction. Kautz returned to New York, visited West Point, and on Wednesday, September 2, he sailed for Vera Cruz.

On the 17th of September, 1868, Kautz arrived in the city of Mexico. For the next five months he acquired some knowledge of the Spanish language, visited points of interest in the Valley of Mexico, and investigated outlying silver and copper mines. The sight of quaint Mexican mines and the curious methods of reducing ores awakened an interest in geology and chemistry that he was not able to satisfy until his duties took him to Colorado and Arizona. Meantime, he chanced an investment in some diamonds and precious stones, intending to dispose of them in New York. The first American whom Kautz became acquainted with in Mexico was the chargé d'affaires from the United States Government, B. W. Plumb. They were fast friends until Plumb departed in December. Rosecrans arrived at the end of November with his family and they entertained Kautz frequently. Another friend in Mexico

83. Yet the A. N. Journal proclaimed on its front page for August 22: "GENERAL KAUTZ, as we are given to understand, goes to Mexico forthwith: General Rosecrans, the newly-appointed Minister, does not sail until October. We put these facts in juxtaposition . . . as a text for comment on a suggestion . . . which has already been made . . ." The suggestion was that Kautz might be appointed Minister ad interim until a new administration could decide whether to send Rosecrans next year; and if so, what instructions to give him based on Kautz' experience.
who is frequently mentioned in Kautz's diary was one "Genl. Slaughter," who left with Plumb on December 28. It is likely this person was James E. Slaughter, late Brigadier general of the Confederate States Army and onetime lieutenant in the 1st U. S. Artillery.  

In December, Kautz was saddened by the news that David Tod had died on November 13. In January he visited the mines and reduction works at Pachuca and Real del Monte. Next month he decided to return to the United States; and on February 15, as he waited aboard the steamship Cleopatra to set sail for New York via Havana, he penned a note to Ambassador Rosecrans:

Dear Genl:  
I have to report that I am aboard this steamer and expect to sail in about an hour . . . I reached here without accident not withstanding the condition of the road and the robberies that are taking place. The French steamer is now taking the money of the conducta on board . . . We shall reach New York about the 27th . . . . I see that Mr. Gadsden has been nominated Secretary of Legation . . . Please inform my friends that I am all right. With kindest regards . . . and hoping you may meet with every success . . . in the land of Greasers, I remain

Your sincere friend

August V. Kautz

84. Heitman, I, 891.

85. Papers of Gen. William S. Rosecrans, Box 14, Special Collections (Library, Univ. of California at Los Angeles), I am indebted to Mr. James V. Mink, then Assistant Head of Special Collections, for directing my attention to Kautz material in the Rosecrans Papers.
As Kautz was departing the "land of Greasers,"

Ulysses S. Grant was preparing to assume the Presidency. Kautz arrived in Washington in time to witness the inauguration and to converse with Grant in the White House. On March 3, the Congress had at last cut the army back to what most Americans considered a proper peacetime establishment for a democracy. The chief topic of conversation in military circles now was the statutory reduction of the vast infantry structure. The small cavalry and artillery arms would remain intact. Kautz was told to await orders, and on March 10 the War Department issued General Order No. 16 which effected the consolidation of the forty-five infantry regiments into twenty-five. 86

86. Diary, 1869. Beginning January 23, 1869, the A.N. Journal took weekly notice of the various proposals in Congress to reorganize the army. An editorial on February 6 said that "Congress talks about manifest destiny but don't seem to realize that it can't be done with an army reduced to 20,000 men." An article one week later about Gen. Grant's last annual report as General Commanding said that while the Indian war continued he did not think the army should be reduced; presumably he would use his influence in the Presidency to prevent it. It is notable, however, that two U.S. generals who have become Presidents—Grant and Eisenhower—both fostered legislation that reduced the army. In 1869, former Gen. Ben Butler, then a Radical Congressman from Massachusetts, was in the van of army critics. The A.N. Journal, on February 13, claimed that his recommendations would "leave only the shadow of a military establishment." See Millis, Arms and Men, 118-19; and Mahon, "History of the Organization . . .," in Lineage Book, 26.
The 34th Infantry to which Kautz belonged disappeared. Most of its personnel were incorporated into the new 16th Infantry, while Kautz was offered the lieutenant colonelcy of the 15th Infantry then serving in Texas. He accepted before he learned that the unit was being transferred to the Department of Missouri. He then planned to join at Fort Leavenworth, but when he reached the headquarters of the Division of the Missouri at Chicago on April 28, he learned that the 15th was to be sent to New Mexico Territory, an outlying district of the Missouri department. Orders were already issued for those troops who would make the overland march, and Kautz was permitted to travel as an individual to New Mexico. He took the cars to Leavenworth first where he waited for his baggage to come up from Mississippi; on June 10 he entrained for the rail terminus in Kansas.

87. See n. 72 above.
CHAPTER 5

LAND OF POCO TIEMPO

It was 402 miles by the Kansas-Pacific Railroad to Fort Wallace, Kansas, from Fort Leavenworth. A letter to St. Louis might go through in thirty hours. But from the bleak Kansas outpost commanded by Colonel Charles Woods, the only conveyance to New Mexico Territory was the stagecoach which followed the old Santa Fe Trail. It was nearly four hundred more miles to The City of the Holy Faith of Saint Francis, and it required nearly eighty hours of almost continuous travel. August V. Kautz, lieutenant colonel of the 15th Infantry, departed Fort Wallace about ten o'clock on the morning of June 15, 1869. The weather was bright and


2. The Southern Overland Mail and Express Co., began operation in 1862 with "a weekly line of post coaches from Kansas City to Santa Fe." As the railroad gradually extended westward, the company from time to time changed its route and schedule. "In July, 1868, the company followed in the wake of the iron steed, to Sheridan . . . The route . . . [struck] west to Forts Wallace and Lyon and Bent's Fort; continuing . . . as before, to Santa Fe, and was also changed to a daily line. Time from Sheridan, four days." It ran thus until February, 1870, when the company moved its initial point to Pond City. Wallihan, Rocky Mountain Directory, 124-25.
clear, fine for stage travel, and he was fortunate to find only two other passengers in the big westbound Concord coach.³

The vehicle drove through a cheerless, treeless prairie. Pond City was a little village three miles west of the fort; all other stations, strung out at about twenty mile intervals, were mean sod houses, each with a corral. The passengers took dinner at Big Timbers and supper at Cheyenne Wells, the latter in Colorado Territory. At the wells one of them left, and the space thus afforded allowed Kautz and his companion some sleep. In the evening a heavy storm rolled up from the south, and they soon had wind and blowing rain. All night the coach rumbled on, until early Wednesday morning they descended into the valley of the Arkansas River and passed from under the rainstorm. About seven o'clock they reached Fort Lyon. By nine-thirty they were at Bent's Fort where a two and one-half hour stop was made. At noon the six-horse team trotted smartly away, and in less than an hour they were at King's Crossing of the Arkansas.

"After crossing on the ferry, the sun became very hot and the road very dusty," Kautz noted in his diary, but after they had traveled south as far as Timpas, about twenty

³ Diary, 1869. The next four paragraphs are drawn entirely from this source.
miles, "there was a decided improvement." Here they entered a higher, hillier country with the snow-crowned mountains coming into view. At Iron Spring, the coach stopped for supper and Kautz enjoyed an antelope steak. Not until midnight did they reach the new, adobe town of Trinidad on the Purgatoire River which was known to Kautz and other travelers as the "Picket Wire."

The coach stopped long enough at Trinidad to take on two more passengers whose presence would increase the discomfort of the journey through Raton Pass. Near dawn of Thursday they reached the station and hotel kept by "Uncle Dick" Wootten at the foot of the pass. It was too early for breakfast, so the coach boarded another passenger and began the slow, rough passage of the 7,800-foot defile. The descent from the pass was "rapid and rough, and at half

4. Although founded in 1862, the town did not thrive until the war ended and the army pacified the Ute Indians. By 1870 "all branches of trade" were represented in Trinidad, including a hotel, three grist mills, two saw-mills, and numerous merchants engaged in the overland trade. Wallihan, Rocky Mountain Directory, 397-98.

5. Wootten, a legendary figure of the fur trade, opened a toll road at this point before the Civil War. "When the stage company commenced running . . . by way of Trinidad . . . my place was made a stage station," he recalled many years later. "Of course I had to keep a hotel then . . . and I entertained guests of all grades and stations, from the Vice-President of the United States down to plain stage robbers and horse thieves." Howard L. Conard (ed.), Uncle Dick Wootten, the Pioneer Frontiersman of the Rocky Mountain Region, Lakeside Classics edition by Milo M. Quaife (1st ed., 1890; Chicago, 1957), 399, 411.
past six we reached Red River where we obtained a miserable breakfast." From the Red to the Cimarron was a rich agricultural district. Kautz was especially impressed with Maxwell's ranch. At Rayado, ⁶ they had the noontime dinner and drove from thence to Fort Union where Kautz left the stage about dusk. Colonel Kautz had no relish for pressing on at once to Santa Fe. His regiment was marching slowly across Texas, and, besides, he was beginning to feel badly with the sore throat and headache of a severe cold. Fort Union was commanded by another acquaintance of the late war, William N. Grier,⁷ colonel of the 3rd U.S. Cavalry, whom Kautz had known as the chief mustering and disbursing officer for Ohio in 1862. Kautz, therefore, accepted the hospitality of Colonel Grier and stayed the weekend.

⁶ At one time the home of Kit Carson, Rayado was not on the main Santa Fe Trail but on a cut-off of the stage company. It was on the Maxwell Land Grant and the army rented quarters for a telegraph and forage station. William A. Keleher, Maxwell Land Grant: A New Mexico Item (rev. ed.; New York, 1954), 29.

⁷ "Old Billy" Grier, the bueno comandante, led the 1st U.S. Cavalry during the Peninsula Campaign of 1862 under Gen. P. St.G. Cooke. He had graduated from the Academy in 1835 and served in both dragoon regiments on the frontier and in the Mexican War. Wounded at the Battle of Williamsburg, May 5, 1862, he held several non-combatant posts afterward and never achieved high rank. His faithful service was rewarded in 1866, however, with the colonelcy of the 3rd Cavalry. He was retired at his own request in 1870. Battles & Leaders, II, 429; Hamersly, 384.
Fort Union was the most important military post in New Mexico. The supply depot, apart from the post proper, was the central source of all classes of supply for the military district, and the main post housed four companies of troops, at this time all of the 3rd Cavalry. Grier showed Kautz the elaborate complex and introduced him around, but the worsening sore throat caused Kautz to retire to quarters in the afternoon. Next morning Mrs. Grier made him a gargle of vinegar, salt, and red pepper steeped in hot water, which relieved his pain. About nine-thirty, he departed for Las Vegas, twenty-five miles south, with Grier and the post trader.

Las Vegas had some nearby hot springs, famous for "their efficacy in relieving rheumatism and chronic syphilitic complaints." Kautz found them "very extensive and some of the pools [?] are not in use at all, and some fine ones are used by the poor and unfortunate, have no improvements, the water being collected in holes, dug out of the earth. . . . The springs are very badly kept at the present by a crazy kind of a Frenchman." Kautz stayed two days at the

8. For a complete history of this site, on which a post was first founded in 1851 and which is today a national monument, see Chris Emmett, Fort Union and the Winning of the Southwest (Univ. of Oklahoma, 1965).

9. Diary, 1869.
hotel and visited the springs each day. The first evening he felt so much improved that he went with his companions to a Mexican bailie. Next day he "found the bath much more agreeable," and spent some time investigating the interesting geologic formation. The second evening the officers "met several young ladies of Spanish descent. The gentlemen sat up and had music in the hotel until after one o'clock."¹⁰

Before dawn of Monday, June 21, Kautz boarded the stage for Santa Fe, reaching there about 3 p.m. Immediately he called upon the commander of the District of New Mexico, Colonel (Brevet Major General) George Washington Getty,¹¹ and presented himself for duty. Next morning Kautz arose well and refreshed, better than at any time since departing Leavenworth. Getty informed him that he was to

¹⁰. Ibid.

¹¹. Although an old artillerist, Getty was at this time commanding the 3rd Infantry and the District of New Mexico. Born in 1819, he graduated from the Military Academy in 1840 and fought with the 4th Artillery in Scott's Mexican campaign of 1846-48. He became a brigadier of Volunteers in 1862 and fought at Antietem, Fredericksburg, and the Wilderness. Wounded in the last battle, he recovered and was with Sheridan in the battles of Opequan, Fisher's Hill, and Cedar Creek. In the reorganization of 1866, the best he could obtain was command of the new 37th Infantry; but after brief assignment to the 3rd Infantry he was given the 3rd and 4th Artillery regiments in succession, and from 1877 to his retirement in 1883 he was commandant of the Artillery School at Fort Monroe. He lived until 1901. Heitman, I, 452; Powell, 233-34.
take temporary command of Fort Craig until the 15th Infantry arrived in the district, when he would be assigned to Fort Stanton. The present commander at Craig, so Kautz learned, was Lieutenant Colonel (Brevet Major General) Cuvier Grover, 38th Infantry, who shortly was to go to Fort Concho, Texas. Kautz drew his pay on Thursday, which was a day for Mexican celebration—St. John's Day. The local citizens, Kautz noted, "rushed about town on their horses at full speed flourishing a dead chicken or two, in a manner that became drunken men better than people in their full senses."  

August Kautz did not relish the idea of an indefinite tour at Fort Craig, for it was said to be a desolate place with inadequate quarters. He was quickly prepared, however, for the five-day journey he would make in the company of the paymaster, Major Frank Bridgeman. Their party was to include Bridgeman's clerk, two drivers, a Mexican servant, and an escort of five infantrymen. They had a six-mule light wagon for the troops and a four-mule ambulance for themselves. The escort was very important, for Bridgeman carried $100,000 to pay the garrisons in southern New Mexico.

12. Diary, 1869. The next three paragraphs are based on this source.
The escort wagon departed Santa Fe at 9 a.m. on June 25, and the ambulance with the officers, clerk, servant, and driver got under way about a half hour later on the road to Albuquerque. They reached Algodones the first day, and the second evening they camped at the "fine farm" of Santiago L. Hubbell, south of Albuquerque and six miles north of Isleta Indian pueblo. Hubbell's farm was, so Kautz noted, "the first civilized looking place since we left Santa Fe." Don Santiago "entertained us hospitably and insisted on our going into the house." On the evening of the 27th, they stayed at the government forage agency at Sabinal, and next night found quarters with the forage agent at Socorro.

Traveling was fatiguing in the heat, the scenery was dreary in the extreme, and the men soon exhausted the topics of conversation. Bridgeman, withal, proved to be an amiable gentleman and at the evening camps he insisted on cooking, producing meals that suited Kautz. The last day's journey was the most comfortable. Even with a late start, they managed to arrive at Fort Craig about 4 p.m. on Tuesday, June 29.

13. James ("Santiago") Lawrence Hubbell, from Connecticut, settled at Pajarito, N.M., shortly after the Mexican War and married a Mexican woman. His son, Juan Lorenzo, later to be a famous trader to the Navajo Indians, was born there in 1853. Frank McNitt, The Indian Traders (Univ. of Oklahoma, 1962), 143.
The first distant view that Kautz had of Fort Craig was across the parched, rolling hills, and it may have escaped him for a few minutes as the ambulance trotted monotonously. It would have been some time before the fort's unobtrusive architecture forced itself on the eye. A low adobe wall three hundred yards wide nearly hid the squat, one-story buildings. In the northwest wall which they approached was a gate that led directly through the elongated guardhouse. They then emerged onto the post parade ground where the effluvia from the stables at the south end stung the nose and a horde of flies and mosquitoes mingled with the dust of the vehicles.14

Fort Craig had been constructed in 185415 on a gentle slope that led eastward to the Rio Grande, a mile away. It was thirty-five miles south of Socorro. Eighteen miles farther south arose the mountain called Fra Christobal, which marked the beginning of the Jornada del Muerto.16 The fort overlooked the river from the edge of a sunbaked

14. Surgeon General Report, 1870, 244-47.

15. Ibid. It replaced Fort Conrad, established nine miles north in 1851.

16. Originally the name for the Spanish road from this point to Doña Ana, but by extension applied to the entire desert region from modern U.S. Hwy. 380 south to Interstate Hwy. 10, between the Rio Grande and the San Andres Mtns. T.M. Pearce (ed.), New Mexico Place Names: A Geographical Dictionary (Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1965), 77.
plain that extended, in a series of mesas, westward to the San Mateo Mountains. Nearly opposite the fort, rising abruptly from the east bank of the river, was a large mesa the summit of which was crowned with an extinct volcanic crater. This elevation, the Mesa de la Contedera, overlooked the battlefield of Val Verde where, in February of 1862, invading Texans had defeated a federal army. In 1869 the post was garrisoned by one company each of the 3rd Cavalry and the Negro 38th Infantry. The horse soldiers provided an occasional picket guard or escort, but so far as the organizational returns show, the infantry did nothing. They were marking time until they could join a new outfit in Texas pursuant to the general army reorganization of March, 1869.

As Colonel Kautz dismounted from his ambulance by the flag pole, he could look across the parade to the stables. To each side stood a row of large adobe buildings. Immediately to his left was the post adjutant's office. Other structures on the left were two sets of officers' quarters and, at the far end by foul-smelling stables, two hospital buildings. On his right were two large barracks


buildings, one each for the white troopers and colored soldiers. Each barrack was really a complex of rooms: two dormitories, a kitchen, a mess hall, non-commissioned officers' quarters, quarters for laundresses, and store rooms, all arranged around a plazita. Immediately to Kautz' right as he entered the fort was the set of quarters for the commanding officer.19

Major Bridgeman and his clerk hurried their strongbox to safekeeping inside the adjutant's office while Kautz was received by the post commander, Colonel Grover,20 and his wife. After he directed the servant to remove his baggage to Grover's quarters, Kautz walked out of the fort with the colonel to the store of the post trader, a civilian named Wardwell.21 In such outposts, the sutler's establishment was the general store, post office, delicatessen,


20. Cuvier Grover (1828-1885) was born in Maine and graduated from the Military Academy in 1850. After frontier service in the 4th Artillery and 10th Infantry, he fought with the Army of the Potomac in all its important battles as a brigade leader. In December, 1862, he went to Department of the Gulf as a division commander. In October, 1864, he was breveted major general for service in the battles of Winchester and Fisher's Hill. He was later colonel of the 1st Cavalry. His life is sketched in the D.A.B., Vol. 4, pt. 2, 28.

recreation hall, and officers' club combined under one roof. A post commander soon learned that good relations with the trader was advantageous to all and sought to have a man of his own selection appointed. That afternoon, Kautz and Grover took a glass of wine with Mr. Wardwell.

The post commander's house was a one-story adobe like the rest, plastered inside and out, with a floor of impure gypsum. A portico extended the entire length of the eastern front, supported by wooden columns. The building had basically only two large bedrooms separated by a wide entry hallway. There was in addition a small servant's room, and the Grovers had no children. The house also had a dining room and a spacious kitchen. Each room had a fireplace and was well lighted and ventilated with large windows.

As Grover was scheduled to depart soon, handing Kautz temporary command, Grover gave him one bedroom and

22. Sutlers had followed the army since the Revolutionary War. The Army Bill of 1866 had abolished the office, effective July 1, 1867, and replaced them with "post traders" who served at the discretion of the post commander and his "council of administration." Old soldiers like Kautz, however, continued to refer to the traders usually as sutlers. In 1889 the traders also were abolished and replaced by post "canteens," the forerunners of modern post exchanges. A good discussion is in S. E. Whitman, The Troopers: An Informal History of the Plains Cavalry, 1865-1890 (New York, 1962), 142-44.

Kautz moved in at once. He still hoped, however, for reprieve. "General G. cannot leave for two weeks yet," he confided to his diary that night, ... and in the meantime I can amuse myself as best I can, which at such a post as this is no great privilege." The Grovers remained four weeks, and Kautz remained in those quarters over three months.

Next day, Grover mustered the troops, Bridgeman paid them and departed, and Kautz began to establish a routine that would make his stay tolerable. At first he hoped Grover might delay his departure for Texas until the 38th Infantry left, so that some cavalry officer could take over the post and he might obtain a transfer to Fort Bayard. That dream had faded by July 9, when Kautz wrote General Getty to ask an immediate transfer to Fort Stanton. Pending a reply, Kautz had his household goods held at Santa Fe. But on the 17th, Getty not only refused a transfer but suggested that Kautz might have to take acting command of the 15th Infantry when it arrived in the district, if Colonel Oliver O. Shepherd were given leave.24

There was some little paper work to accomplish in the transfer of command. Mrs. Grover meanwhile proved a disheartening distraction, plying Kautz with personal

24. Diary, 1869.
questions and unburdening upon him her endless complaints. She apparently was very ill. Kautz himself felt "remarkably well in body" but Mrs. Grover made him uncomfortable. The memory of Charlotte was "revived more frequently than . . . for a long time, and often in a very painful manner." He was moved to remark finally that "women in many cases are a great deal more trouble than is really necessary." Mrs. Grover was sicker than anyone suspected; she lived only two more months. 25

By the time Kautz took charge of Fort Craig on July 19, 26 he had set a pattern of daily routine that was interrupted only by special visitors, not infrequent desert storms, and the paymaster. The Grovers departed on July 27. Thereafter Kautz' only companion was Captain Charles N. V. Cunningham, a bachelor who commanded Company D, 38th Infantry. The other officers were married but sometimes invited Kautz to their quarters. First Lieutenant (Brevet Major) William E. Sweet, 38th Infantry, was quartermaster for the post; and Captain Alexander Sutorius commanded Company E, 3rd Cavalry. 27

26. Fort Craig Returns.
27. Ibid., Diary, 1869.
Each morning Kautz stood reveille, signed the morning reports, and retired to his quarters for breakfast. He studied a program of Spanish language lessons for an hour, then read until lunch time. In the afternoons he played billiards in the sutler's store with some of the officers, usually Captain Cunningham. For exercise he tried always to ride out on horseback in the evening, and again Cunningham was usually his only companion. They might ride up the river to the little Mexican village of San Marcial or downstream to the ford. If they did not cross, they would return about five, in time to meet the mail. Sometimes the mail brought many letters and papers, for Kautz subscribed to several journals of the day and was an indefatigable correspondent. In the evening he retired to read and write, and he might continue letter writing through the next morning. After supper he occasionally visited the Sweets or Sutorius. There were whist and chess games at least once a week, and Mr. Wardwell sometimes had the officers in for cards. Kautz usually retired about nine, first always taking a few minutes to record the tedious day in his diary. He thus summed up the ennui of life at Fort Craig: "The same Reveille sounded as usual, the same calls, and the inevitable [retreat] gun. Went through the same course of [Spanish] study and reading and billiards and ride in the afternoon . . ."28 The days wore into September.

28. Ibid.
On September 1, several visitors stopped at the fort, including some 3rd Cavalry comrades of Cunningham and Lieutenant Charles E. Drew, "formerly of the 34th Infty. turned up as the Agent of the Gila Apaches."\(^{29}\) Drew left next day for Fort McRae, a small post on the river near Cañada Alamosa where the Apaches who had chosen peace were being concentrated.\(^{30}\) September 4 was a pay day and the occasion for merrymaking among the unmarried officers. While Kautz had supper with Major Sweet, Cunningham and his friends had "a jovial time." They threw a baile at San Marcial and Kautz went to see it. "The young gentlemen from the post were soon beyond discretion," Kautz lamented, and returned at midnight. The next day was routine for Kautz, but Drew returned from Fort McRae and joined the celebration. As Kautz retired for the night, he noted that "Capt. C & his guests are still enjoying themselves in what they consider no doubt is a very rational way . . . They

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\(^{29}\) Ibid. Drew was married in January of 1868 when he and his wife lived at Holly Springs, Miss., and frequently visited the Kautzes. \textit{Diary}, 1868.

\(^{30}\) Although no permanent reserves had been set aside for any Apaches in New Mexico by 1869, the bands which could be induced to forgo raiding and accept rations had been assembled at Cañada Alamosa, northwest of Fort McRae. These Indians were mainly Warm Springs ("Mimbreno") and other Chiricahua Apaches, but a few Mescaleros also were there. U.S. Dept. of the Interior, \textit{Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1869} (Washington, 1870), 104-5, 247-49. The various annual reports are cited hereafter as \textit{Indian Affairs Report} together with the date.
have been drunk for two days now." Next morning after
reveille, the colonel had a late breakfast because of
"the irregularities in Cunningham's quarters." The colonel
retired to resume reading Prescott's Conquest of Mexico.31

On the 20th Drew left again for the south, to examine
the country which his Apaches desired for a permanent
reservation. The next day was enlivened by a large bundle
of official mail and the receipt of several more newspapers
and letters than usual. Among the communications was the
order that detailed the iminent troop changes, and it
specified that Kautz was to take command of Fort Stanton
whenever he should be relieved of Craig.32 On the 28th
Drew was back again and drinking hard. Kautz recorded that
he missed "the society of a better class which seems to have
departed from the Army,"33 but the next day an unusually
intelligent and congenial young officer arrived by stagecoach

31. Diary, 1869.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid. The next day, Drew wrote his annual
report for the superintendent of Indian affairs in Santa Fe,
dating it "Fort McRae." He summarized his plan for an
Apache reservation and reported his meeting with the chiefs,
Loco, Victorio, and Lopez. He apparently stayed at Stanton
another week, for on October 5 he requested that Kautz
furnish an escort "to carry out my instructions from the
Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs." Indian Affairs Report,
1870, 248-49. Letter, Drew to C.O., Fort Craig, in Letters
Received, Fort Craig, 1869, Records of U.S. Army Commands
(RG 98, National Archives). Cited hereafter as Fort Craig
Letters.
who at once warmed to the sour colonel. He was Lieutenant John Gregory Bourke of the 3rd Cavalry, for duty with Company E. The new lieutenant, Kautz discovered, could converse for hours about the Indians, the late war, Mexico, history, and literature. Shortly he obtained for Kautz the volume of Prescott's history that the post library lacked.

Kautz expected his regiment any day after the 1st of October. At last, on October 4, "The arrival of Genl. Shepherd with his command about ten o'clock interrupted my usual routine. The command went into camp, just outside southwest of the fort. The Genl. took up his quarters in

34. Bourke was an eminent pioneer ethnologist, as well as a soldier and author of some ability. See the introduction by J. Frank Dobie in Bourke, An Apache Campaign in the Sierra Madre (new ed.; New York, 1958), 5-16. His life is also sketched in the D.A.B., Vol. 1, pt. 2, 483.

35. Orders No. 102, Sept. 25, 1869, Fort Union, Par. 2, Fort Craig Letters.

36. In June the 15th Infantry had assembled at Austin, Texas, to march to Fort Concho. Heavy rains made streams impassable and delayed departure until mid-July. The regiment did not reach the rendezvous with the 35th Infantry until early August. On August 18 the consolidation was effected, and the 35th, like Kautz' postwar regiment, the 34th, disappeared. Next day the reorganized command marched from Fort Concho on the old Butterfield stage road, across the Staked Plains to the Horsehead Crossing of the Pecos River, thence to Fort Davis and the Rio Grande. They marched upriver from Fort Quitman to Fort Bliss at El Paso, and shortly entered the District of New Mexico. They were at Fort Selden on September 27 where five of the ten companies were detached to new stations: Forts Bayard, Cummings, Bascom, and Stanton. The remainder of the regiment continued the march to Fort Craig, leaving a company at Fort McRae as they passed. See Henry R. Brinkerhoff, "The Fifteenth Regiment of Infantry," Army of the U.S., 625-27.
my house and dined with us . . . They have had a very successful march." Shepherd, graduate of the Academy Class of 1840, had had a very long but not especially distinguished career. He had fought with the 3rd U.S. Infantry in the Mexican War as a captain and commanded the 15th U.S. Infantry in the Civil War. The next day, October 5, the colored soldiers of the 38th Infantry marched out of the fort and camped so that the 15th's headquarters and Company K could occupy their new permanent quarters. That change brought four other officers into Kautz' meager circle of friends. Captain (Brevet Major) Frederick W. Coleman commanded Company K.37 He invited Kautz to share his quarters, as Shepherd was moving into the C.O.'s quarters. Lieutenants William J. Sartle and Thomas Blair were designated as regimental adjutant and quartermaster respectively.38 Major Sweet was replaced by a lieutenant of the 15th Infantry, Robert E. Bradford, as the post quartermaster.

The crisp, sunny morning of October 7, 1869, was hazed with dust and enlivened by martial noises as three companies of the 15th Infantry broke camp and fell in to march northward to Albuquerque.39 Two companies would there

37. Fort Craig Returns.

38. Heitman, I, Ill. First Lt. Thomas Blair was a Scot whose real name was Thomas Blair Nicholl. He was dismissed the service in 1879. Heitman, I, 222.

39. Diary, 1869.
take the road west to Fort Wingate, and the other faced a still longer march through Santa Fe and on to Fort Garland, Colorado. At the same time, the remaining 113 officers and men of the 38th Infantry prepared to begin the march to Texas in the afternoon. They were destined to join a new regiment, the 24th, in which they were to be consolidated. Each company had its baggage wagons and most of the officers were mounted. Additional animals followed the columns. In all, there were over three hundred departing troops, watched by at least one hundred and fifty spectators, perhaps the largest crowd to assemble at Fort Craig between the Civil War and the abandonment of the place in 1884.

Kautz had now to pack his belongings. He disposed of a few sticks of furniture to Shepherd and turned over his ordnance property. He had also to secure a stock of rations from the commissary of subsistence, Lieutenant Bradford, for the trek to Fort Stanton would require at least five days. On October 12, he was ready to depart.

Colonel Kautz, with an escort of a few men and two light wagons with mules to carry his baggage and water kegs,

40. Lineage Book, 132.
41. Diary, 1889.
proceeded from Fort Craig south across the Rio Grande through the village of Paraje. The first day out he was accompanied by Lieutenant Blair. They camped at Ojo del Malli, and Blair returned to Craig next morning. Kautz took the south pass through the San Andres Mountains to Mal Pais Spring, thence to Tularosa and Fort Stanton. This route was dry and rarely traveled. Parties from the vicinity of Craig who wished to visit Tularosa or Stanton usually took a much longer way, north via Limitar or south via Fort Selden. As it was, Kautz reached Fort Stanton on the night of October 16. He found First Lieutenant Casper H. Conrad, Company I, in command. After a day to rest and unpack, Kautz assumed command.

Fort Stanton, like Craig, was a two-company post. But it was more important in the scheme of frontier defense against the hostile Apache Indians. It was located on the Rio Bonito, a creek that rises in the Sierra Blanca fifteen miles west of the site and runs generally east to join the Rio Ruidoso (or Rio Hondo) twenty miles away. Although the site is 6,235 feet above sea level, Capitan

42. Letter, Kautz to Hq., Dist. of N.M., May 26, 1870, transmitting description and map of route from Fort Stanton to Fort Craig, in Letters Received, Military District of New Mexico, 1870 (RG 98, National Archives). Cited hereafter as Kautz Road Report.

Mountain to the northeast towers over ten thousand feet, only fifteen miles distant. The post had been initially established in 1855, abandoned on the outbreak of the Civil War, and then continuously occupied—first by Volunteers, then by regulars—since October of 1862.  

It was necessary to maintain ten military posts in New Mexico in 1869, plus several picket posts and Indian agencies, with more than two regiments of regular army troops, at times as many as 1,800 officers and men. This command was officially termed a "district" of the Department of the Missouri, but it always required a commander of considerable rank and experience. Within his command were


45. As of November 1, 1869, there were 101 officers and 1,770 enlisted men authorized the District of New Mexico; but 6 officers were absent on detached service and few companies were at authorized minimum strength. District of New Mexico Returns, 1869 (RG 94, National Archives). "Organization of the Army under the Act of March 3, 1869," Heitman, II, 606-9.

not only such outposts as Forts Stanton, Bayard, and Wingate, but also the important depot of Fort Union, the district headquarters at Santa Fe, and one post in Colorado Territory, Fort Garland. It was thought after the Civil War that raids to the east by New Mexican Apaches could be prevented by a cordon of forts ranged in an eastward arc four hundred miles long, from the Navajo country in northwestern New Mexico to the Pecos River, thence southwestward to Fort Bayard near the Arizona line. On the southern sector of this arc sat Fort Stanton, sovereign of the Mescalero Apache country. However, Brigadier General John Pope, who would take command of the Department of the Missouri in 1870, thought the idea impractical and would seek to abandon several posts.\(^47\)

The country surrounding Fort Stanton was sparsely settled by a few Anglo and Mexican families who sought a living in stockraising and mining. The mountains were well timbered, the woods full of game, and the creeks teeming with trout. "The country . . . reminded me of southern Oregon," observed Kautz.\(^48\) The official description noted

See also Hamersly for full sketches of Hatch, 177-80, and Gregg, 379; and Powell, passim. There are full biographies of Carleton and MacKenzie: Aurora Hunt, Major General James Henry Carleton, 1814-1873: Western Frontier Dragoon (Glendale, Calif., 1958); and Ernest Wallace, Ranald S. MacKenzie on the Texas Frontier (Lubbock, 1964).

\(^47\) U.S. War Dept., Annual Report of The Secretary of War for the Year 1870 (Washington, 1871), 15-16. The various annual reports are cited hereafter as Secretary of War Report together with the date.

\(^48\) Diary, 1869.
that, "The region is known as the Apache country, which tribe [i.e. the Mescaleros] is in open hostility."\textsuperscript{49}

Indian affairs in New Mexico as Kautz found them in 1869\textsuperscript{50} were, however, somewhat more peaceful and— for the Navajos— more promising since the end of the Bosque Redondo experiment the previous year.\textsuperscript{51} The Navajos had ceased to be a real danger to the territory by the autumn of '69, though about two thousand of them remained outside their new reservation in the northwest corner. On the other hand, the various tribes of Apaches in southern New Mexico were to plague settlers for many more years. They had been subjected to several campaigns since the American annexation of 1848, but the war seemed to grow in space, and in numbers involved, as the white settlement advanced. In 1861, when federal troops were withdrawn to oppose the Southern rebellion, the Chiricahua Apaches of Arizona had virtually declared war on all whites, and the

\textsuperscript{49}. Surgeon General Report, 1870, 250.

\textsuperscript{50}. This and the next paragraph were drawn from Bancroft, 726-33, 742-46. See also Secretary of War Report, 1869 and 1870, passim.

\textsuperscript{51}. To that unhealthy concentration camp near Fort Sumner on the Pecos River had been sent more than 80,000 Navajos between 1862 and '68. The place was utterly unfit for a reservation, and in May of 1868 a formal treaty had set aside another area for the Navajos in their old homeland in northwestern New Mexico. In July, 1868, they removed peaceably to their new agency at Fort Wingate. See Lynn R. Bailey, The Long Walk: A History of the Navajo Wars, 1846-68 (Los Angeles, 1964), 145-95.
Warm Springs and Southern bands of Chiricahua Apaches of New Mexico were usually allied with them.\(^{52}\) Their cousins the Mescaleros had also gone to war, but in 1863 more than four hundred had surrendered and had been confined to the Bosque Redondo with the Navajos. The two tribes proved incompatible, however, and the Mescaleros had drifted from the Bosque reserve in 1864 and '65, as much from antagonism of the Navajos as from the poverty of the land. During the three years that followed the Civil War, while the Volunteers were sent home or discharged, the impoverished Apache bands had kept up continual depredations. The garrison at Fort Stanton was maintained to curb their incursions.

\(^{52}\) The Chiricahua Indians were one major division of the Apache peoples, related closely to the Western Apaches of Arizona and to the Mescaleros of southeastern New Mexico. The Chiricahuas were further divided into three bands. The central band inhabited southeastern Arizona and to them the term Chiricahua was applied directly; they are best remembered as the tribe of Chief Cochise. The Southern Band, to whom no other English name has been applied, ranged over much of northern Mexico and lived at times in both Arizona and New Mexico; Geronimo was their most famous representative. The eastern band of Chiricahuas, the largest, claimed all southwestern New Mexico as home and raided widely into Old Mexico. Warm Springs, Hombreño, Gila, Mogollones, and Coppermine Apaches are the most frequently encountered names which white men applied without much precision to the numerous sub-groups. Mangus Colorado, Victorio, Nana, and Loco were all leaders among the eastern Chiricahuas. Morris E. Opler, *An Apache Life-Way: The Economic, Social, and Religious Institutions of the Chiricahua Indians* (University of Chicago Press, 1941), 1-4.
The Mescaleros\textsuperscript{53} mainly avoided the white man's way. Numbering only about 750 people, they were dwellers of the desert mountains in winter, especially the Guadalupe range of extreme southern New Mexico. They normally hunted and raided far to the east and south. In the summer, they would go into the Sacramento, Sierra Blanca, and Capitan mountains. In 1855 Governor David Meriwether had given them a reservation on the Rio Ruidoso, and the army had established Fort Stanton to watch over them. They had kept the peace until 1861, then had begun to raid once more. Unrelenting war had brought them to heel again, but confinement to the terrible Bosque had been insufferable. By 1867 all the tribe had escaped to their former haunts. Their depredations in southeastern New Mexico and West Texas could not have been considered too serious, in view of the number of Indians and the thin settlement of the country, but it was the army's mission to protect the frontier.

Complete protection could ultimately be afforded only when the Indians were permanently settled on definite reservations. The task of selecting, organizing, and administering reserves had been assigned to the Office of Indian Affairs, an arm of the Department of the Interior.

\textsuperscript{53} Besides the purely ethnographic literature, the only general historical treatment of these Indians is by C. L. Sonnichsen, \textit{The Mescalero Apaches} (Univ. of Oklahoma, 1958).
But the Indian Office was moving slowly in 1869; few reservations had been selected and fewer organized. So long as such tribes as the Mescaleros wandered without restraint by officials of the proper government agency, the only recourse of frontier commanders was constant vigilance and punitive expeditions. Mounted scouting expeditions were an indispensable means of obtaining timely information about Indians, as there were usually not enough soldiers to man a line of picket posts and the forts were isolated. Fort Stanton was over two hundred miles from Fort Selden, which lay to the southwest, and it was two hundred and fifty miles from Fort Davis, Texas; and there was no telegraph line to either point. Only alert, inquisitive patrols could keep a post commander informed of the disposition and activity of the Indians.

When hostile Indians plundered and murdered, they had to be promptly pursued and punished. This was not an expression of blind retribution but the only way of proving to the Indians themselves that they were better off if they kept the peace and came onto the white man's reservation. If, in the course of a scout, the troops could kill able-bodied warriors and destroy the Indians' subsistence, the ability of the hostiles to make war was impaired. This in turn was further inducement to accept rations, clothing, and shelter on a reserve. To accomplish its purpose, Fort
Stanton was garrisoned by Company I, 15th Infantry, and Company F, 3rd Cavalry.\textsuperscript{54} The mean strength, month-to-month, was only 111 officers and men; but due to the healthy climate, most of them could be counted as effective at any time. The cavalry troop, obviously, was the principal force available for scouting, but the infantrymen might be included in an expedition if riding mules were available or if replacements for horse soldiers were required.

The officers of Colonel Kautz' little command were an assorted lot. Company I was led by Lieutenant Conrad, who had served as an enlisted man in a Volunteer infantry regiment during the war. In 1867 he had obtained a commission in the new 35th Infantry. In the reorganization of '69, he had been transferred to the 15th.\textsuperscript{55} Kautz described him as "intensely opinionated and self-confident." He held command of the company temporarily until the arrival of Captain Chambers McKibbin, absent on leave. Company I had another officer present, Second Lieutenant Charles E. Slade, who was the post adjutant and the acting assistant quartermaster. He had served as an enlisted man in a Volunteer infantry regiment and obtained a commission in 1868.\textsuperscript{56}

\textsuperscript{54} Fort Stanton \textit{Returns}, 1869-70.

\textsuperscript{55} \textit{Powell}, 140.

\textsuperscript{56} \textit{Heitman}, I, 890.
Company F of the 3rd Cavalry also was commanded by a first lieutenant, and a member of an illustrious military family, Howard B. Cushing. Lieutenant Cushing had enlisted as a private in the 4th U.S. Artillery in 1863 after some prior service in a Volunteer battery. He was awarded a commission for conspicuous gallantry and after the war stayed in the army, securing a transfer to the cavalry in 1867. "He was about five feet seven in height," as Lieutenant Bourke described him; "spare, sinewy, active as a cat; slightly stoop-shouldered, sandy complexioned, keen gray or bluish-gray eyes, which looked you through when he spoke and gave a slight hint of the determination, coolness, and energy which had made his name famous all over the south-western border."57 One of his brothers was Major Alonzo H. Cushing, who died a hero's death at Gettysburg. More famous was brother William B. Cushing, a naval lieutenant whose name is most often remembered in connection with the destruction of the Confederate ironclad Albemarle. Howard Cushing was a dashing and natural cavalry officer whose promising career was to be cut short in Arizona only two years later.58 Second Lieutenant Franklin Yeaton was the only West Point officer at Fort Stanton other than Kautz.


58. Ibid., 29-52, 100-107, passim.
and Yeaton had just graduated from the Academy in June without any prior service.59

Of the non-commissioned officers at Fort Stanton they must remain regrettably unknown and nearly anonymous. There must have been, however, several capable leaders in their ranks, such as Company F's first sergeant, John Mott, and the post sergeant-major, J. C. A. Warfield. They formed the muscle and sinew of the fighting troops, yet today they are mostly names on muster rolls. Kautz preserved the notion that gentlemen were found only under shoulder straps and scarcely mentioned enlisted men in his diary.

One of Kautz* closest friends at the fort was the post doctor, or "assistant surgeon" with captain's grade, as he was carried on returns. He was Doctor Joseph R. Gibson, from Pennsylvania, who also held a major's brevet for Civil War service and the brevet of lieutenant colonel "for meretorious and distinguished services at Hart's Island, New York Harbor, where cholera prevailed."60

The society at Stanton was more male than usual at an army post, for none of the officers had wives except Lieutenant Slade. He had married in Texas the previous spring.

59. Yeaton and Bourke were classmates, along with William P. Duvall, Charles Morton, and Earl D. Thomas. Cullum, III, 394-400.

60. Powell, 236.
on an acquaintance of twenty-four hours, and a month after [he] started with his regiment for this territory. He is but a Second Lieutenant and consequently short of means and liable to be greatly inconvenienced on account of his wife. He will probably discover that matrimony is not one of the wisest things a 2nd Lieutenant can do.61

In mid-November he was granted a leave to fetch her.

Nor were there any towns of importance near the fort where civilian society flourished. La Placita was a poor Mexican village of about one hundred souls, nine miles west of Stanton. It was destined for immortality of a sort a decade later, after it was called Lincoln and attracted Billy the Kid to its jail.62

As he had at Fort Craig, Kautz found the center of social life to be the post sutler's store. It was operated in partnership by Colonel Emil Fritz, a veteran of the war,63

61. Diary, 1869.

62. Lincoln County, then including the southeastern corner of New Mexico, was created out of Socorro County in 1869. La Placita (Las Placitas, Rio Bonito) was county seat and sometime between 1870 and '73 began to be called Lincoln. A good survey of the geography, settlement, and early history of the county may be found in the foreword to William A. Keleher, Violence in Lincoln County, 1869-1881 (Univ. of New Mexico, 1957). vii-xv. See also Bancroft, 795-96.

63. Christian Adolph Emil Fritz was born in 1832 at Ludwigsburg, in Baden, 22 miles east of Kautz' birthplace. He enlisted in the 1st Dragoons in 1851 and in 1861 was commissioned in the 1st Cal. Vol. Cavalry which marched with the California Column to New Mexico in the next year. For a brief time, Captain Fritz was stationed at Tucson where, in June of 1862, he brought ex-Lt. Sylvester Mowry a prisoner from his mine at Patagonia. Fritz doubtless related to Kautz the story of Mowry's troubles with Gen. Carleton, commander of the California troops. Fritz was
and Judge Lawrence G. Murphy, an ambitious merchant. Kautz soon observed that they were "very liberal." Their "mess is not expensive and they will make no charge for billiards or beer." Fritz, like Kautz a native German, had come to New Mexico from California with the 1st California Volunteer Cavalry in 1862 and had taken his discharge in the territory. His personality was in marked contrast to Judge Murphy who was an unscrupulous and volatile Irishman, addicted to drink.

The usual recreations for the officers were billiards, hunting and fishing, and drinking. The last Kautz generally eschewed, but champagne and the locally brewed beer, made by

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discharged a major with brevet of colonel in 1865. He had helped Col. Kit Carson reestablish Fort Stanton in 1862, and he returned to the area to ranch. In 1868, he and Murphy opened a store at the eastern edge of the military reservation. In 1873, Fritz was naturalized as a U.S. citizen, and next year died at his father's home in Stuttgart, Germany. The best sketch of Fritz is by Philip J. Rasch, "The Rise of the House of Murphy," *The Brand Book of the Denver Westerners* (Denver, 1956), 57-84, *passim*. See also Keleher, *Violence in Lincoln County*, 32-33; and the Fritz file in the Hayden Biographical Files (Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, Tucson); cited hereafter as Hayden Collection.

64. Lawrence Gustave Murphy has been described as a "merchant, ex-soldier, former Indian trader, quondam political and economic dictator of Lincoln County." He was born in Ireland about 1831. During the war, he served in the 1st N.M. Vol. Infantry under Kit Carson and was discharged with the brevet of Major. Shortly after he opened the store with Fritz, he became Probate Judge of Lincoln County. By all accounts he was an unscrupulous entrepreneur and politician with whom Kautz was never friendly. He died at Santa Fe in 1878. For extensive information on Murphy, see Rasch, "House of Murphy," *passim*; and Keleher, *Violence in Lincoln County*, 51-53.
an immigrant from Baden, were too easily obtainable for Kautz to neglect them entirely. The art of the billiard table he assiduously pursued; and when in December he again visited Fort Craig, he found that he could beat the gentlemen at Mr. Wardwell's. The greatest pleasure for Kautz, however, was trout fishing in Bonito Creek. Several days of that first November were spent angling amid the beautiful autumn-tinted mountains with Doctor Gibson and other officers. It was not unusual to catch forty or fifty trout in an afternoon.

Colonel Kautz had less than a month to adjust to the spartan life at Fort Stanton before there were Indian troubles. He had discussed the Mescalero problem with the newly appointed agent, Lieutenant Argalus G. Hennisée, but he had made no detailed study of the situation nor planned any scouting expeditions. On November 14, a Sunday evening, a rancher named Robert Casey, who lived below the junction of Bonito Creek and the Ruidoso, came to the fort to report the theft of 115 cattle. Casey said that he had followed a clear trail for a mile down the Hondo (as the Ruidoso is

65. Hennisée, former First Lieutenant, 19th Infantry, had been left unassigned by the reorganization of March, 1869. He became Mescalero agent July 23, 1869, to replace Lorenzo Labadi. Many other officers such as Hennisée and Drew were appointed temporary Indian agents until the church sponsors of President Grant's "peace policy" could find agents. Indian Affairs Report, 1870, 245-47; Hamersly, 175.
known at its lower end), and that he had determined the thieves were Indians, presumably Mescaleros.  

Without delay, and ramrodded by Lieutenant Cushing, Company F saddled up. There were thirty-two men for duty, in addition to Cushing and Lieutenant Yeaton. They drew thirty rounds of carbine ammunition per man and fifteen days' rations, and hit the Ruidoso trail before sunset. Four days later, two hundred miles southeast in the Guadalupe Mountains, Cushing struck a Mescalero rancheria which held the stolen stock. The troops killed and wounded an unknown number of Indians and recovered most of the cattle, as well as some mules and horses. Two troopers were wounded. On the 23rd, the expedition returned bringing a captive child and having marched altogether 370 miles.  

66. Diary, 1869. Casey came to New Mexico from Texas in 1867. He operated a grist mill as well as a ranch and was one of the unfortunate victims of the Lincoln County War, being shot and killed at Lincoln in August, 1875, by unknown assailants. Keleher, Violence in Lincoln County, 17.  

67. Letter, Getty to A.A.G., Dept. of the Missouri, December 3, 1869, in Letters Sent, Military District of New Mexico, 1869 (RG 98, National Archives); cited hereafter as Letters Sent, Dist. of N.M. Getty's letter was to cover a report of Cushing's scout "together with previous letter from the Commanding Officer of that post [Kautz] relative to the object for which the scout was ordered." Neither the report nor Kautz' letter could be found in the letters received by The Adjutant General, in Records of the Adjutant General's Office (RG 94, National Archives); but we know from Kautz' Diary that the letter was written November 18, 1869, and we can surmise its content. Getty concluded his letter: "The energy, endurance and bravery displayed by Lieutenant Cushing and his command . . . I would be pleased to see acknowledged in General Orders."
In December, Kautz was called to Fort Craig to preside over a court-martial. While there, he likely discussed the Mescalero problem with Lieutenant Bourke, who also itched for active field duty. Bourke obtained permission to return to Fort Stanton with Kautz, who noted in his diary that the young officer was "anxious to familiarize himself with the country." The weather was growing cooler and light snows had been falling since mid-November. Kautz made the journey back to Stanton in less than three days, resuming command on December 10. Bourke, however, could not stay to accompany the next expedition with Cushing; he departed on the 12th. 68

Although Kautz laid much of Cushing's first success to blind luck, he accepted his lieutenant's proposal to go out again and find the Mescaleros. This time, many local citizens were determined to accompany him. A proclamation of the territorial governor, William A. Pile, had urged citizen action against the Indians, and Kautz was authorized to ration, but not to arm, as many as his discretion allowed. 69 Preparations were carefully made from the time

68. Diary, 1869.

69. Ibid. Acting A.A.G., Dist. of N.M., to Kautz, December 5, 1869, in Letters Sent, Dist. of N.M. The letter approves the proposed expedition and concludes, "As many citizens as choose to accompany the Scout, may be rationed from your post." See Calvin Horn, New Mexico's Troubled Years: The Story of the Early Territorial Governors (Albuquerque, 1963), 143-44.
Kautz returned until the 19th. That Sunday evening he recorded in his diary:

It threatened snow this morning, but the day improved materially, and we were all interested in the preparations for the scout which took up the entire day. About thirty citizens collected to accompany Mr. Cushing ... There was a great deal of delay but before night set in the post was clear of the crowd that had collected. There was a good deal of whiskey drinking, and some of the party were scarcely able to leave the post.

With a pack train carrying twenty days' rations and extra ammunition, Cushing and Yeaton marched over the trail to the Ruidoso and camped after dark.\footnote{That night snow fell.}

Christmas, 1869, was not very merry at Fort Stanton. Kautz had a little champagne the night before, spent the next morning reading in his quarters, then went up to the sutler's store for lunch and billiards. Fritz and Murphy served fresh oysters, "brought out from the States in cans. They were quite an improvement on the partially cooked canned oysters."\footnote{At four o'clock the officers from the post, together with the traders, a brother of Fritz, and Paul Dowlin, owner of the sawmill near the post, sat down}
to a dinner of wild turkey. Kautz and Dowlin afterward retired to Doctor Gibson's quarters and played cribbage. They returned to the store late in the evening to gossip and to enjoy one more convivial round before sleep.

Christmas for Lieutenant Cushing and his command was far from cheerful. He marched over rough trails into the Guadalupe Mountains, through and across deep canyons, in search of the elusive Apaches. For six days he had marched, perhaps 130 miles, and had crossed the Pajarito Mountains to the Rio Penasco which he descended thirty-three miles. He had struck southwest into the north end of the Guadalupes where he had camped late on December 23. On Christmas Eve he had surveyed the scene of his combat on November 18, but he was unable to find any fresh signs of the Indians. All of Christmas Day the soldiers pursued some fairly fresh sign and camped near the summit of the mountain range.

On December 26, early in the morning, Cushing came to the remains of a lately abandoned rancheria on the west ranches, and livestock. In October, 1870, "Ex-Captain" Paul Dowlin applied to the Fort Stanton commanding officer for the position of Indian agent. In May, 1877, he was shot and killed at his mill. Keleher, Violence in Lincoln County, 19, Fort Stanton Letterbook, 1870, p. 189 (RG 98, National Archives).

73. This and the next five paragraphs are drawn, unless otherwise noted, from Cushing's report, Letters Received, Dist. of N.M.
side of the mountains, "but, although many quite fresh trails led in, no trail was found heading out." Very soon they picked up an occasional track of an Indian pony among the rocks, apparently headed south. "I struck out south­east," explained Cushing, "and soon struck a cross trail leading southwest with one pony-track. This I followed, and after marching ten miles, my one pony-track had become twenty." The trail seemed about four days old, but Cushing pushed his men on rapidly until the sign was fresher, about noon. At 1:30 p.m. Cushing pushed out a dismounted skirmish line and rapidly ascended a steep ridge on which a few Indian ponies were seen grazing. Then the mounted troops rushed forward. As Cushing related the events,

More horses were seen on lariat and hobble and one Indian riding off rapidly . . . We heard sounds of confusion on the southern slope. We went on rapidly and some five hundred yards to our front . . . was seen the Indian Rancheria. The order "Dismount to fight, action front" was . . . given.

The soldiers [were] the only ones up except some eight or ten citizens. The Indian Bucks swarmed out in large numbers between us and their camp, and the arrows commenced to fall rapidly with some few Rifle shots. My men deployed to the front and commenced firing . . . I remained on horseback as did Lieut. Yeaton.

Though the Mescaleros stood their ground their fire was inaccurate, then it ceased altogether and the troops charged. The savages suddenly cut loose "one good round volley from guns and bows; and Lieutenant Yeaton while gallantly pushing up the left of the line was struck by a
ball and seriously wounded in two places." Some horses were slightly wounded, but no one but Yeaton was seriously hurt. The soldiers and citizens were now full on the Indians among the rocks; they charged with a yell. "The Indians broke and fled for the neighboring hills." Pursuit, however, proved difficult in the broken country with tired horses, and Cushing called his men back.

Cushing had attacked a village of nearly fifty Mescalero lodges in Sanguinara Canyon of the Guadalupe Mountains, a point just over the Texas line. Strangely, he did not report the exact number of Indians killed, though he inferred a great many and said some were scalped by the Mexicans. From the long list of goods captured, and from the long time their destruction required, the attack must have dispersed the principal band of the Mescaleros, and probably it crippled their war power.

On the evening of the attack, Cushing's command camped by the light of the burning Indian village. Next day a litter was improvised for the wounded Yeaton, and they marched north and east. The route approximated the modern federal highway U.S. 62-180. Cushing, however, was not through with the hostiles. On the morning of December 30,

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74. George W. Webb (comp.), Chronological List of Engagements between the Regular Army of the United States and Various Tribes of Hostile Indians which Occurred During the Years 1790 to 1898, Inclusive (St. Joseph, Mo., 1939), 51. Cited hereafter as Indian War Engagements.
he took forty men with the best horses, and four days' rations, to back track and attempt another surprise attack. The pack train, the captured stock, Lieutenant Yeaton, and an escort under First Sergeant Mott proceeded on toward the Pecos River, while Cushing swiftly re-crossed into Texas. He swung over the southern end of the Guadalupes and later that afternoon found another smaller Mescalero rancheria.

In the second attack, 75 more Indians were killed and twenty head of cattle were retaken. Another twenty-five lodges were burned. At this second village, the great number of families in proportion to the number of lodges convinced Cushing that he had struck the refugees from the attack of December 26. After a brief rest, the flying column marched all night, and early on New Year's Eve they reached the place they had left the previous morning.

Kautz spent New Year's Eve "very much as usual." In the morning he mustered the reduced command and worked in his quarters at making some furniture. The afternoon he devoted to reading. "Fritz and Murphy," he wrote, in his diary,

had made arrangements for a dance and had collected a few of the best women in the country. There were three poor fiddlers, still they made quite a noise and the dance passed off pleasantly and merrily.

75. On Delaware Creek, in Texas. Ibid.
I left about three in the morning... The supper transpired about midnight and was a very excellent one. Wine and liquors were abundant and freely used but no one was at all troublesome.\textsuperscript{76}

Cushing spent the same day in the saddle. Yeaton groaned in his litter, suffering from two bad wounds in his breast and one wrist. The weary troopers of Company F covered thirty-five miles on New Year's, and on January 2, 1870, they reached the mouth of the Rio Penasco on the Pecos. Four more days and they were back at Fort Stanton. Cushing estimated the total distance marched in nineteen days to have been 530 miles. "This scout was made," he observed, "in very severe weather and the men frequently suffered greatly from cold, but they bore all that and the hard marching extremely well and in the two actions they behaved very bravely." They returned to the post with about fifty captured horses and mules as well as the captured cattle.\textsuperscript{77}

Cushing's report of his scout was received at district headquarters on January 18. Along with it, General Getty read the lengthy endorsement by Kautz, in which a brevet promotion of one grade for "each of these gallant young officers" was recommended.\textsuperscript{78} We may suspect, 

\textsuperscript{76} \textit{Diary}, 1870.
\textsuperscript{77} Cushing's report, Letters Received, Dist. of N.M.
\textsuperscript{78} Endorsement, Kautz to A.A.G., on Cushing's report.
however, the Kautz had missed the significance of the work done by Cushing. The colonel failed to observe that the entire little tribe of Mescaleros had in all probability been driven into Texas or completely broken in strength. On the contrary, Kautz was convinced that "with two more companies of cavalry at this post, the Mescalero Apaches could in a few months be brought to sue for peace."\(^{79}\) Finding them would prove the most difficult job of all.

It developed that department headquarters, however, thought that cavalry was more useful elsewhere. On January 29, Colonel Fritz and Lieutenant Cushing returned from a visit to Fort Selden with news that the 3rd Cavalry was being transferred to Arizona. Kautz nevertheless penned a letter on the 1st of February in which he outlined a plan to send out another expedition in cooperation with troops from Selden.\(^{80}\) To replace the wounded Yeaton he asked again for Lieutenant Bourke. When that request was denied, Company F was ordered to change station and march to the Mimbres River. From February 17 to April 13, Fort Stanton was without any cavalry.\(^{81}\)

Depredations in the vicinity of Stanton continued, but there were no deaths and there was even some doubt that

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79. Kautz to Acting A.A.G., February 1, 1870, Letters Received, Dist. Of N.M.

80. Ibid.

81. Fort Stanton Returns, 1870.
Mescaleros were responsible. On April 13, Captain (Brevet Lieutenant Colonel) William McCleave arrived with Company B of the 8th Cavalry. During April, May, and June there were several petty thefts and on the 7th of June a Mexican herder was killed by Indians. There were indications to McCleave's practiced eyes that the culprits were renegade Navajos.\footnote{82} On May 7, in fact, Emil Fritz learned through a Mexican friend that the Mescaleros were near starvation and were camped in the Comanche country of Texas, and that they wished to surrender.\footnote{83}

\footnote{82. Kautz to Acting A.A.G., June 9, 1870, Letters Received, Dist. of N.M.}

\footnote{83. Diary, 1870.}
CHAPTER VI

TAMING THE MESCALEROS

One year to the day from the time he had boarded the stagecoach at Fort Wallace, August Kautz received in the mail at Fort Stanton a leave of absence for sixty days. He began to prepare for his departure in the next month with the hope that he might not return. That same mail on June 15 of 1870 brought Kautz letters from John Tod at Youngstown, brother George in Illinois, and brother Albert at the Boston Navy Yard. The military communications bore news of the death of Lieutenant Charles E. Drew; and "Mr. Hennessey," noted Kautz, "has been ordered to Craig in consequence." Shortly after Kautz had transferred to

1. Diary, 1870.

2. Ibid. About the first day of June, some Indians, said to be Mescaleros, ran off the livestock of a wagon train near Paraje. Drew and Lt. Pendleton Hunter, 8th Cavalry, with a detachment pursued them but were forced to give up when they failed to find water in the desert. Drew and five men started back toward Paraje but they became crazed with thirst and the hapless agent wandered into the mountains. Three of the men came in and Major Coleman led out a search party immediately after Drew. He was found on the morning of June 5. Barely alive, he died in a few minutes. Coleman to Acting A.A.G., June 6, 1870. Letters Received, Dist. of N.M. The Daily New Mexican (Santa Fe), June 9, 1870. See also Indian Affairs Report, 1870, 623-25.
Stanton, First Lieutenant Argalus G. Hennissee had been sent there as an agent of the Interior Department for the Mescalero Apaches—a tribe he had never seen, as he confessed in his first annual report to the Office of Indian Affairs. When he departed for Fort Craig on June 17, 1870, to manage the Southern Apache Agency, he still had never laid eyes on an Apache. Although he had failed as "agent" to the Mescaleros, the congenial Marylander would be missed.

Another officer had left on May 6. Poor Yeaton had shown some improvement and could travel, and would live two more years, but his wounds refused to heal. Still there were other gentlemen with whom Kautz could play billiards and fish. Captain William McCleave, commander of the 8th Cavalry company, was an Irishman of about Kautz' own age and had been ten years a non-commissioned officer in the dragoons. Commissioned in the California volunteers, he

3. Ibid., 245. The next agent, Andrew J. Curtis, did not arrive until June 11, 1871 and complained that Hennissee left "neither records, buildings, nor property of any kind." Ibid., 1871, 400.

4. He was appointed regimental commissary and ordered to Arizona. He served until November, 1871, when he was retired for disability with rank of captain; he died August 17, 1872. Cullum, III, 399. Cf. Bourke, 29, who implies that Yeaton died shortly after being wounded; he in fact outlived Howard B. Cushing more than a year, as the latter officer was killed by Apaches in southern Arizona on May 5, 1871.

5. A Biography of McCleave would provide the television writers with endless episodes. Born in Ireland, he
had come to New Mexico with General James H. Carleton and had been fighting Indians, especially the Mescaleros, since 1863. Kautz thought him "jovial and kind but illiterate and [he] lacks manners . . . and is too old to improve."

The fact was that McCleave had more knowledge of the Apaches and had been longer on the frontier than anyone else at Fort Stanton. It was ironic that Kautz should command a post while McCleave still led a troop of cavalry.

McCleave's assistant was First Lieutenant Orsemus B. Boyd. He was a West Pointer, Class of '67, but had some

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came to California sometime before October 7, 1850, on which date he enlisted in Co. K, 1st Dragoons. The company was commanded by Capt. (later Brig. Gen.) James H. Carleton. McCleave became Carleton's first sergeant on June 1, 1853 and served in that capacity until the organization of the 1st Vol. Cal. Cavalry in August of 1861. Carleton then made him the senior captain in the regiment, and he led the advance of the California Column across Arizona until he was captured. Taken by the rebels on the Gila River, he was a prisoner at Mesilla for four months in 1862, after which he refused his pay because he did not believe he had earned it. Almost nothing is known of his service in the dragoons, though it must have been arduous. After the California Column occupied New Mexico, McCleave demonstrated tireless energy, masterful tactical skill, and peerless leadership in more than a dozen Indian engagements, winning the brevet of lieutenant colonel. He was mustered from the Volunteers a major and accepted a commission of Second Lieutenant in the 8th U.S. Cavalry. On August 10, 1869, he was at last promoted captain. On March 20, 1879, he was retired "for disability resulting from injury received and disease contracted in line of duty." He died at Berkeley, California on February 2, 1904. McCleave File, Hayden Collection; Powell, 376-77.

6. Diary, 1870.
prior enlisted experience. He doubtless was a man of high moral courage, but rather slow and very corpulent. Kautz described him as "grown so fat that he resembles the fat man in Pickwick." Lieutenants Conrad and Slade, 15th Infantry, were still on duty as well as Doctor Gibson.

Slade and Boyd had brought their wives to Fort Stanton, the former returning from Texas with Mrs. Slade in January. Kautz was thankful that they were both resourceful, adaptable ladies. "Mrs. S.," he noted, "is quite a pretty woman and much smarter than Mr. Slade." Mrs. Boyd had also brought a baby daughter who was the delight of the entire garrison. Twenty-four years later she could recall that:

My baby was not only of the greatest importance to me, but if I noticed any sign of the devotion she was expected to receive from other sources

7. Boyd had been an enlisted man in the 89th N.Y. Infantry and a Second Lieutenant in the 144th N.Y. Infantry before obtaining appointment to West Point in 1863. While a cadet, he was accused of stealing a sum of money. Although nothing was proven, his fellow cadets ostracized him and, after graduation, spread the tale through the army. An ordinary man would have quit, but Boyd doggedly performed his duty and looked for a way to clear himself. In 1871, another man who had resigned from the Academy confessed to the crime. Boyd died a captain in 1885. Heitman, I, 236. Mrs. Orsemus B. Boyd, Cavalry Life in Tent and Field (New York, 1894), gives a good account of frontier army life and relates most of Captain Boyd's career. See especially the appended letter of Major Richard H. Savage, 323-31, for an account of the scandal.

8. Diary, 1870.

9. Ibid.
flagging, my displeasure was quickly expressed. I have since been told that the officers, after reporting for duty to their commander, would say: "Now we must go see baby, and report her condition." 10

Life at the post was isolated and monotonous, but for a man who appreciated the beauty of the country and the fish and game, it was satisfying enough. Mrs. Boyd recalled that "nature was a constant source of joy . . . The near-by streams were fairly alive with delicious fish, so abundant that a line could hardly be thrown before one would bite." 11 On June 21 Kautz himself caught 123 trout in an afternoon. 12 Mrs. Boyd also noted the variety of wild game, and she went so far as to call New Mexico the "troopers' paradise." 13

The fort had been located to offer the most advantages in the control of hostile Indians and was therefore situated in a country scarcely civilized by 1870. Its elevation, however, coupled with a dry atmosphere, gave the compensation of a healthful climate. Mrs. Boyd was moved to describe the air as "so exquisitely pure as to lend a freshness and charm to each day's existence. To breathe was like drinking new wine." And she asserted that

"the beauty of natural scenery" was compensation for Fort Stanton's isolation.\textsuperscript{14}

Although the post had been reoccupied for seven years by 1870, it was reconstructed only with the advent of Kautz. Before then, the garrison was housed in the miserable remnants of the original buildings which had been burned at the outset of the Civil War to prevent their use by Confederates. In 1868, work had barely commenced on two new stone barracks, a new guardhouse, and two new buildings for officers' quarters. The guardhouse alone was completed before construction was suspended June 30, 1869.\textsuperscript{15} Kautz completed the barracks and officers' quarters, and he constructed or rebuilt other facilities. Meantime, the stone walls of the original fort withstood the elements, and there was abundant wood for repair.

\textsuperscript{14. Ibid., 171.}

\textsuperscript{15. On October 20, 1869, four days after his arrival, Kautz wrote to district headquarters concerning the condition of Stanton: "This Post is deficient in two important buildings, viz. a hospital and commissary store house; at present the ruins of the former hospital are used . . . . Commissary stores are . . . stored in the quarter master store house . . . The bricks for the proposed hospital, 48,000 adobes, \textcolor{red}{[are]} largely unserviceable after exposure to the weather . . . a building intended for the Commanding Officers' Quarters is so far advanced that the walls of the main building are up and the kitchen has a roof on it." Kautz to A.A.G., Letters Received, Dist. of N.M.}
The post was rectangular in plan (see sketch on next page). Troops were housed in the new unfinished barracks that faced northwest onto the parade ground. Some were also quartered in an old, dilapidated barrack that stood on the southern corner of the parade. Married soldiers and laundresses lived within the old walls of a former barrack, roofed with earth, on the eastern corner. The officers' quarters—also two new but unfinished stone buildings with separate kitchens—stood on the northern and western corners, facing one another. On the northeast side of the parade, between the laundresses' quarters and one officers' house, was the old quartermaster storehouse. It was used for a time by both the post quartermaster and the commissary. The guardhouse, with office for the post adjutant, a library, a guard room, and one large prison cell, stood between the new barracks on the southeast side of the square. The old hospital, consisting of four ruined storehouses. Two [rather than one], 30 x 106 feet, built of stone—one for quartermaster, one for commissary." The phrase, "Commissary storehouse in ruins," has been stricken. The old storehouse was rebuilt. Ibid.; and Diary, 1871.

16. The following description is based on Surgeon General Report, 1870, 248-50; and the printed description in the Department of the Missouri with "Information given by Brevet Major General A. V. Kautz, . . . November, 1869." Copy in Letters Received, Fort Stanton, 1870 (RG 98, National Archives). Cited hereafter as Fort Stanton Letters.

17. Sometime before Kautz left in April, 1872, he corrected the official descriptive circular in his own hand to read: "Storehouses. Two [rather than one], 30 x 106 feet, built of stone—one for quartermaster, one for commissary." The phrase, "Commissary storehouse in ruins," has been stricken. The old storehouse was rebuilt. Ibid.; and Diary, 1871.
FORT STANTON - NEW MEXICO

Hospital

Corrals
400 yards

Officers Quarters
Q.M. Building
Laundress

Barrack

Commanding
Officers
Quarters

Parade
Ground

Flagstaff

Adjutants
Office
&
Guard
House

NORTH

Officers Quarters
Old Commsry
Storehouse
Old Barrack

BLUFF
adobe structures, stood apart from the square, near the northern corner. One partially demolished building served as a ward; it had a temporary mud roof and could accommodate ten patients—in dry weather.

The northwest side of the parade ground was open and parallel with Bonito Creek, which ran under a bluff about three hundred yards below. On this side, directly opposite the guardhouse, construction had begun on new quarters for the commanding officer, but many months were to pass before it was completed. The colonel commanding, meanwhile, lived in one of the partially finished sets of quarters.

The daily duty of soldiers at Fort Stanton, as at most other army posts, was carried on according to a rigid routine, regulated by almost hourly bugle calls. The first call sounded in the darkness before Reveille; Musicians Call brought out all the infantry musicians and cavalry trumpeters. The last call, about 9:00 p.m., was Taps.

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18. See n. 15 above.

19. Although their instruments were similar and might be either bugles, cornets, or trumpets, depending on the user's skill, "musicians" were authorized for infantry companies while cavalry had only "trumpeters." It is doubtful if any bandsmen were assigned to Stanton other than company buglers.
In between were at least ten calls for roll taking, meals, guard mount, and retreat.\textsuperscript{20}

The high point of the daily routine was formal guard mount held each morning.\textsuperscript{21} All officers except the post commander and the surgeon, and all soldiers except specially detailed enlisted men, were liable for guard duty. They drew their assignment in rotation by roster, and with understrength companies the duty came almost daily. When the cavalry was away on a scout, the remaining men had little rest. The Officer of the Day was required to visit the sentinel posts and the special guards at least once each during his tour of duty. After retreat he had to remain in the adjutant's office. On pay days he was likely to have his hands full with drunken soldiers and disorders at the store kept by Fritz and Murphy.\textsuperscript{22}

\textsuperscript{20} The schedule was frequently varied. See G.O. No. 20, December 3, 1869; No. 4, June 10, 1870; No. 8, October 1, 1870; No. 5, April 1, 1871; No. 22, November 14, 1871; and No. 2, April 1, 1872. Ft. Stanton Order Books, 1869-72 (RG 98, National Archives).

\textsuperscript{21} Diary, 1869-72. See Don Rickey, Jr., Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay: The Enlisted Soldier Fighting the Indian Wars (Univ. of Oklahoma, 1963), 91-93.

\textsuperscript{22} On July 14, 1871, the adjutant wrote to Murphy, calling attention to frequent complaints of soldiers excessively drinking in the "past few weeks" and relaying the order of the post commander, McKibben, that henceforth liquor was to be sold to enlisted men only on the written authorization of an officer. If that failed to reduce the problem, he warned, the commanding officer would stop the sale of liquor to \textit{any and all persons on the military reservation.} McKibben, however, was apparently more
There also wore daily calls for various fatigues and drills as well as a retreat ceremony. Unless engaged in fatigue duty or drill, under a non-commissioned officer, the soldier answered every call and he was "absent without leave" if he did not. In what little time remained to him--after meals or after retreat, usually--he was free to do as he pleased, but even then he was required to remain always within sound of the bugle. At least this was the expected standard in older regular outfits; and after Kautz' experience with the rag-tag 34th Infantry in Tennessee and Mississippi, he allowed very little latitude in the conduct of enlisted men.

Zealous than Kautz. In June, 1871, a War Department circular had advised commanders that legally appointed post traders should have exclusive privileges within their respective reservations. Frank T. Bliss, who had recently acquired the Stanton tradership, asked for eviction of L.G. Murphy & Co., who never had been legally appointed and always succeeded in freezing out the competition. Col. Kautz deferred action to receive particular instructions from his department. According to Kautz, retention of Murphy's store, as well as another store which Bliss might open, would best serve the army's interest by their competition for the soldiers' business. Furthermore, Kautz pointed out in his letter to the War Department, Colonel Fritz had been of great assistance in bringing in the hostile Mescaleros (see pp.246-50 below) and the traders were needed for the time being to take care of the Indians. And anyway, Kautz concluded, he did not feel authorized to evict the old traders because their claim antedated the post survey that had been made in the summer of 1870. Fritz and Murphy bought out Bliss. Fort Stanton Letter Book, 1871, in RG 98.

23. See Rickey, Forty Miles a Day, Ch. 6, "Routine Duty at the Western Posts," 88-115.
Commissioned officers were required to respond to some of the duty calls, but most details were handled by non-coms. Kautz, of course, attended but few formations. He customarily took the adjutant's report at Reveille, he stood retreat, and he conducted the inspection held each Sunday morning. The troops were paid on alternate months, at which times the post commander supervised the muster.24

While fatigue duty was a major cause of discontent among the troops, it was highly important. There was little skilled labor near Fort Stanton. Much of each soldier's day was perforce devoted to construction of some sort, the erection or repair of buildings, lumbering, road building, and quarrying stone. To supply the post with water, a dam was constructed to divert Bonito Creek into the acequia. This project Kautz personally supervised. He also drew the plans for several new buildings. To supply the fort with wood for both fuel and construction, a wood camp eight miles distant was worked by rotated detachments. Other fatigues included stable police, kitchen police, and cultivation of the excellent post garden under Lieutenant Conrad's care. The fort was also very fortunate to have three milch cows, and these, together with the ample produce of Conrad's garden, provided the garrison with a better than usual diet.25

24. Diary, 1869-72, passim.
25. Ibid.
Army regulations prescribed a formal retreat ceremony each day, to be accompanied by a parade in full dress uniform. And it was held at Fort Stanton every day that weather permitted. Since the regimental bands were at the respective headquarters, music was supplied by bugles, cornets, trumpets, and perhaps fifes and drums. The Sunday morning inspections were likewise faithfully conducted by Colonel Kautz, though other commanders frequently left this to the discretion of subordinates. Kautz gave the troops his personal attention, inspecting sometimes in ranks and sometimes in the barracks.  

Through the spring of 1870 there were frequent Indian alarms, and the soldiers at Stanton probably viewed the incidents as welcome breaks in the monotony. Occasionally an escort had to be provided travelers, and such details also were welcomed as a break in routine by the few men who might be spared. Other soldiers with special skills such as tailors, cobblers, barbers, carpenters, stonemasons, farriers, smiths, plasterers, and other mechanics could find profitable employment at extra pay, and they were

26. Ibid.

27. For instance, Indians ran off the herd belonging to Fritz and Murphy; Kautz to Acting A.A.G., Feb. 24, 1870. Indians stole 20 head of cattle from Dowlin; same to same, March 17, 1870. A Mexican citizen was murdered by Indians; same to same, June 9, 1870. All in Letters Received, Dist. of N.M.
frequently excused from regular fatigues to perform their specialties. In addition, the officers had orderlies and cooks, and any man who could write a fair hand or cipher might wind up in an office.28

A form of pioneering that had interested Kautz since his days in Oregon was roadbuilding. At remote Fort Stanton he found an opportunity to improve communications with the outside world. When he had first come to the post in October, 1869, he had refused the long normal route from the Rio Grande via Limitar, Punta de Agua, and the Juames Mesa.29 He took instead a pass through the San Andres Mountains and went via Mal Pais Spring and Tularosa. Even that route, he learned, was rather circuitous. Inquiry of Colonel Fritz and other settlers evoked the opinion that the dry, volcanic malapais between the San Andres and Sierra Blanca ranges was impassible to a large herd of animals, because of its roughness as well as its lack of water holes. It was said that only Indians afoot dared to go that way. Kautz, however, loathed even the five day journey by Mal Pais Spring, and when he traveled to Fort

28. Rickey, *Forty Miles a Day*, 109-13. In the correspondence file of Fort Stanton is a request for return to regular duty from a private of the 15th Infantry who said he was so overworked in the post library that he felt his health had suffered. Fort Stanton Letters.

29. See "Map of the Military Department of New Mexico . . . 1864" to accompany report of General Carleton in Atlas of O.R.
Craig again at the end of November, he rigged a pack-train and, with a small escort, successfully reached the Rio Grande on a direct course across the malapais. The entire journey took three days. "I found the Mal Pais more formidable in appearance than in fact," he reported to district headquarters. "It took me two hours to find my way through it the first time [but] I was able to cross it on my return in twenty minutes."  

Kautz' experience interested Major Coleman who talked with him at Craig during the court-martial they were attending. In May of 1870 Coleman visited Stanton to investigate the burning of some government hay, and, on Kautz' suggestion, brought with him a wagon. When Coleman was ready to leave on May 12, Kautz accompanied him through the malapais along the new route. Kautz, Coleman, and Captain McCleave, with a combined escort and work party, succeeded in passing the mule-drawn wagon over the cinder plain. They graded a road as they went, compacting jagged volcanic rock with hammers. They also found sufficient water for their animals, sweeter than the alkaline Mal Pais Spring.  

30. Kautz Road Report. See n. 42, Ch. 5.  

31. Ibid., and Diary, 1870. The road that Kautz pioneered from Fort Stanton to Fort Craig approximates modern U.S. Hwy. 380, except that he crossed the malapais at its narrowest point, 17 miles southwest of Garizozo, and he went around Oscura Peak perhaps 20 miles south of the highway. He thus passed within two miles of the site of the first atomic bomb explosion of 1945.
In the main, however, life for Kautz at Stanton was rather dull, especially in the winter when he could not fish or ride horseback among the verdant hills. In December, 1869, he "started a carpenter shop in [the] kitchen by way of taking exercise." The post blacksmith made the metal parts for a lathe, and soon Kautz was turning out napkin rings, cribbage boards, picture frames, tables, and—the grand finale—his own bedstead. The hobby was such a success that when he went on leave in the summer of 1870 he purchased a factory-made lathe in the East and had it shipped to Stanton.32

Other pastimes included writing his war memoirs, compiling Indian vocabularies, studying minerals, learning Spanish, and, as always, voracious reading. Although he took a glass occasionally with Colonel Fritz and frequently played billiards at the sutler's store, he was abstemious in comparison with his bachelor friends, and he recorded in his diary his displeasure with their alcoholic binges. He had started smoking again, both cigars and pipe, at Fort Craig, but after six months he gave it up as harmful to his nerves. Gambling, the other common vice of the army, he avoided except for small stakes at cribbage.

32. Diary, 1870. Kautz probably learned a good deal about woodworking from his father who was a cabinet maker.
By the new year of 1870, the memory of Charlotte was at last receding, but he was keenly aware of his need for a closer family. A wife was something he knew a prudent man could rarely find on the frontier. The opportunities in the Western army also were few. The service had just undergone a drastic reduction, and an economy-minded Congress was honing the ax for further cuts. By contrast on the outside, energetic entrepreneurs were making money faster than the Treasury could coin it. On December 31, 1869, Kautz concluded his diary entry with the words, "my mind runs a great deal upon leaving the service."

On May 12, the same morning he set out to pioneer a road across the malapais, Kautz mailed two letters: one to the Adjutant General, Brigadier General Edward D. Townsend, through channels requesting a leave for sixty days; another to Phil Sheridan asking his influence in securing the leave. In his journal Kautz expressed his determination to go East and to secure either a better army assignment or a lucrative civilian job. He wished also, perhaps, to marry Grace Tod, sister of his dead wife. Kautz had corresponded with Grace, as well as other members of the Tod family, regularly since April a year past and was encouraged by her attentions. In addition he hoped to find a position in the successful coke and iron works of
the family at Youngstown. He also had been in touch with the governor of Ohio, Rutherford B. Hayes, and with Secretary of War William W. Belknap, concerning a proposed Ohio Agricultural College that would need a professor of military science. Most interesting of the possibilities open to Kautz was a potential vacancy in the navy for a new commandant of the Marine Corps. Kautz was encouraged by his brother to seek the assignment.33

At last on July 2, Captain Chambers McKibbin returned from leave accompanied by his family,34 and four days later Kautz departed for the States. He traveled by stagecoach to Denver where he took the cars for Cheyenne and Chicago. On July 30 he was once again at his father's farm near Ripley. In August he visited friends in New York

33. Diary, 1869-70. None of the letters mentioned in the last paragraph, which Kautz tells of sending, seem to have survived. Most puzzling is his unmistakable reference to the Marine Corps. If brother Albert's letters could be found, they might reveal only a suggestion that the commandant's post would become vacant. The commandant at this time was Brig. Gen. Jacob Zeilin, who had been appointed in 1864, and who would serve until 1876. Furthermore, Col. C. G. McCawley had just been assigned to Marine Corps headquarters in Washington with the understanding that he would succeed Zeilin, who was quite elderly. Robert D. Heinl, Jr., Soldiers of the Sea: The United States Marine Corps, 1775-1962 (Annapolis, Md., 1962), 85, 98f.

34. Fort Stanton Returns. The next two paragraphs are taken entirely from the Diary, 1870.
and at West Point, meeting President Grant at Pittsburg en route. On September 1, he arrived in Washington where he "visited the War Department and received some cold comfort from Genl. Townsend." He found that the Adjutant General "rules against my prospects for the Ohio Agricultural College." Next day he called on General Jacob D. Cox, an old Ohio acquaintance who was now Secretary of the Interior. Most of September Kautz spent with the Tods at their Brier Hill estate and at Columbus. As he departed for another visit to his own home, he wrote out a proposal of marriage to Grace and mailed it from his brother George's farm in Illinois on October 3. When he arrived at Ripley on the 8th, a reply was there. "Grace's fatal letter," he wrote, "was in the mail that I brought up from the boat at midnight last night. It was a cold and unfeeling rejection." 35

On October 7th, Kautz had written directly to the War Department for further permission to extend his leave of absence. Ten days later he received the extension but on the 22nd he started for St. Louis. Seemingly all efforts at improving his career or getting a wife had failed. On November 2 he was at Fort Leavenworth, headquarters of the Department of the Missouri. The commanding general,

35. The letter is preserved in Kautz Papers.
John Pope, received him bitterly, berated him for having his leave extended without consulting department headquarters, and refused to discuss anything further as Kautz in his view was "now absent without leave." Understandably, Kautz was not in good humor as he boarded a train for Denver.

Somehow, by a mental process that he did not, and perhaps could not reveal, Kautz put aside his dissatisfaction with the army and shrugged off the disappointments of his leave, "which was marked enough in my life to be remembered to the end of it." By the time he had completed a leisurely journey back to Fort Stanton on November 18, 1870, he was determined to face the military problem anew and to accept the best the situation might offer.

36. Diary, 1870. John Pope (1822-1892) was a topographical engineer before the Civil War and explored in the Southwest. Vain and contemptuous of the Confederates, his reputation rocketed when he captured Island No. 10 in April of 1862. His carelessness proved fatal, however, when he met Lee at the second Battle of Bull Run, August 29-30, 1862. Ignominiously defeated, he resigned his command and took over the Department of the Northwest for the duration. When the war ended, however, he was still one of the highest ranking generals of the regular army, and he succeeded General Sheridan in the Department of the Missouri in 1870, attaining the rank of permanent major general in 1882. There is no adequate biography of him, but it is certain he was not an officer to accept lightly Kautz' breach of protocol. Hamersly, 7-8; D.A.E., Vol. 8, pt. 1, 76-77.

37. Diary, 1870.
In the guardhouse at Stanton, Kautz found eight Mescalero Apache women and children. On the trail to Fort Craig, so reported Adjutant Slade, was a detachment of the 8th Cavalry that had just departed after nearly eleven weeks in the field. In the corrals were a lot of used-up horses and mules, some that had been ridden nine hundred miles in the previous two months. The disorderly chain of events that led to this were soon explained by Captain McCleave and the slightly embarrassed commander of Company I, Chambers McKibbin.38

After Kautz had left in July, McKibbin had convinced himself that the Mescaleros were again in their old haunts among the Guadalupe and Pajarito mountains. He thought they could be found where Cushing had fought them. Captain McCleave's troop of cavalry accordingly was sent on "several scouts from this Post each of ten days duration," McKibbin said, "but [McCleave] has been unable to accomplish anything as he had neither the force nor the rations to justify him in going to and scouting the country where the Indians are

38. McKibbin was born in Pennsylvania in 1840. Early in the Civil War, he became a sutler with the 14th U.S. Infantry. At the Battle of Gaines Mill, in September of 1862, he burned his stores and fought in the ranks though still a civilian. He was severely wounded and recommended by the officers of the regiment for commission, which was granted. He was promoted captain in the 35th Infantry in 1867 and was transferred to the 15th in August, 1869. Powell, 387.
supposed to be.\textsuperscript{39} McKibbin, therefore, on August 11 had proposed to conduct a larger scout from Stanton on or about the 1st of September, and he had asked for the attachment to the fort of forty men and one or two commissioned officers from Selden and Craig. It had been his plan to divide the entire command, when once in the field, into two flying columns and leave the trains with a small guard.\textsuperscript{40} That plan had been approved on August 19, and the 8th Cavalry had been ordered to send twenty men and one officer from each of the other two posts to Stanton in the first week of September.\textsuperscript{41}

Some hostile Indians, however, got to work sooner. On September 3 a war party ambushed the wood train between the post and the wood camp, killing the two soldier teamsters. The attack occurred late in the day, and by the time McCleave and Company B could find the trail it was dark. On the morning of September 4 McCleave and all available mounted troops with a few citizens went in pursuit.\textsuperscript{42} The trail seemed to lead toward the Guadalupes,

\textsuperscript{39} McKibbin to A.A.G., Aug. 11, 1870, Letters Received, Dist. of N.M.
\textsuperscript{40} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{41} Ibid., endorsement.
\textsuperscript{42} McKibbin to Acting A.A.G., Sept. 5, 1870, Letters Received, Dist. of N.M.
but it was cold and after 225 miles they gave up, returning September 18.\textsuperscript{43} When events were reported to General Getty, he added to McKibbin's troubles with a reprimand for neglect of duty in having failed to secure the post wood camp.\textsuperscript{44}

The day after McCleave's premature departure, the detachment from Fort Craig had arrived: Lieutenant Pendleton Hunter and twelve men, all that could be supplied from Company A. On the 6th, a detachment of twenty men, drawn from Companies I and G, had arrived from Fort Selden.\textsuperscript{45} McKibbin thought he might mount some infantrymen on mules, but despaired of going out at all, when McCleave's exhausted troop reined in on the 18th. Fortuitously, Lieutenant Boyd returned from Fort Union just three days later with twenty-seven recruits for the 8th Cavalry and nine for the 15th Infantry.\textsuperscript{46} On October 6 McKibbin at last mounted his expedition.\textsuperscript{47} There were forty-five men and McCleave of Company B, 8th Cavalry; a mixed platoon of thirty-two men from Companies I and G, under Hunter; and seventeen riflemen on mules from the infantry company. No

\textsuperscript{43} Fort Stanton Returns.

\textsuperscript{44} A.A.G. to McKibbin, Sept. 14, Fort Stanton Letters. McKibbin to A.A.G., Oct. 6, 1870, Letters Received, Dist. of N.M.

\textsuperscript{45} Fort Stanton Returns.

\textsuperscript{46} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{47} Ibid.
citizens were invited to join, but McKibbin had hired two local Mexicans to serve as trackers. There were in all one hundred men counting the hospital steward.

As planned, they marched into the Guadalupes and there divided into two columns under McCleave and McKibbin. Hunter was left with the trains. McCleave penetrated the Mescalero hideout and surprised a large rancheria, but he killed few Indians. In the end, three squaws and five children were captured. The expedition returned to Stanton on October 27 with the prisoners. It had been a wasteful chase.48

McKibbin had been back at Stanton only three days when, late on the 30th, a Mexican teamster rode in to say that Indians had attacked a large government supply train only eighteen miles below and driven off fifty-nine mules. Next morning, the weary McCleave was again in the saddle at the head of sixty-seven troopers. Hunter went with him, as well as Lieutenant Slade on his first scout. They chased the raiders about two hundred miles, but the command was poorly mounted and fatigued as result of the recent expedition; the Indians, moreover, used their newly acquired mules to ride in relays. The troops returned without result

48. McKibbin to Acting A.A.G., Nov. 3, 1870, Letters Received, Dist. of N.M.
on the 14th. When Kautz drove in four days later, the bully boys of the 8th Cavalry were leaving Stanton somewhat the worse for wear.  

49. Fort Stanton Returns. No report of this scout has been found, but in Record of Engagements with Hostile Indians Division of the Missouri appears this entry, drawn presumably from some official report: "October 30 [1870], eighteen miles from Fort Stanton, N. Mex., Indians stampeded fifty-nine mules from a train. Cavalry pursued for two hundred and fifty-five miles, destroyed the Indian village, recovered the mules, and captured three squaws." One might conclude that a clerk had confused the unsuccessful scout of October 30-November 14 with the earlier expedition of McKibbin, but in the same record next appears the entry: "November __, in the Guadalupe Mountains, New Mexico, a detachment of Troop A, Eighth Cavalry, under Lieut. Pendleton Hunter, captured nine Indians." The compiler apparently had no specific date for the alleged action. One could assume that after Hunter departed Fort Stanton on November 18, a date confirmed by Kautz' diary as well as post returns, he marched rapidly to Fort Selden and immediately took another expedition into the mountains. Other records (Indian War Engagements, 56; and Heltman, II, 436), however, credit Hunter's detachment with a scout from October 31 to November 22. All of which suggests that Hunter took credit for McKibbin's work when he reported his activities on return to Fort Craig about November 22. Lt. Hunter, in any event, was discharged January 1, 1871, after three years' service, and no account of his alleged scout has been found. Heltman, I, 558; II, 26.

50. The 8th U.S. Cavalry, raised in 1866 as one of the four new regiments of the reorganization, had a reputation in its early years as being somewhat disorderly. The main reason was that it was recruited entirely from drifters, emigrants, and discouraged miners on the Pacific Coast, and some of its officers—such as Lt. Hunter—had no training or experience. The regiment's first commander was Col. (Bvt. Brig. Gen.) John Irvin Gregg, who assumed command at Fort Whipple, Arizona, of the Military Districts of Prescott and the Upper Colorado in March, 1867. Although they did some hard fighting during nine months in Arizona, the regiment's historian admitted that discipline was a severe problem, with nearly 42% desertions. Only four troops campaigned with Gregg in Arizona, and afterward the regiment was scattered over California, Nevada, Washington, and Oregon,
For some time previous to McKibbin's expedition, Colonel Fritz and his partner Murphy had been trying to lure the Mescaleros into Fort Stanton and have them settled on a reservation. Kautz had concurred in their plan and now saw that the captured squaws might serve a purpose. On November 23 he had McKibbin escort one of the women to the Pajarito Mountains to contact her people. She returned three weeks later with the information that she had found a rancheria willing to come in, but the great majority of her people were widely scattered and it would require much more time to communicate with them.

It was now learned that one of the captured Indian women was a wife of a prominent sub-chief of the Mescaleros with headquarters at Churchill Barracks, Nev., and later at Camp Halleck, Nev. In May, 1870, the 8th was moved to New Mexico, and in the closing years of Indian wars, 1875-88, it served in Texas. Army of the U.S., 268-79.

51. Diary, 1870. Cf. Indian Affairs Report, 1871, 401, where it was said by Agent Curtis (see n. 55 below) that Fritz and Murphy were "well acquainted with Cadetta [chief of the Mescaleros] and the principal men of the tribe, Judge Murphy having been their agent at the Bosque Redondo, and Colonel Fritz in command of a company of troops at Fort Sumner, at that time." According to Rasch, the traders' motive in settling the Indians was to monopolize the resulting business with the Indian Bureau. While Kautz gladly accepted the traders' assistance, it appears that they and Curtis entered into collusion to falsify the count of Indians and obtain the government supplies. Rasch, "House of Murphy," 65-66.

52. Diary, 1870.
called José La Paz. In January of 1871 McKibbin took her out to the mountains, but she soon returned without finding the Indians. At last Kautz himself persuaded the third squaw to try to communicate with the Mescaleros. She was named, according to Kautz, "Timber Head." On January 14 he sent her off on her own. It was she who found the main body of the tribe encamped on the Pecos River. On February 6 the Indians were reported on the Ruidoso, and Fritz volunteered to meet them with presents and escort them in. Within twenty-four hours he was back with José La Paz, another man, "Timber Head," four other women, and several children, the rest to follow.

On February 8 Kautz interviewed La Paz. The soldier promised nothing except protection from citizens and that he would arrange for Fritz and Murphy to feed them. It was

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53. The following account of the surrender of the Mescalero Apaches and the establishment of the reservation is based mainly on the Diary, 1871; but the events in the next three paragraphs were reflected in certain reports to be found in District of New Mexico correspondence: Letters, Kautz to A.A.G., Feb. 9, 1871; March 9, 1871; and April 13, 1871; all in Letters Received, Dist. of N.M. Kautz' involvement in these events has been overlooked by all previous writers; cf. Sonnichsen, Mescalero Apaches, 143-56; Carl C. Rister, The Southwestern Frontier, 1865-1881 (Cleveland, 1928), 179-81; and F. Stanley, The Apaches of New Mexico, 1540-1940 (N.p., 1962), 312-13.

54. Diary, 1871. The women's name probably was translated by Kautz from a Spanish appellation which might have been "Tarugo," a blockhead. Perhaps the interpreter said blockhead and Kautz rendered it "Timber Head" without realizing the disparagement implied.
apparent that the Apaches were quite destitute. La Paz said the entire tribe wanted peace, that they were mostly camped on the Llano Estacado where they had taken refuge with the Comanches. He agreed to go persuade them to surrender. Kautz was absent on temporary duty from February 27 to March 20. When he returned to Stanton, he learned that La Paz had located the tribe in the Comanche country, come back for rations, and left again on March 6.

Settlement of the Mescaleros was now a matter of time. On April 12 La Paz returned again with assurances that his people were coming but that they waited for better grass to get up to subsist their horses. An employee of Fritz returned three days later with word that he had seen three hundred lodges moving west. Kautz was at Santa Fe and Fort Union most of May, but he returned to find small groups of Apaches arriving. He organized a camp for them north of the fort near the dam on Bonito Creek. On June 10 another sub-chief, "Pablo," came in. Next day the regular agent of the Indian Bureau, A. J. Curtis, arrived to take charge. At this time Agent Curtis arranged with Fritz and Murphy to supply the Apaches temporarily with beef and corn at the contract rates pending selection of a permanent reservation.55 But in mid-July the principal chief and

55. Indian Affairs Report, 1871, 371. Curtis was said to have been selected by the American Unitarian Association, one of the churches participating in the Peace Policy of the Grant Administration. Rasch, "House of Murphy," 62.
acknowledged leader of the Mescaleros appeared at Stanton with close to seventy members of his personal band. It was Cadetta.

Agent Curtis called a council in which, Cadetta said they wished to live at peace, and had come in for that purpose: that this was the land of their fathers and also their land, and here they wished to live and die, and calling upon heaven and earth to witness, said they wanted to make a peace not to be broken, but one that would be firm and lasting.56

Curtis then made a "treaty" with them, promising protection, a school, and land to cultivate. He allowed them to keep their livestock and all of their property. Cadetta agreed and swore they were at peace.

Nearly seven hundred Mescaleros, however, were still out. Perhaps fifty were at the Cañada Alamosa agency on the Rio Grande.57 The rest were en route from the Pecos. They continued to dribble into Stanton so that by September 18 when Curtis wrote his annual report there were 325 accounted for.58 A year later virtually the whole tribe was present.

On September 2, 1872, all but sixteen square miles of the Fort Stanton Military Reservation was transferred to the

56. Indian Affairs Report, 1871, 401-2.
57. Ibid., 1870, 624. On January 20, 1872, Kautz noted that "more Indians are coming, about thirty came in from the Cañada Alamosa, a day or two since." Diary, 1872.
58. Indian Affairs Report, 1871, 402.
Interior Department for use as a reservation. By and large, the Indians kept their word and caused no trouble so long as Kautz was at Stanton. In later years, however, they raided again into Texas.

Without Indian worries, Kautz found other outlets for his restless nature. He prodded the troops and badgered the district headquarters for more construction funds. The immense pile of adobes and lumber that had lain on the ground unprotected when he had arrived in 1869 were long since used up. He shingled the roofs, erected a commissary storehouse, moved the wood camp to within two miles, raised a new flagstaff—which lightning dramatically took away—and on April 13, 1871, he moved at last into his own new quarters.

59. This operation illustrates the frustrating slowness of the federal government in Indian matters. The Mescalero reservation was designated by the special commissioner to Arizona and New Mexico, Vincent Colyer, on August 29, 1871; and it was approved by President Grant on November 9. Colyer to New Mexico Superintendent of Indian Affairs, August 29, 1871; with Presidential endorsement, in Letters Received, Dist. of N.M. Not until August 7, 1872, did the War Department get around to transferring the Fort Stanton property to the Interior Department. The transfer was not promulgated in orders to the military authorities of the District of New Mexico until September 2, 1872. Secretary of War to Secretary of Interior, August 7, 1872, copy received at Hq., Dist. of N.M., September 2, 1872; in Letters Received.

60. Diary, 1870; cf. Boyd, Cavalry Life, 173.
In July he was able to unpack and set up his wood-turning lathe lately arrived from the N. H. Baldwin Company.  

There were also changes in the district as General Getty was returned to his regiment, the 3rd Artillery, and Brevet Major General Gordon Granger became, successively, colonel of the 15th Infantry in December, 1870, and district commander in the next February.  

In May, 1871, the 15th Infantry headquarters moved to Santa Fe from Fort Craig, much to Kautz' relief. With an end to Indian depredations around Stanton, ennui returned.

Cards and the bottle were the most popular amusements of many officers. The imaginative McKibbin produced at least one issue of a newspaper in May of '71. What was really needed for morale was some useful field duty, but a proposed Apache campaign planned by General Granger failed to come off in June. Some exercise was afforded, however, in that month when Captain McCleave took his company to the Pecos River to intercept some Texas horse thieves and rustlers. The Texans were being pursued from Fort Bascom by Major David R. Clendenin. In August Lieutenant Boyd

62. Returns of Territorial Commands, Dist. of N.M., 1870, RG 94.
63. *Diary*, 1871
64. *Ibid.*
had his first taste of scouting when sent in pursuit of Indians who had murdered a man at the Nogal Mine. They were thought to be Warm Springs Apaches, but Boyd failed to draw blood. When the winter of 1871-72 turned extraordinarily severe, the bachelor officers passed several days in drunkenness, and the nights playing "freezeout" poker. The intemperance at the post traders' saloon finally moved Kautz to seek the removal of L. G. Murphy & Co. Colonel Fritz was away, and without the partner's restraint Murphy was unresponsive to Kautz' warnings. Kautz, however, left in the spring of 1872 before he could take formal action to have Murphy displaced by a legal post trader.

66. Diary, 1871. Fort Stanton Returns. Acting A.A.G. to Kautz, September 5, 1871, Fort Stanton Letters. The Nogal Mining District lay in northern Lincoln County near 9,983-foot Nogal Peak. The first gold discovery was made in 1865. A certain Billy Gill was said to have started the American mine in 1868, and further explorations were conducted from Stanton. No systematic prospecting was done, however, until 1880. Kautz visited a quartz lode operation, presumably the American, in May of 1871. Fayette A. Jones, Old Mining Camps of New Mexico, 1854-1904, ed. by Jack Rittenhouse (Santa Fe, 1964), 61-62.

67. Diary, 1872. Fritz suffered from edema; he made several health-seeking eastern trips in 1872-73, and so was not on hand to control his unprincipled and hot-tempered partner. Eventually Fritz died in Germany while visiting his father in June, 1874. Meanwhile, Murphy was forced to remove the business to the town of Lincoln in September of 1873. He was succeeded in the post tradership by Paul Dowlin. Sometime in the previous summer Murphy had threatened Major William R. Price, 8th Cavalry, that he would send the Indians to the mountains if Price interfered with his conduct of Indian affairs. This was despite the fact that the lawfully appointed agent was Samuel B. Bushnell, who sought
Company grade officers were denied one advantage of field and staff officers that relieved the humdrum of life at remote posts. The senior officers were continually called upon to sit on courts, to investigate incidents that adversely affected government property or personnel, and to inspect critical activities. This meant travel and a welcome change of scenery. In 1871 Kautz made seven extended official trips, not to mention unofficial side trips.

Price's aid in gaining possession of the agency buildings already purchased from Murphy by the government. Murphy was drunk when he defied Price, who reported his conduct and threat to both the War Dept. and to L. Edwin Dudley, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for New Mexico. Dudley thereupon demanded that Bushnell be given possession of the agency buildings "within twenty-four hours" or he would personally evict the Irishman. Murphy erected a new store in Lincoln but tried to regain the Stanton tradership. Secretary of War Belknap directed that, not only were Murphy, Fritz and all their employees to be removed from the post, but also, "if the new trader who is to come to Fort Stanton, has... any interest whatever with Fritz and Murphy, that you [Captain McKibbin] remove him also." Fritz at his death left a $10,000 life insurance policy which Murphy claimed for company debts. The ensuing litigation led to the famous Lincoln County War that made a legend of Billy the Kid. Basch, "House of Murphy," passim. Keleher, Violence in Lincoln County, 33-42, 60-63, 76-80.

68. Sometimes the requirements were unreasonable. For instance, on May 28, 1871, Kautz received "two sets of inspection reports of property respectively at Fort Union and Fort Cummings, which I am appointed to inspect, involving an expenditure [for travel] of greater value than the property, eight hundred miles travel, a journey of at least one month. I... avoided for the present the... duty by returning the... reports [and] asking for an order for the journey and calling attention to the absurdity of my being appointed..." In this case, the trip was canceled. On October 1, Kautz remarked that he was "becoming very discontented again, in consequence of the endless amount of useless travel imposed upon me." Diary, 1871.
to Las Vegas, El Paso, Silver City, and several mines. He was absent on temporary duty from Stanton the entire months of August and November. In all, he was carried on the post returns as "absent, detached service" for more than one-half the days of the year.

To relate the details of most of Kautz' official duties on these trips would be boring repetition, and to recount the details of the journeys themselves would require another volume. Of more than usual interest, however, was his investigation in September, 1871, of the theft of $1,845 from the adjutant's safe at Fort Bayard. Kautz left for Bayard from Stanton on September 16 and arrived on the 22nd. He found that Lieutenant Blair, former regimental quartermaster of the 15th Infantry, had received temporarily the commissary's funds in August, and when he went to the safe to turn them back on August 29, the money was gone. The opinion was expressed by a board of officers that the money was "abstracted" by two privates of Company F, 15th Infantry, while they guarded the post headquarters on the night of August 18. The men had deserted the following day and were seen at the Rio Mimbres stage station that night with a plentiful supply of money, accompanied by two companions.

69. Copy of report by Captain E. W. Whitmore, 15th Inf., to Acting A.A.G. re: Theft of $1,845 from Office of the Commissary at Fort Bayard, dated August 29, 1871, with report of investigation by Lt. Col. Kautz dated September 26, 1871. Letters Received, Dist. of N.M.
whose stagecoach fares they also paid. The post commander, Captain Edward W. Whittmore, observed that the thieves were sailors and that the four men were "believed to be en route for the [Gulf] coast via San Antonio" with the intention of shipping from Galveston or Indianola. Kautz examined the safe and saw that it apparently had been opened with a key, an inner drawer alone having been forced. Blair, however, admitted that he had had both known keys in his possession at all times. Kautz regretted to suggest in his report that the erstwhile guards had found the safe unlocked.

An investigation of another sort was called for in November of 1871 when two soldiers at Fort McRae complained of cruel treatment at the hands of First Lieutenant (Bvt. Colonel) Martin P. Buffum, 15th Infantry.70 As there was no regularly appointed inspector general in the district, General Granger had to find a discreet officer of some seniority to investigate. Kautz had been at Fort Union since October 9, sitting on courts-martial, and on November 28 he left for his home station via Fort Craig. At Craig he found orders awaiting him to detour to McRae. After Kautz spent one day at Craig, he journeyed forty miles south on December 10 to McRae. There a sordid little drama emerged.

from his interrogations which presents a microcosm of fron-
tier army life in its less glamorous aspect.

On the evening of November 4, Lieutenant Buffum and a party of officers were at the village of Paraje, about eight miles south of Fort Craig. At the same time a detachment of Company B, 15th Infantry, was stopping there en route to Fort McRae. "Men and officers," said Kautz, "were more or less intoxicated." Private Mace was called on by Buffum to sing in the saloon of Edward C. Hall. Later, "Mace . . . became so ebullient . . . that it was necessary to restrain him by force." First Lieutenant John B. Engle was the senior officer present, and he induced Buffum to help bind up Mace. "Mace's language being . . . very violent and abusive, he was [also] gagged." His mouth was so injured that afterward "he was fed soft food for one day in the hospital."

Hall's establishment was a store as well as a saloon and had several rooms; one was being used as overnight lodging for the enlisted men. "In going into the room . . . where Mace was creating the disturbance, Lieutenant Buffam [sic] called 'attention!' Seeing one man on the floor who paid no attention to his command, he kicked him to make him get up." The soldier was one McNally, also a private of Company B, who was not drunk but sick, with chills and fever.
In Kautz' opinion, as he subsequently reported to General Granger, neither McNally nor Mace "suffered any material injury, and [I] do not consider any further action necessary as far as they are concerned." Kautz observed, perhaps too rigidly, that it "was unquestionably a grave offense against military discipline for officers to be themselves intoxicated when endeavoring to restrain men who were intoxicated." He left it to Granger to take action, if need be, against Buffum and Engle. "It will be observed," noted Kautz, "that Lieutenant Engle takes all the responsibility in relation to the tying of Mace."

While Kautz had been at Fort Union in October, he had learned of a vacancy soon to open in the army recruiting service. Colonel Robert S. Granger was under orders to join his regiment, the 21st Infantry, which was preparing to move to the Department of the Columbia from Arizona. Granger had been appointed to the 21st Infantry in August, 1871, on the retirement of Colonel George Stoneman. Kautz lost no time in applying to General Sherman and to the commander of the Division of the Missouri, General Sheridan, for Granger's recruiting job. The depot was Newport Barracks, Kentucky, on the Ohio River across from Cincinnati and only fifty miles downriver from Kautz' home. En route to Fort

71. *Diary, 1871.*
Craig in December Kautz was pleased to receive two letters from Sheridan at Albuquerque. They conveyed Sheridan's indirect promise that he would "try hard to get Newport Barracks" for Kautz.\textsuperscript{72}

The remainder of Kautz' tour in New Mexico passed pleasantly for him. The changes at Stanton had been agreeable. In November, 1870, an 8th Cavalry officer, Second Lieutenant Richard A. Williams, had come to the post and taken the job of adjutant from Slade, who had done little but quarrel with the other officers since Kautz' return in the previous November.\textsuperscript{73} The post surgeon, Doctor Gibson, had suffered a mental breakdown in May, 1871,\textsuperscript{74} but his

\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{72}]
Sheridan had already written to The Adjutant General, Brig. Gen. Edward D. Townsend, on November 22, to request that Kautz be ordered to Newport Barracks. His recommendation included the sentence, "He is an officer peculiarly fitted for the position . . .," which may have been subtle humor. It was well known that recruit depots were eagerly sought "soft duty" stations, with plenty of leisure time in a big city and only a little paper work to perform. Command of them was customarily passed around, to give frontier officers a breather. Sheridan to Townsend, Nov. 22, 1871, in the Papers of Philip H. Sheridan, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. Cited hereafter as Sheridan Papers.
\item[\textsuperscript{73}]
Williams joined on November 18, 1870, and was appointed adjutant in February, 1871. Fort Stanton Returns.
\item[\textsuperscript{74}]
Gibson had always been withdrawn and soft spoken, one reason that Kautz liked him, but early in 1871 he began to suffer fits of melancholy. En route to Santa Fe with Kautz, May 11-15, he "showed decided evidences of insanity." He apparently recovered, for on March 19, 1877, he was promoted to major. In December of that year, Kautz was traveling by train; and when he reached Cheyenne he
replacement, Doctor H. G. Tiedemann, proved a congenial companion. And, when the latter doctor married and was transferred to Fort Union, Doctor Charles Styer filled his place just as well.75

For Kautz there was a summer romance with the daughter of the Fort Union depot ordnance officer, Captain William R. Shoemaker. Dolly Shoemaker was less than twenty years of age, and Kautz was nearly forty-four, but they delighted in one another's company during the long temporary tours of duty at Fort Union. They had first met when he arrived in the territory in 1869. Not until August of '71 did Kautz have the opportunity to escort the pretty young girl on picnics and horseback rides. "The experience I have gone through in my acquaintance with Miss Shoemaker," so Kautz told his diary, "convinces me that I shall one day wonder how Miss Grace [Tod] could have made me so wretched."

In January, 1872, Kautz committed an incomprehensible breach of military courtesy that foreshadowed worse. Perhaps for good reason he took umbrage with the annual report of the departmental commander, General John Pope, in which it was suggested that Fort Stanton was an auxiliary outpost to be considered for abandonment. The suggestion

met Doctor Gibson "whom I had not seen since he left Fort Stanton. He was looking well and much better than when he was in New Mexico." Diary, 1871, 1877.

75. Fort Stanton Returns.
was probably, as Kautz too hotly claimed, ill-founded, but it was uncertain how that reflected personally on Kautz. Colonel Kautz, nevertheless, penned a special report on January 24, 1872, wherein he proceeded to correct "the erroneous information received [by Pope] from some source unknown to me. I deem it my duty to correct any errors." Kautz described the location and importance of Stanton at length and concluded by asserting that, "To break up this post is to abandon the country to the Indians." To cap it off, when Pope sourly returned the paper and refused to forward it through channels to the Adjutant General, Kautz mailed it direct to Washington.

What possessed him to do it? Suppose Fort Stanton were closed, and Kautz did not get his recruiting assignment. The worst that could happen was that he might take command of Fort Wingate, a large, comfortable, four-company post in the northwestern part of the territory, less than two hundred miles from Santa Fe. More likely, he would be sent to command the regiment from headquarters at Santa Fe, or at Fort Union. Kautz was acting like a hot-tempered shave-tail with his first command.

76. Kautz to Pope, January 24, Fort Stanton Letter Book, 1872 (RG 98, National Archives).

77. Ibid., March 7, 1872.
Fortunately for Kautz, Phil Sheridan was rather fond of him. When the ill-advised document reached division headquarters in Chicago, Sheridan promptly pigeon-holed it. When Pope inquired what had happened to the correspondence (Kautz had directed a copy of his endorsement for the Adjutant General to Pope), Sheridan replied that he "thought this about as good a place to stop the paper as anywhere else. I do not see any necessity for any discussion on the subject." 78

On March 9, 1872, Kautz received an urgent dispatch from Santa Fe that ordered twenty-five men to be sent at once to the confluence of the Hondo and the Pecos. The new adjutant, Williams, was sent the next day for the purpose of apprehending some horse thieves. One week later Lieutenant Williams returned, somewhat disgusted because after a perfectly executed and swift march he had reached the scene of action too late. Lieutenant Andrew Patrick Caraher from Fort Union had nabbed a rustler and recaptured all the horses. 79

On April 10 the mail brought a delayed Christmas present: orders to report to Newport Barracks, Kentucky.

78. Sheridan to Pope, March 27, 1872, Sheridan Papers.

and to assume command of the recruit depot. Although such assignments were usually for only a year or two, after which the officer returned to his regiment, Kautz knew that his chance of afterward getting a better assignment than Fort Stanton was very good. Therefore he carefully packed everything he owned and ordered his goods shipped east. On the 17th he bade farewell to the land of poco tiempo.
"Sunday, October 6, 1872. I remained in Barracks all day and made several attempts to write letters but was constantly interrupted. Colonel London called and spent an hour. Mr. Conrad spent a great deal of time in my quarters and we got into a very confidential talk . . . I was so dissatisfied with my visit to Miss M. yesterday that not withstanding the rain storm that threatened, I visited her again this evening and proposed to her. She asked until Wednesday to consult her mother & brother, and has given me every encouragement that her answer will be favorable. I am quite relieved that I have made the proposal . . . ."

Kautz had reported to Newport Barracks, his new station, across the Ohio River from Cincinnati, on May 22, 1872. Less than five months later he was writing in his diary the entry above. Of less interest from the standpoint of his Southwestern career, the interlude at Newport was nonetheless a milestone in his life. After so many

1. He then spent a week at home on the farm near Ripley and did not assume command of the Barracks until May 28, after which he visited Sheridan in Chicago. Diary, 1872.
years' absence, the taste of residence among his friends proved as agreeable as it was novel. And, as he had anticipated, it soon resulted in his marrying again.

"Miss M." was twenty-one-year-old Fannie Markbreit, the American-born daughter of an Austrian emigrant. Her father, Leopold, died shortly after he had settled in Cincinnati in 1849. Fannie lived with her mother, Johanna Albele Markbreit, and her brother Joseph at Number 14, Ninth Street. Another brother, Leopold, Jr., was at this time the United States Minister to Bolivia, and he had been for a few weeks the law partner of Rutherford B. Hayes in 1861.

2. Fannie Markbreit presumably was born June 17, 1851. On the "Declaration for Original Pension of a Widow," dated September 30, 1895, she gave her age as 44. In Kautz' diary entry for June 17, 1879, is the note: "This is Fannie's birthday anniversary." Claim for Pension of Fannie Kautz, Widow of Gen. A. V. Kautz, and Request for Increase of Original Pension, in Records of the Veterans' Administration (RG 15, National Archives); cited hereafter as Pension File. Diary. 1879.

3. Ibid., 1872.

4. The association with Hayes commenced about April, 1861, and was dissolved in June when Hayes entered the army. Hayes characterized his partner as "a bright, gentlemanly, popular young German." Letter, Hayes to Birchard, April 10, 1861, in Charles R. Williams (ed.), Diary and Letters of Rutherford Birchard Hayes (5 vols.; Columbus, Ohio, 1922-26), II, 8. The future President received a commission in the 23rd Ohio Infantry, but Leopold Markbreit enlisted in the 28th Ohio, rising to captain. He was captured in December, 1863, and confined for many months in Libby Prison. He was well known to General Grant who, in 1869, appointed him Minister to Bolivia. S. B. Nelson & Co., History of Cincinnati and Hamilton County, Ohio (Cincinnati, 1894), 539-41. Fannie Markbreit had still another brother Charles,
Fannie and Leopold had a half brother, Friedrich Hassaurek, the son of Johanna Abele by her first husband who had died in 1836. Hassaurek was a distinguished journalist, author, and diplomat. Since 1866 he had been editor of the Tägliches Cincinnatier Volksblatt.5

Although Kautz apparently knew Hassaurek from sometime past, it was evidently through the agency of the wife of Lieutenant Casper H. Conrad6 that the General met Fannie Markbreit. Conrad, who had briefly commanded Company I of at one time the Cincinnati police chief, and a sister Jennie. Neither apparently were at home in 1872 but were later mentioned by Kautz.  Diary, 1877, 1879.

5. Hassaurek (1831-1885) was editing the newspaper of his Gymnasium when the Revolution of 1848 began. A radical, he joined the Student Legion and fled to Cincinnati when the revolt failed. By 1850 he was editing his own paper and writing a novel, Hierarchie und Aristokratie. Within a few years he had become a lawyer and espoused the abolitionist cause. He organized the new Republican Party in Cincinnati, helped nominate Lincoln, and, in 1861, was appointed Minister to Ecuador. As Volksblatt editor, Hassaurek rebelled at Republican excesses until, in 1872, he supported Horace Greeley for the Presidency. When he supported Tilden in the 1876 election, his Republican associates accepted his resignation as Volksblatt editor so that he could tour Europe, after which he again took over the paper on non-partisan policies. His literary works lacked the humor and distinction of his speeches and editorials. He wrote two novels that reflected his South American experiences and a volume of poems. D.A.B., Vol. 4, pt. 2, 383-84.

6. Conrad was born in New York and had served through the war as an enlisted man in a New York regiment. At this time he was 28 years of age. In 1876 he received promotion to captain, a grade he held until 1897 when promoted major of the 8th Infantry. Powell, 140; Heitman, I, 322.
the 15th Infantry at Fort Stanton, had obtained a transfer
to recruiting duty shortly after Kautz had left New Mexico.
His wife, who was expecting their first child, lived in
Columbus, Ohio. 7 When he took station at Newport Barracks,
she had moved onto the military post and had soon gathered
a circle of young friends from across the river. On the
evening of May 31, Kautz met Miss Markbreit at the Conrads'
quarters. Thereafter, she was a regular, and at first
annoying visitor to the barracks. Three weeks later, she
paid an extended visit to the Conrads, and Kautz observed
that she "seems to . . . be more or less in the way and I
do not understand why she is spending her time here." He
supplied his own answer in the next words: "I have suspected
that it is at Mr. & Mrs. Conrad's instigations with a view
to my becoming interested." 8

Kautz surely had ample time to become interested.
The commander of a recruit depot was not supposed to drudge.
In all of the time that Kautz served at the barracks, he
never once worked past noon. Customarily he repaired to
the office at eight in the morning where he inspected
returns, wrote reports, pursued his official and private

7. A boy, Casper Hauzer Conrad, Jr., was born
September 27 at Columbus. In 1895 he graduated fifth in
his class at the Military Academy. Diary, 1872; Heitman,
I, 322. Gullum, IV, 584.

8. Diary, 1872.
correspondence, or labored on his history of the war. Periodically he convened a garrison court-martial. Perhaps once a week the adjutant, Conrad, would present a batch of recruits for examination. Kautz had personally to certify that each man was truthfully represented on his enlistment papers, to reject all who failed the physical examination or were otherwise unqualified, and to administer the oath of allegiance. Later he would inspect the descriptive rolls of each detachment before it was sent to the West.

The 1869 law that reorganized the army had fixed the peacetime establishment at thirty thousand men, and subsequent legislation was to prohibit the maintenance of more than twenty-five thousand. The men enlisted for this tiny force were mostly recruited in the large cities, a practice Kautz deplored. Many of those enlisted at Newport were illiterate. "The smart and apparently capable man," observed Kautz, "is generally suspected of some moral taint ... not tolerated among his friends."


10. The duties of an officer on recruiting duty were outlined by Kautz in Customs of Service, 207-22. Officers detached to represent the various regiments actually procured the recruits at many locations, then sent them to a depot. The mean strength of Newport Barracks in 1872-73, exclusive of the permanent party, was about 335 enlisted men. See Rickey, Forty Miles a Day, Ch. 3, "The Recruit Depots and Introduction to Army Life," 33-49.

permitted first enlistments between sixteen and thirty-five years of age and re-enlistments at any age so long as the man could pass the surgeon's examination. The term in any case was five years. Sometimes a recruit might have to be separated after being sworn in. In January of 1872, for instance, "Mr. Caufield from Cleveland presented himself at the post . . . to get his son out of service." Kautz "gave the 'prodigal son' a furlough & sent him home with his father."\textsuperscript{12}

Recruits were usually of a class who enlisted for neither patriotism nor love of military life. Many were foreigners who could find no other employment; others were incapable of success in civilian occupations. "Too many," Kautz wrote many years later, "belong to that large and unfortunate class known under the generic name of 'tramps,' who are wanderers by nature and who become deserters . . ." In 1873 a Presidential proclamation promised amnesty to all who would admit being deserters. According to Kautz, "At that time nearly one-third of the enlisted men confessed themselves deserters. There is no means at present by which this class of criminals, or any other, can be kept out of the ranks."\textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{12} Diary, 1873.

\textsuperscript{13} Kautz, "Our National Military System," 935.
Nearly all the men gathered at Newport went to infantry regiments in the West. They received no training at the depot, other than guard duty and close order drill. When sufficient recruits to meet the levies assigned by the Adjutant General were present, they were placed under a commissioned officer and one or more non-coms and transported to some Western depot such as Fort Union or the Presidio of San Francisco.\(^\text{14}\)

Newport Barracks in the town of Newport, Kentucky, was situated on the south bank of the Ohio where it is joined by the turgid little stream called Licking River. Across the Licking was Covington, Kentucky. Both towns were virtual suburbs of Cincinnati—"Queen City of the West" and, until the end of the century, the most German city in America. The Ohio River was compared to the Rhine by some romantic viewers, and at one time the terraced hills behind the city were planted with grapes for the manufacture of some splendid domestic wines.\(^\text{15}\) The combined urban area on both sides of the Ohio, in 1870, contained a quarter of a million people.\(^\text{16}\)

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\(^\text{14}\) Other infantry recruits were assembled at Columbus Barracks, Ohio, and David's Island, N.Y. Cavalry recruits gathered at Jefferson Barracks, Mo. Rickey, Forty Miles a Day, 33.


\(^\text{16}\) Ninth U.S. Census. The exact total was 255,831 of whom 216,230 were in Cincinnati and nearly 50,000 were German-born.
The military post at Newport began as an arsenal in 1803. The reservation included six acres at the foot of Taylor Street, with brick barracks fronting on Taylor and, across the parade, the headquarters which overlooked the Ohio. The ground was about five feet higher on the river side and sloped gradually down to Taylor Street; similarly, it sloped from the officers' quarters on the northeast to the Licking River. No part of the site was high enough. The post had been flooded periodically and was abandoned in 1894.

Kautz had spacious if old fashioned quarters. He occupied one of two sets of field officers' apartments with nine rooms but with neither toilets nor bathrooms. Water was supplied from handcarts and in the yard was a sink. The building was brick, two stories high, and its front porch overlooked the Ohio. Its rear adjoined the depot headquarters. The bachelor officers—all of them young lieutenants except for Kautz, Lieutenant Marcotte, and the post surgeon—clubbed together in a single mess. Because of their age, Doctor Peter Moffatt and First Lieutenant Henry Marcotte, 17th Infantry, became the

general's only close friends in the garrison, outside of the Conrads.

The few officers at the post and the society of Cincinnati absorbed nearly all of Kautz' time and left very little for other private endeavors. Sometimes his visitors would require that he meet them with a carriage at the railroad station, which was just across the Ohio near the Louisville & Nashville Railroad bridge, but usually they dropped in unannounced and, if they were officers traveling through, courtesy demanded that he ask them to stay the night. At times the bedrooms were filled with guests, and Kautz slept in the library.

Kautz had numerous relatives as well, within visiting distance. His four brothers, sister Sophie, cousins, aunts, and uncles all visited Newport. His cousin, Mrs. General Denver, sometimes with her husband, was a frequent visitor to Cincinnati and Kautz would go to see her. Brother Albert, until his transfer to Key West, came to Newport several times from the Brooklyn Navy Yard, New York. One close military friend also lived in Cincinnati; Major (Brevet Colonel) William Emery Merrill of the Engineers had

20. Moffat was a Canadian who had been appointed an assistant surgeon in 1867. He died in 1882. Marcotte was born in England and had served as an officer in a New York regiment during the war. Heitman, I, 689, 718.
charge of all river and harbor work on the Ohio.21 Some of the other acquaintances whom Kautz visited in the city were Judge Stanley Mathews; Jesse Grant, father of the President; and Hassaurek, the author and editor of the Volksblatt, a German language newspaper. Once he went around to see a certain John F. Gleich, "the man to whom my brother Fred was apprenticed to learn music."22 Occasionally Kautz would travel to Ripley by boat and stay at the family farm a day or two, and he made, at various times, trips to Columbus or Youngstown to see the Tods and to St. Louis, Louisville, New York, and Washington. As the summer of 1872 merged into autumn, however, the address he most frequently called at was Number 14, Ninth Street, in Cincinnati.

Fannie Markbreit was not a great beauty. She had, however, a lovely heap of auburn hair and eyes that sparkled playfully. "Her temper," Kautz noted, was "fierce but harmless and fleeting."23 She was quiet, usually, and composed, and perhaps she was impressed by martial music or the splendor she imagined in Potsdam—certainly little of it existed at

21. Merrill was almost ten years younger than Kautz and a graduate of the academy class of 1859. It is possible that Kautz first knew him when he was chief engineer officer of the Army of Kentucky, 1862-63, but he served in several positions that would have brought them together. Powell, 394. Merrill doubtless was employed at this time on the canal around the Falls of the Ohio near Louisville, which was opened in 1872. "Cincinnati," Encyclopaedia, 783.

22. Diary, 1872.

23. Ibid.
Newport Barracks. She played the piano and sang well, and everything she did with a touch of the theatrical.

August Kautz was not so unlikely an object for Fannie's interest. In the first place, she lived with her mother in austere surroundings out of which marriage offered an escape. Kautz was to be sure well-fixed with a steady income and considerable property. Although economical, he was not parsimonious. Their common interests in music, the theater, and the German community drew from him the enthusiasm of a younger man.

Kautz was aware of Miss Markbreit's design, and he continued to play the field. He had kept up correspondence with Dolly Shoemaker since leaving New Mexico, though he realized she was much too young to take seriously. He visited the Tod family in July of 1872 partly for the purpose of seeing Grace once again and found himself relieved to discover she still thought well of him. And he was attentive to all the young ladies who visited the garrison almost daily to meet the younger officers, listen to the band, or dine at the Conrads'. Still, there was Fannie, everytime he turned around. On July 19, he escorted her to her sister's home in the city to meet the mother; and later he called on them together. But he preferred to take her to the German

24. Ibid.
At last came the fateful decision. On October 9, Fannie accepted his proposal and preparations for the wedding were made. St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Cincinnati was engaged, the Reverend W. O. Fiske agreed to officiate, numerous invitations were issued, and Colonel Merrill consented to be the best man. On November 27, a cold, clear, bright Wednesday, August Kautz wed Fannie Markbreit in a ceremony that "passed off without a serious mishap."25

The newlyweds were to spend a week in New York, and on their wedding day they took the cars to the East. For General Kautz, however, the honeymoon atmosphere was beclouded with serious uncertainty. Earlier in the month he had visited New York and while at Army Headquarters received a telegram from General Townsend, the Adjutant General in Washington, with the advice that he was being relieved from command of Newport Barracks on or about the first day of 1873. Since that time he had been uncertain how his new life with Fannie would begin. Would they return to Fort Stanton? Would he take command of the 15th Infantry?

25. Ibid. Letter, Archivist of the Diocese of Ohio to the author, June 11, 1965. The witnesses were not recorded. The next two paragraphs are drawn entirely from the Diary, 1872.
Might he take over the District of New Mexico, with headquarters at Santa Fe? Moreover, Kautz felt that he was being imposed upon. Recruiting duty usually was for more than a year, and he had only departed New Mexico on the 17th of April.

Even before the wedding Kautz had begun to pull all the strings in sight. As soon as he had received Townsend's message in New York, he had hurriedly advanced on Washington. The first man he had chanced to meet in the War Department had been "Cump" Sherman. The Commanding General "did not know me at first," Kautz had realized with disgust, "but was cordial enough when he called me to mind." Sheridan he had also found in the capital. Then, not satisfied with one day's work, he had laid his case before President Grant. He had returned to Newport in time to attend the annual meeting of the Army of the Cumberland a week before the wedding, and in Cincinnati, crowded with old and influential officers, he had continued politicking.

The efforts had their effect. On December 9, Sherman wrote to Sheridan, who now was back at his division headquarters in Chicago, that Kautz was after all to be permitted a full year at Newport. Sherman in this private communication belittled Kautz' efforts to influence his assignment but hinted that General Pope was the one who urged his return to the Department of the Missouri. Kautz, said
Sherman, was allowed "one year from the date of his leaving his Regiment. Genl. Pope may therefore count on getting his services at that time," in May of 1873. "Meantime," concluded Sherman sarcastically, "he [Pope] can put some good Captain in charge" of Fort Stanton. Sherman also revealed that he himself had fully concurred in the suggestion to relieve Kautz.26

In January, 1873, Kautz and his bride journeyed to Chicago at Phil Sheridan's invitation. Sheridan told him "that Genl. Sherman has promised Genl. Pope" to send him to the 15th Infantry in June.27 At Newport, in February, the garrison welcomed the arrival of Major (Bvt. Brigadier General) Joseph N. G. Whistler who, almost at once, began to circulate the story that he expected soon to occupy the Kautz' quarters, as Kautz was to be relieved. "They seem to be," observed Kautz drily, "quite confident about the matter."28 In March, Kautz learned that Fannie was pregnant and he again applied to Phil Sheridan for help.

"My dear Gen. Sherman," Sheridan began a personal note to the Commanding General which he wrote on March 21, apparently the same day he had received Kautz' plea:

27. Diary, 1873.
28. Ibid.
Colonel Kautz... seems to be constantly in a peck of trouble. I asked something over a year ago that he might be brought in from New Mexico... so that he could hunt up a wife and get married. This he accomplished, and now he wants to stay longer than the 1st of June so that his wife can have a baby. The event comes off some time during the summer. If you can do anything for him it will greatly relieve his anxiety.29

Sherman responded, "you had better notify Colonel Kautz that unless the matter comes up through regular channels officially I cannot act on this case as presented."30

Past unpleasantness with Pope led Kautz to suspect that the instigation for his relief lay in that quarter. Yet from Santa Fe there was a rumor that Kautz might be made district commander on his brevet rank.31 This was very unlikely and Pope, in fact, was recommending that the district be dissolved as a separate command.32 Lieutenant Conrad nevertheless reported from Fort Leavenworth that Pope had expressed "the kindest and warmest feelings" for Kautz, a report that Kautz termed "unreliable."33 On May 24, he received a confidential note from Adjutant General Townsend

29. Sheridan to Sherman, March 21, 1873, Sheridan Papers.
30. Ibid.
31. Diary, 1873.
32. Secretary of War Report, 1872.
33. Diary, 1873.
informing him that he was, after all, to remain at Newport another year.

On May 28, Kautz noted laconically that "Mrs. Whistler . . . now calls me Gehl. instead of Colonel, which is a favorable indication that Sherman has . . . failed to have me removed." On the 2nd of June, he received a letter from Sheridan who said he thought Kautz was "all right." On June 5, he was placed on a board to investigate military prisons in the East. Sherman apparently kept trying, for Townsend was prevailed upon to go ahead with an order for change of station in July. Kautz, exasperated, then perhaps unwisely played his trump card. He went to see the President at Long Branch, New Jersey. The order was suspended.

On July 12, Kautz was once again visiting in Washington and chanced to meet Sherman. Their conversation was not friendly and Kautz observed that Sherman "thinks hard of me." Sherman said "that he never would give me another order, good or bad." Sherman's future relations with Kautz were in fact scrupulously fair, but five years

34. Ibid.
35. A.N. Journal, July 12, 1873.
36. Diary, 1873.
37. Ibid.
later, when Kautz needed some extra consideration while he tried to retain his Arizona command, it is not surprising that Sherman refused it.

In the meantime, spring had come to the Ohio Valley. Snow fell at Cincinnati as late as April 25, but soon after the earth warmed. On the 21st of that month, Kautz bought a new carriage and a saddle mare. So long as Fannie was able, they visited the theaters and amusement places, but his parents were more in his mind. He began to realize that when he finally left Newport he probably would never see them again, and he made several journeys upriver to the family farm.

Leopold Markbreit had returned to the United States from his post in Bolivia on April 16, and he stayed with the Kautzes at the Barracks until he could settle in the city in May. On June 29, Jesse Grant died, and the funeral brought the President sorrowfully home. Kautz was one of the pallbearers to the old man who had been for so long his father's friend. The obsequies were held on July 1. Shortly after, Kautz began a tour through the Eastern States to inspect penitentiaries for the army board on penal reform.

38. Markbreit was recalled, it was said, because of the political course of his half-brother's newspaper, the Volksblatt, in the Presidential election of the preceding year. See n. 5, above. Nelson & Co., History of Cincinnati, 540. In July, he embarked for London, and from thence he traveled again to South America and back to Europe. In January, 1875, he returned again to Cincinnati to manage affairs of the newspaper. Ibid., 541.
At some time in this period of his life, Kautz abandoned the desire to find a home in the East. To be sure he had never lost interest in the West. Besides his Washington investments and correspondents, he kept touch with New Mexico. In March of 1873 he learned that Lieutenant Slade had quarreled with a citizen over a card game, shot the civilian—not fatally—and was in arrest. Although the lieutenant wrote to Kautz for aid, it was soon apparent the poor fellow was woefully debilitated by drink and hopelessly in debt.\footnote{Slade resigned on August 31, 1873, rather, so Kautz said, than face certain conviction at a court-martial. \textit{Diary}, 1873.} Other gossip of Fort Stanton was regularly relayed by Captain McKibbin, Doctor Tiedemann, and, after he returned to the West in May of 1873, Lieutenant Conrad. Kautz even had some conversation with Colonel Fritz, whom he met in New York in July. In April, the nation was shocked by the murder of Brigadier General E. R. S. Canby at the hands of a Modoc Indian in Oregon, where Kautz had soldiered twenty years before. The subsequent "Modoc War" was followed by Kautz in the newspapers with great interest.\footnote{Kautz' comment on May 1 was probably inspired by the inactivity of Col. Alvan C. Gillem who succeeded Canby: "There is nothing to mitigate the incapacity displayed in the Modoc warfare—it seems to be conducted by men entirely incapable or totally ignorant of Indian warfare." \textit{Diary}, 1873. A good account of the Modoc War is in Jacob P. Dunn, \textit{Massacres of the Mountains: A History of the Indian Wars of the Far West} (New York, 1886), 461-97.}
Another Western enterprise now caught his imagination. He was reading Rossiter W. Raymond's *Statistics of Mines and Mining in the West*, with particular attention to Colorado.\(^{41}\) He also took instruction in chemistry and mineral assaying and talked with Hassaurek about investment in mines. On August 4, he was approached by a certain Mr. Andricks in regard to the purchase of some silver mining claims in Colorado Territory. Although Hassaurek was not much impressed, Kautz determined to go and see for himself. Ten days later he entrained for Denver with Doctor A. M. Noxon of Idaho Springs, Colorado.\(^{42}\)

Kautz and Noxon reached Denver on the 17th, a Sunday morning. They breakfasted at the American Hotel and caught the train for Golden, from whence they rode the narrow gauge Colorado Central Railroad to Idaho Springs. On Monday they inspected the "Seaton Lode"\(^{43}\) and Kautz toured a reduction mill. Although he had casually inspected some speculative

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\(^{42}\) Noxon is mentioned in connection with the development of the rich Baker silver mine near Gray's Peaks in 1865. Frank Fossett, *Colorado: Historical, Descriptive and Statistical Work on the Rocky Mountain Gold and Silver Mining Region* (Denver, 1876), 99.

\(^{43}\) The Seaton mine was said to be one of the richest in Clear Creek County. Producing both gold and silver, its yield by 1876 was not less than $250,000. Fossett, *Colorado*, 374-75.
gold mines near Fort Stanton, this was his first view of real commercial operations. Tuesday they went to Boulder Pass and Central City, and examined several mines in the vicinity. The next day proved the most promising of their excursion. They started from Rollinsville on the Boulder Pass road about 7:30 a.m. and within three hours were at Jennie Lake. They visited the Snowflake, Silver Stream, Iddings, and Jim Hooker lodes, the last two being well defined but undeveloped claims. Kautz brought away some specimens to have tested by an assayer in Georgetown.

After Kautz and Noxon spent Thursday at Idaho Springs, and visited another mill at Blackhawk, they drove next day to Georgetown, "center of the best known and most productive silver district of Colorado."44 Here Kautz visited the Terrible Lode which was the most elaborate mine yet seen.45 The assayer pronounced the sample from the Snowflake near Jennie Lake on Wednesday to be worth four and one-half dollars per ton. They returned to the Springs for a look at Noxon's property, a silver mine called "The Crisis," and on August 23, Kautz departed for Denver alone.

44. Ibid., 311.

45. This mine was said to contain "the richest continuous silver vein in Colorado." In 1872 it produced 1,523 tons of ore with a value of $168,625. Ibid., 335.
Fannie was fearful of her imminent confinement, and Kautz did not even stay the night in Denver. He left for home on the evening of the 23rd. The journey was pleasant for that time of year, for the next day—all of which he spent crossing the arid plains to Salina, Kansas—was clear and cool. While the wind blew crosswise to the cars, the smoke and coal dust did not bother them. He saw no buffalo this time, and only a few antelope. He passed the time reading *Popular Science Monthly*. "I never saw this section of the plains looking so green and beautiful," he observed. The morning of the 25th he had breakfast at Kansas City and began the ride across Missouri which proved hot and dusty. During the day he fell into conversation with "a very old intelligent man named Tize." who had many ore samples and who seemed well versed in mining and scientific subjects. Kautz reached home the next day in time for breakfast with his wife’s family and "took them by surprise." Fannie was quite well. 46

Kautz was not enthusiastic about the claims of Andricks in Colorado, but he was in favor of forming a mining company for investment and submitted to Hassaurek and some others an encouraging report on his trip. Evidently, the idea was for Andricks and Noxon to raise, independently.

46. Diary, 1873. The Mr. Tize with whom Kautz traveled may well have been John H. Tice, author of *Over the Plains, on the Mountains; in Kansas, Colorado, and the Rocky Mountains* (St. Louis, 1872).
$50,000 for development by selling three-fourths of their claims or options. The purchasers would be stockholders in a company. The remaining quarter of the claims (not, apparently, stock shares but the claims themselves) would be vested in Kautz, Hassaurek, and a Mr. Hof, who would undertake development of the company's holdings. They would presumably pay off Noxon and Andricks for services rendered or employ them in development.

The plan did not mature, Hassaurek insisting on a different arrangement. After Doctor Noxon returned to Cincinnati, he and Andricks consented to a similar scheme whereby Kautz and his partners got two-thirds of their claims while he and Andricks undertook to sell the other third for $50,000. This agreement was made on October 17. The erstwhile promoters could not, however, dispose of the assets, nor could they inveigle Kautz and Hassaurek to sell the claims to friends. Just before Kautz departed Newport Barracks, Noxon and Andricks desperately tried to unload their claims for only $15,000.

The general, meanwhile, had continued his chemistry studies and apparently became determined to invest somewhere in mines. Throughout September he was "quite preoccupied with ... plans for moving to New Mexico," and on September 8

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47. This and the next four paragraphs are based entirely on the Diary, 1873.
he wrote the Adjutant General, "asking him to send me out to New Mexico with recruits." In October he attended a reunion of the Army of the Tennessee at Cleveland where he was surprised to find General Pope in a friendly mood. He secured from Pope assurances that he would be given a choice of any post in the District of New Mexico, which included a portion of Colorado Territory. At first Kautz expressed a preference for Fort Stanton, but on October 21 he wrote a personal letter to Pope to request assignment to Fort Garland. On the 30th he received the requisite orders.

The most momentous event of the entire year had meanwhile occurred on September 12. Fannie delivered her first child. The mother recovered quickly and the boy was named Austin. Soon thereafter the Kautzes found a nurse in Cincinnati who was employed against the time they would depart for Colorado.

On November 10, 1873, nineteen months since Kautz' departure from Fort Stanton, his little family joined a detachment of recruits ordered to Forts Garland and Union in the District of New Mexico. They were at Kansas City the next day, where they transferred to the Kansas-Pacific Railroad and headed for Denver. Their journey was slowed by a fire on the track near Ellis, Kansas, but was otherwise uneventful. At least so for the general; we may imagine the emotions of the new mother as she crossed the barren
buffalo plains to arrive at last in the bustling frontier town of Denver. Fannie began her married life in the best army tradition, taking every new experience in her stride and complaining about nothing that was beyond her husband's power to correct.

On the 13th they took the cars of the narrow-gauge Denver & Rio Grande Railway for Pueblo. In the words of a contemporary traveler, this train was "quite a curiosity." It appeared so small that they imagined it a toy and wondered if it would make any headway. The train's merits, however, were easily miscalculated, for it snaked through the canyons and around the steep mountains with surprising speed. At one point they could look out to see a locomotive approaching on the track across a canyon, only to discover that it was their own engine "puttering along as though pleased with the job." 

48. The famous D. & R.G.R.R. was launched in 1870. It was expected to build south from Denver to El Paso and, eventually, to Mexico City. Because the main line would traverse several mountain ranges, and numerous branches might serve the mining camps, it was planned as a narrow-gauge road. Construction began in March, 1871, and was completed to Pueblo in June, 1872. By December it had reached Florence, Colorado. LeRoy R. Hafen, Colorado: The Story of a Western Commonwealth (Denver, 1933), 185-87.

49. R. H. McKay, Little Pills: An Army Story (Pittsburg, Kansas, 1918), 89. McKay was a contract surgeon who served briefly at Fort Garland and knew Kautz (see below); he rode the D. & R.G. in April or May of 1873.
At Pueblo the detachments camped in the open, and the officers with Fannie, baby Austin, and the nurse, put up in a hotel. In the evening Kautz was visited by a West Point comrade, ex-Captain William Craig who, in 1869, had founded Las Animas, Colorado. Next day the General was notified that he was to command the 15th Infantry in the absence of Gordon Granger and that regimental headquarters was en route to Fort Garland. Lieutenant Blair, now the regimental adjutant, arrived at Pueblo on November 14th from Fort Union to coordinate the movement. Next day the troops that were destined for Garland started with the general’s family, and Blair left for Santa Fe. Kautz arrived at his new station without incident on November 15, but the passage over nine thousand-foot La Veta Pass was very fatiguing and much damage was inflicted on the Kautz household goods. Among the delicate furniture packed in the wagons was the general’s wood-turning lathe and Fannie’s piano. Not until the 19th did Lieutenant Pond of the 8th Cavalry bring the last of the baggage in. On December 6, Blair arrived from Santa Fe with the regimental band.

Fort Garland had been built in 1858 near the confluence of Ute and Sangre de Cristo creeks, in the northeast.

50. Craig had been the Quartermaster at Fort Union. He resigned April 5, 1864. Cullum, II, 366. O. T. Baskin & Co., History of Arkansas Valley, Colorado (Chicago, 1881), 845.
part of San Luis Park. The fort had originally been designed to replace Fort Massachusetts, which had been erected in 1852 six miles north up Ute Creek. Numerous ranches and villages now surrounded the post, and by 1875 the population in San Luis Park was estimated at 7,500. The region was well known to health-seekers, as well as stockraisers, though the pestilent loco weed that grew there frequently sickened the cattle.

The fort was built in the usual rectangular pattern around a parade, with one-company barracks at the east and west ends, storehouses and hospital on the south side, and officers' quarters on the north. A new hospital was under

51. There is no adequate history of this important western post, now preserved as a museum and historic site of the State Historical Society of Colorado. See the Society's pamphlet, Old Fort Garland (Denver, 1954); John H. Nankivell, "Fort Garland, Colorado," The Colorado Magazine, Vol. 16 (January 1939), 13-28; and Edgar C. McMechen, "Acquisition of Old Fort Garland, the Healy House, and the Dexter Cabin," ibid., Vol. 23 (January 1946), 25-27.


53. This description of Fort Garland, the next three paragraphs, is based on the Surgeon General Reports, 1870 and 1875; Plan of Fort Garland, C.T., Oct. 10, 1871, in Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers (RG 77, National Archives); Sketch of Front Elevation of Officers Quarters at Fort Garland Col. . . . 1873, in ibid.; and William H. Rideing, A-Saddle in the Wild West (New York, 1879), 28-35.
construction northeast of officers row and the stables for the cavalry company were east of the post. Some additional storehouses were also being erected to the southeast. South of the old storehouses was the post trader's store. All buildings at the post were one-story, flat-roofed, made of red adobes, "in a state of increasing and unprepossessing dilapidation." They were warmed in winter with large fireplaces and generously lighted with shuttered windows. The spacious barracks housed two companies, one each of the 15th Infantry and 8th Cavalry. Although there were no washrooms, bathing in the open air seemed only to improve the health of the troops. The unfortunate infantry bandsmen were housed in a separate building west of the main quadrangle which was "very imperfectly constructed, . . . poorly lighted and ventilated . . . some [rooms] without floors." The surgeon's report of 1875 noted that married soldiers were "quartered in a building of much the same character." The spacious barracks housed two companies, one each of the 15th Infantry and 8th Cavalry. Although there were no washrooms, bathing in the open air seemed only to improve the health of the troops. The unfortunate infantry bandsmen were housed in a separate building west of the main quadrangle which was "very imperfectly constructed, . . . poorly lighted and ventilated . . . some [rooms] without floors." The surgeon's report of 1875 noted that married soldiers were "quartered in a building of much the same character." Fannie Kautz' new home was one of four adobe officers' houses and was directly opposite the center of the parade ground and flagstaff. The rooms were "ceiled with pine boards and covered with earth, after the old Mexican custom."  

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54. Ibid., 30.
55. Sketch of . . . Officers Quarters, RG 77; Diary, 1873.
57. Ibid.
A bedroom and a sitting room gave off of a central entry hall to the left and right. Behind them lay two more rooms for children or servants and two kitchen rooms.

Fort Garland was said to have one of the best sutler's stores, "including in its stock every imaginable and many unimaginable articles, from Wiltshire hams to Mexican spurs, patent medicines to buffalo robes, stationery to saddles, and ammunition to cosmetics"; and the customers, it was said "were also heterogeneous, including the officers and men of the fort, the passing emigrants and Indians, the miners and ranchmen, and some Mexican senoritas whose chief weakness was articles of Philadelphia perfumery and Birmingham jewelry." It was also the post office.

The society of the fort was as heterogeneous as the clientele of the post trader. Although Kautz commanded the regiment and nominally had the headquarters with him, he and Blair were the only staff officers present. The most rank was carried by the commanders of the two companies, D of the 15th Infantry and F of the 8th Cavalry. Captain (Brevet Major) Andrew Patrick Caraher led the horse soldiers. Like many Irish immigrants, his first real employment in the United States had been with the Union Army. He had risen from the ranks to a colonelcy in the Veteran

58. Rideing, A-Saddle in the Wild West, 34.
Reserve Corps and after the war had taken a first lieutenant's commission. He had been a captain only since January 15. His brevet was awarded for gallantry at Gettysburg and he had received a severe wound at the Battle of Marye's Heights. A thorough soldier, he had a charming wife who matched Fannie's own temperament. Captain (Brevet Major) Horace Jewett commanded the infantry. He was a plodder, of no great brilliance but of infinite patience and common sense which perhaps reflected a Maine upbringing. He had been an officer in the 15th since 1861. He also was married, with a family at the fort.

The junior officers of the companies were generally without distinction. The principal exception was Second Lieutenant George Enoch Pond from Connecticut. He had graduated from the Military Academy in June of 1872 and taken his commission in the 8th Cavalry. He had some wartime experience as an enlisted volunteer. Company D had two lieutenants: Brevet Major Wilson Tweed Hartz, who had been sergeant-major of the 6th Pennsylvania Volunteers; and former Captain Cyrus McNeely DeLany, who had risen from private in the 30th Ohio.

60. Ibid. Powell, 311.
61. Cullum, III, 442.
As he had at Fort Stanton, Kautz found ready companionship with the post doctors. Doctor R. H. McKay had been assigned to Garland but was absent with a detachment when Kautz arrived. He returned in the forepart of December, only to be transferred to Fort Stanton on December 18. A replacement was already at hand, however; Doctor Collins succeeded McKay as post surgeon. Kautz also was introduced to the German community in the neighborhood, which included the Hofmeisters, who were sheepherders, and a brewer named Hoffman.

The Kautzes were destined to spend but nine months in Colorado, and that was to include a long mountain winter. There were daily snows at Garland from the first day of December to the 12th, and then a really heavy snowfall on the 19th. Afterward there were frequent days of brilliant sun, but it continued cold with occasional snows through February. In all this time, activities were confined to the garrison routine, and to private endeavors in the cozy quarters. Kautz spent much time in his wood shop, using the new lathe he had purchased in Cincinnati. For Fannie, a new world awaited discovery. As little Austin grew in

63. *Diary*, 1873; and see n. 49, above.

64. Collins apparently was a contract surgeon and nothing is known of him, beyond the references in Kautz' *Diary*, 1873, 1874.

strength and required less attention, she learned to ride, entertained the officers with dinners and informal musicales, and even tried fishing. Trout fishing, of course, was the general's most enjoyable pastime; and as the thaw cleared the ground in March, he went out on the nearby creeks with Blair, Caraher, and Doctor Collins. After March, he was able to go fishing at least twice a month. The trout, however, were not as plentiful as they had been at Stanton. The best catch he made was forty-eight on June 20. 66

The presence of wives and children gave the garrison an excuse for celebrating the Yule season. In December, 1873, Kautz observed his first Christmas since the death of his wife Charlotte, and he described the occasion in his diary:

Christmas Day. The weather was fine today. I spent the morning reading. We took lunch with the Jewetts. In the afternoon, the men of Company "P" had races and jumping and the time passed very merrily. At five Mrs. K.'s guests arrived to partake of her dinner... The courses were more numerous and the whole dinner more elaborate than I expected. We sat at table three hours. After dinner we had cards and music until eleven o'clock. All the officers & ladies at the post were present... I ate very heartily and felt quite uncomfortable for some time after dinner.

New Year's Day also was lively, but its celebration has always been more usual in the army than Christmas.

66. Ibid. From July, 1873, through June, 1874, the mean temperature was only 42° and a low of -23°. Despite the snow recorded by Kautz, the total precipitation in this period was only 6.4 inches. Surgeon General Report, 1875, 261.
Etiquette required that all the officers, suitably attired in full dress, should visit the commanding officer in his quarters where Kautz on this occasion provided music and eggnog. The General noted that, though the calls were made pleasantly, "the ladies do not seem to have expected them."67

Through the winter of 1873-74, the outside world scarcely impinged on the isolated fort. In November the garrison was for a short time excited at the prospect of war with Spain when news arrived of the Virginius affair. Some Cuban seamen, allegedly American citizens, had been taken from a ship which the Spaniards had caught smuggling guns to Cuban rebels. The American captain and fifty-two sailors had been summarily executed.68 Kautz read President Grant's message to Congress in December with pleasure, and he watched intently the next Congressional attempt to reduce the army--while some representatives called for war with Spain. In March of 1874, Kautz was saddened by the not unexpected death of his mother, aged nearly 74, on the farm near Ripley, Ohio.

67. Diary, 1874.

68. The Virginius was "a kind of free-lance filibuster" that picked up "a poor but dishonest living in the gun-running trade." The U.S. might have gone to war but for the lack of an adequate army and navy. Anyway, "the Virginius case was recognized to be a trifle disreputable." Walter Millis, The Martial Spirit (Boston, 1931), 14-15.
While soldiering at Fort Garland was arduous as anywhere—with daily guard, retreat parade, and fatigues—purposeful activity seems to have been very light. The reason lay in the system of departmental command which virtually ignored a regimental headquarters. For instance, in December of 1873 the commander of the District of New Mexico, Colonel (Brevet Brigadier General) John I. Gregg, sent Captain McKibbin and his company from Fort Stanton to Fort Selden without consulting Kautz. Unless some emergency had called forth a significant part of his regiment for him to command in the field, Kautz had little function outside his immediate post. For the companies at Garland during this period, there were no Indians to police or even cattle rustlers to apprehend. The most vital mission appears to have been the maintenance of the telegraph line from Pueblo to Trinidad. In December Kautz provided a detail to aid in the line's construction, and in March of 1874 he furnished another to keep it in repair.

To his credit, however, Kautz worked continually to improve the efficiency of regimental administration, a subject he knew as much about as anyone in the army, and in

69. Diary, 1873; Major David R. Clendenin, 8th Cavalry, was sent from Fort Selden to Stanton. McKibbin had just been embroiled in an argument with L.G. Murphy & Co. that had resulted in Murphy's ouster from Fort Stanton. See n. 67, Ch. 6 above.

70. Diary, 1873; and Kautz to A.A.G., April 30, 1874, Dist. of N.M. Correspondence, Letters Received.
February, 1874, he personally contributed eighty dollars "to aid in the purchase of a printing office." At the same time, he gave fifty dollars to get the band new instruments.71 Although he was not called upon to provide them an escort, the party of the Wheeler Survey was welcomed at Fort Garland in July. The expedition camped by the post and Kautz entertained Professor Edward D. Cope.72

With the advent of spring, Kautz returned to the glittering field of mining investment. In January he had attempted to survey again the diggings around Rollinsville and Boulder, but the severe weather thwarted him. He at last made it to the mines and learned much from conversation, but he was able to examine only one operation, the Black Warrior near Cariboo which belonged to "Capt. Gray . . . an old Colorado Volunteer . . . who knows many of my acquaintances."73 He was back home on the 21st after a fruitless absence of two weeks.

71. Diary, 1874.

72. Ibid. Edward Drinker Cope (1840-1897) was an eminent zoologist, paleontologist, and professor at Haverford College, Pa. He accompanied the Wheeler survey only one year, 1874-75, and next year became a professor at the University of Pennsylvania. He subsequently was editor and owner of the American Naturalist magazine until his death. D.A.B., Vol. 2, pt. 2, 420-21.

In February, 1874, Kautz learned through a letter from Doctor Noxon that the claims previously offered by him and Andricks were sold. Noxon proposed now to sell his own claim, the Crisis, for $30,000, an offer Kautz prudently declined. In May the snow at last receded and Kautz went back to Rollinsville. He found an old prospector named Harold Grau whom he agreed to grubstake for a share in claims that Grau might locate. This trip was also the occasion for meeting Fannie's mother at Denver; and while there, he invested $1,250 in five acres of land on the west side of the Platte River. The general and Mrs. Markbreit arrived back at Garland on the 31st of May. His mother-in-law stayed with Kautz through the month of June. The ladies of the post entertained her with picnics, parties, and the simplest pastimes of the isolated community. In June the general made another journey to Rollinsville. He arrived at Denver on the 30th and went up next day to find his prospecting partner. Grau was on a spree and stayed well oiled through the Glorious Fourth, so Kautz treated himself to the hot sulphur baths near Idaho Springs. On July 5 he examined the old miner's prospect holes, picked up some samples, deposited them with the assayer at Central City, and returned to Fort Garland. Very little trace of gold or silver appeared in the assay results delivered to him on the 16th. He was about done with Colorado mines.74

74. Diary, 1874.
As early as February, Kautz had anticipated his promotion to colonel of a regiment. On the 16th he heard from friends that James V. Bomford, colonel of the 8th Infantry that was stationed in Wyoming, was to retire. Bomford indeed was ordered before a retiring board, and, as the newspapers told of a Sioux uprising in Wyoming, Kautz looked forward to an Indian campaign. The old colonel, however, was retained in service. Kautz fully expected to remain several months more at Garland but still hoped that the impending retirement of Charlie Woods might take him to the 2nd Infantry before the end of the year. Not until June 17, just before his departure for the mines, did Kautz learn that Bomford was finally ordered to retire and that he himself had been nominated to the Senate for Bomford's colonelcy. When Kautz returned from Denver on

75. Col. Bomford was the son of the army's first Chief of Ordnance, Col. George Bomford, and was born in 1811 on Governor's Island, N.Y. He graduated from the Military Academy in 1832. A captain during the Mexican War, he received brevets of major and lieutenant colonel for his conduct at the Battles of Contreras, Churubusco, and Molino del Rey. While he was too old to attain distinction in the Civil War, his son enlisted in a New York unit and rose to be Lieutenant Colonel of the 42nd N.Y. Volunteers. Lt. Col. George N. Bomford then re-enlisted in the 15th U.S. Infantry, accepted a commission in the 7th U.S. Infantry, and remained in the service as a First Lieutenant after the war. His father had meantime, in 1864, become colonel of the 8th Infantry. The elder Bomford did finally retire in 1874 but lived until 1892. Powell, 70-71; Heltman, I, 229.

76. A.N. Journal, February 21, 1874.
July 9, he found his commission in the waiting mail. His date of rank was given as June 8. 77

Despite the Indian trouble in the North, the War Department was determined to go ahead with a long planned exchange of the 8th Infantry for the 23rd Infantry. The latter regiment was stationed in Arizona where the Apache Indian problem had lately been settled by its lieutenant colonel, George Crook. Kautz' old friend had been promoted to brigadier general for his services and still commanded the Military Department of Arizona. The 8th Infantry had been stationed in Wyoming with a battalion in Utah, all in the Department of the Platte, since 1872. The 23rd had served more than two years in Arizona. It was planned to exchange the regiments by stages, to be completed by the next summer. 78 The new commander of the 8th was instructed in his orders that accompanied his commission to proceed to headquarters of the Division of the Pacific at San Francisco and there to await further orders from the division commander. His next probable station, however, was the headquarters of the Arizona department where the 23rd Infantry had also been headquarter.

77. *Cullum, III, 227.*

78. *A.N. Journal, May 9; July 4, 11; August 1, 1874.*
wrote to Crook at Prescott in northern Arizona Territory to learn something of Fort Whipple, his prospective new home. 79

Although his finances were strapped, Kautz bowed to his wife's importuning and applied for a leave of absence for the purpose of touring Europe. The Adjutant General refused and Kautz again tried to enlist President Grant's aid, but the request was impossible to entertain. The Kautzes sold their furniture and packed their burgeoning household. On the 6th of August they departed Fort Garland. From Denver, the general sent his family off to Cincinnati and on the 17th betook himself to Omaha. After several side trips and visits, he arrived in Chicago on the 21st and stayed two days with Phil Sheridan. There he learned officially that his leave was refused. 80

From August 23 to September 2, the general and Fannie visited friends in Cincinnati and Kautz's father on the family farm. The old man showed every sign of vigorous health. In the city, Fannie advertised for a servant to accompany them to Arizona. They engaged an intelligent and friendly Negro, Julia Pauline Robinson, who quickly assumed the role of nursemaid and gave promise of extraordinary domestic value. The Kautz family then took the

79. Ibid., July 4, 1874; and Diary, 1874.
80. This and the next three paragraphs are based on the Diary.
cars for the West and arrived at the Occidental Hotel in San Francisco on September 10. They stayed two weeks by the Golden Gate, making purchases of many things they would not likely to find in Arizona and visiting Kautz' old western friends such as ex-Captain John Mullan, now a successful lawyer. Among the larger items purchased was a spring wagon and harness. Prices and wages were high in the city and before the final departure, "Polly" Robinson demanded a salary raise. The general reluctantly granted it, an act he would never regret. At division headquarters he received orders from Major General John M. Schofield to proceed to Prescott, Arizona.

On the night of September 24 the Kautz family boarded the steamer New Bern. Kautz' new command had preceded him to Arizona by seven weeks. On the 6th of August, Lieutenant Colonel John D. Wilkins had embarked on the same steamship with seven of the ten companies of the 8th Infantry. The 23rd Infantry, whom they replaced in Arizona, had begun to depart for Wyoming on August 1. 81

The New Bern rounded Cape San Lucas on October 1 and touched at Mazatlan and La Paz on the 3rd and the 5th. It required twelve days for the vessel to reach the Mexican

port of Guaymas on the eastern shore of the Gulf of California. At the Mexican ports, various officials came aboard and Kautz tried his rusty Spanish. While the passengers slept the night of the 6th and 7th, the ship put out to sea from Guaymas and headed for the mouth of the Rio Colorado.