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

by

ANDREW WALLACE

Volume II

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
CHAPTER VIII

THE DAYS OF THE EMPIRE

A scent of adventure was borne on the breeze that rippled the muddy river and fanned the ensign on the jack-staff of the steamer Cocopah. Away from both banks stretched the dreary desert of the lower Colorado River Valley. From the little boat's upper deck, Colonel August V. Kautz peered up the turgid stream as if to learn its origins. A nearly naked Indian at the bow was sounding the opaque water with a long pole, and he called the depth every few moments in monotonous tones.\(^1\) The heat of the sun-burnt zinc deck plates penetrated the colonel's shoes, and his open blue coat, though it lent some insulation against the blazing sun, admitted little air. Kautz was of medium height with a stocky, muscular build that was running to some paunch after the late months of inactivity. Normally

\(^1\) In addition to Kautz' own terse entries in his diary, other accounts of Colorado River steamboat travel on which this description is based include Martha Summerhayes, Vanished Arizona: Recollections of the Army Life of a New England Woman (Philadelphia, 1908), 4th ed. with annotation and introduction by Ray Brandes (Tucson, 1960), 28-35; cited hereafter as Summerhayes. And Ellen McGowan Biddle, Reminiscences of a Soldier's Wife (Philadelphia, 1907), 146-50; cited hereafter as Biddle. Mrs. Summerhayes, wife of a lieutenant in the 8th Infantry, ascended the river in August, 1874. Mrs. Biddle, wife of a major in the 6th Cavalry, traveled upriver in April, 1876.
he weighed 174 pounds, with little variance since his fortieth birthday. In this autumn of 1874, Kautz now was nearly forty-seven, but he looked much younger with a full, angular face and a close black beard.

In the shade of the upper superstructure of the Cocopah, Fannie Kautz, with her baby boy and the family nurse, Polly, tried to rest, in spite of the heat that neared ninety degrees. Fannie was twenty-five, with auburn hair and comely good looks. Her facial features were rather prominent, but fair, and her habiliment did not suggest that she was pregnant with her second child.

The boat, piloted by Captain Isaac Polhamus, was a broad, shallow-draft stern-wheeler, with an upper deck fitted out for passengers in a fair imitation of luxury and the lower reserved for "soldiers and chinamen." They had been on the Colorado already four days and were not yet arrived at Fort Yuma. But now they steamed due east, Pilot Knob lay to their rear, and a few more hours would bring them to the haven of the fort.

It was a new part of the Southwest that Kautz was seeing, but it was not totally unknown to him. A classmate at West Point, Joseph Christmas Ives, had graduated as an ordnance officer but transferred to the elite Corps of

2. Biddle, 146.
Topographical Engineers in 1853, and in 1857-58 he had explored the Colorado River with a prefabricated iron steamboat brought from Philadelphia. Ives had died in 1868 while Kautz traveled in Mexico, and the two men had never met again after Ives had joined the Confederate cause in '61. Another classmate of Kautz at the academy had also sought fame in Arizona. The flamboyant artillerist, Lieutenant Sylvester Mowry, had resigned his commission in 1858 to work at his favorite enterprises: separate territorial status for Arizona (then a part of New Mexico), and development of the silver mines he had acquired near old Fort Buchanan in the Patagonia Mountains. That post, now long abandoned, had once been served by a third friend of Kautz, Lieutenant (now Major) Andrew W. Evans.

3. Ives (1828-1868) was from New York. After his Western explorations, he was engineer and architect of the Washington Monument. On the eve of the Civil War, he served on the commission which ran the California boundary. He was an engineer in the Confederate States Army and rose to colonel as an aide to President Jefferson Davis. He died in New York. Frank E. Ross, article in D.A.B., V, 520-21. William H. Goetzmann, Army Exploration in the American West, 1803-1863 (Yale University Press, 1959), 278, 393-94. For his exploration of the Colorado River, see ibid., 380-93; and his report, printed as House Exec. Doc. No. 90, 36th Cong., 1st Sess.


5. Evans, another 1852 graduate, had served at Fort Buchanan in the 7th Infantry. The post was abandoned on the outbreak of the war and Evans joined the Union troops in New Mexico where he fought in the Battle of Valverde.
In 1862, the California Volunteers, while they marched to relieve Union troops in eastern New Mexico, had arrested Mowry as a Confederate sympathizer. His property had been expropriated and he was summarily tried and imprisoned at Fort Yuma for six months. Eventually Mowry had won exoneration in the courts, but he recovered precious little of his health or property. In 1869, he had persuaded the New York Herald to publish Kautz' article about Mexico. Two years later he had died forgotten in London, though his dreams of a separate Arizona had materialized in 1863. All of this Kautz had ample opportunity to learn at Fort Stanton from a veteran of the California Column, Emil Fritz, the same it was who had arrested Mowry in '62 on orders of General James H. Carleton. As the steamer Cocopah approached the landing at Yuma, Kautz perhaps reflected on the fortunes of those West Point comrades.

Fort Yuma was in California, on the north side of the river. Across from the fort lay the Yuma Depot and the town of Yuma City, until recently called Arizona City. The

Although his Civil War career was not especially distinguished, he later won the brevet of brigadier general for gallantry in the Battle of Big Dry Wash, Arizona, in 1882. Powell, 202; Heitman, I, 409.

fort was garrisoned by one company each of the 8th and 12th Infantry. The depot was the entrepot for most supplies that entered the department by steamers from the Gulf of California. The Cocomah with the Kautzes landed about three o'clock on Friday, October 16. Kautz was met by officers of the fort, among them Captain Henry M. Lazelle, 8th Infantry, who took the General's family into his quarters. Kautz reported his arrival by telegraph to department headquarters at Prescott, then spent six days recuperating. He caught up with his mail and made the acquaintance of the military installations and of Yuma, Arizona. "I do not find Yuma as bad as it is painted by its disparagers," he noted, "nor as good as it is pictured by its admirers." He visited the Indian Village of Chief Pasqual and decided that the Yumas were "a filthy disgusting . . . tribe."  

With baggage collected and put aboard the steamer Gila, and with transportation assured on their arrival upriver, the Kautzes set out again with riverboat Captain Jack Mellon on October 22. Two days later they debarked at


8. Lazelle was born in Massachusetts in 1832 and graduated from West Point in 1855. He was later colonel of the 18th Infantry and commandant of cadets, U.S.M.A., 1879-82. Powell, 344.

Ehrenberg, "a dreary dull place with two or three hundred inhabitants" and "no attractions whatever." Notwithstanding the comparative ease of their journey thus far, Kautz was eager to conclude it. His party started overland on the 26th by way of Tyson's Well, McMullen's Well, Culling's Well, and Gilson's Ranch on Date Creek. They arrived in Prescott, the most important town and formerly the capital of the territory, on the last day of October. About two o'clock that afternoon, the Kautzes were welcomed by the commanding general of the department, George Crook, at nearby Fort Whipple where they were given temporary quarters in Crook's house.

August Kautz found his comrade of prewar days in the Pacific Northwest to be little changed since their last

10. Ibid. The army kept an officer at Ehrenberg to oversee trans-shipment of supplies sent into northern Arizona. See n. 74 below.

11. Diary, 1874. The old wagon road from Ehrenberg is approximated today by U.S. Hwy. 60-70 to Aguila, and from thence by State Hwy. 71 to Congress Junction.

12. Fort Whipple, headquarters of the Military Department of Arizona, had been founded originally in the Chino Valley in December, 1863, but the post had been moved 22 miles southward to the vicinity of a booming camp of miners on Granite Creek in May, 1864. At first the post on Granite Creek had consisted of a rectangular log stockade on gently sloping ground about 20 feet above the creek and a mile from the incipient city of Prescott. The roughhewn log houses served the Civil War Volunteers well enough, but the quarters did not befit an important headquarters. In 1872 the original buildings and stockade were demolished. More permanent structures were erected on higher ground, about 70 feet above the creek. Brandes, 75-80.
meeting in 1866. Crook had married in August of 1865, but until now Kautz had not met his wife, the former Mary T. Daily of Cumberland, Maryland, whom Kautz observed was "a plump pleasant lady and very hearty in her manners." To his surprise, Kautz found that Crook's aide-de-camp was a friend from New Mexico, Lieutenant John G. Bourke.

By the time Kautz arrived with the 8th Infantry, the post of Fort Whipple had taken permanent configuration with two barracks, kitchens, and mess halls. In the succeeding four years, no new construction was to be added, except new quarters for the commanding general, a new substantial


14. Barracks for the enlisted men at Whipple consisted of two, one-story frame building, the main parts of which were 140 by 30, and 110 by 24 feet in dimension. Each was divided into two squad rooms, and each had two wings for storerooms, tailor shops, and other facilities. Fifty feet in rear of the barracks were kitchens and mess halls. The squad rooms were comfortably finished in dressed pine lumber with large windows, open fireplaces, and shingle roofs. Another large frame building, divided into twelve apartments, was provided for married soldiers. *Surgeon General Report*, 1875.

15. In *Pacific Posts*, this building is indicated on the accompanying map and is marked "under construction." It is described (but without the indication in the text that it was uncompleted) as a "two-story pisé building (74 X 51' 6") with a one-story wing (32' X 17'), quarters for Department Commander." Kautz, who was much interested in the progress of his new home, mentions it several times in the *Diary*, 1877 and 1878, but one would gather that it was to be a frame building, rather than puddled adobe or "pisé." He left Whipple before the new quarters were completed. In the Appendix to *Pacific Posts*, under date of September 1, 1879, the building is again listed, this time as "one-story" but still "pisé." See Ch. IX, n. 120, below.
adobe hospital, and a stone-walled guardhouse. The hospital replaced a flimsy frame building that burned to the ground a month after Kautz arrived. Although the present-for-duty strength of the post proper never exceeded 137, there still was some crowding. In 1871 there had been an administrative division of the military reservation, when the headquarters began referring to the quartermaster and commissary warehouses and stables across the road to the northwest side as "Whipple Depot." Several officers and numerous general service enlisted men were assigned there who had quarters on the post. Depot clerks, laundresses, and other civilian employees occupied several shoddy temporary structures.

16. A much better hospital, built of adobe brick, was nearly completed when the Whipple portion of the Surgeon General Report, 1875, was submitted on December 31, 1874. Ibid., 555-56.

17. Whipple Depot comprised, in addition to the quarters mentioned in n. 19 below, extensive corrals, storehouses, an engine-house, and various mechanics' shops. These grew up on the site of the original corral erected when Fort Whipple was first built. The Depot was established by S.O. 25, Dept. of Arizona, Oct. 13, 1870; but it was subsequently broken up and reestablished (in the same place) by G.O. 19, Dept. of Arizona, Oct. 10, 1871. Pacific Posts, 28, 98-100.

18. The post water supply was unusually pure, derived from deep wells and raised by a steampump, from whence it was distributed in pipes to all the permanent buildings. There also was a flourishing garden that supplied a rich variety of fresh vegetables, and the wooded hills were close enough that sportsmen such as Gen. Crook could easily bag the deer, ducks, quail, and turkeys. Surgeon General Report, 1875.
For the officers of the garrison, as distinguished from the department headquarters, there were eight sets of quarters. They were one-and-one-half story, frame buildings, each with two rooms and an attic, except the commanding officer's house that Kautz would use which had four rooms. All quarters had adjoining kitchens and bathrooms. The Surgeon General's report on army posts in 1875 declared them excellent quarters in all respects. Mrs. Biddle, wife of an officer who lived at Whipple, thought them poor and unattractive. Crook and the department staff lived in eleven other buildings, five of which were on "the hill," a granite outcrop that formed a ridge west of the post. They had a fine view of the distant mountains and especially of Prescott's most prominent landmark, Thumb Butte. "The staff officers' quarters were better," wrote Ellen Biddle, "than those of the garrison," but,

They were all built alike,--low, broad houses with hall in the center, and two rooms about sixteen feet square on each side; pantry and kitchen in back, also an attic above. I often looked through the cracks in my house, . . . They were built of wood and ceiled (as there was no plaster to be had), and in that dry climate, the wood shrunk, . . . We bought thin muslin, . . . and had it tacked over the walls of the living-room, and bedroom and papered them . . . a soft gray ground with

---

19. These quarters, as well as the buildings which housed the department headquarters, the quarters for General Service clerks, and the chapel, were under the supervision of Whipple Depot. Presumably for this reason, all of these structures were omitted from the Surgeon General Report, 1875.
the passion vine and red flower in full bloom.
We had sent to San Francisco for it. . . .

Into such quarters the Kautzes would move in March of 1875.

The pleasant surroundings of Fort Whipple, and the salubrious climate of northern Arizona, were possibly matched by Fort Stanton, New Mexico; but August Kautz had not had such a pleasant station since the war, and he was at once mindful of his good fortune. Prescott was a new town and the most Anglo-American community in the young territory. Its population was nearly 1,500.

---


21. As Whipple was nominally a two-company post, no provision had been made for the additional officers of a regimental headquarters. "There are quarters only for the officers of two companies and Post Surgeon and for a Field Officer as Commanding Officer," Kautz noted in May of 1875 when he denied the chaplain’s request for family housing. "Fort Whipple being also Headqrs. of the 8th Infantry, there would be none for the Regimental Staff if all the Company Officers were present for duty." Kautz 2nd end. May 26, on Chaplain Gilmore to T.A.G., May 24, 1875, in File 3080, Correspondence of the Adjutant-General’s Office (RG 94, National Archives). Cited hereafter as A.G.O., followed by the year; files were serially numbered starting over again each calendar year.

22. As 1874 ended, he anticipated at least a year in Arizona, "and perhaps one or two more. It is not such a hardship as it has been [at Port Garland, or in Arizona in previous years?], and but for the remoteness of our station from our friends I should like the country very much."

Diary, 1874.

23. In July of 1870, when the decennial census was taken, Prescott had 676 inhabitants; by 1880, it had 1,836. Ninth and Tenth U.S. Decennial Censuses, Population Schedules (National Archives Record Group 29, microfilm publication). The town's history has been sketched by Kitty Jo Parker Nelson, Prescott's First Century, 1864-1964, with a reminiscence of famed "Whiskey Row" by Gail I. Gardner (Tucson, 1963).
Creek, west of the town, flowed out of the juniper and piñon pine-covered Sierra Prieta that lay to the south. The adjacent mountains were well timbered, but away to the northwest the land was open and rolling, and covered with bunchgrass and dotted with spreading juniper. The town had been the territorial capital until 1867, and in 1877 the government would return for another interval. Although small, it had many flourishing businesses that served a large mining and stockraising district. The valleys for miles around had rich, cultivated bottom-lands that yielded "all the produce of temperate climates." Gold had first brought Americans to the region, and the mountains about Prescott contained rich deposits of valuable minerals, most importantly gold and gold sulphurets, with some silver. Although his Colorado mining enthusiasm had fizzled, Kautz brought with him an even more complete outfit for assaying ores, and he was not long in determining "to become possessed of mining property" again.


25. Ibid. For a detailed appraisal of mining districts near Prescott, see Patrick Hamilton (comp.), The Resources of Arizona (2nd ed.; Prescott, 1881), 48-58.

26. Diary, 1874.
On November 2, Kautz took command of Fort Whipple.\textsuperscript{27} Even before the Kautzes could unpack their household goods, they entered into the social whirl of the post with all of Fannie's accustomed energy. There was a dance the first night of Colonel Kautz' command, which kept up until midnight to the accompaniment of the 8th's fine band. Next day he was elected president of what was in that day a novel institution—the Fort Whipple Officers' Club. Fortunate it was indeed to be stationed where the gentlemen clubbed together instead of habituating the post trader's store and billiard room.\textsuperscript{28}

In the following weeks the Kautzes were ensconced in comfortable quarters of their own, displacing the family of Colonel Wilkins. Soon all of their baggage had arrived.

\textsuperscript{27} There were some troops connected with the departmental headquarters, under Gen. Crook's direct command, but the post itself was then, as before, under the orders of the senior officer present with the headquarters of the regiment based there, which by this time was the 8th Infantry. Thus Richard I. Dodge, Lieutenant Colonel of the 23rd Infantry, commanded briefly in 1874; and that regiment, while Crook had been Lieutenant Colonel, was usually represented at Whipple by First Lieutenant Greenleaf A. Goodale, from April of 1873 until May of 1874. For one year, April of 1872 to April next, the post was commanded by a captain of the 1st Cavalry, Thomas McGregor. From 1869 to 1872 the post had been commanded by officers of the 12th and 21st Infantry. George Crook never commanded Fort Whipple. Post Returns, Fort Whipple, 1864-86, in Records of U.S. Army Commands (RG 94, National Archives).

\textsuperscript{28} Diary, 1874.
and Kautz resumed his favorite hobby—carpentry in his woodshop. Fannie practiced on her piano and sometimes rode into the hills to sketch and paint. Life developed into an enervating, if secure, routine. The cumbrous paper work associated with running a regiment usually consumed the morning hours each day in Kautz' office. After a leisurely lunch the remainder of the day might be spent in calls, sometimes in company with Crook, but Crook more often was off in the mountains hunting or fishing. In the evenings, and frequently for entire afternoons, the colonel of the 8th Infantry could be found in his study reading or writing, going about on his favorite horse or in his carriage, or busily framing pictures and manufacturing furniture.29

From November of 1874 until the next March, Kautz not merely renewed a friendship with Crook; as well as circumstances permitted, he absorbed the policies, prejudices, and knowledge of this great frontier soldier. George Crook had, in the preceding two years, nearly put an end to Arizona's Indian problem. In June of 1871 he had replaced Colonel George Stoneman, a cavalry hero of the Civil War, as the commander of the recently created Arizona

29. Ibid. Kautz' journals for 1875 and 1876, unfortunately, are missing. In ibid., however, there are entries for the first 16 days of January, 1875.
department. Crook had been sent to Arizona over his own protests at the request of Territorial Governor Anson P. K. Safford who had condemned the policies of Stoneman and who had heard of Crook's reputation as commander of the Department of the Columbia. As soon as he arrived in the Territory, Crook had visited Safford in Tucson, the capital, and had begun to plan full-scale military operations against the numerous bands of hostile Indians.

There were in 1871 four distinct tribal divisions of Indians at war with the white settlers. We know them today as the Yavapais, Mojaves, Western Apaches, and Chiricahua Apaches, but contemporary white men referred to them as Yavapai-Apaches, Mojave-Apaches, or simply Apaches, sometimes differentiating the subdivisions of the numerous Western Apaches as "Tontos," "Coyoteros," "Pinaleños," and "Aravaipas." The Chiricahua Apaches, the

30. Anson Peacely-Killen Safford (1830-1891) was appointed governor of Arizona Territory by President Grant in 1869. Safford served until April of 1877, and he was the ablest man ever to hold the office. Strangely, he has never been the subject of an adequate study, though his frontier experiences spanned the Rocky Mountain West. The author was privileged to discuss his career as it related to Kautz with Mrs. Constance Wynn Altshuler who is preparing a biography of Safford. See Eugene E. Williams, "The Territorial Governors of Arizona: Anson Peacely-Killen Safford," Arizona Historical Review, Vol. 7 (January 1936), 69-84.


32. The now generally accepted term "Western" Apache was coined by the foremost ethnologist of the Apache people, Grenville Goodwin. It encompasses all true Apaches of Arizona (excluding the related Chiricahua) whose range
central band of those Apaches who lived mainly in southwestern New Mexico and in Old Mexico, were usually distinguished from the Western Apaches, but they frequently were confused with their kin, the Southern band and the numerous groups of the eastern band. The Yavapais and Mojaves are Yuman-speaking people, but they had assimilated the nomadic raiding life of the true Apaches and were tarred with the same brush. To Crook it appeared that all Arizona south of the Little Colorado River and east of the 113th meridian was roamed over by hostile Indians usually called Apaches.


33. See Ch. V, n. 52.

34. Crook Autobiography, 163-67. This and the next four paragraphs are based on ibid., 163-82, and four other works: Jacob P. Dunn, Massacres of the Mountains (New York, 1886), 627-32; Bancroft, 560-65; Bourke, 136-214; and Frank C. Lockwood, The Apache Indians (New York, 1938), 183-202.
of the Coyotero Apaches, he had interviewed some native leaders and induced a few to enlist as scouts in the regular army which he placed under the command of Captain Guy V. Henry. Crook had concluded that the key to victory in Arizona was to divide the Apaches against themselves and he left for Camp Verde with the intention of forming several more companies should Captain Henry's experiment prove successful.

When Crook reached Verde in August of 1871, he had learned of the arrival in Arizona of the peripatetic Vincent Colyer, special commissioner of the Board of Indian Commissioners, who was out to institute in Arizona the "peace policy" of the Grant Administration. Kautz had met this apostle to the Red Man at Santa Fe in the previous month. Crook had been obliged, as had General Pope in the Department of the Missouri, to suspend his contemplated operations against the hostile Indians while Colyer parleyed with them. Subsequent depredations showed that Colyer's influence among the Indians was slight, but as he toured the territory he had approved or selected several areas for reservations. This later afforded Crook a legal basis for segregating the Indians he was to subdue. Colyer departed for California in

35. *Diary, 1871.*
October, "followed by the curses of Arizonans, but fully convinced that the Apache question was settled." 36

In November of 1871, the commander of the Division of the Pacific, General Schofield, had authorized Crook to wage a general war against all Indians who might, by the next February, fail to submit to white government and who were found in arms outside the appointed reservations. Captain Henry had reported enthusiastically on the conduct of his Apache Indian scouts, but just as Crook was set to begin his campaign in April, 1872, he was once more forced to suspend. Another peace commissioner had appeared, Brigadier General Oliver Otis Howard of the Freedman's Bureau. 37


37. Howard's fame in the history of Arizona stems from his activity in only a few brief months and no historian has yet concluded that his fame is justified. Howard was born in Maine in 1830 and graduated from the Military Academy in 1854. He commanded a brigade at the First Bull Run, was promoted major general of Volunteers in November of 1862, and commanded the XI Corps at Gettysburg. For his conduct in the last battle, he was voted the thanks of Congress. In Gen. Sherman's "March to the Sea," Howard commanded the Army of the Tennessee. He was promoted to general grade in the regular army on December 21, 1864. The next May, he was appointed Commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, a post he held until June of 1872. An advocate of Negro betterment, he was a founder of Howard University, Washington, D. C., and served as its president from 1869 to 1873. After he left Arizona, he was commander of the Department of the Columbia (1874-80), superintendent of the U.S.M.A. (1881-82), commander of the Department of the Platte (1882-86), and in his last years before retirement in 1894 he commanded both the Military Divisions of the Pacific and the Atlantic. He died in 1909. There is a biography of him, by John A. Carpenter, *Sword and Olive Branch* (Univ. of Pittsburg, 1964), which, unfortunately, tells little of his western career.
Howard, a fervent abolitionist who had lost an arm at the 
Battle of Fair Oaks and who was called "The Christian 
Soldier," was empowered by President Grant to settle the 
aftermath of the Camp Grant massacre, and to make peace 
with the hostile Chiricahuas. As though his Presidential 
authority were not enough, Howard had made veiled threats 
against Crook to use his regular army rank for relieving 
the department commander if the troops had begun hostilities. 

Despite continued Apache depredations, Crook had 
marked time until, at the end of August, the War Department 
had permitted him to begin operations. Howard, meantime, 
tried to establish the one Indian reservation which Colyer 
had been unable to designate, a home for the Chiricahua

38. This shameful attack had occurred in April, 
1871, at the instigation of Tucsonans who could not be 
persuaded that the army would curb Aravaipa Apache depreda-
tions. They had claimed that the worst culprits resided 
under army protection near Camp Grant and proceeded to 
murder 85 Indians, as well as carrying off 30 into slavery. 
The captives Howard was now asked to return. As Dunn 
correctly observed, "The offence of the people of Arizona 
was in defending it [the Camp Grant Massacre], and the 
method of defence was worse than the abstract wrong of 
defending a wicked and shameful action." The newspapers 
falsely accused the officer in command at Camp Grant, Lt. 
Royal E. Whitman, of "being a debauchee and a consorter 
with Indian women." When one hundred persons accused of 
participating in the affair were arraigned before a federal 
court at Tucson, the jury took twenty minutes to return a 
unanimous verdict of "Not Guilty" despite the overwhelming 
evidence to the contrary. Dunn, Massacres of the Mountains, 
624. The best synthesis of the event is by James R. 
Hastings, "The Tragedy at Camp Grant in 1871," Arizona and 
the West, Vol. 1 (Summer 1959), 146-60.
Finally in October of 1872, with the help of Thomas J. Jeffords, the one-armed soldier had obtained an audience with the great chieftan Cochise in his camp in the Dragoon Mountains. An agreement was concluded between Howard and Cochise whereby the chief would keep the peace in return for the whole southeastern corner of Arizona as a reservation. The arrangement had suited Crook not at all, for he immediately recognized the danger of such a reserve to the Mexicans as well as its temptation to land-hungry Americans. Less than four years later it was to result in serious trouble for Kautz.

From September, 1872, to April of the next year, Crook had waged a sharp, decisive campaign against all the other hostile Indians in Arizona. It was everywhere a

39. It is a commonplace of Arizona history that Cochise and Howard made a treaty in 1872. In fact the U.S. Congress had inserted a clause in the Appropriations Act of March 3, 1871, which said: "Provided, That hereafter no Indian nation or tribe within the territory of the United States shall be acknowledged or recognized as an independent nation, tribe, or power with whom the United States may contract by treaty." U.S. Statutes, Vol. 16, 566. Howard was merely empowered to consult with the Indians and to designate a reserve for them which the Board of Indian Commissioners would endorse to the President for approval. The Chiricahua Indian Reservation was declared by Executive Order on December 14, 1872.

40. Several writers have treated the campaign in detail; see n. 34 above. A good summary and an incisive military appraisal is by Gunther E. Rothenberg, "General George H. Crook and the Apaches, 1872-73," The Westerners Brand Book periodical of the Chicago Corral, Vol. 13, no. 7 (Sept. 1956), 49-51 et seq.
success, except against the Chiricahuas who were insulated from harm by Howard's promise, and three factors seem to have contributed most to the long-sought victory. First was the use of Indian scouts, particularly Apaches. Although some companies then as later were enlisted among the Pimas, Paiutes, Hualpais, Maricopas, and Yumas, the Apaches themselves provided Crook with his most reliable native auxiliaries. Second was Crook's attention to pack transportation. He virtually eliminated the use of wagons from offensive operations and found in the lowly mule a means of granting his flying columns as much independence as the hostiles possessed. Finally was the unsuspected quality of American soldiers as guerrilla fighters, for this was essentially a guerrilla war, and many critics claimed Anglo-American troops could not keep up with the Apaches or fight them on their home ground. Yet Crook proved that white regular army soldiers, given proper leadership and direction, could enter the Arizona mountains and defeat the Apaches on their own terms.

41. Crook was the father of the modern pack service in the army. As late as 1945, American soldiers in Burma and Italy relied on mules for supply, if not transportation. See Bourke, 150-56. Still the most complete technical discussion, together with a brief history of the subject, is by Henry W. Daly, Manual of Pack Transportation, War Dept. Doc. 565, Office of the Quartermaster General (Washington, 1917). Daly trained under Crook and became "Chief Packer" of the army; his manual was first circulated in Ms. form in 1907.
The last of the major hostile bands had surrendered on April 7, 1873, and went onto the reservations set aside for the Apaches. These too were supervised by General Crook. In November, 1872, he had sent an officer to take over the Camp Apache agency, a move disliked by the Indian Bureau of the Interior Department. Thereafter, Crook had stationed a reliable officer at every Indian agency to control affairs by regularly counting the Indians and by making them wear identification tags; and, when necessary, by supervising the issue of rations. His policy from the start was contrary to the strict letter of the law, but at first the Interior Department could scarcely object, so difficult was it to obtain competent civilian agents. Later, during Kautz' administration, the Indian Bureau was to make reservation control an issue. Many renegades meanwhile remained in hiding or broke away after April of 1873. These Crook continued to scout for, and several skirmishes were recorded in succeeding months. Especially a problem were a few Tontos and Coyoteros loose in the country north of the

42. Crook Autobiography, 179.

43. Ralph Hedrick Ogle, Federal Control of the Western Apaches, 1848-1886 (University of New Mexico Press, 1940), 111-12. Cited hereafter as Ogle.
Always a threat were the still haughty Chiricahuas who were raiding into Mexico and who might at any time come into conflict with Americans east and west of Camp Bowie. In June of 1874 their leader Cochise died and the only measure of restraint was removed. Crook, despite the strenuous campaign, seemed to Kautz very little changed and "he looks younger than most of his classmates." By year's end, Kautz knew that he himself probably would succeed Crook, and "I do not," he concluded, "anticipate a pleasant command."45

Although the territorial legislature voted its thanks in 1874, Crook never received the credit he deserved for making possible the modern state of Arizona.46

---

44. This phase of Arizona's Indian wars is admirably treated by Dan L. Thrapp, Al Sieber, Chief of Scouts (Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1964), 117-69.

45. Diary, 1874.

46. Lt. Col. Crook, with date of rank from July 28, 1866, was promoted to the grade of brigadier general on October 29, 1873, vice Philip St. George Cooke, retiring. The promotion was in recognition of Crook's work in Arizona. There were forty full colonels of line regiments who outranked him at the time, and there were many other lieutenant colonels with the same date of rank and a better claim to Civil War recognition. Crook's modest reward by the federal government was in marked contrast to his subsequent treatment by Arizonans. Early pioneers of the Territory ever revered him, but his fame passed with time. Today, no town in Arizona, nor any avenue in a major city commemorates him. Ironically, Arizona's two places in the national statuary hall at Washington are filled by likenesses of a missionary priest who never lived in Arizona and a mining promoter who developed the copper ore at the town of Ajo.
greatest work was to be the final subjugation of the Chiricahuas in 1886, but from the end of his great effort in 1872-73 until the recommencement of Indian hostilities in 1882, Arizona enjoyed nearly a decade of real peace and orderly development, the first such period since the coming of Anglo-Americans.

August Kautz had grown accustomed in New Mexico to a pattern of small stock ranches and irrigated farms, and now in Arizona he noted with interest various attempts at more ambitious enterprises. Arizona farmers could scarcely cultivate three per cent of the land, but already they profitably raised all the cereal grains, a good variety of vegetables, many fruits, cotton, sugar-cane, and olives. The adaptability of the lower Colorado Valley was already known though as yet barely utilized. The largest area of readily arable land was in the valleys of the Gila and Salt rivers, near the town of Florence and the future capital of Phoenix. The valleys of the Santa Cruz, from Tucson southward, and of Sonoita Creek, had yielded crops to earlier Mexican settlers as well as the newcomers. And before Kautz was to leave Arizona, energetic Mormons would settle the Little Colorado region and the country about modern Springerville, irrigating thousands of acres.47

Stockraising also began to prosper during Crook's peace. Over half of Arizona's area, perhaps forty million acres, was adaptable to grazing. After 1874, the knowledge of Arizona's unequalled year-round grazing grounds spread far and wide, and hundreds of stockmen with thousands of head of sheep and cattle immigrated. Eventually, drought and over-grazing would curtail them, but for the time-being, Apaches could not.  

The Arizona that Kautz knew, however, was primarily a mining country. Several popular books published in the 1870's declared the vast mineral potential of Arizona and made its name synonomous with silver. The post of Fort Whipple owed its founding to a gold rush of 1863, and ten years later the hills about Prescott were supposed to abound in precious metals. With the advent of comparative peace, there was a great flurry of claim-staking and development, with not a few new lodes brought to light, especially in Gila and Pinal counties. The total gold and silver output

---


49. For example, Raphael Pumpelly, Across America and Asia: Notes of a . . . Journey around the World and of Residence in Arizona . . . (New York, 1870), went into at least nine editions. See also Alexander D. Anderson, The Silver Country (New York, 1877), and Hiram C. Hodge, Arizona As It Is (New York, 1877).
of Arizona mines was perhaps a half million dollars in 1873-74, but it rose to three-quarters of a million in 1875, and it averaged two million dollars each year afterward to 1880.50

The mining area that most interested Kautz extended across southern Yavapai County and northern Maricopa County, in a region south of Prescott on the drainage of Agua Fria and Hassayampa creeks. The mines there had been the chief gold producers of the territory, and 7,300 claims were registered down to 1876.51 The gold placers had declined in importance, however, and the interest of the late 1870's was in silver. While copper was not unknown, economical development of this future mainstay awaited a railroad.

Kautz soon learned that virtually every man was a prospector. Shopkeepers grub-staked miners, stockmen carried picks and pans in their bedrolls, mountain men studied geology as before they had studied the beaver, and every military expedition was potentially a search for new lodes. It is surprising that Kautz waited so long to enter the field, but it was not until July of 1875, after he had succeeded Crook as department commander, that he made an agreement with Charles E. Hitchcock and William Gavin to lend them financial aid in their prospecting.

50. Bancroft, 583.
51. Ibid., 586.
Hitchcock at this time lived near Prescott in the Big Bug Mining District. He had been at one time the Hawaiian consul to the United States at San Francisco, a merchant on the Colorado River at La Paz in 1863, and, together with Herman Ehrenberg, he had located the Harcuvar copper claim in 1864. Billy Gavin, by contrast, was a typical burro- and-gold-pan prospector. He was listed in the 1870 census as a "hunter." He had been prospecting in the Big Bug District since 1864. In May of 1875, Gavin located the silver claim he dubbed the "Gopher," and on July 7 he and Hitchcock enlisted Kautz' assistance with the option to buy a half-interest within one year if they proved up a mine. Meanwhile, Kautz, together with Brevet Major Thomas Wilhelm, the regimental adjutant of the 8th Infantry, prospected for other veins. They were joined by Kautz' engineer officer, Lieutenant Earl D. Thomas, and Major James Biddle, the department inspector general. The samples they picked up, Kautz analyzed by blowpipe and chemicals in his own laboratory at Fort Whipple.

52. Hitchcock File, Hayden Collection.
55. It is a fair assumption their activity began in 1876, though Kautz' journal for the year is not available. As early as January 14, 1877, Kautz writes of making assays and was "disappointed to find the ore which Mr. Thomas brought in earlier in the week . . . to be very low grade." Diary, 1877.
In March of 1875, Colonel Kautz was appointed commanding general of the department. On March 13, General Crook received a telegram⁵⁶ that advised him of the publication of General Order No. 18, and which directed him to turn over command of the department to Kautz, "who is assigned to his brevet of Major General." Crook was to move to the command of the Department of the Platte, vice Brigadier General E. O. C. Ord, with headquarters at Omaha.⁵⁷ Shortly after receipt of this instruction, a gala was held at Prescott to honor Crook and to greet the new commander.⁵⁸ On March 22, Kautz reassumed the grade of major general for the first time since August of 1866.

Three weeks later, on Sunday, April 11, the new commanding general was presented with a new daughter. Fannie was well attended by the able post surgeon, Captain Henry Lippincott, and she quickly recovered. The child was named Frankie.

⁵⁶ 1246 A.G.O. 1875.

⁵⁷ Ord went to command the Department of Texas; General C. C. Augur was relieved of command in Texas and went to the Department of the Gulf; and Colonel W. H. Emory relinquished command of the Gulf in consequence of his policies in Louisiana. G.O. 18, War Department, A.G.O., March 11, 1875; and Hamersly, 363.

⁵⁸ Bourke, 239.
"I assumed command with some apprehension," Kautz later wrote in his annual report, "for the success that had attended my predecessor was such that I could not hope to improve upon it, and to fall short of it was to fall, and there was little encouragement in a widespread and unfeigned regret at his departure." Kautz' order to the department announcing his assumption of command announced a new staff as well. Pending the assignment of a member of the Adjutant-General's Department, the adjutant of the 8th Infantry, Major Wilhelm, was placed on duty as departmental assistant adjutant general. Major (Brevet Colonel) Andrew

59. Secretary of War Report, 1875, 131.
60. G.O. 8, Dept. of Arizona, March 22, 1875.
61. Thomas Wilhelm was born in Pennsylvania in 1839. The first three months of the Civil War, he was a captain in the 6th Pa. Rifles. In December, 1861, he was a captain again, this time in the 2nd Pa. Artillery. He was promoted to major, November, 1862. From April to August, 1864, he was colonel of the 2nd Pa. Prov. Artillery and in that interval commanded a brigade of the 1st Division, IX Corps, in the Army of the Potomac. After the war he received regular brevets of captain and major for gallantry in the Wilderness Campaign and at Cold Harbor, having been wounded in the latter action. He returned to the 2nd Pa. Artillery in August, 1864, as a major and was mustered out at the war's end, but he at once accepted a captaincy in the Veteran Vol. Infantry. In the reorganization of 1866, he was commissioned a Second Lieutenant in the 8th U.S. Infantry and was promoted to First Lieutenant in August. From March, 1868, to June, 1879, he was regimental adjutant. From the time that Wilhelm met Kautz at Fort Whipple, until Kautz' promotion to general in 1891, Major and Mrs. Wilhelm were close friends of the Kautzes. The major remained with the 8th Infantry, in all, 32 years. In June of 1879, he was promoted captain. Not until April, 1898, was he promoted to
W. Evans and Major (Brevet Colonel) John G. Chandler, classmates of Kautz at the Military Academy, were reassigned as assistant inspector general and chief quartermaster, respectively. These two friends Kautz characterized good-naturedly as "two crusty old bachelors." Major (Brevet Colonel) Michael P. Small was continued as chief commissary, and Major James H. Nelson was designated as chief paymaster of the department. The headquarters post of Whipple, Kautz turned over to Captain (Brevet Major) James J. Van Horn, leaving Colonel Wilkins on special duty at department headquarters. Lieutenant Thomas was designated as Kautz' aide-de-camp as well as engineer officer.

Besides a shift in Western departmental commands, which had brought Kautz back his two stars, the army commenced one of its periodic transfers of regiments. The 5th Cavalry, which had borne the brunt of Crook's campaign, was to be sent to stations in Kansas, and Kautz' old wartime regiment, the 6th Cavalry, was to come from the Department of the Missouri where it had rendered conspicuous service against the Cheyennes, Kiowas, and Comanches. On April 17, General Kautz directed that six companies of the 5th should

the regular grade of major, at which time he was transferred to the 21st Infantry. Eleven months later he retired. Heitman, I, 1036; Powell, 643-44.

62. Diary, 1874.
depart Camps Lowell and Verde on May 1. The regiment's headquarters, staff, and band, under Lieutenant Colonel (Brevet Major General) Eugene A. Carr, were to accompany the move from Camp Bowie. The troops were to march to Santa Fe, where they would meet a like element of the 6th Cavalry from Kansas. Before leaving Arizona stations, the 5th's troopers were directed to turn in all government property, except horses, arms, and individual clothing and equipment, which would in turn be reissued to the 6th's soldiers upon arrival.

General Pope, still commanding the Missouri Department, ordered six companies and the headquarters of the 6th to march in time to reach Santa Fe by June 10. At Santa Fe, the regiments were to exchange horses and transportation, the latter in each case provided by the parent departments.

The movement of the 6th came off without a hitch, and in October the second battalion entered the department. Major (Brevet Lieutenant Colonel) Charles Elmer Compton,

63. S.O. 27, Dept. of Ariz., April 17, 1875.
64. G.O. 10, Dept. of the Mo., April 26, 1875.
65. Compton enlisted in the 1st Iowa Infantry and was an officer in various Iowa and U.S. colored regiments, although he was born in New Jersey in 1836. At the war's end he was lieutenant colonel of the 53rd Colored Infantry and in 1866 he accepted a majority in the new 40th Infantry. In the reorganization of 1869, he became an excess officer and was assigned to duty with the Freedman's Bureau. In 1871 he joined the 6th Cavalry as a major. The year before the regiment's transfer to Arizona, they were engaged in several fights with hostile Indians in Kansas and Indian
acting regimental commander, took command of Camp Lowell near Tucson where he established the headquarters along with one company. Two other companies went to Camp Apache, and one to Camp San Carlos. Another went to Camp Bowie to relieve the 5th Cavalrymen still there; and after one company had done the same at Camp Grant, two more were sent to Grant. A company each was assigned to Whipple and to Camp McDowell. These companies had, on the average, marched 1,064 miles to reach their new posts in Arizona, some coming from the Indian Territory as well as Kansas. It was unfortunate for General Kautz that the 5th Cavalry was not kept in Arizona, for its officers were experienced in handling the little commands of troopers, guides, packers, and Indian scouts that were the heart of General Crook's technique against renegade Apaches. The 5th, however, deserved the change, and it could reasonably be expected that the 6th would in time learn the lessons anew.

Terr., and in June Compton conducted an attack on a large Indian force with such gallantry he was nominated for the brevet of full colonel. He commanded a cavalry battalion in Col. Nelson A. Miles' campaign from July, 1874, to February, 1875. After he left Arizona in 1879, he was lieutenant colonel of the 5th Cavalry and was acting commander from 1882 to 1887. He returned to Arizona and commanded Fort Huachuca in 1888. In the war with Spain, he was a brigadier general and retired in 1899. Powell, 138-39; Carter, Yorktown to Santiago, 177-78. Army of the U.S., 244.
Where Crook had been his own field commander and had dealt directly with the officers who led the independent flying columns, Kautz intended to leave the day-to-day business of policing the Indians to the post and company commanders. No test of his policy arose in 1875, for Indian depredations were nil. Before Crook had left the department, however, he had ordered out one last scout by the 5th Cavalry from Camp Apache. Led by an officer of the 8th Infantry, Captain (Brevet Major) Frederick Darley Ogilby, the patrol started out on January 2. They scouted the Tonto Basin and the country north of the Mogollon Rim, rounded up ninety Tonto Apache renegades, and, in a sharp skirmish near Sunset Pass, they killed fifteen hostiles. They returned to their home station on February 23. In June and July, Captain (Brevet Major) George M. Brayton, 8th Infantry, led a detachment of Companies A and B with a company of Indian scouts into the Tonto Basin. On the 1st of July they surprised an Indian rancheria on the east fork of the Verde River whose residents were dining on mule meat.

67. Ogilby was commissioned in the 15th U.S. Infantry in May, 1861, and rose to captain. In 1866 he transferred to the 33rd Infantry and in 1869 to the 8th. He died of pneumonia at Camp Apache on May 30, 1877. The meagre evidence of his service in Arizona indicates he was aggressive, alert, and very able. His father was Dr. F. D. Ogilby, and Episcopalian priest at Trinity Cathedral, N.Y.C. Heitman, I, 757.

The flesh of mules was an Apache delicacy and, as usual, the animal had been stolen. Brayton's infantrymen and the scouts slew twenty-five hostiles and captured nine. Three days later, they struck another Indian camp at the head of Red Rock Canyon, killing five more and taking six captive. When the command returned to Camp Verde, the major and his guide who had led the scouts rode into Prescott where they related their adventure to the editor of the *Arizona Miner*.69

The colorful white scout was a man whom General Kautz was to know much better in coming years, Albert Sieber. Apparently there were no other punitive expeditions until December, 1875.70

Thirty years later, the wife of General Kautz' second inspector general, Mrs. James Biddle, recalled fondly that Fort Whipple was "a very gay post, with an entertainment of some kind almost every day and evening." She remembered that, "years after, we used to allude to the time

---

69. The only account of this expedition is in *Thrapp, Al Sieber*, 180, who got his information from the *Miner*, July 9, 16, 1875. The action is recorded, however, in *Indian War Engagements*, 74; and by Kautz in *Secretary of War Report, 1875*, 136.

70. In September, a prospector near Camp McDowell complained of the theft of five horses by Indians believed to have come from the San Carlos reserve. In November, citizens of a farming community on the Gila River called Pueblo Viejo, when petitioning to have a military post located nearby, claimed they needed protection from thieving San Carlos Indians. E. A. Clark to A. V. Kautz, Sept. 18, 1875, 5661 A.G.O. 1875. Citizens of Pueblo Viejo to Commanding General, Nov. 16, 1875, 6591 A.G.O. 1875.
when General Kautz was in command, as 'the days of the Empire'. That was an ironical statement, for it is certain from other memoirs that service in Arizona was, if not exactly a sentence to purgatory, close enough to sorely try the most seasoned soldiers.

Prescott was judged the most "Eastern" town in the territory, and it afforded the most civilized society; Fort Whipple, perforce, was the most desirable station of the department. None of the other Arizona posts at this time could offer a civilized garrison life, with the possible exceptions of San Diego Barracks which was in the state of California but was included in the Department of Arizona. The officers and their families at all other posts improvised the best they could and enjoyed occasional excursions to Prescott as holidays. To their credit, officers

71. Biddle, 166-67.

72. Mrs. Biddle described Prescott as "a small but well-built town. . . . it was fairly orderly, considering it was a mining town. . . . There was an excellent society—lawyers, mining engineers, and their families, and other business men." Ibid., 162.

73. Major Biddle came with his regiment in 1875, but his family did not arrive from San Francisco until next April. Her welcome is worth noting: "I had hardly gotten the dust from my face and hands when General and Mrs. Kautz were announced, and soon after all of the staff officers and their wives and many others from the garrison. Champagne was opened and our health . . . drunk. The whole afternoon was spent in going over old Indian fights and campaigns." Ibid., 163.
of the units stationed elsewhere expressed little jealousy of the troops at department headquarters. Lieutenant John W. Summerhayes went so far as to request duty at dreary Ehrenberg because, he told his wife, he enjoyed the independence of a separate command and thought he could make a good mark in an important job as an assistant quartermaster. At Whipple, nearly every week saw an outstanding social event for the officers and their ladies. "There was a serenade for Mrs. Crook at our quarters," ran a typical entry in Kautz's diary, "and . . . we entertained them with Champaigne & lunch." Another evening, "Mrs. Van Horn gave a little card party with chicken salad & coffee"; and again, "We assisted in the evening in warming Captain Nickerson's house. We danced until about one o'clock." General Crook

74. Ehrenberg, named for a prominent early-day mining engineer who was associated with Charles E. Hitchcock, grew up in 1863 when rich gold placers were discovered nearby. The "dry washing" process required to salvage the gold, however, was "too tedious for the permanent occupation of any but Mexicans and Indians." The town flourished from 1867 to '69 as a trade center. Bancroft, 579-80, 616. The officer in charge of receiving and shipping military supplies until May, 1875, was Lt. Phineas P. Barnard, 5th Cavalry. Hamersly, 148. Martha Summerhayes met him in August, 1874: "Captain Bernard [sic] came on board to see us. I did not ask him how he liked his station; it seemed . . . like asking the Prisoner of Chillon . . . how he liked his dungeon." She regarded Ehrenberg as the worst of "all the dreary, miserable-looking settlements that one could possibly imagine." It was an "unfriendly, dirty, and Heaven-forsaken place, inhabited by a poor class of Mexicans and half-breeds." Summerhayes, 32-33. She gives a good view of life there in ibid., 101-39; and the editor adds some details, 244-45.
was given a surprise party in December of 1874 with a supper-dance. On General Kautz' birthday in 1875, another surprise party brought all the officers at Whipple "pouring in on us with eatables and drinkables & a band of music." Kautz, no mean judge of bandsmen, pronounced the 8th Infantry Band as the finest he had ever heard.75

Kautz was always fond of "hops" as he termed dances in West Point jargon, and by 1877 at Fort Whipple a hop was being held every Wednesday at the post headquarters building.76 These entertainments apparently were open to enlisted men as well as officers, and citizens from Prescott were frequently invited. Kautz himself seldom danced but attended as a spectator and partook of the lunch and potables. Mrs. Biddle recalled attending a hop when "we heard the 'Assembly Call.' Every officer dropped his partner and ran to his troop, and in an hour's time they were in the saddle and off to catch the Apaches." We cannot believe that alarms were frequent at Whipple, but on those occasions Major Biddle saw that his wife "generally had a little something for them to eat . . .

75. **Diary, 1874.** Kautz gave $100 to help purchase new instruments for the band. The list of subscribers to the fund was published in G.O. 43, 8th Inf., October 16, 1876.

76. **Diary, 1877.**
before they left, and a sandwich to go in their pockets."**77**

There were no "C" rations in 1875.**

While Fannie Kautz strove to be the uncrowned queen of Prescott society, the headquarters of General Kautz' command attracted an uncommon number of able and experienced officers. Colonel Wilkins**78** was the senior field grade officer in the department until the arrival of Colonel James Oakes, 6th Cavalry, in February of 1876. Shortly after Kautz assumed command, Wilkins was made the chief signal officer of the department until April, 1876, when he again took command of Fort Whipple. He was a veteran of the Mexican War and a graduate of the Military Academy, class of 1846. His daughter Caroline was beautiful and vivacious, and naturally was courted by every bachelor officer who could get to Whipple.

The most experienced frontier soldier at headquarters was Major Biddle, 6th Cavalry, who had fought in the recent Modoc War, and with General Nelson A. Miles in his campaign against the Kiowas, Cheyennes, and Arapahoes in 1875. In the latter campaign, he had commanded a battalion of cavalry.

**77.** Biddle, 167.

**78.** John Darragh Wilkins was later colonel of the 5th Infantry, 1882-86, retiring in the latter year. He was about six years older than Kautz. Heitman, I, 1036.
Biddle, born in 1832, was from the old Philadelphia family, the grandson of Colonel Clement Biddle who served a short time as General George Washington's aide-de-camp. In spite of his Pennsylvania background, he had served the first year of the Civil War in a New York regiment, and in November, 1862, he had been given the colonelcy of the 6th Indiana Cavalry. With that unit he had helped pursue the Confederate raider Morgan in 1863 and the adventure probably provided a closer bond of friendship with Kautz. Biddle had twice commanded cavalry brigades in the war, and he had received the brevet of brigadier in the Volunteer Army.79 Kautz' designation of Biddle as inspector general in 1876 was a wise choice.80

Kautz was well served by the appointment, in August of 1875, of the first regular member of the Adjutant-General's Department to officiate in Arizona. Major James Porter Martin and his beauteous wife Alice took station at Whipple, and Martin served efficiently as assistant adjutant general until 1888. Kentucky-born, he had served in the 7th U.S. Infantry since his graduation from West Point in 1860. He

79. Powell, 62.

80. Biddle traveled over the entire department on his inspections which consumed May and August of 1876, and April through June of 1877. His handling of the Serna incursion is treated in the next chapter. See Memo. of Inspections, February 13, 1878, encl. to 1084 A.G.O. 1878.
had been appointed to the A. G. Department with rank of major in 1869. He also held the brevet of major for gallantry at Gettysburg, and, at war's end, he had been given the brevet of lieutenant colonel. Kautz noted regretfully that he was too fond of John Barleycorn, but he was easily the most valuable member of Kautz' official family.

As usual, Kautz found intellectual stimulation among the medical men, and at Whipple there were several doctors who became his fast friends. Most important were Major David I. Magruder and Major James C. McKee. Magruder was three years older than Kautz. Before the general had been a shavetail on the Pacific Coast, Magruder had served in New Mexico from 1850. Then, from 1854 until the war, he had served in Dakota Territory. He had been medical director of General Irvin McDowell's ill-fated army and witnessed the First Bull Run. From 1873 to 1877, he was medical director of the Department of Arizona.

More impressive in his knowledge of the Southwest was Doctor McKee. He had served before the war at several posts in the old Department of New Mexico. At Fort Defiance he participated in the Navajo War of 1858. In 1860 at Fort Buchanan, he had been on duty with a column of troops

81. Powell, 372.
82. Ibid., 365.
commanded by Captain Isaac V. D. Reeve that fought the Pinaleno Apaches. Shortly after that he returned to Fort Fillmore and in October of 1860, while en route to Defiance, he took command of a company of Mounted Rifles for two weeks in the absence of regular line officers. During that time, Doctor McKee fought at least one skirmish with hostile Indians. Later in the winter he volunteered to command a company of the 5th Infantry which engaged hostile Navajos and captured five thousand sheep. On the outbreak of war, Doctor McKee was again at Fort Fillmore, serving under Major Isaac Lynde who surrendered the Union garrison to the invading Confederates from Texas. Later he was exchanged and served as assistant medical director in the Army of Virginia. He was at Antietem, and later he took charge of a three thousand bed hospital in the Capital. After the war, he returned to the West and became medical director of the Arizona department in 1877, succeeding Doctor Magruder.

For officers and their families at Whipple, living was expensive but comfortable. The retention of reliable

83. See J. C. McKee, Narrative of the Surrender of a Command of U.S. Forces at Fort Fillmore, N.M., July, 1861 (Prescott, 1878).

84. Powell, 386-87.

85. Mrs. Biddle, with a major's pay, found all Prescott prices alarming. She paid $2 per pound for butter, $2 a dozen for eggs . . . A cook could not be gotten under $50 per month, and a housemaid $25, and everything [else]
servants was a critical problem, for in that day nurses for small children and at least one cook or an all-purpose domestic was a necessity, even for a modest household. The Kautzes' maid, Polly Robinson, proved to be a strong assistant to Fannie in the social whirl and a reliable nurse for little Austin and Frankie. The Chinese cook, however, was more drunken than epicurean. Enlisted "strikers," even for the general, were difficult to find because the opportunities for off-duty jobs in Prescott, or for extra-duty construction work at Whipple, discouraged enterprising enlisted men from becoming officers' servants. As a result, it was a common sight at Whipple to find Kautz getting his own breakfast or tending his horse. 86

The "Days of the Empire" were most distinguished by a very ambitious amateur theater. Late in 1876, the Fort Whipple Dramatic Society was organized by Fannie Kautz, Alice Martin, Ellen Biddle, and other thespians. While hops and informal parties were common events at all Arizona posts, serious theatrical performances were not. The successful establishment of what was formally styled the Fort Whipple Theatre was the apex of Fannie's career and a

was proportionately high. I often wondered how the young lieutenants lived on their pay." She then gives some recipes for dishes made without milk or eggs. Biddle, 173.

86. Diary, 1874, 1877, passim.
source of pride to the general. The ladies and several officers with dramatic inclination labored for many weeks until their first opening night on January 16, 1877. They subsequently produced such epics as "Dead Shot," "Poor Pillicody," and "A Regular Fix," as well as some serious Shakespeare. In every production, Fannie was either actress or manager. 87

iii

General Kautz' first year of command was to become deeply involved with administration of the Apache Indian reservations in the White Mountains and the Gila Valley near San Carlos, but in the spring of 1875 he was threatened with more immediate danger of war with the Hualpai Indians. The Hualpais dwelled chiefly in the Cerbat and Aquarius Mountains, and along the eastern slope of the Black Mountains. They were unrelated to the Apaches but they nonetheless shared many traits of the better known Athapascan people. They were hunters and gatherers and numbered no more than 1,500. It was agreed that, prior to 1866, they had been peaceful. The murder in that year of Chief Wauba Yuma had driven them to desultory raids in revenge against the white men of Mohave County. By 1871, however, they had become inclined to receive government rations and to accept

87. Ibid., 1877.
a reservation at Camp Beale Spring, about two hundred miles northwest of Prescott. This was one of the reserves designated by Vincent Colyer, and next year General Crook began to ration them regularly. Crook's commander at the camp, Captain Thomas Byrne of the 12th Infantry, won their confidence completely. 88

In January, 1874, Agent J. A. Tonner secured orders from the Interior Department to move them southward onto his reservation together with the Mojave Indians. 89 Only when Crook informed the Hualpais that he would use force if necessary to remove them; that they would be separated from their enemies, the Mojaves; and that Captain Byrne would go with them, did the harassed red men consent to go from their home. The conditions set by Crook were met, although Agent Tonner objected when Byrne, with a company of the 12th Infantry, was stationed at La Paz on the river near the southern boundary of Tonner's reservation. On the very day


89. Walapai Papers, 96-97.
that Crook departed Fort Whipple—March 21, 1875—Tonner ceased to issue rations at Camp La Paz and compelled the Indians to report for rations to his agency forty miles away.90

Exactly one month later, the Hualpais fled from the Colorado River Reservation and headed for their old home near Beale Spring. Thereupon, Agent Tonner asked General Kautz to send troops after them.91 It was not a request Kautz chose to comply with, and the imminent departure of the 5th Cavalry gave him an excuse to refuse. Tonner journeyed to Prescott to consult with the General, who suggested that a display of force would probably drive the Indians into the mountains and provoke open hostility. For the present, he pointed out, the Hualpais were still inclined to reason. Agent Tonner agreed to interview the disillusioned Indians, to learn their desires, and then to present the whole matter to the Interior Department for solution.92

A messenger sent by Tonner to the disillusioned Hualpais reported that they wished only to be left alone. Early in May, Governor Safford visited their head chief, Sherum, and learned of their reasons for leaving the

90. Ibid., 97-98, 110.
91. Ibid., 110.
92. Ibid. Secretary of War Report, 1875, 134.
Colorado River reserve and of their desire to remain at peace among the white men in Mohave County. Sherum later visited Kautz and assured him of the Indians' peaceful intentions. Sherum asked Kautz that the Hualpais be permitted to remain in their homeland. The general replied that the chief would have to see the agent of the Indian Bureau. The chief then asked if the Hualpais would be forced to return to the hated reservation, but Kautz would promise nothing. The general asked Sherum why the Indians had fled. The chief said the reserve was too hot, the water was bad, his people sickened and died, and there was no grass for the Indians' livestock. While they had been permitted to settle near La Paz, said Sherum, Captain Byrne had seen that they received rations; but when Tonner had forced them to go to the agency, "they did not get enough to eat, and, instead of getting twenty-four beeves per week [for 620 Indians], his people only got seven." Sherum concluded the interview by telling Kautz that his people, the Hualpais, would rather die than go back.

All the information collected by these parties, and all the associated correspondence in the affair was forwarded to the War and Interior Departments. General Schofield took

94. Secretary of War Report, 1875, 134-35.
the Indians' side and declared "that the management of Indian affairs, by temporary, poorly paid, irresponsible Agents, must mean ... extravagance, dishonesty, folly, injustice, inhumanity, and war." General Kautz concluded his report of the Hualpai affair with the opinion that, "When the 6th Cavalry arrives ... I can compel these Indians to go back ... I think ... one or two successful killings will make the survivors willing to go." In his annual report, however, Kautz noted that, "There is a widely-held belief among the people of the Territory that these Indians were not properly fed." And there the matter was allowed to stand. The Hualpais remained friendly, though miners and settlers were occupying their country. Kautz raised a new company of Indian scouts at Camp Verde and held them in readiness to meet further difficulties, but the Hualpais themselves were, two years later, to provide scouts for a company enlisted to fight Apaches.

Although the Hualpais had nearly been driven to war, the numerous bands of Apaches were still cowed by Crook's defeat. Knowledgeable white men, however, anticipated trouble on the White Mountain and San Carlos Reservations.

96. Ibid., 107.
97. Secretary of War Report, 1875, 135.
In the summer of 1874, the Indians who had been collected on the Camp Verde reserve—already a dangerous mixture of real Apaches, Yavapais, and Colorado River tribes—had been forcibly removed to San Carlos on the Gila. "In the interest," so Crook claimed, "of some persons at Tucson . . ."98 Despite this removal, peace had thus far been maintained. The Indian Bureau already was studying the proposal to bring all the Apaches, and pseudo-Apaches, down from the White Mountains to the Gila River.

CHAPTER IX

THE TRIALS OF A FRONTIER COMMANDER

1

The eighth territorial legislature of Arizona assembled in the store of Tully and Ochoa, freighters, at Tucson in January of 1875. As it represented a population of only twelve or thirteen thousand inhabitants, the achievement of separate territorial status is puzzling unless the preceding political manipulation is known.1 Much less is one to understand the temporary ascendency of Tucson, a ramshackle adobe town that had been a poor Mexican military colony and now was the capital.2 Along with the government and legislature in 1867, Tucson had gained most of the $35,000

1. The population in 1874 was only 11,480, but it had risen to 30,192 in 1876. The Tenth U.S. Decennial Census counted 40,440 in 1880. This 350% increase in six years is directly attributable to General Crook's peace. Bancroft, 529. For the political genesis of Arizona Territory, see Benjamin Sacks, Be It Enacted: The Creation of the Territory of Arizona (Phoenix, 1964).

2. The most reliable sketch of Tucson's early history is by Cameron Greenleaf and Andrew Wallace, "Tucson: Pueblo, Presidio, and American City," Arizoniana, Vol. 3 (Summer 1962), 18-27. Recent investigation, however, has determined that Tucson was never a "pueblo" but was a military colony based on the presidio until the American entrance in 1856.
allowed for their maintenance. It also had the advantage of lying on a principal overland route to California, and it was at the head of the high road to Sonora, Mexico. It was the center as well for most of the contractors who supplied the military posts of Camp McDowell, Camp Bowie, and Camp Grant. During Kautz' time, nearby Camp Lowell was headquarters of the 6th Cavalry. Because so much federal money was dispensed in the vicinity, Tucson had a depository of the U.S. Treasury. Tucson's economy, however, was chronically depressed, despite the largess of the government.

In 1875 local businessmen hoped to reestablish a military supply depot similar to those at Yuma and Prescott. Another camp in southeastern Arizona would also help, and the citizens along the Gila River were clamoring for it.


4. The mercantile firm of Lord & Williams handled federal funds, though the company did not become a commercial bank until 1875. Principal member of the firm was Doctor Charles H. Lord, a graduate of Albany Medical College and onetime contract surgeon for the army. He was Tucson postmaster, 1870-84; a practicing physician; entrepreneur in several fields, especially mining; and the Territorial Auditor. Among other endeavors, he founded Lordsburg, N.M. The younger partner was Wheeler W. Williams. The store and bank failed in 1881-82 and Doctor Lord went to Mexico in 1884, to practice medicine, so his friends said; to escape his creditors, according to more reliable sources. Lord File and Williams File, Hayden Collection; Ninth Decennial Census; Bancroft, 550-51. See Frances E. Quebbeman, Medicine in Territorial Arizona (Phoenix, 1966), 87-88, 354.
The biggest potential market, however, was the U.S. Indian service which purchased beef, flour, and other commodities for the reservation Indians. The small Chiricahua tribe and about two thousand Apaches at San Carlos were procuring rations via Tucson and southern Arizona suppliers were about to garner a bonus in Indian customers by the unexpected addition of several hundred Apaches to the San Carlos reserve from the White Mountain agency.

The White Mountain Reservation had been declared by Vincent Colyer in 1871 and confirmed by Executive Order on December 14, 1872. It had its beginning with Camp Apache, founded in 1870. In September of the next year, Colyer approved of the surrounding country as a reservation for the Coyoteros, Tontos, and other Western Apaches who preferred a mountainous home. General Howard guaranteed it to the Indians in 1872. Army officers served as acting agents of the reservation only until December when a civilian appointee of the Indian Bureau was sent out, James E. Roberts, who allowed the military influence to continue.

---
5. See Bancroft, 526, whose figures are vague, but who suggests that as much as $400,000 was spent in southern Arizona annually, of which San Carlos must have received the lion's share.


7. The history of the Indian reservation is pretty thoroughly treated in Ogle, 74ff, 97f, 106, 111ff, 127-32, 149-58, 175f, 189f, 197, 237f.
The San Carlos Reservation was in the valley of the Gila River, a hot, dry, expanse of desert and mountain, with its agency at the mouth of San Carlos Creek. It had been set aside by the same order defining the White Mountain reserve. The purpose seems to have been to make one large reservation for Western Apaches and to include the tract on the Gila as a haven for the Aravaipa band previously collected at old Camp Grant, perhaps six hundred Indians. Because of the number of Indians collected around Camp Apache (nearly 1,800 reported by Agent Roberts) and the progress in farming, and because of the alleged unhealthiness of the Gila valley near San Carlos Creek, it might have been expected that Camp Apache should become the center of the whole reservation and San Carlos only a sub-agency. Moreover, from August of 1873 San Carlos was subjected to numerous reductions by Executive Order in response to white encroachment. But two circumstances deferred a logical arrangement.

The first was the Indian Bureau's insistence on the policy of "concentration" in Arizona; i.e., the placing of the maximum number of Indians on the minimum amount of land. The history of San Carlos is entwined with that of White Mountain. See ibid., passim.

Kappler, I, 813-14.

For a discussion of concentration, see Loring B. Priest, Uncle Sam's Stepchildren: The Reformation of United States Indian Policy, 1865-1887 (Rutgers Univ. Press,
This policy had motivated the removal of the Hualpais in 1873 and the transfer of the Camp Verde Indians in 1874. It was then proposed to bring the diverse Apaches into one reserve, either San Carlos, Camp Apache, or Cañada Alamosa in New Mexico. But only one.

The second circumstance was the lack of effective military control at San Carlos. It had never had a military agent, and after the murder of Lieutenant Jacob Almy by Indians in May of 1873, Crook did not succeed in gaining the same influence as he enjoyed at Camp Apache. Camp San Carlos continued to be only a sub-post of Camp Apache with one company of cavalry assigned. In January of 1874, moreover, the Indians had fled and required a six month campaign to bring them back. Here, apparently, was the place to institute total civilian control.

In the summer of 1874, a strong and erratic personality had been injected into affairs of the two Apache reserves. John Philip Clum, in charge of a federal meteorological station at Albuquerque, had secured through the auspices of the Dutch Reformed Church the appointment

1942), 3-14. From 1872 to 1878 there was rather a steady increase in Congressional opposition to the policy, culminating in the defeat of a proposal to remove all Apache Indians to Oklahoma; yet Secretary of Interior Carl Schurz continued to advocate further concentration from the time he took office in 1877 until 1880. Ibid., 10-11, 13.


12. Ibid., 118-19, 139-43.
as agent at the San Carlos agency, and on August 8 he had arrived to replace the acting subagent and agency physician, Doctor John B. White. Clum was then but twenty-two years of age. Immediately upon arrival, he had excluded the army officer at the nearby camp from all details of administration. Next he accepted the Indians from Camp Verde—said to number 1,400—and to the chagrin of the army, had succeeded in disarming and pacifying them. Abhorring the thought of accepting help from the army to control his Apaches, he shortly had organized an Indian police force. After Kautz was in command of the military department, Clum felt secure enough to advocate removal of all the Apaches to the vicinity of San Carlos, including the bands peaceably settled on the White Mountain Reservation and, if necessary, the Chiricahuas as well.

---

13. John P. Clum would be acclaimed today, if he were just come upon the American scene, by the patrons of youth who applaud every puerile brain storm as the wisdom of a new age. In the 1870's, however, a more rational public paid little attention to his bizarre notions, except when he published sensational news stories and polemics. His conflict with Kautz is traced in this and the next two chapters. For the rest, see the semi-fictional biography by his son, Woodworth Clum, Apache Agent, the Story of John P. Clum (Boston, 1936). This work is drawn almost entirely from the senior Clum's own colorful but unreliable writing.

14. Ogle, 126, 144-46.

On the eve of Crook's departure, the opportunity for Clum to extend his authority to Camp Apache was presented. The commander of the army post was Captain Ogilby, Kautz' company commander who had made the scout in the Tonto Basin in January and February of 1875. On March 3 Agent Roberts refused to issue rations unless the Indians brought all the women and children to the agency to be counted. Ogilby thereupon seized control of the agency and issued the rations to the restless Apaches.16 Crook was not informed of events until March 6,17 and though he sympathized with Ogilby, he disapproved the seizure, as much, one may suspect, for the delay in communication as for its affront to the Department of the Interior. What neither officer realized was that Roberts' dismissal cleared the way for Clum. At the same time that Ogilby reported the misdeeds of the agent to Crook, the agency school teacher, Rev. Dr. J. M. Mickly, reported his sins to the Board of missions of the Dutch Reformed Church who it was selected the Arizona Indian agents. Mickly told the corresponding secretary, Rev. J. M. Ferris, that

16. The army's version of the takeover is found in 1677 A.G.O. 1875, which consists of a letter, Crook to T.A.G., March 12, 1875, and 10 encl. See also Ogle, 131-32.

17. Ogilby to Acting A.A.G., March 6, 1875, encl. 8 to 1677 A.G.O. 1875. If this was a letter, as it appears to be, rather than a telegram, Crook may not have known of the seizure until the 7th or 8th.
Roberts was as bad as the army painted him and advised an immediate replacement.\textsuperscript{18} Put in those terms, what simpler solution was there than to send the Board's prize appointee up to Apache to take over?

General Crook, on the day he received his orders to go to the Department of the Platte, disapproved Ogilby's action,\textsuperscript{19} and nine days later Kautz assumed command of the Arizona Department. Sometime in the first days of April, Clum had been instructed by the Interior Department to assume control temporarily of the agency, doubtless at the suggestion of the Church. On April 17, Kautz received a telegram from Ogilby saying that Clum desired to take charge. On the same day, Kautz wired Ogilby to comply with the request and to turn the Indians over to him.\textsuperscript{20}

On May 20 Kautz wrote to the War Department his view of affairs at Camp Apache. The Indians were planting and selling corn to the government, he observed, and were not ready for assimilation with the antagonistic bands at San Carlos. "Mr Clum has gone to Santa Fe,"\textsuperscript{21} he continued,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{18} Mickly to Ferris, March 6, 1875, encl. 9 to 1677 A.G.O. 1875.
\item \textsuperscript{19} Acting A.A.G. to Ogilby, March 12, 1875, encl. 10 to ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{20} Kautz to Ogilby, April 17, 1875, encl. 2 to 3059 A.G.O. 1875.
\item \textsuperscript{21} Clum, in fact, was already in Washington. He was summoned to the Capital by Commissioner Smith on May 14. Ogle, 151.
\end{itemize}
"with a view . . . of obtaining an order to move the Indians to the San Carlos Reservation." This would lead to trouble, he warned, because "none of the mountain tribes . . . are yet sufficiently advanced for concentration on reservations with other tribes . . . because prejudices difficult to overcome . . . exist among them, and I hope the policy will be abandoned." General Schofield endorsed the letter on June 2 with the observation that, "Only evil can possibly result from the recent changes in the management of Indian affairs in Arizona." 22

Edward P. Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, replied in detail to Kautz' complaint but with no new facts. Writing on July 14, he judged Clum's accession of the White Mountain Reservation "both proper and expedient," though no one had said it was not; Kautz had rather suggested that Clum was discourteous and tactless, which he certainly was. Getting to that point, Smith suggested that Ogilby was just as bad. Then Smith chided Ogilby for turning the reservation prisoners, including a murderer, out of his guardhouse and refusing to accept any others.23


The remainder of Smith's letter was pure hypocrisy, or else the reflection of an opinion that had been formed only by hearsay. "There is no question," he went on, "that the present peaceful condition of the Indians is largely due to the vigorous military operations carried on against them; and I believe also that it is largely due to the services of the faithful and efficient Agents who have been sent to them . . ." Smith chose to overlook the proven mismanagement of several agents or his blunder in sending out a new agent to Camp Apache in May and subsequently sending orders for Clum to close out the agency. He went on to defend the removal to San Carlos in the same old terms and declared that if the military authorities would only keep their hands off and not influence the Indians, all would be well. He reverted to the earlier removal from Camp Verde to San Carlos, ignoring the fact that only the intimidation of troops had permitted a peaceful movement. "I believe now," said Smith, "no one in the territory questions the wisdom of the removal of the Verde Indians." As for Kautz' suggestion that the Indian Office

24. Agent W. E. Morford was appointed in May and on June 29 instructed to take charge of the White Mountain Reservation lately vacated by Agent Roberts. Clum meanwhile had been given instructions, on June 17, to remove the Indians from Fort Apache to San Carlos. Kautz to A.A.G., Div. of Pacific, Oct. 20, 1875, 5770 A.G.O. 1875. Cited hereafter as File 5770.

25. E. P. Smith to Secty. of Interior, July 14, 1875, 3756 A.G.O. 1875.
should consult with the War Office before moving any Indians, the decision had already been reached unilaterally on June 10, and Smith merely stated that he would communicate with the War Department to request military cooperation. His letter, however, the only notification that the War Office received, did not go out to San Francisco until July 23. Meanwhile, Glum had gone to Washington and convinced Smith that the White Mountain Indians should be removed. In the second week of June, Glum had been handed the power he sought.

The first official information received by Kautz that the White Mountain Indians were actually being removed was a report from Ogilby dated July 25 in which he reiterated the difficulties of moving the Apaches and conveyed Glum's written notification of the removal, dated July 20. Soon after this wire, Kautz received a letter from Glum which blandly announced he was executing an order of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to remove the White Mountain Apaches. After regretting he could not visit Prescott in

26. Same to same, June 9, 1875, 3093 A.G.O. 1875.

27. The endorsement by the Chief Clerk of the War Department shows file 3756 A.G.O. 1875 dispatched to San Francisco on July 23 by order of the Secretary of War. For Glum's mission to Washington, see Ogle, 151.

August, he added cryptically, "I trust . . . that I may see you soon as I desire much to confer with you on affairs in which we have a deep mutual interest." What affairs? The removal had begun on July 26. Clum at this early date perhaps hoped to enlist Kautz in the effort eventually to concentrate all Arizona Indians at San Carlos.

On August 14, Kautz sent to division headquarters a full account of the Apaches. "Less than half the Indians have consented to be removed," he reported and the others positively refuse to go. . . . this movement contemplates the removal of Indians from an elevated mountain home to the valley of the Gila which is much lower and hotter, and if [abandoned] Camp Goodwin is the site selected, it is a place already proven . . . very unhealthy for troops and likely to be so for Indians; . . . the Indians will not remain there, unless force is used. . . . It is believed these three [bands] will hold out against every means except force. A portion of the bands that have consented to go . . . have in former years been adherents of Cochis[e] . . . and were the first to consent to the change.

Kautz referred to the reasons for removing the Indians as "only a white man's view . . . and an important element to make it a success is [the Indians'] concurrence . . . ."

29. Clum to Kautz, July 26, 1875, encl. 6 (marked "C" by Kautz) to ibid.


31. Promptly upon arriving at San Carlos, 200 Indians from the White Mountain Reservation decamped to the Chiricahua Agency. Secretary of War Report, 1875, 136.
Kautz assured the authorities that his troops would escort and protect the Indian Bureau employees, "but the troops are not to be used to compel the Indians to remove against their will." He reviewed the cogent reasons for keeping the White Mountain Indians on their reserve as promised by General Howard in 1872. Then he outlined the military problem:

Should this movement be insisted on, it will be necessary to have an increase of force at San Carlos . . . to enforce it and protect the Agency. The locality is not a pleasant one for troops and they should be made as comfortable as possible by the erection of adobe quarters. This of course will involve another considerable expense.

Kautz revealed that all the buildings at the Camp Apache Agency had been burned, apparently on Clum's order to his assistant, one L. C. Jenkins. Kautz forwarded documentary proof of Clum's arson, but it was not acted upon. Clum's explanation, apparently accepted by Commissioner Smith, was that the buildings were unserviceable and their destruction would serve to illustrate to the

32. On August 2, Kautz received a telegram from Ogilby, which read in part: "On the 26 inst [ultimo, i.e., July 26] Mr. Clum started for San Carlos with parts of all the bands except three . . . Chiefs of these remaining bands told me they had refused to go . . . unless forced . . . The people left by Mr. Clum in charge of Agency have burned blacksmith's shop fence around the Agency butcher shop and corral for the purpose of frightening the Indians now here into going to San Carlos . . . I shall not interfere without orders . . . unless an attempt is made to burn the main buildings at the Agency." Ogilby to Acting A.A.G., Aug. 2, 1875, encl. 5 (marked "B" by Kautz) to 4730 A.G.O. 1875.
Indians the beginning of a new life. One member of Glum's retinue, the interpreter, Albert F. Banta, said the Agency was burned to prevent anything useful falling into the hands of the army.\textsuperscript{33}

Kautz' report on the removal went first to headquarters in San Francisco. In Schofield's endorsement, he warned of trouble: "Unless the management of Indian affairs in Arizona can be radically changed."\textsuperscript{34} The papers reached Washington on September 13.

In his annual report for 1875, dated August 31, Kautz again rehearsed the subject of Indian removal. "Two or three bands that formerly affiliated with Cochise's

\textsuperscript{33} The Pick and Drill, Prescott, May 23, 1899. The author of the story is anonymous, merely saying that he accompanied Glum. His identity was later revealed as A. F. Banta, one of Prescott's earliest settlers and most respected pioneers. See Banta to Thomas E. Farish, Jan. 17, 1917, in Farish File, Pioneer Biographical Files (Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, Tucson). Glum, in his report to the Office of Indian Affairs, simply stated that, "Such of the property and old buildings as were useless and could not be disposed of, were destroyed." Glum to E. P. Smith, July 31, 1875, 5109 A.G.O. 1875. In 1877, shortly after Glum had left government employment, it was disclosed that buildings with equipment and supplies valued at $8,621.97, formerly the property of the Indian service, were unaccounted for at Camp Apache. The Second Auditor of the Treasury called on Lt. F. A. Whitney, who had taken charge of the Indian agency property when Roberts was ousted, to account for it. The correspondence is in 6711 A.G.O. 1877.

\textsuperscript{34} 1st end. to Kautz' rept. cited above, n. 30.
Indians may have favored the move" from Camp Apache, he conceded, "but at a recent interview with Eskyinlaw, or Diablo, he stated that many who went were opposed to going, and drew a pitiful picture of the sorrow and distress felt . . . in consequence . . . He begged me to represent the case to Washington . . ." As for the Indians removed to San Carlos from the Verde reserve in 1874, Kautz made a pointed answer to Commissioner Smith's letter of July 14 wherein the Commissioner had said, "no one in the territory questions the wisdom of the removal." Kautz remarked that, "So far as my observation goes, I have seen no one who indorses it, except those connected with the Indian Department."36

And thus the matter stood as autumn of 1875 approached. Clum had succeeded in bringing not many more than five hundred White Mountain Apaches to San Carlos.37

35. Diablo later attempted to inspire a mutiny among the army Indian Scouts (see below) and afterward fled to San Carlos. The only motive seemed to be that Kautz had ordered him discharged from the Scouts at Clum's request. Another chief, Patone, was also discharged from the Scouts but made no trouble and refused to leave the White Mountains. For more information about these Indians, see Brandes (ed.), Vanished Arizona, 252-53.

36. Secretary of War Reports, 1875, 133.

37. Clum reported to the Indian Office that he had removed 1,400. He had previously announced that there were 1,784 in all at Camp Apache. Ogle, in his text, says Clum was "suffering from enthusiasm" and estimates the number removed at 800. Ogle, in a footnote, however, cites the document in n. 29 above, wherein Clum told Kautz he was
On September 1, the agent wrote a letter for publication to John Wasson, editor of the Arizona Citizen at Tucson. He expressed gratitude for Wasson's defense of his management at San Carlos, and he accused the military of "fraud, hostility, and murder." On the same day, he completed his annual report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in which he claimed the advantages for removing the White Mountain Indians to San Carlos—that it would give the Indians better and more extensive farming lands, save the expense of an extra agency, and "last, but not least, to the people of the territory [i.e. Tucson], it would avert the trade with these Indians from New Mexico to Arizona, where it properly belongs." Wasson contended that the army had been determined to "destroy" Clum before he ever removing only 700. Ogle, 152. See Arizona Citizen, May 1, 1875, for Clum's statement that he counted 1,784 Indians on April 24. If Clum's count were correct, then there is a further discrepancy, for on September 24 Kautz advised The Adjutant General that "Agent Morford reports about fourteen hundred as still on the [White Mountain] Reservation . . . many of the Indians moved by Agent Clum must have returned." 2nd end. to letter, Morford to Ogilby, Sept. 10, 1875, 5342 A.G.O. 1875. Early in October, when Kautz visited Camp Apache, he "found Agent Morford . . . reporting over twelve hundred Indians (of the seventeen hundred) still under his charge." File 5770.

38. Tucson Arizona Citizen, September 18, 1875, Cited hereafter as Citizen.

arrived at San Carlos and that, if the plan for removal of the White Mountain Indians should be suspended, it would be a great misfortune. Safford declared that Clum "is one of the best Indian agents . . . ever employed, and . . . that his action is based entirely upon the desire to do right, and that by his careful protection of the rights of the Indians [1], he is making them contented and therefore is serving the best interests of the people of the Territory and the Government."  

Although the office of Indian Affairs had elected to carry out the White Mountain removal at the urging of Clum, they fumbled the arrangement by dispatching in July another agent, W. E. Morford, to Camp Apache to replace the departed Roberts. That the appointment was deliberate, and that the Indian Bureau was thus not entirely won to Clum's plan, was suggested in September when Morford applied to Captain Ogilby for assistance in removing "the balance of the Indians now here to the Gila River at the earliest practicable moment," on orders of the Indian Commissioner. 

40. Wasson to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sept. 21, 1875, File W1426, General Correspondence of the Office of Indian Affairs (RG 75, National Archives).

41. Safford to Commissioner E. P. Smith, Sept. 21, 1875, File S1395, ibid.

42. Morford to Ogilby, Sept. 10, 1875, 5342 A.G.O. 1875. Morford's request went up through channels until the Secretary of War, on October 25, asked the acting Secretary of the Interior for an explanation. The Commissioner of
It was implied that Morford would establish another agency on the Gila apart from Clum's. Both Kautz and the Tucson Ring jumped on the hapless Morford. The military commander refused to aid the erstwhile agent and forwarded his request for assistance with a long endorsement asking an end to the removal. Clum and the Arizona Citizen castigated him as a tool of the army. Morford apparently had important friends, for it was arranged at last for him to take over the Colorado River agency.

On August 31, 1875, Kautz closed his annual report to the General of the Army and shortly afterward took the road to San Carlos "to see the elephant." The itinerary included Camps Verde and Apache, and the tour was made

Indian Affairs, E. P. Smith, was called on for an "opinion," and his reply was that an inspector, Edward C. Kemble, had been sent to Fort Apache to "investigate." Acting Secty. of Interior to Secty. of War, Oct. 28, 1875, 5584 A.G.O. 1875.

43. 2nd end. on Morford to Ogilby, cited above.
According to Kautz, Crook, and many other military officers who served in Arizona, there was a combination of merchants freighters, and financiers in Tucson who conspired to monopolize the government business and no control it that they would realize a greater profit from the numerous contracts to supply Indian agencies. It was also insinuated that these entrepreneurs encouraged Indian outbreaks so they would get more army business. This alleged combination was usually referred to as the Tucson Ring.

44. Citizen, October 2, 1875.

45. Ibid.; and see Ogle, 156.
mainly to inform himself of the situation of these posts. Verde, which was fifty miles east of Prescott on the west bank of the Verde River, he found "a very excellent Post, in good condition and as important as ever before." But, "The arrival of the Sixth Cavalry has created a demand for quarters for officers." It was now a four-company post.

From Verde, Kautz took the precarious wagon road 170 miles across Black Mesa to Camp Apache in the White Mountains. This post was situated at the forks of White River, forty-six airline miles north of San Carlos. In addition to its garrison of two cavalry companies and two infantry companies, it was the main recruiting station for the department's Indian scout companies and it maintained a sub-post at San Carlos by rotating the cavalry units. Until 1874, Crook had thought of the post as temporary and it had been rudely...


47. The post had begun in 1871 at a lower site about a mile from the one seen by Kautz in October of 1875. Now garrisoned by two companies each of the 6th Cavalry and 8th Infantry, it had in fact already lost much of its former importance since the removal of the Apaches to San Carlos in 1874. Brandes, 70-73.

48. This and the quotations in the next two paragraphs are from Kautz' report of his trip, File 5770.
constructed entirely by troop labor. It was "laid out in a peculiar and exceptional manner" without a central parade ground and with the buildings, most of them log, arranged in rows. Except for its remoteness, the post seemed to Kautz adequate for its purpose, though "not suitable for a permanent camp." He was to have it virtually reconstructed on an improved plan with better materials. He found Agent Morford in charge of the burned agency and reporting 1,200 Indians still present. He could not have paused longer than a few hours, for he had covered the remaining 74 miles of trail to San Carlos by October 8.

On the next day, he interviewed Clum.

Kautz asked Clum's views about removing the troops from San Carlos. Clum replied by a request for their removal from the reservation, and also asked for the discharge of the Indian scouts enlisted from the White Mountain reserve. The General said that it would require two or three companies of troops and scouts "to keep all the

49. Major John Green, 1st Cavalry, assembled a band of peaceable Coyotero Apaches at the site of the future post in 1869. The next spring, he established a camp named for Gen. E. O. C. Ord, then commanding the Department of California. A detachment of troops watched the Indians and issued them rations. Late in the summer, Cochise, the Chiricahua chief, visited the post and in February, 1871, it was renamed Camp Apache as a token of friendship. Here Crook organized his first company of Apache scouts in August, 1871. Brandes, 10-13. Surgeon General Report, 1875, 528.

50. File 5770. Morford had no quarters, Clum having burned the agent's house, so he was living with the military officers.
Indians that are ordered to be concentrated on the San Carlos Reservation from running back to their old homes." Furthermore, Kautz said, "The troops . . . will be necessary on the Reservations to keep peace among the various bands who have been made hostile to each other . . . and to protect the lives of the Agent & his employes." Clum, however, thought he could govern without any help from the military, and he stood "committed to this view in a three column article in the Arizona Citizen . . . and he could not do otherwise than request" the troop removal. 51 The General was somewhat piqued as well by a circular from the Board of Indian Commissioners dated August 1, 1875, that seemed to elicit information for use against the army. 52 It

51. The sense of the conversation is conveyed here, but the quotations are all from ibid.

52. Printed letter, Clinton B. Fisk, Chairman, Board of Indian Commissioners to all employees of the Indian service and other "persons not in Government employ, whose position and experience in Indian matters entitle their opinions to consideration," Aug. 1, 1875, copy as encl. in ibid. It is noteworthy that Gen. Crook was not sent a copy. The letter requests "more specific information . . . touching the extent [towards] the military forces . . . are brought into requisition in the administration of the Indian Service, and whether . . . any change would . . . promote the efficiency and purity of the [Indian] service." Correspondents are asked to send information relative to four questions: Is there "any military force" stationed on or near your reservation "and within what distance of your agency?" "For what purpose are the troops . . . employed, or needed?" How do the Indians regard the troops "and what . . . is their influence [on the Indians] in respect to morality, good order, and progress in civilization?" "Would the organization of an armed Indian Police . . .
therefore seemed to Kautz that "San Carlos was a good point, & Agent Clum the man, to prove the truth or fallacy of governing Indians by themselves without any other force."\(^\text{53}\)

Whether Kautz promised then and there to remove the troops is not certain, nor important. Clum knew he had carried his point. He also had enlisted the support of Governor Safford and some Tucson merchants by his timely advocacy of more contracts to be let in Arizona for reservation supplies.

In the heat of the Gila valley, Kautz again became infected with the malaria he had first contracted in Panama. He must have turned about for Camp Apache at once, for by October 14 he was back at Camp Verde, and he departed for Prescott next morning.\(^\text{54}\)

On October 19 he caused the necessary orders to be issued for the breakup of the camp at San Carlos and the transfer of Company L of the 6th Cavalry to Camp Bowie. He refused, however, to discharge

---

prove safe or advisable; and to what extent would [it]. . . supersede the necessity of a military force?" After these inquiries, the correspondents are asked to state freely, in addition, "any and all facts within your knowledge bearing upon the wisdom or increasing or diminishing the use of the Army in the management of Indian affairs." Replies were to be addressed to the Secretary of the Board at Washington. Clum's reply was printed in *Seventh Annual Report of the . . . Indian Commissioners, 1875* (Washington, 1876), 95.

\(^\text{53}\). *File 5770*.

\(^\text{54}\). *Miner, Prescott, Oct. 22, 1875*.
the forty Indian scouts at Camp Apache. He did direct the discharge of the chiefs, Diablo and Patone, who were serving in the scout company. On the 20th, he penned a long report of his excursion for General Schofield, concluding:

The most serious objection to a permanent Indian Reservation in the White Mountains, will come from the residents of Tucson and the southern portion of the Territory, for they cannot possibly compete with parties in New Mexico for the supply of the Indians. Another objection will be, that if let alone, in very few years, the Indians would be self supporting.

The general continued to press, however, for an end to the policy of removal in Arizona. On the same day that he reported to Schofield, he wrote to President Grant, warning of trouble if the policy were continued and calling the repudiation of Howard's promise to the White Mountain Apaches "premeditated." Concentration, he explained, was unwise to begin with and, if carried through, should be done at Camp Apache because the Gila valley was bound to be eventually settled by whites. The transfer of all Indians to San Carlos would necessitate large expenditures at several posts for more troops. Further, he told Grant, the civilian contractors in California and at Tucson had arranged


56. File 5770.
the impending removal because they did not wish to compete with New Mexican suppliers at Camp Apache.  

Meanwhile, on October 13, Clum had followed Kautz back to Camp Apache to relieve the unhappy Morford of his agency. He arrived at the post at noon on the 14th to find the meager supply of Indian goods stored in the quartermaster warehouse and the erstwhile agent living in the officers' quarters. The transaction was quickly made, for Morford was to go to the Colorado River agency, but the new post commander, Captain William Scott Worth, 8th Infantry, would not condescend to confer with Clum and had his adjutant tell Clum in so many words he was not wanted at Camp Apache. It was a tactless and stupid gesture, which General Kautz rewarded with a reprimand and which Clum never forgot. Kautz also had his A.A.G. tell Clum that if he insisted on making personal attacks on officers, as he had done recently in the Arizona Citizen, then he "must not

57. Kautz to Col. Orville E. Babcock, Oct. 20, 1875, no file symbols, General Correspondence of the Office of Indian Affairs (RG 75, National Archives). Babcock was at this time superintendent of public buildings in Washington, with rank of colonel in the Corps of Engineers, but he actually served as President Grant's personal secretary. In that intimate position, he had become involved with the notorious Whiskey Ring and in December was exposed, though never convicted. Grant protected him throughout the scandal and in 1877 had him made engineer of the 5th and 6th Lighthouse Districts. An account of the Whiskey Ring is in Bowers, Tragic Era, 465-69.

be surprised if they resent them in some way." Clum responded to Major Martin's note with a characteristic fourteen page letter.59

On October 31, Clum submitted another glowing report of peace and progress at San Carlos. Therein he called attention to Kautz' actions and to the prospects of removing the remainder of the White Mountain Apaches. On December 8, Commissioner E. P. Smith forwarded the report to the War Department, through the Interior Secretary, with attention directed to the condition of affairs at the Apache agencies, "in order that if any trouble shall occur the responsibility shall remain where it properly belongs."60 The correspondence was forwarded to the commander of the Division of the Pacific, who rose to the bait. "These Indians," said Schofield, referring to the White Mountain bands,

had been located . . . where a large military post had been established at great expense . . . . But finally, without the knowledge of the Division or Department Commander . . . ., the Interior Department determined to remove these Indians to the San Carlos reservation. The first intimation of this determination came through a request of the Indian Agent . . . . to assist him in making the removal . . . . The Army can not recognize any such eccentric and unreasonable mode of transacting public business.

59. The correspondence is all in 1834 A.G.O. 1876.

60. E. P. Smith to Secty of War, Dec. 8, 1875, in File 6343.
Schofield attributed the tragedy of the Modoc War to "a similar departure from the legitimate mode of doing business" and stated that, "I had then instructed my subordinates not to initiate action in such matters, which might lead to War, without my orders." He then set down the principle which was to guide Kautz: "The military commanders . . . will cheerfully execute the Executive will when it is properly made known to them. But they do not propose to make war upon peaceable Indians upon the demand of an Indian Agent, nor in obedience to any other authority . . . except that of their lawful superiors." This paper was handed to the Secretary of the Interior on January 27, 1876.61

On January 19, 1876, an exaggerated report from Camp Apache had been sent to Camp Grant to the effect that a general outbreak had been started by Chief Diablo and that his entire band was in arms. At Prescott, General Kautz did not credit the sensational report and the Evening Courier reported, "It seems that Diablo and only five or six Indians fired on the Indian scouts killing one . . . but after the first fire Diablo skinned out for San Carlos, and at last account was playing innocent and peacefully pursuing his usual avocation, that of a steady

industrious granger." Apparently, however, this was the occasion for an exodus of a great many of the White Mountain Apaches to San Carlos. On January 18, Clum reported to the Citizen editor, John Wasson, "Diablo is here and all quiet." Thereafter Diablo's band was counted among the San Carlos Apaches.

Clum's agitation of the White Mountain bands, fortunately, proved bloodless. Except for a raid by some renegades in Copper Canyon, near Camp Verde, and the subsequent scout after them into the Tonto Basin by a detachment of the 6th Cavalry in the early days of December, 1875, the first year of Kautz' command passed peacefully enough. Political turmoil across the international frontier in Sonora, Mexico, promised for a time, however, more excitement than Indians.

62. Undated clippings in scrapbook, Kautz Papers. Kautz summarized the incident in his annual report: "Two chiefs, Diablo and Pitone, were discharged from the ... scouts at Camp Apache. Diablo, in revenge for his dismissal, undertook to create a mutiny among the scouts." Secretary of War Report, 1876, 99.

63. The Indians raided a sheep camp near Camp Verde, then struck the stage road between the post and Prescott, at the head of Copper Canyon. They just missed meeting an army ambulance on its way to Verde containing Major Martin, Major Biddle, and Doctor Magruder. A little later the train of a government contractor camped in the same place, and the Indians, laying in ambush, drove off the herd of oxen. The raiders were pursued by a small detachment of cavalry and a company of Indian scouts. Yorktown to Santiago, 182.
The disturbance in Sonora was connected with the rise of Porfirio Diaz after 1871. Popular feeling against the central Mexican government of President Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada was once more aroused in 1875 by a fraudulent election, in which the Sonoran presidential party was able to elevate Jose J. Pesquiera as State Governor. The opposition candidate was General Garcia Morales, who was accompanied by one Francisco Serna on the ticket for Vice-Governor. After Morales was denied in August, 1875, Serna "pronounced" at Altar against both the Pesquiera and Lerdo governments, in the name of the Porfirist revolution.

Serna was well received at Tucson where, in September, he sought help among the predominantly Mexican population. If contemporary newspaper reports are accurate, he remained in Arizona until the end of November and recruited "a number of individuals." Kautz apparently remained in ignorance of this violation of international neutrality. In December, 1875.

64. For the rise of Diaz, see Henry Bamford Parkes, A History of Mexico (Boston, 1938), 280-84.


66. Territorial Enterprise, Virginia City, Nev., Sept. 9, 1875. The Nevada newspaper gave very complete coverage to the Serna affair and had a correspondent in Tucson. The Citizen, perhaps because the matter was common knowledge around Tucson, gave Serna scant attention.
Serna was defeated militarily by Pesquiera, and about December 15 his little army fled northward from Santa Cruz into Arizona with Pesquieristas in pursuit. From Samuel Hughes of Tucson, Governor Safford learned of the incursion on December 22 and telegraphed General Kautz in Prescott to send troops to expel the Mexicans. Taking care first to secure General Schofield's permission, Kautz on December 23 wired Major Biddle, then at Camp Grant, to take all available cavalry there and at Camp Lowell and to scout to the Sonora line to "compel the surrender of any armed Mexican force that has crossed the line." He told Major Compton, commanding Camp Lowell, to hold a cavalry troop in readiness and advised Safford of his actions. Safford, assured that the troops were in motion, left Tucson on the old Gila Trail for San Rafael.

Major Biddle took command of the two companies of the 6th Cavalry at Grant under Captains T. C. Tupper and W. A. Bafferty, together with a wagon train and two more officers. There were altogether seventy-seven officers and men, with fifteen days rations and ammunition in the train. They departed Grant the same day that the telegraphic

order was received and marched twenty-three miles. Next day they reached the "upper crossing" of the San Pedro River; and on Christmas, Biddle marched up the river thirteen miles, then headed west to old Camp Wallen where he bivouacked. On December 26 he force-marched the last thirty miles to San Rafael. En route he cut the trail of Serna's force, about three hundred horsemen, which had left old Camp Crittenden on the 23rd and recrossed into Sonora on Christmas Day. The cavalry encamped near the Patagonia Mines and awaited the Governor, who arrived on the 27th. Safford told Biddle that "all had been done that could be;" that "no armed and belligerent ... Mexicans" remained in Arizona. The Governor complimented the troops on their speedy march, and they retired to Camp Grant.

General Kautz, meanwhile, was getting acquainted with his command, a department that was as diverse in its problems as it was large in size and complex in geography.

69. Biddle's report is in 768 A.G.O. 1876.

70. Ibid. Serna was eventually successful, defeating Pesquiera decisively in January and even winning over the Lerdist general who had been sent to restore order, Vincente Mariscal. Later in 1876, Pesquiera himself was forced to take refuge with Arizona friends. See the Territorial Enterprise, Jan. 8, 15, 16; March 26, 1876.

71. The Department included Arizona Territory with 113,580 square miles and nearly 47,000 square miles of southern California and Nevada. Excluding California and Nevada, which was of little military concern in these years, and which had only two military stations (an Ordnance detachment at San Diego and the post of Fort Yuma), the Department
Three weeks after he returned from his inspection of Camps Verde, Apache, and San Carlos, he set out again to see the southern portion of it.\textsuperscript{72} He arrived at Camp McDowell, a two-company post at the lower end of the Verde River, on November 11, 1875, and remained two days.\textsuperscript{73} The post contained some of the best quarters in the territory. Kautz found them in need of repair and "fitting up," especially the storehouse. The flour issued to the bakery he found infested with weevils and the water supply had been interrupted due to the failure of the pump which brought it from the river.

\textsuperscript{72} The next several paragraphs, and all quotations, are drawn from Kautz' report of his trip to headquarters, Division of the Pacific, dated December 20, 1875. In the absence of the original, which I could not find in A.G.O. files, the copy in \textit{Arizona Letter Book} 1875, 327-29, was used.

\textsuperscript{73} McDowell had been established in the winter of 1865-66 about seven miles from its confluence with the Salt and seventy miles downstream from Camp Verde. It was in the foothills of the mountains of central Arizona and was intended as a base of operations against Apaches in the Mazatzal and Superstition Mountains. It completed a triangle of posts—McDowell, Verde, Apache—from which the wild Tonto Basin could be policed. In 1875 it was garrisoned only with one company each from the 6th Cavalry and 8th Infantry. Originally, however, it had been designed and constructed to become a district headquarters. Brandes, \textit{Frontier Posts}, 53-55; and E. R. Hagemann, "Scout Out from Camp McDowell," \textit{Arizonaiana}, Vol. 5 (Fall 1964), 29-47. Martha Summerhayes lived at McDowell from Dec. of 1877 to June of 1878. \textit{Summerhayes}, 156-66.
From McDowell, Kautz proceeded southward 125 miles via Florence, to Tucson, where he arrived on the 15th.\textsuperscript{74}

Kautz found new Camp Lowell "still in an unfinished state" with earthen roofs and floors. "There is a great deal of rubbish," he remarked, "that has accumulated from the depot at Tucson long since discontinued." The flour here was also infested. "It has been very unhealthy," he observed, and "the men of the sixth cavalry band were so generally ill that they were sent to a sanitary camp in the mountains for many weeks, and during the time I was in Tucson, including the time spent in going to Camps Grant and Bowie, the majority of the officers at Camp Lowell were more or less sick with malarial fever."

While Kautz was in Tucson, he chanced to meet Edward C. Kemble, an inspector for the Office of Indian Affairs, who was in town to interview Agent Clum. As

\textsuperscript{74}. A camp of the California Volunteers had been established in Tucson after the Confederates fled in April of 1862 and in 1866 was designated Camp Lowell. The town, however, was malarial and vice ridden that in the spring of 1873 Gen. Crook had directed Col. E. A. Carr, 5th Cavalry, to erect a new post in higher country away from Tucson. In May, Carr and Gov. Safford agreed on a site seven miles east on Rillito Creek. After the 5th Cavalry left, it was occupied by a company of the 8th Infantry. In 1879 it was redesignated a fort and in 1886 Kautz commanded the post. For the history of Fort Lowell see Thomas H. Peterson, Jr., "Fort Lowell, A. T., Army Post During the Apache Campaigns," Smoke Signal No. 8 in Brand Book 1 (Tucson, 1967). The post is now a recreational park of Pima County, with the commanding officer’s house reconstructed as a museum and the hospital ruins protected.
Inspector Kemble's purpose was to investigate the circumstances surrounding the White Mountain removal, "and also the cause of disagreement . . . between the Military and the Civil administration," Kautz had some conversation with him. Kautz told Kemble that Glum was an ambitious young man who thought himself capable of controlling Indians without military assistance. "I addressed such a letter to him," said Kautz, "as compelled him either to affirm or deny that he was capable," and Glum had immediately asked that troops be withdrawn. Kautz told Kemble in positive terms that the removal was a mistake.  

The general reached new Camp Grant, 75 miles northeast of Tucson, on November 25. It was garrisoned by three companies of the 6th Cavalry and a company of the 8th Infantry. They occupied four barracks built of adobe on stone foundations and with shingle roofs. Although there were three buildings for officers' quarters under

75. Kautz did not mention his meeting with Kemble in his report. See Kemble to Comm. of Ind. Affairs, dated at New York, Jan. 7, 1876, Inspectors File 713 (RG 75, National Archives).

76. Old Camp Grant had been founded at the junction of Aravaipa Creek with the San Pedro River in 1862 to control the Aravaipa, Pinal, and other Apaches who descended from the mountains to raid southward. Its climate, however, was so sickly that Gen. Crook had resolved to move it and personally selected a new site 45 miles southeast on a high mesa at the western foot of the Pinaleño or Graham Mountains, at the head of the Sulphur Springs Valley.  

_Crook Autobiography_, 165; _Brandes_, 35-40.
construction, built of stone and shingle roofed, they were not quite completed and already inadequate for the number of officers assigned. The post had a well built hospital, separate headquarters building, chapel, schoolhouse, bakery, a secure stone guardhouse, and a large storehouse. All were arranged around the usual rectangular parade ground but Kautz thought they extended "over too much ground to be convenient."

On November 27, Kautz proceeded to Camp Bowie, ninety miles east of Tucson and nearly fifty miles south-east of new Camp Grant. "the 28th being Sunday," he wrote, "I inspected both troops and the buildings... The post seemed in excellent condition and the troops were well disciplined. The quarters are complete... and the storehouses a little crowded but also in good condition." Bowie was another post that had been established by the California Volunteers and it was sited to command the springs in Apache Pass in the north end of the Chiricahua Mountains. Kautz observed that better knowledge of the country now obviated such protection, for other water and better roads were available, but the post was on the reservation of, and near the agency for the Chiricahua Apache Indians, "the

77. Ibid., 14-21. The post is now a national historic site.
most fierce and blood thirsty of . . . Arizona." At this time it was garrisoned by two companies of the 6th Cavalry.

The general returned to Tucson on the old Overland Mail road via the upper crossing of the San Pedro River. By December 10, Kautz was back at Fort Whipple. He had seen nearly all of his department. As for the rest of Arizona north and east of Prescott, it was scarcely explored. Some hardy Mormon families were settling along the Little Colorado, but for the rest it was Navajo and Hopi country. By custom, military affairs with these Indians were administered from the District of New Mexico in the Department of the Missouri, though Crook had not hesitated to enter the Hopi villages in 1874 and prevent them selling arms to the Apaches. 78 Away to the west on the Colorado River at Beale's Crossing, Kautz maintained another lonely station, Fort Mojave, occupied by two companies of the 12th Infantry. 79

As 1875 closed another traveler prepared to follow in Kautz' tracks. Alphonse Pinart, linguist and collector of antiquities, paused five days at Mojave before accompanying a military detachment to Prescott where he arrived on January 12. He called on General Kautz "who with a great


79. Founded in 1858, it had been burned and abandoned on the outbreak of the Civil War but re-established in 1863 to control the Mojaves, Hualpais, and other then-hostile Indians of the upper Colorado. Brandes, 56 ff.
show of polished manners placed himself entirely" at Pinart's disposal. "I visited with him several groups of ruins in the environs of Prescott," the Frenchman reported, "and after a stay of a week I took leave . . . turning my steps toward Camp Mac-Dowell." 80

The concentration of the Western Apaches upon the San Carlos Reservation was prelude to larger trouble for General Kautz. Each successive removal—first from the Rio Verde, next from the White Mountains—had intermingled the dissident bands, embittered the chiefs, and made the tribesmen ever more restless, as the memory of Crook's war faded. Yet the Coyoteros, Pinals, Aravaipas, Tontos, Mojaves, and Yavapais already at San Carlos were not half so turbulent as their brothers, the Chiricahuas, who had never tasted defeat and lived with little supervision on their vast tract of southeastern Arizona.

Altogether there could not have been more than four hundred Arizona Chiricahuas administered by Thomas J. Jeffords from his agency at Apache Pass. 81 The trouble was that he seldom counted them and indiscriminately fed all who appeared for rations—Mimbresños and Southern Chiricahuas,


81. Kautz estimated that Tahza's band, when they were gathered at Fort Bowie on June 5, 1876, to be removed,
as well as the Cochise band. They wandered at will from Arizona to New Mexico, and into Old Mexico, without restraint. Their reputation for ferocity increased their supposed number until it was believed to be close to one thousand.  

There is no doubt that Jeffords let the Cochise Indians live pretty much as they were accustomed to do, requiring neither counts nor passes.  

There can be little doubt as well that their reservation was coveted by white stockraisers and miners, and the slightest provocation would be an excuse to take it from them.

numbered about 250. Kautz to A.A.G., Div. of the Pacific, June 30, 1876, 4396 A.G.O. 1876. Cited hereafter as Chiricahua Report. Six days later he reported 300 present and "all seem to have come in . . . remainder, not more than sixty, seem to have gone [to] Sonora or Warm Springs reservation New Mexico. Chiricahua seem to have been overestimated heretofore." Telegram, Kautz to A.A.G., June 11, 1876, 3305 A.G.O. 1876. On the 15th, Kautz met Clum on the way to San Carlos with 320 Indians. After questioning Agent Jeffords, Kautz concluded that "it is probable that the Chiricahuas proper [i.e., the Cochise band] have never . . . exceeded four hundred." Chiricahua Report.

82. Ogle, 162-64.

83. Before Crook had left, he had forwarded a formal complaint from one A. Rickman of Tubac who had traced five stolen horses to the reservation only to recover three and to learn that the others had been taken to Ojo Caliente, New Mexico, where the agency for the Warm Springs, Mimbreno and other New Mexico Apaches was located. Rickman had reported to Jeffords that a band of Chiricahua was living off the reserve; he was told that nothing could be done, "that they did not belong to his [Jeffords'] tribe." 945 A.G.O. 1875. In July, 1875, a peaceful party of Chiricahua were fired on by Mexicans fifteen miles north of the international line. The authorities of Sonora continually complained of Chiricahua depredations. Ogle, 163-65.

84. In March of 1875, Editor John Wasson urged immediate removal so that the country could be occupied by
The excuse came on April 7, 1876, when a Chiricahua named Pionsenay killed two white traders at their store at Sulphur Springs. The white men were selling whiskey to Indians and they apparently were killed either for their stock of ammunition or for refusing another drink of fire-water. A few bad Indians joined Pionsenay and the next day they killed a settler on the San Pedro River. Promptly a scouting party set out from Camp Bowie, accompanied by Jeffords and Tahza, a son of Cochise. The renegades had been joined by many excited Indians who had fled the reservation in fear of white retaliation. They were overtaken in the mountains near the Mexican line, but the troopers could not dislodge them and limped back to Apache Pass. Soon afterward, however, Jeffords reported that all the Chiricahuas except Pionsenay and about seven others were back on the reservation. By April 19, all was quiet. The "outbreak," so far as the army in Arizona was concerned, was over.

Enterprising prospectors and stockmen instead of shiftless Indians. At that time, a special agent of the Indian Office was in Arizona to remove the Indians at Camp Verde to San Carlos, and the editor speculated that the Chiricahuas were to be removed as soon as the Verde removal was complete. Citizen, March 6, 1875. The paper published similar proposals throughout the year, and New Mexican merchants wanted the Chiricahuas removed to that territory to get bigger contracts for supplying them. Ogle, 164, 166.

The military correspondence, mostly telegrams from Kautz and Gen. Hatch, are in files 2032, 2033, 2189, 2663 A.G.O. 1876. See also Ogle, 165-66; and Dunn, Massacres, 637-38.
What Kautz probably did not know of was the effect these events would have upon the Chiricahua bands in New Mexico. On April 14, two days after Kautz had reported the trouble to Pacific division headquarters, Colonel Edward Hatch, commanding the Military District of New Mexico, telegraphed Fort Leavenworth that "Apaches at Camp Bowie . . . have broken away from Reservation . . . and are coming toward Tullerosa [sic], having killed several persons and stolen cattles; . . . Apaches are leaving Cañada Alamosa and are stealing cattle." Copies of General Schofield's belated dispatch and of General Sheridan's report of New Mexican affairs were transmitted simultaneously to the Office of Indian Affairs together with the opinion of Governor Safford of Arizona that the "whole tribe had broken out." 86

General Kautz had also taken military precautions which perhaps lent color to Safford's alarms. News of the murder of the whiskey traders was not relayed to Prescott until April 12, by the governor himself, and Kautz at once ordered Captain Brayton at Camp Verde to march his company of Indian Scouts to Camp Grant. The scouts from Apache and all the available cavalry from the northern posts were ordered south. He requested authority from San Francisco

86. Telegram, Schofield to T.A.G., April 13, 1876, 2032 A.G.O. 1876. Telegram, Sheridan to T.A.G., April 14, 1876, 2033 A.G.O. 1876.
(granted, but shortly after canceled) to enlist more scouts, he alerted the posts in southern Arizona, and then he telegraphed Governor Safford that he would "be down in about ten days. It will take longer than that for the scouts to reach Grant." He also directed Major Compton at Camp Lowell to send a strong scouting party across the Santa Cruz valley to the neighborhood of old Camp Crittenden and at the same time gave Compton authority to sell arms and ammunition to local citizens. On April 19, when Jeffords sent word that his charges were back on the reserve, Kautz telegraphed Safford that, although it was no longer necessary to come in person to Tucson, "I will make every effort to capture the murderers," and on April 22 he gave instructions to Captain Ogilby for effecting the capture. The cavalry had been ordered back to their home stations when the commanding officer of Bowie reported, on the 19th, that all the Chiricahuas "except seven" had returned to the reservation.

But the fat was in the fire. Indian Commissioner J. Q. Smith relayed the reports to the Interior Secretary on April 20, accompanied by a letter from Governor Safford in which details of theft and murder were reiterated. Safford

87. Arizona Letter Book, 1876, 72-75.
88. Ibid., 83-84, 87, 91-92.
admitted that virtually all the Indians had returned to their reservation, but "circumstances narrated in connection with their return express the blackest state of affairs imaginable on that reservation." He asked for an investigation of Jeffords and concluded that, "In any event, these Indians should be at once removed." Smith commented, "the proposed removal of the Indians to another Reservation will be attempted as soon as the appropriation this day asked of Congress shall be received." Only the day before, April 19, Safford had wired John Wasson, who had gone to Washington to lobby for the removal, that the only man to do the job with the "nerve, ability and confidence" was—John P. Clum.

Certainly August Kautz did not relish the prospect of an Indian war, and he must have winced as he read the inflammatory columns of the Tucson Citizen calling for unremitting war. Not so the boy Indian agent, Clum. Whether he saw through the scheme of Safford and Wasson and, if he did, felt himself in their debt for past support, is uncertain. Most likely his megalomania required ultimate authority over all the Apaches, and he only saw the opportunity to add the Chiricahuas to his domain. He had recently

90. Smith to Secretary of Interior, April 20, 1876, copy in 2289 A.G.O. 1876. The acting Secretary of Interior forwarded the correspondence to the War Office on April 22 but it was not seen by The Adjutant General until the end of April.

91. Ogle, 166.
formed a paramilitary force of Indian police; and when the possibility of removal became known, he offered the services of three hundred policemen to the Governor with the boast that they would do the job without aid from the army. On May 1, Congress and the Interior Department finally acted and Clum was given the task.

The history of Indian removals in Arizona would suggest that the Department of the Interior was bent on carrying the concentration policy to its logical conclusion without consulting any other agency—the Board of Indian Commissioners, the War Department, or least of all the Indians. So it had removed the Apaches pacified by Crook, but never in such haste as when removing the Chiricahua.

Governor Safford heard of the Congressional act passed on Monday, May 1, very soon, probably by telegraph from Wasson, and by Saturday he was in Prescott to confer with Kautz.

92. Wasson's newspaper stated that "the kind of war needed for the Chiricahua Apaches, is steady unrelenting, hopeless, and indiscriminating war, slaying men, women and children, . . . until every valley and crest and crag and fastness shall send to high heaven the grateful incense of festering and rotting Chiricahuas." Citizen, April 15, 1876. See also issues of May 20 and March 24. Letter, Safford to Smith, April 17, 1876, in 2289 A.G.O. 1876.

93. Ogle, 166. Assurances by Kautz that all danger had passed and that troops were pursuing the seven renegades were ignored.

94. Telegram, Safford to Smith, May 6; and letter, Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, S. A. Galpin, to Secretary of Interior, May 8; copies with letter, Secretary of Interior to Secretary of War, May 8, 1876, 2653 A.G.O.
How speedily he had abandoned Clum's little army that was to accomplish the removal without the regulars!

Safford wired Commissioner Smith on May 6 that "General Kautz does not like to act without orders from the Secty. of War. I think it is important that he shall be on hand when the removal . . . is ordered with all his available force. . . . I wish you would see the Secty. of War at once and have him order General Kautz to render . . . assistance." Kautz evidently refused to aid the governor without a direct order from above; in other words, he would follow Schofield's just policy: he would not make war on peaceful Indians.

Unsatisfied with Kautz' reaction, the governor turned again to Clum, and before returning to Tucson he wired the

1876. Although seen by Gen. Sherman previously, The Adjutant General did not endorse the letter or send the information to San Francisco until May 16.

95. Safford to Smith, ibid.

96. Two scout companies had assembled at Camp Grant and, on April 26, had been ordered to search for the seven Chiricahua renegades under the overall direction of Captain Brayton. The country west of the Chiricahua reserve, especially the Whetstone and Blue mountains, was scoured. They returned to Grant via Mule Pass and the Dragoon range on May 17 without cutting a single outgoing trail. Meanwhile, the two 6th Cavalry companies under Captain Whitside from Camp Lowell had ranged the country along the Sonora line, between old Camps Crittenden and Wallen without seeing a sign of Indians, the inhabitants peacefully at work. On May 11 the C. O. of Fort Bowie reported all but the seven renegades were accounted for. On May 15, nevertheless, Gen. Sherman wired Schofield to have Kautz effect the Chiricahua removal. Arizona Letter Book, 1876, 91-107.
Interior Secretary for three hundred stand of arms to equip the native police, asserting that "the removal can be thus effected without expense to the government." 97 How weak a reed he leaned on was shown on May 13 when Clum wired from Tucson that he was unable to apprehend the seven or eight Chiricahua who had murdered the whiskey traders, although they were back at the Apache Pass agency in plain sight. Kautz knew this, and on May 12 had wired Safford bluntly that the army "will not be able to get them unless the Agent turns them over." Three days later, Kautz needled the Governor again with the questions, "Has the Agent [Clum] made any effort to effect the removal by negotiation . . . ? Has any attempt been made to obtain the surrender of the murderers?" 98

Kautz knew that inevitably he would be drawn into the removal. On May 7 he had asked Captain Curwen B. McLellan, 6th Cavalry, commanding Camp Bowie, what the difficulties might be. McLellan replied that "any attempt to [do so] will lead to an open war. In my opinion it will require all the available force in the Department to accomplish it." 99 On May 15, General Sherman complied with

97. Safford to Smith, in 2653 A.G.O. 1876.
the requests of the War and Interior Secretaries and wired Schofield to "instruct Genl Kautz . . . to furnish all military assistance necessary . . . and that he may at his discretion furnish arms to the San Carlos Indians." Kautz acknowledged receipt of the order next day. He then telegraphed Safford at Tucson that he was sending all of the cavalry from the northern posts to the southeast, a movement that would require ten days or two weeks. In the meantime, he said, he would come in person to Tucson. He told the governor, "There is not much use of taking any decided ground until the troops get down . . . I will telegraph a programme to Clum to-day. When we get all the troops posted, we can dictate our terms." The same day, May 17, Kautz sent a telegraphic message to Clum who was now at Camp Grant:

I have ordered all the Cavalry to Lowell and Grant . . . I suggest that you take no measures that will bring on an issue until the troops are in position . . . In the mean time you could visit the Chiricahua Reservation and ascertain the . . . temper of the tribe and inform yourself where the troops will be of most service, and I will meet you in Tucson in about ten or twelve days, or if necessary at Bowie. I will direct the Comdg Officer at Lowell to turn over to you 150 stand of arms and what ammunition you may require . . .

100. Sherman to Schofield, May 15, encl. 2 with 2641 A.G.O. 1876.

101. This and next quotation from Arizona Letter Book, 1876, 112.
In reply, Governor Safford suggested that the military authorities in New Mexico be informed of Kautz' plans, "in case the Indians should take refuge in that direction." The governor also said that he had asked General Mariscal of Sonora to occupy the border south of the reservation in case the Indians should try to go that way. Kautz at once relayed Safford's suggestion to headquarters in San Francisco.\(^{102}\)

Having given the necessary orders to the 6th Cavalry at Camps Verde, McDowell, and Apache to effect their concentration, along with the two companies of Indian scouts already at Camp Grant under Captain Ogilby, Kautz prepared himself to depart Fort Whipple. He arranged to buy a mining claim and saw that Mrs. Biddle moved into his quarters. Major Biddle had been detailed to Los Angeles and Kautz insisted that Helen, who was soon to have a baby, stay with Fannie. At last on May 28 the general left Prescott in company with his adjutant, Major Martin, and his aide-de-camp, Lieutenant Folliot A. Whitney.\(^{103}\)

\(^{102}\) Schofield to T.A.G., May 20, 1876, 2764 A.G.O. 1876.

\(^{103}\) The orders are in Arizona Letter Book, 1876, 109-19, Mining claim indenture in Yavapai County Deed Book No. 8, p. 91 (Yavapai County Recorder's Office, Prescott). Biddle, 168-69.
Kautz and his staff reached Tucson on the morning of May 31. He soon dispatched a telegram to Captain McLellan at Bowie asking if the Indians might be moved without a fight. "There will be," he advised, "seven companies of cavalry at Grant available and three at Lowell and about one hundred and fifty scouts near Grant. To make a display of all this force immediately at Bowie would probably have the effect of frightening the Indians away from the agency." Would McLellan inform the Indians that "this force is only to be used in case they resist or run away." McLellan expressed apprehension that the Indians could not be moved without a collision. He said that Tahza had vowed to die before he would move. Agent Clum at Tucson was of the opinion they would either resist or flee. The Indians, however, were reported to be all peaceably assembled near the agency and Kautz thought they would move.

Colonel James Oakes of the 6th Cavalry had recently come into the department and was in command of his regiment

104. The following narrative of the Chiricahua removal is based largely on Chiricahua Report, from which all quotations are taken unless otherwise noted.

105. Arizona Letter Book, 1876, 139-40.

at Camp Lowell. Kautz directed Oakes to march with the three companies at that post to Bowie along with Agent Clum. Telegraphic instructions went out to Camp Grant for Captain George M. Brayton, 8th Infantry, to take three companies of cavalry and one Indian scout company to the Sulphur Springs station twenty-five miles west of Bowie. Major Compton, 6th Cavalry, was instructed to march with four companies of his regiment and the other Indian scouts under Captain Ogilby into the San Simon valley, twenty miles east of Bowie. Kautz and his staff departed for Bowie on June 4.

107. Oakes was an 1846 graduate of the Academy and served in the 2nd Dragoons until promoted captain in the 2nd Cavalry in 1855. He had received the brevet of captain for gallantry at the Battle of Molino del Rey in 1847. He spent most of his years before the Civil War campaigning against Texas Indians and his health was seriously impaired by sickness and wounds. Although he commanded the 4th Cavalry in the field for a time as lieutenant colonel, he spent most of the war as a mustering and disbursing officer. In the reorganization of 1866 he became colonel of the 6th Cavalry. From that time until 1875, when the regiment was ordered to Arizona, his ill health prevented him from performing active field duty. In April, 1875, he again took sick leave and the regiment went to Arizona under command of Major Compton, the lieutenant colonel, Thomas H. Neill, having been appointed Cmdt. of Cadets for the U.S.M.A. He refused to retire and, after some time at division headquarters in San Francisco, he reported for duty at Camp Lowell on February 29, 1876. In October, Kautz tried to have him retired on the basis of 30 years' service, but not even Sheridan's influence could accomplish this. Oakes retired at the mandatory age of 64 in 1879 and lived until 1910. Cullum. IV, A, 51. Powell, 432-34. Arizona Letter Book, 1876, 48. Letter, Sheridan to Sherman, Oct. 25, 1876; and Sheridan to Kautz, same date; in letterbook, Series A, Box 41, Sheridan Papers.
Compton misinterpreted his orders and marched around the Graham Mountains to Whitlock's Cienega just south of modern Safford, instead of to the old Overland Mail station of San Simon. Brayton and Oakes quickly linked up at the Sulphur Springs. Kautz reached Bowie on the morning of June 5, followed by Oakes and his battalion. "We then learned," wrote Kautz,

that the Chiricahua Indians had had a fight among themselves. The hostile parties, composed according to Agent Jeffords' statement, of Southern Chiricahuas, who were opposed to moving, undertook to force Tahzay (Cochise's band) into hostilities. A fight ensued in which Eskina, chief of the band opposed to removal, and four others, are reported killed. Tahzay had two of his party killed, and quite a number on both sides were wounded, among them Pionsenay . . . who was shot through the shoulder joint, fracturing the bones.

McLellan had already sent out a force of cavalry with Jeffords to bring Tahza and his people to the military post. This band, numbering about 250, came in peaceably on the morning of the 5th. Next day, in the morning, "Agent Clum held a council with Tahzay and his people, at which all the officers were present, and they consented to the removal selecting abandoned Camp Goodwin as their home, but they took exception to being required to work, saying they knew nothing of planting, and they were evidently averse to labor. No effort was made to disarm them . . . ."

Nearly a hundred more Indians straggled into the agency during the next week. On the 7th, three principal
men of the Southern Chiricahuas came in and agreed to bring their people in as well, promising to return in four days. These leaders were Juh, Nolgee, and Geronimo, the last of whom was destined to play a legendary role in history. Next day, some of Clum's Indian police went out near the agency to bring in Pionsenay, said to be dying. They discovered signs that the Southern band had fled for Mexico. Kautz reported,

At the request of Agent Clum, I at once gave orders for pursuit. Capt. Brayton had meanwhile moved his camp close to the mountains on the west side, about fifteen miles south of Bowie, and Major Compton had taken post south of east of Bowie, in the San Simon Valley . . . Major Compton was ordered to scout the base of the Chiricahua Range, on the east side, and Capt. Brayton the west side, with instructions to . . . pursue any trail.

It is probable that, had Compton arrived in the San Simon valley before the evening of June 7, he would have intercepted the Southern Chiricahuas. As it was, over a hundred got away to Sonora. Another group under Gordo was said by Jeffords to have gone some time before to the neighborhood of Stein's Peak, New Mexico. As it was, Compton struck the renegades' trail on June 9, which showed only twenty-five or thirty horses and the presence of many women and children. "This trail corresponded in size with the supposed number of Who's [Juh] party, and was abandoned by Compton where it left the mountains, leading as the Major supposed into Chihuahua." Because it was thirty miles
to water in that direction, Compton gave up, a mortifying
disappointment to Kautz. 108

Tahza stated that all of his people were with him
except the families of Juh, Geronimo, and Nolgee. His
statement accorded with the evidence furnished by the
scouting parties, which had encircled and crisscrossed
the reservation. This force had included seven companies
of cavalry and eighty Indian Scouts. Before he left Bowie,
Kautz had ordered McLellan to carry out further scouts in
anticipation that the escaped Indians might return to the
reservation.

On June 10, Kautz rode to Camp Grant and thence to
the site of the old Camp Goodwin on the Gila. 109 He examined

108. The after-action reports of Brayton and
Compton are enclosures nos. 1 and 2 with Chiricahua Report.
These documents were largely the basis for Carter's account
of the removal. Cf. Yorktown to Santiago, 186-87. In the
report of Kautz, the failure to intercept the fleeing
Apaches was layed directly to Compton for his disregard of
very specific orders, and, "But for the difficulties ... and the expense, I should submit the case to ... a
Court Martial." Sherman endorsed the reproof as justified
and Compton was reprimanded by letter, A.A.G. to Compton,
June 30, 1876, Arizona Letter Book, 1876, 153-54.

109. Camp Goodwin, named in honor of the first
territorial governor, John Noble Goodwin, was one of the
posts established by California Volunteers during the Civil
War. Founded in 1864, it became apparent soon that the Gila
valley in this vicinity was very unhealthy. Nearly every
white person who resided there for more than a few days
became feverish. Early in 1871, Gen. Stoneman ordered the
place abandoned. The troops were transferred to the camp
in the White Mountains which later became Camp Apache.
Camp Goodwin K File; Brandes, 32-34.
the latter locality with a view to the establishment of a permanent camp. From there he marched to Tucson, crossing en route the trail of Clum's new Indian charges which had been escorted by Colonel Oakes' battalion. On the 15th he met the agent and heard that 320 Chiricahuas had come with him from Apache Pass. Thereupon, Kautz issued orders for the troops to return to their home stations. Four days later he reported his own return to Fort Whipple. 110

On July 6 Kautz found on his desk an ironic footnote to the Chiricahua removal. It was an application from Arizona pioneer Charles D. Poston to restore him to possession of his Arivaca land grant near the Mexican border "or to take the same in charge for a Military Post at a moderate annual compensation." His justification for this curious request was that he could not secure any capital for developing the property, which was both a ranch and a mining district, "On account of the continual Mexican and Indian disturbances." "It is well known," complained Poston, "that there is protection to neither life nor property on the Mexican border." 111 It was probable that among the Indians whom Kautz had just evicted were some of the Chiricahuas who had forced Poston to flee from Arizona in


111. Poston to Secretary of War, June 3, 1876, 4342 A.G.O. 1876.
The general endorsed the paper with the observation, "There is nothing to prevent the applicant ... from taking possession of his property ... as peace and quiet prevail throughout the territory."\textsuperscript{112}

The general himself was not hesitating to invest his own capital in Arizona mines, for on the day before he had departed Fort Whipple he had bought from his grubstake partner, William Gavin, a half interest in the Gopher mining claim for one hundred dollars. This indenture Kautz filed with the Yavapai County recorder on August 8. Twenty days later he bought Gavin's remaining quarter-interest for another one hundred dollars. The claim must have produced some valuable ore, because in October Kautz paid two hundred dollars more to the third prospecting partner, Charles E. Hitchcock, for the last one-quarter interest.\textsuperscript{113}

There were many other potential mines to attract Kautz' interest. The most important was the Oriental in the Peck District, which Kautz purchased in thirds between August, 1876, and August, 1877, for $3,000.\textsuperscript{114} By December,

\textsuperscript{112} Ibid., 3rd end., July 6.

\textsuperscript{113} Yavapai County Deed Book No. 8, pp.. 91-94, 154-55, 210-14.

\textsuperscript{114} Ibid., 87-91. Kautz leased the claim to a certain Mulvennon. A mill erected at the neighboring Peck
1877, he owned the Fannie and Indian claims, valued at two hundred dollars each. In September, 1877, he spent six hundred dollars for a package of five claims "all situated ... on the Emmett Ledge in the Black Hills Mineral Point Mining District." He was so well known as a mining entrepreneur that Hiram C. Hodge mentioned him by name in his promotional book, *Arizona As It Is*, which stirred fresh interest in Arizona in 1877. He evidently invested in Prescott real estate as well, but the circumstances are obscure. In all, Kautz' Arizona investments totaled at least $7,250, a not insignificant sum for an army officer.


116. Hiram C. Hodge, *Arizona As It Is; or, the Coming Country* (New York, 1877), 101.

117. Kautz apparently purchased some Prescott town lots in 1876, for which year there is no diary extant, and by May of 1877 they were worth $2,000. *Diary, 1877.* In 1881-83, he paid taxes on four lots. Yavapai County Tax Rolls, 1881-83 (Yavapai County Recorder's Office, Prescott). These same four lots, however, were probably those he acquired at a sheriff's sale in 1879. Yavapai County Deed Book No. 13, 189-90.
Official business in the summer of 1876 after the Chiricahua removal centered around the establishment of a new post on the Gila River and the organization of a new company of Indian scouts to control the burgeoning San Carlos Reservation. Such a post had been ruminated by Kautz since he had closed the camp at the agency on Clum's request, and the first concrete suggestion was made in an endorsement to a petition by settlers of Pueblo Viejo for protection in November, 1875. 118 At that time Kautz had considered the threat from San Carlos renegades sufficient to justify the garrison, but the removal of the Chiricahuas to the vicinity of old Camp Goodwin made a new post mandatory.

On June 27, 1876, Major Martin directed the commanding officer of Company D, 8th Infantry, Captain Clarence Mitchell Bailey, to take his company from Camp Lowell, together with Company F of the 6th Cavalry, to the Gila River in the vicinity of old Camp Goodwin. At some point upstream from the abandoned post, and below the farm of Isaac Clanton, he was to establish a temporary camp. "You are directed," continued the instructions, "to inform yourself on the locality and report upon its resources for a post, giving particular attention to the possibility of

supplying water, by extending the ditch which now supplies
the farm of Mr. Clanton . . . " Rations were to come from
Camp Lowell or Camp Grant, "for not less than two months."119

The troops at the "Camp on the Gila" were at first
quartered in tents, but sometime prior to September 15 a
headquarters building of puddled adobe was begun. In his
annual report of that date, Kautz describes the new
structure as

built of earth, in the manner recommended by the
Quartermaster-General, under the term "pise,"
[pisé] which will be . . . the largest that has
been built in the Territory . . . The pise-
work is simple and economical . . . Any soil
that is tenacious enough to make the adobe will
admit of pise-construction. It was evidently
used by the former inhabitants of this country,
as remains of it are found throughout the
Territory. The Casca Grande [sic], whose walls
are in part still standing, which was a ruin
three hundred years ago, . . . is pise of a
ruder type. I have advocated this method of
construction at all the posts, and at many of
them it has been used.120

As late as September 18, the ultimate location of
the new camp was still in doubt, and no money was available

119. Arizona Letter Book, 1876, 153. "Mr. Clanton"
was Isaac Clanton, a peaceful farmer from Tennessee, who
later figured in the Tombstone troubles between the town's
citizens and the "cowboys," in the 1880's. He supplied
hay and grain later to Camp Thomas.

120. Secretary of War Report, 1876, 102. Pisé is
a building material consisting of stiff earth or clay
rammed in between forms. By extension, the term came to
mean the Spanish tapia, or puddled adobe. Kautz probably
meant this. Cf. Pinart, Journey to Arizona in 1876, 40,
for contemporary comment on the pisé construction of the
Casa Grande.
for permanent quarters due to the limited appropriation of Congress in that year. General Kautz, however, determined to name the post in honor of his late former preceptor, General George H. Thomas. In January, 1877, Camp Thomas was permanently established. 121

By the end of Crook's war against the Apaches, the employment of Indian scouts had become a fixed technique of campaigning in Arizona. The idea for their employment may be attributed to Major (Brevet Lieutenant Colonel) John Green, 1st Cavalry, who had served under General Stoneman and had founded Camp Apache in 1870. 122 Crook enlisted large numbers on an irregular basis and he taught Kautz that little could be accomplished by white soldiers without their aid.

By 1876 the scout units had been standardized into forty-man, lettered companies, enlisted for six months. Each company was commanded by a white commissioned officer. The individual scouts were equipped with regulation cartridge belts, canteens, ponchos, and blankets. They were armed

121. Brandes, 67. There was an earlier Camp Thomas in Arizona; this was one of the names used for Camp Apache until its title was fixed in February, 1871. Kautz, however, probably knew nothing of that, though he may have listened to suggestions from his staff.

122. Ogle, 75. Crook had employed Indian auxiliaries in the Northwest. Crook Autobiography, 144-55, passim.
with caliber .45-70 Springfield rifles or carbines.

Uniforms were issued if desired, but a blue blouse was usually the only item worn in the field; otherwise, they used the typical Apache clothing—knee-length buckskin mocassins, gee-string, loose shirt, and head-band. 123

Perhaps the difficulties encountered in bringing sufficient regular troops to Camp Bowie in time to move the Chiricahuas inspired Kautz' urgent request for more Indian scouts. The official reason in his application of June 27, 1876, was that an additional full company of forty, stationed near the southern edge of the San Carlos Reservation, "would be of more service in preventing them [the resettled Chiricahuas] from going on raiding expeditions, and in overtaking them when they did go, than half a Regiment of any other kind of troops." He added that the "Indians are fond of this kind of service and are invaluable." The request was approved by Major General Irvin McDowell, now commanding the Division of the Pacific, who raised the ante. His opinion was that scouts were "worth ten times the number of any other kind of troops." 124


The paper did not reach the office of the Adjutant General until July 31. There, an alert staff officer noted the ambiguity in the current Congressional appropriation act, which seemed to limit the total number of scouts to three hundred in all commands. Kautz' request was therefore held until new legislation permitted the army to have as many as one thousand scouts, whereupon General Townsend telegraphed permission on August 23 for Kautz to enlist another company. 125

Only five days before, however, General Sherman had deemed it necessary to permit General Sheridan, commanding the Division of the Missouri, to enlist an additional one hundred Pawnees as scouts for the campaign in progress against the Sioux. Moreover, further Congressional restriction on the size of the army caused Sherman to practically restrict the scouts once again to "about 300." On August 30, Sherman instructed Townsend to revoke the authority given by Kautz, but, "as soon as the present emergency passes, a full share of this kind of troops will be allowed." 126 For some reason, Townsend's countermanding telegram was not transmitted to San Francisco until September 8.


By that time, Kautz had started the enlistment of additional Apaches at the Camp on the Gila River; and when he received word on the 11th of the Commanding General's decision, he had to inform McDowell that the Scouts would "be in service before I could stop the enlistment." Fortuitously, Sherman was en route to California. He met McDowell on October 7 and acquiesced in the division commander's request for more native soldiers to serve in Arizona.

General Kautz was being hard pressed in August of 1876 by the Tucson merchants to create more federal business in southeastern Arizona. The removal of the Chiricahuas had not as yet produced an Indian war, Jeffords no longer contracted for nine hundred rations at a time, and the miserable 320 Chiricahuas removed to San Carlos scarcely increased Clum's requisitions. As Kautz was to observe

---


128. General Townsend advised Schofield that Sherman and the Secretary of War were on their way to San Francisco; "Please state case to them," he wired. Telegram, T.A.G. to Schofield, Sept. 12, and end. to *ibid*. The order to go ahead with enlistment was announced in telegram, Schofield to T.A.G., Oct. 7, 5864 A.G.O. 1876. Kautz probably never knew of Sherman's adjustment of the scout question. The furor over appropriations in Washington was a serious crisis and Sherman's decision cost the War Department at least $2,730 to pay the additional Arizona contingent. It was characteristic of Sherman to disregard such small administrative roadblocks when larger matters were in view.
In a special report of October 23, the "mining excitement that was expected to grow up on the Chiricahua Reservation has not come, and the prosperity of Tucson has rather waned."  

Earlier, in April, Kautz had once more declined to recommend establishment of a supply depot at Tucson, and it is not unlikely his long letter on the subject to Brigadier General Montgomery Cunningham Meigs, Quartermaster General, was known to some of Safford's Washington friends. Then, in September, Safford tried to create the appearance of an Indian war on the San Pedro River.

At the end of June, Kautz had sent expeditions into the Chiricahua and Dragoon mountains from Camp Bowie. On July 14, Captain McLellan had reported that two prospectors had been killed about twenty-five miles south of the post. A detachment had gone out and buried the victims, and the non-commissioned officer in charge had said that he found an Indian trail leading to Sonora but abandoned it. It was a "matter of regret" to Kautz that a proper force had not been sent out which could have pursued and possibly


punished the murderers. It is noteworthy that this incident was the only well substantiated case of hostile Indians encountered on the old Chiricahua Reservation between their removal and December of 1877. The would-be miners, moreover, were technically trespassing, for the old reserve had not yet been thrown open to settlement or mineral exploration.

Following the murder of the two miners, the Arizona Citizen, "of which the proprietor Mr. Wasson is a natural enemy of the military," stirred up harsh sentiments against Kautz. On August 29, the General was recipient of a petition, purported to have been signed by "the prominent men of the Territory," which asked the army to scout thoroughly the Chiricahua Reservation and to "complete" the removal of the Indians. Although the document was distorted and erroneous in many respects, Kautz patiently replied to its author, one "G. King, M.D.," who gave his address as Tres Alamos, a stage station and store on the

131. Report of Indian Troubles. The next four paragraphs are based on this source.

132. Ibid. See also Citizen, Sept. 23, Sept. 30, and Oct. 7, 1876. Wasson alleged that twenty persons were killed by Indians.

133. The petition is the basic document of 5456 A.G.O. 1876 to which Report of Indian Troubles is an encl. The copy of the petition received by Kautz, presumably the original, was dated August 21 and is found in 5971 A.G.O. 1876.
San Pedro. The "prominent men" who signed the petition of "G. King, M.D.," were in truth only a handful of legitimate settlers joined by most officers of the Territorial government and many Tucson merchants. Adding his name was Anson P. K. Safford. The document was positively insidious in its manner of dissemination and its wording. Nominally addressed to Kautz, it was instead sent to the Secretary of War, James D. Cameron, and was printed in the *Citizen*. The covering letter, signed only by Dr. King, asked for Kautz' immediate dismissal from command, and it conveyed the impression that the request of the petition had already been ignored by Kautz. It is not clear if Cameron, however, saw the petition and the letter. Apparently it was shown to Sherman who simply "bucked" it to headquarters, Division of the Pacific, and it was mailed to Kautz for answer. The harassed general sent the petition back to Governor Safford with the ingenuous request for him to make some remarks "in

134. Kautz to Safford and others, Aug. 29, encl. no. 5 to 5456 A.G.O. 1876. Dr. King attempted to develop a sanitarium at Hooker's Hot Springs, which is near Tres Alamos in the Little Dragoon mountains. A student of Arizona's early physicians identifies him as a "mysterious person who lived in seclusion until he was murdered in 1884." Quebbeman, *Medicine in Territorial Arizona* (Phoenix, 1966), 186, 352. The *Citizen* referred to "Dr. G. King of Benson" and announced his death at his ranch. April 5 and Sept. 6, 1884.

135. The copy of the petition with File 5456 is covered by a thirteen-page slanderous letter signed only by Dr. King, dated Aug. 24. See *Citizen*, Nov. 4, 1876.
support of the truth or falsity of the allegations" and
inquiring what authority Dr. King had "from the signers . . .
to use it in the way he has." 136

In the meantime, Company C of Indian scouts had been recruited at Camp on the Gila River, now Camp Thomas. After they were armed and equipped, they were sent with a mule packtrain to Bowie and there turned over to Captain Tullius Cicero Tupper, 6th Cavalry. 137 The assigned civilian guide was Crook's faithful Archie MacIntosh. 138 Tupper had already conducted one scout without much result, and the cavalry at Camp Lowell had also been sent out on request of the Governor, again without finding any hostiles. 139 On the day Tupper assumed command of the new scout company, October 4, Kautz opened another letter from Safford. It alleged still further depredations by hostile Indians. Kautz' reply to this letter was a reasonable request of the governor to furnish some facts and to cooperate with the army. Kautz reminded him that not one

138. Archibald McIntosh was a half-breed who assisted Crook in Oregon before he came to Arizona and led many expeditions during the 1872-73 campaign. His life is sketched by Juana Fraser Lyon, "Archie McIntosh, the Scottish Indian Scout," *The Journal of Arizona History*, Vol. 7 (Summer 1966), 103-22.
139. Tupper's report is encl. no. 2. with 5456 A.G.O. 1876.
citizen had come forth with any information by which the
army's expeditions could be guided.\textsuperscript{140}

On October 5, the general telegraphed orders to the
assistant quartermaster at Tucson, Captain James H. Lord,
to "proceed at once to make an investigation of the . . .
depredations reported . . . in the southeastern part of
the Territory." "You will find out," ran his instructions,

the name of any . . . parties who have lost any
property, how much, when and where lost, and by
whom taken . . . . You will report anything and
everything which may be of interest to the
Department Commander. What he wants, is reliable
information and not mere hearsay . . . . It is
expected that written statements under oath will
be furnished by parties who have suffered, giving
full particulars. You are authorized . . . to
proceed to any point in the Territory which [sic]
you may deem necessary to secure the desire end.\textsuperscript{141}

Lord was furnished a six-mule ambulance and an escort from
Camp Lowell.

Kautz received Lord's lengthy report on October 20.

In sum, it failed to confirm the sensational allegations
of Governor Safford, Dr. King, or the Arizona Citizen.

Lord did receive direct testimony of thefts in the San Pedro

\textsuperscript{140}. Curiously, Kautz' reply to Safford, dated
October 4, is not included in ibid., but the letter may be
seen in Arizona Letter Book, 1876, 262. On September 1,
Major Biddle had submitted his annual report as I.G., and
he concluded that he had been "over the whole Department"
and had seen "no person travelling in fear of their safety."
On October 17, Col. James A. Hardie of the Inspector
General Department in Washington submitted this to General
Sherman who saw it on or about October 21. 6129 A.G.O. 1876.

\textsuperscript{141}. Arizona Letter Book, 1876, 204.
country, but he expressed the opinion that at least some were committed by marauding Mexicans, and he produced evidence that Indians from New Mexico were largely responsible. Two murders were shown to have occurred on September 13, but these had been investigated by Captain Tupper on September 18 and no citizen, nor Lord, nor Tupper's men, produced evidence that Indians committed them; it was suspected by one informant that one man had killed the other before meeting his death, perhaps at the hands of Indians.  

It should not be supposed that there were no Indian encounters by the Arizona troops in 1876. While Kautz was forced to give attention to the bleating of the Tucson Ring, and hundreds of soldiers were busy chasing will'o'the-wisps in southeastern Arizona, the steady, unheralded, and bloody business of controlling renegades from San Carlos went on in the Tonto Basin and other mountain strongholds. Many alarms at Verde, McDowell, and Apache were followed by horse-killing forced marches and

142. Report of Indian Troubles. On December 30, the territorial adjutant general, J. S. Vosburg, submitted his second biennial report to Gov. Safford. Writing at Tucson where he operated a hardware business, he wrote; "Our territory has had two years more of comparative peace with the Indians; the effects of which are to be seen on every hand . . . . It is impossible to tell when, if ever, we may have need of an organized Militia . . . ." Adjutant General's Report, Territory of Arizona, 1875-1876, Box: No. 7, Secretary of State Territorial Records (Arizona Dept. of Library and Archives, Phoenix).
brief skirmishes. Not infrequently, the soldiers finished by apprehending harmless squaws and children whose only crime was starving on Clum's reservation. "In the month of August," reported Kautz, "Captain Porter, Eighth Infantry, with fourteen soldiers and twenty-six Indian scouts, made a scout after renegade Indians in the Red Rock country north of Camp Verde." Porter was leading a detachment of Company E, 6th Cavalry, and they rounded up seven renegades from San Carlos, killing seven others. During September, "another scout under Guide Sieber, with twenty-one Indian scouts, killed five and captured thirteen Indians in the rough country lying east of Camp Verde." Captain Porter led an expedition into the Tonto Basin in October and killed eight Indians. As the year closed, there were further reports of discontent at San Carlos and of roving tribesmen who were trying to feed their families by hunting.

As may readily be seen in the Serna affair, and was more strikingly demonstrated in the Chiricahua disturbance of 1876, communications were vital in the sprawling Arizona

143. Secretary of War Report, 1877, 548. Indian War Engagements, 77; Thrapp, Al Sieber, 183-84.

144. Secretary of War Report, 1877, 548; Thrapp, Al Sieber, 184.
department. The telegraph, though it had only lately arrived in the territory, had already become indispensable.\textsuperscript{145} Wagon roads were also critical, owing to the limited choice of routes and the absence of railroads. In the construction of roads the army led the way. From the session of the second territorial legislature, numerous short toll roads were licensed and some were operated, but civilian capital and management proved unequal to the task of constructing real highways.\textsuperscript{146} Until the 1880's, the army built all the

\textsuperscript{145}. Construction began in 1872, and on November 11, 1873, the line reached Fort Whipple. By the time Kautz took command, it had reached Tucson; and in the next year it was extended to Camp Grant and the San Carlos Indian agency. Although the cost had proven tiny, and the military value alone immense, the main line was not connected at Ralston, New Mexico, until May of 1877. All work was done by a few score men detached from regular regiments and by the small Arizona detachment of the Quartermaster Department under direction of the department signal officer, Second Lt. Philip Reade. The telegraph operators were specialists trained at Washington, D. C., by the infant Signal Service. In his annual report of August 31, 1877, Gen. Kautz stated that in one year the government traffic sent free over Arizona lines would have amounted to 64\% of the maintenance cost, and it is apparent that civilian paid service exceeded the remaining 36\% of the cost. \textit{Miner}, Nov. 15, 1873. Secretary of War Report, 1877, 611, 362. Reade, nominally an officer of the 3rd Infantry, took charge in Arizona in June, 1875, and continued there until February, 1878. Powell, 487, 90.

\textsuperscript{146}. William H. Hardy, the "Grand Old Man" of Mohave County, Indian fighter, miner, and founder of the shortlived riverport of Hardyville, built a 165-mile toll road from his town on the Colorado River to Prescott in 1865, but this is the notable exception to the statement in the text. His maintenance of the road left much to be desired, one freighter claiming that Hardy's "repairs" consisted of the old pioneer "walking along . . . and kicking out such rocks as he could with a pair of number eleven boots."
principal wagon roads and maintained them. Under the administration of Kautz, two projects occupied most of his attention: connecting the Gila valley in the vicinity of the San Carlos agency with Camp Apache; and improving the trail from Camp Verde to Fort Wingate, New Mexico, to the extent that it could carry supplies from the railroad at Fort Garland, Colorado. In the first, he was disappointed, and it was 1920 before U. S. Highway 60 and State Highway 77 were traced. The immediate need for the second route was

As Hardy had the government mail contract, he naturally promoted better roads. Thomas E. Farish, *History of Arizona* (8 vols., Phoenix, 1918), IV, 73-74. For the most complete sketch of Hardy, see Thrapp, *Al Sieber*, 42-49, passim. Kautz mentions Hardy in his diary, but apparently was not well acquainted. See also John L. Riggs, "William H. Hardy, Merchant of the Upper Colorado," ed. by Kenneth Hufford, *The Journal of Arizona History*, Vol. 6 (Winter 1965), 177-87.

147. In 1879 the Pima County road commission, of which John P. Clum was a member, caused a public road to be built from Tucson to old Camp Grant, thence to the new mining town of Globe. Clum claimed that this was "the first highway constructed in Arizona by civilians," which of course ignores Hardy's road or the much earlier Leach road (1857-58) and Beale road (1857). In a sense, the Leach and Beale roads were military, having army escorts and engineering help. At any rate, the Tucson to Globe road built in 1879 approximated modern State Hwy. 77. Ryan, "Trail-Blazer of Civilization," 56. It is notable that, when Hwy 77 was extended to Fort Apache about 1918 as part of the "Ocean to Ocean Highway," the builders moved upriver to San Carlos creek and ascended the Mogollon Rim the way Kautz had proposed. In the 1930's, the Apache tribal council succeeded in having the road, now U. S. Hwy. 60, moved over twenty miles westward to go via Seneca, Carrizo, and Show Low. See Kautz to A.A.G., Div. of the Pacific, May 10, 1922 A.G.O. 1876. This memorandum, together with map and estimates by Lt. Thomas, was considered by the House Committee on Military Affairs in June, 1876.
obviated by completion of the Santa Fe Railroad in 1882, but modern motorists can travel Kautz' route approximately on U.S. Alternate Highway 89 and U.S. 66.

In both cases, Kautz sponsored petitions of citizens for approval of the projects in Congress and he energetically directed all necessary surveys, estimates, and plans. He traveled the Camp Verde-Fort Wingate route himself in August, 1877, and reported to the Arizona Miner that "the military authorities of New Mexico were moving in the matter of procuring an appropriation for a military road from Fort Garland to Fort Wingate, which is all that is required to open this new route ... from the East to Prescott."

The editor went on to say,

General Kautz is of the opinion that Arizona has not had her proper proportion of the money that has always been allowed ... for ... military roads in the new territories ... it is right that we should have it, and the General ... is of the opinion that a very few thousands expended on the road around Stoneman's Lake and this side, would make a first rate freight road ... it will put us in direct communication with the East.

Concluded the editor, "If we don't ask for an appropriation we are not likely to get it ... Other territories ... get what they are entitled to have, and we are a set of big

148. Such a petition initiated the Congressional bills which were, in turn, referred back to Kautz for comment in ibid. Another, advocating on improved road from Prescott to Santa Fe, is referred to in 313 A.G.O. 1877. Lt. Thomas prepared elaborate plans and estimates for a road from Camp Verde to Sunset crossing of the Little Colorado River, which Kautz strongly endorsed in Dec. of 1876. See 290 A.G.O. 1877.
boobies for not doing the same thing." To this day, there is no direct route across the Mogollon highlands from Camp Verde to Winslow.

The whistle of a steam locomotive in Arizona was as unexpected an event in the autumn of 1876 as the national election of a Democrat to the Presidency. Both nearly happened and they were not unrelated. On October 25, General Kautz approved the action of the commander at Fort Yuma who had granted conditional right-of-way to the Texas and Pacific Railroad Company, and he forwarded the correspondence to Washington. A month after the officer at Yuma had consented to the T. and P. proposal, General Sherman saw the documents. He also approved the decision, though he called attention to the necessity for Congressional action to legalize it. "This railroad," noted Sherman, "is an absolute necessity to Fort Yuma," not to mention Arizona.

149. Miner. Sept. 14, 1877. On October 29 Congressional Bill H. R. 794 was introduced to appropriate $27,000 for this road and for the repair of several others. Encl. with letter, A. G. McCook, Chairman of House Committee on Military Affairs, to Secretary of War, Nov. 19, 7241 A.G.O. 1877.


151. Ibid.
The more aggressive Southern Pacific Railroad Company, under the direction of Charles Crocker and Collis P. Huntington, had meanwhile obtained permission to build a line from Los Angeles to Fort Yuma, and Huntington had secretly secured rights to construct another transcontinental route, if his company could cross Arizona. The president of the T. and P., Thomas E. Scott, accepted this with good grace when it became known, but it was in anticipation of conflicting interests at the Yuma crossing that he had sent his chief construction engineer to Fort Yuma in October of 1876. With the assurance of a right-of-way at Yuma, Scott believed he could eventually link up with S. P. rails in California. ¹⁵²

Tom Scott's dream of fulfilling the promise of the Gadsden Purchase never materialized. Crocker apparently convinced General Irvin McDowell to cancel the Texas and Pacific's permission to build across Fort Yuma on November 26, 1876. While Scott secured Republican promises of Congressional aid to his railroad in return for the Southern support of Rutherford B. Hayes in the contested Presidential election, Huntington furiously laid rails and reached Fort Yuma in April of 1877. With McDowell's tacit approval, the

Southern Pacific then built a bridge across the river before Scott could have all construction suspended to await Congressional decisions. Finding a naturally sympathetic reaction among Arizonans, Huntington had no trouble in getting the territorial legislature to grant a right-of-way to New Mexico. After all, the S. P. was building; the T. and P. was only a promise. With that, Scott's permission to build at Fort Yuma meant nothing, much as the army might support him, and in October of 1877 President Hayes renounced his promise of support to the Southerners. Authorization by Congress to build across the military reservation, confirmed in November, 1877, was mere formality. By November, Southern Pacific trains ran daily into Arizona, though it would require more than two years to reach Tucson.

If Kautz watched the struggle of the railroad titans with close interest, it is not recorded. Lulled into complacence by Major Lord's report, he stayed at Fort Whipple through the winter and devoted his time to mining ventures, weekly hops at the officers' club, and the

153. Location of the Southern Pacific and Texas Pacific Railroads.


numerous musicales and theatricals of his wife. In the fall, Fannie was joined by an intimate lady friend from Cincinnati, Miss Emma Titus, who readily joined the Prescott social whirl. As the Centennial Year ended, Kautz learned that Fannie was expecting another child in the coming summer.

Kautz' voluminous correspondence must have continued through the winter, if we may judge by other years for which his diaries and some letters are available. Chance has preserved two letters which indicate his continuing interest in the Pacific Northwest. In November, 156 Miss Titus begins to appear in the social notes of the Miner in November of 1876, for which year there is no Kautz diary. That she was a friend of Fannie Kautz is known from a casual reference to her in the Diary for 1873: "Wednesday, January 29 [Newport Barracks]... I returned in time for dinner and found Miss Boulé and Miss Titus visiting my wife. These ladies took their departure before dark." Nothing further of her identity is known outside of the diary references from 1877 to 1879, when she departed for the East. She apparently was about Fannie's age but not attractive enough to acquire a husband in those three years. She almost married Captain Thomas Byrne, 12th Infantry, in 1878. Kautz made some investments for her in the San Francisco Stock Exchange and we may surmise that she had an independent income.

157 Kautz' diaries record the dispatch and receipt of hundreds of letters, yet few personal ones have come to light. In this connection, see Kautz to Hazard Stevens, Nov. 7, 1876; and same to same, April 17, 1877; in the Papers of Hazard Stevens (Univ. of Oregon Library, Eugene). I am grateful to Martin F. Schmitt, librarian of the University of Oregon special collections, for bringing them to my attention.
apparently, he read an article in the *Atlantic Monthly* by Hazard Stevens, son of the late governor of Washington Territory, which was sent to him by the author. The article established the younger Stevens' claim to have been the first man to ascend Mount Rainier, and it opened a cordial exchange with regard to Kautz's halcyon days before the war. Kautz would have reason to wish he were back with the peaceful Nisqually Indians before the next year ended.

---
On January 9, 1877, General Kautz dispatched Captain George M. Brayton, 8th Infantry, from Camp Verde with nine regulars, twenty-nine Indian scouts, and Guide Albert Sieber to bring in six Tonto Apache Indians who were reported to have left the San Carlos Reservation.\(^1\) Five days later, Brayton telegraphed from Verde that he had fought a party holed up in a cave near the mouth of the East fork of the Verde River, killing four men and capturing eight women and children. On February 5, Kautz learned that Brayton had again engaged the renegades on the 21st of January, killing seven and capturing three more Indians.\(^2\) Having resupplied at Camp McDowell, Brayton had struck another group in the Mazatzal Mountains.

---

1. On December 19, 1876, Clum's assistant at San Carlos had addressed a note to department headquarters in which he advised that "three Tonto Apache bucks, accompanied by three women" had left the reserve and he suggested that they should be "pursued and punished." They were supposed to be in the Four Peaks region. Acting Agent M. A. Sweeny to A.A.G., encl. no. 2 with 1190 A.G.O. 1877.

2. Diary, 1877.
on the 30th, killing six and capturing an additional nine. Brayton and Sieber, by February 6, had marched 360 miles and encountered at least thirty-eight renegade Tontos. Commenting later on these events, Kautz aimed a shaft at Clum and the Indian service: "The inference is that the absentees from San Carlos are much more numerous than there is any official knowledge of. The conclusion follows that... there is a possible saving in rations... to the benefit of those who draw the rations, or those who issue them."4

Although this presaged further disturbances from the administration of San Carlos, to span Clum's departure and the ultimate disgrace of the Office of Indian Affairs, the situation only clouded Kautz' appreciation of the military problem. The real and present danger to Arizona existed in southwestern New Mexico and soon spilled across the territorial boundary. Kautz never seems to have grasped the fact that Clum's renegades were not his major problem. When Chiricahua raiders swept into Arizona early in February, he continued to regard the starving San Carlos renegades as a greater menace and virtually ignored his responsibility to

---


punish the untamed Chiricahuas who successfully sought sanctuary on the reservation at Ojo Caliente, New Mexico.

For at least thirty years, Warm Springs and Southern Chiricahuas had gone south and west from the mountains of New Mexico to raid in Sonora, Chihuahua, and Arizona. By 1876 they were well-armed with repeating Winchester rifles and Colt's and Smith & Wesson revolvers. After the removal of the Cochise band to San Carlos, the other Chiricahuas had increased the depredations on whites in American territories as well as on traditional Mexican enemies. In January, some of these renegades were punished by troops of Kautz' command operating in New Mexico.

In November, 1876, Company C of the Arizona Indian Scouts had been given to Second Lieutenant John Anthony Rucker, a promising young officer of the 6th Cavalry who was related by marriage to General Sheridan. When Apaches

5. While the literature of early Apache wars is immense, a good summary of their raiding culture is by Ralph A. Smith, "Apache 'Ranching' below the Gila, 1841-1845," Arizoniana, Vol. 3 (Winter 1962), 1-17.


7. Rucker was appointed to the U.S.M.A. from Michigan in 1868 but resigned two years later. In July, 1872, he was commissioned in the 6th Cavalry. He was the son of Gen. Daniel H. Rucker, Chief Quartermaster, Department of the East, 1868-1882. Gen. Rucker's youngest daughter, Irene, married Gen. Sheridan in 1875. On the 11th of July, 1878, Lt. Rucker was drowned in a flooded canyon of the Chiricahua Mountains while attempting to rescue Lt. Austin
from New Mexico swept down their old plunder trail along Sonolita Creek in Arizona at the end of November, they stole a horse herd belonging to Samuel Hughes at Crittenden where he and his brother Thomas had a ranch. Rucker had quickly organized an expedition, comprised of his scouts under Guide John Dunn and detachments of two cavalry companies, to pursue the raiders. Picking up a two-week old trail, he had followed it to Stein's Peak, New Mexico. Despite a halt for resupply from Camp Bowie, he was able to follow the unsuspecting renegades into the Leitendorf Mountains and on January 9, 1877, he surprised a large rancheria. In a two-hour fight at least ten Indians were killed and a small boy was captured who proved to be the nephew of Geronimo. The herd of horses and mules was retaken, together with much stolen property that included $1,200 in Mexican silver.

Rucker's expedition demonstrated that the 6th Cavalry was learning its job. Moreover, Kautz began to receive news of further Chiricahua depredations from Henely from the stream. Heitman, I, 523. Yorktown to Santiago, 188-98, passim.

8. Citizen, Feb. 17, 1877. The theft was said to have occurred on December 1.

9. Called Leitendorf Hills on modern maps. The range is at the north end of the Pyramid Mountains, seven or eight miles south of present day Lordsburg.

New Mexico. Yet these renegades, in the last six months of 1876, had killed only seven, or perhaps nine people and stolen less than a hundred head of livestock in Arizona. Kautz, therefore, kept most of his troops in the north to patrol the Tonto country and to guard against some Mojave renegades who were roaming the Hassayampa region. His attitude was indicated by his endorsement to another report by Brayton, penned on February 19 only four days after he had received full descriptions of fresh Chiricahua raids:

"... there is some strong inducement for these [San Carlos] Indians to leave the Reservation, for their lives are greatly endangered ... There are ... many more Indians in the mountains, as I hear constantly from miners and settlers of seeing or meeting them ..." What Kautz failed to understand was that Indians from New Mexico were

11. On Feb. 15, 1877, Kautz wrote, "Four men only have been reported to me as killed by Indians prior to this message [of Governor Safford to the legislative council on February 6] and since the outbreak of the Chiricahuas in April last, exclusive of two men near Camp Bowie who disappeared in July last and have not been heard of since. Only two of these are known to have been killed by Indians ..." Kautz to T.A.G., 1608 A.G.O. 1877. On April 9, however, Kautz added that the renegade Chiricahuas who raided in November had "killed, as far as I have been able to learn, five Mexicans and captured less than one hundred head of stock." Same to same, letter attached to 5th end. on 1281 A.G.O. 1877. Cited hereafter as Depredation Report.

killing Arizonans—no matter how many—in the southeastern portion of his command. Nor was this a repetition of the previous year's false alarm. On February 5 Major McLellan reported from Camp Bowie that extensive depredations had been reported the day before on the San Pedro River and that he had ordered out Lieutenant Rucker again. On February 6 the governor telegraphed Kautz from Tucson that he had received a message from the Hughes brothers to the effect that on February 4 the Apaches had carried off stock and killed ten men pertaining to their ranch. On the 9th, Lieutenant Hanna reported "two Mexicans killed and one wounded & a trail of thirty or forty Indians, going east." Although the trouble now seemed somewhat less than Safford had intimated, Kautz admitted to his diary that "there seems to be more of it than I expected." On February 15, he telegraphed instructions to Hanna at Camp Lowell to obtain definite information respecting the depredations. He continued to adhere to a policy of

13. Diary, 1877.

14. Ibid. Safford actually had received two letters from Tom Hughes, neither however addressed to him. One was written by Tom to brother Sam in Tucson, and the other was addressed to William Morgan, another settler on Sonoita Creek who allegedly had livestock stolen by Indians. Citizen, February 10, 1877.

15. Diary, 1877.
strictly local action in coping with the marauders and showed no intention of stirring from Fort Whipple.

At Tucson, the newly convened ninth legislature and Governor Safford took more direct action for the security of their Territory. On February 6, Safford had called on the Council either to "memorialize the Secretary of War, . . . to immediately order such . . . scouts placed in the field, under . . . energetic officers, as may be found necessary to pursue these hostile Indians until they are subdued," or to "organize a militia force, with friendly auxiliaries for this purpose." The Council was not slow to take the hint and at once chose the frontier remedy: on the same day, they passed a bill which authorized the governor to enroll a company of volunteers to pursue the Indians, to be composed of thirty white men and thirty friendly Indians, the whites to be paid one dollar per day and the Indians fifty cents. Captains were to be paid one hundred dollars per month. The total appropriation, to be raised by discounted warrants, was $10,000. Two

16. Message of the governor to the president of the council, King S. Woolsey, Feb. 6, 1877; in Arizona Territory Journals of Ninth Legislative Assembly (Tucson, 1877), 333-34. Woolsey was one of the first settlers in Arizona after establishment of the territory and had served in the first legislature. He was renowned as an Indian fighter, though more humane men of his day would not condone wanton murder, his style of warfare.

days later, Safford telegraphed the War Department for arms and equipment, and on the 10th he announced that Clay Beauford was appointed commander of the volunteer company. On Washington's Birthday, the Governor formally created Company A of the Arizona Volunteers. The new adjutant general, replacing J. S. Vosburg, was Samuel Hughes whose ranching interests were deep in the afflicted Apache country and whose reputation as an Indian exterminator was long established.

18. Beauford (frequently spelled Buford) had been a sergeant in the 5th Cavalry during Crook's 1872-73 campaign. He had taken his discharge in Arizona and was so familiar with the Indian Scouts and the terrain that the department quartermaster hired him as a guide. In 1875 he had accepted Clum's invitation to organize a police force at San Carlos. He was one of the most able white scouts in the territory, ranking with Al Sieber and Dan O'Leary. His reputation was so respected that on April 3, while still in the employ of Safford's expedition, Gen. Kautz tried to obtain his services, notwithstanding his close association with Clum and the governor. Arizona Letter Book, 1877, 86-87. What no one suspected was that Beauford was an ex-Confederate soldier named Welford Chapman Bridwell who had changed his name and enlisted following the Civil War. He was from a prominent Virginia family. At the end of the Apache wars, he homesteaded at the mouth of Aravaipa Creek on the San Pedro, near old Camp Grant, resumed his real name, and lived out his life as a respected rancher. He died in 1905. See Horace E. Dunlap, "Clay Beauford--Welford C. Bridwell," Arizona Historical Review, Vol. 3, (October 1930), 44-66.

19. Citizen, February 24, 1877. Samuel Hughes, born in Wales in 1829, came to the Santa Cruz valley in 1858 from California. He raised cattle and had a successful butcher shop in Tucson. At one time, he supplied meat and fodder to the Butterfield Overland Mail Co. On the outbreak of the Civil War, he fled to escape the rabid secessionists who were in a majority in Arizona County, then part of New Mexico. He returned on the heels of the California Column and lived the rest of his life around Tucson, securing
The only feature of Safford's program which marred it for posterity was the less than truthful manner in which he presented it. In this, he had the undesirable help of John Wasson, inflammatory editor of the fire-eating newspaper, the Arizona Citizen. The Governor's message claimed that "within the last six months, at least twenty persons have been murdered in Southeastern Arizona." The truth was that as he addressed the lawmakers on February 6, no one had been killed on the Sonoita. On February 10, the Citizen announced the murder of ten settlers in the Sonoita valley near old Camp Crittenden, long known as a favorite plunder ground for Chiricahua. This false alarm, apparently reported by Sam Hughes, had been the basis for the Governor's call to the legislature to raise a militia force. Ironically, in the week that followed Safford's message, seven died and two disappeared, presumably dead. The details of these murders, and the information that ninety-five head of stock had been stolen, reached Kautz by

---

a small fortune in cattle, mines, and land. He participated in the Camp Grant massacre of 1871. He died in 1917. See the sketch of his life in Frank C. Lockwood, Life in Old Tucson (Tucson, 1943), 200-220.

20. Message of the governor, Journals of the Ninth Legislative Assembly, 333.
the 3rd of April from Lieutenant Hanna.\textsuperscript{21} In the meantime, he did nothing except to request, on February 20, permission to enlist another company of Indian scouts.

Now was the moment for August Kautz to display his old leadership and selfless attention to duty. Now he should have emulated his friend Crook and taken the lead in punishing the Chiricahua Indians. With fast-moving cavalry patrols, with all three of his Indian scout companies, and with the undeniable power of the military, he might have done what Crook had done before and what Eugene A. Carr and George A. Forsyth would do in the near future. The means was at hand but he did not use it. Instead, he entered into the most acrimonious newspaper and letter-writing debate ever to amuse Arizonans.

The governor's message was sneering and much of it a palpable lie. Wasson's news columns were artfully contrived propaganda. Kautz thought them fools and ascribed their pique to loss of the territorial capital to Prescott. He accepted the explanation of disgruntled Yavapai legislators that the militia bill was a deception and an imposition on the people.\textsuperscript{22} On February 15, he clipped the

\textsuperscript{21} The original of Lt. Hanna's rept. has not been found, but it was summarized in the Miner, April 12, 1877. Hanna had returned to Camp Lowell by April 3, however, and Kautz forwarded the report on April 13. Kautz to T.A.G., Arizona Letter Book, 1877, 102.

\textsuperscript{22} Diary, 1877.
governor's message from the Prescott Miner and sent it off to Washington with an eleven page letter. "The Governor," he blustered, "did not apply to me for troops or seek to be informed whether they could be furnished or not." The legislature was misled, he claimed, because the governor had not told it how much the army was doing. And what were the troops doing? Why, the commanding officers at Bowie and Lowell had sent a company of Indian scouts and a company of cavalry to the trouble spot. Anyway, argued Kautz, there weren't many Indians loose and it was "evident that the troops should not be held responsible for depredations of Indians, when they have nothing to do with them on the Reservation, know nothing of their absence, and consequently cannot know where they will strike." 23

The Indians in question, of course, were not from "the Reservation," at least not from any in Kautz' department. It was doubtful if they were accounted for anywhere; and if they were, it was in New Mexico. Even for this contingency Kautz had an answer: "I have written to the Agent at Warm Spring Reservation [Ojo Caliente, New Mexico] on the . . . subject but have not yet received an answer." 24

24. Ibid.
Meanwhile, A. P. K. Safford was also clipping his newspaper. On February 7, he enclosed the Citizen's version of his legislative message in a letter to his old friend in Washington, Richard C. McCormick, former Governor and now an assistant secretary of the U.S. Treasury. "Is it possible," he asked McCormick, "that the Government will longer continue a man who is simply provided with means and allows at least thirty [sic] to be murdered in six months . . ." It was "too bad to compel the poor people of Arizona to raise a militia force," he said, "and yet we shall be compelled to do so unless some one is sent in place of Kautz." As to Kautz' successor, "We care not who [he] is if he is only a live man." Safford also wrote Hiram S. Stevens, the territorial delegate to Congress on the subject.

On February 14, Kautz still having done nothing, Safford went into print in the Citizen with a review of the Indian and military problems. It was a lengthy article, surprisingly calm and accurate in its recital of events since 1872. All claims of massive Indian attacks and derision of the army were moderated. While his earlier message had boasted that "a scout composed of 25 citizens and 25 friendly Indians would subdue [the hostile Indians]

within three months," he now said only that, "If I succeed in getting arms and placing a company in the field, I feel sure the best efforts will be put forth to succeed." Where earlier he had demanded Kautz' dismissal, he now said, "I do not care to get rid of any one." The army was not to be censured and all he asked for was protection of lives and property, in both the northern and southern portions of the territory.26 Having read the review, Kautz himself was moved to comment that, "The last message from the Governor was exceedingly polite & I think he is becoming a little sane."27

Still Kautz sat unmoved at headquarters. On February 24 or 25 he commenced writing a reply to Safford. It required eight days to complete,28 and on March 9 the Arizona Miner carried it in seven columns of fine print. The first half rehearsed the events of 1876 not too differently from Safford's version. Kautz then launched into a plausible explanation of why he had not taken more action after the raids of February, all of which added up to a refusal to leave the northern posts or to cross the New Mexican and Sonoran borders in pursuit of Chiricahua

27. Diary. 1877.
28. Ibid.
renegades who were reckoned to be at most thirty or forty, not the two hundred claimed by Safford. The commanding general concluded:

"From the foregoing it would appear that the wolf which the Governor has been crying, although not as large as represented, has at last made its appearance. If he knows of eight men killed, he knows more than I do . . . It is the purpose of the Governor to hold me responsible for these outrages . . . I maintain that if there is any blame to attach . . . it is clearly the Indian Agents that are accountable."

Apparently satisfied with his own rhetoric, Kautz had the press at Fort Whipple reprint the entire essay and distributed it freely. On April 2 the New York Times picked up the story.

But on February 22, the same day that Safford organized a militia company, the postmaster at Tubac, one J. Lillie Mercer, penned another diatribe. This was probably done at the instigation of John Wasson. It was sent to the New York Herald and appeared in that paper on March 23, under the lurid headlines:

The Murderous Apache
The Red Devils Laying Waste the Fairest Valleys of Arizona

Considering the length of time between its origin and publication, it is probable that the infamous attack on Kautz had to be "sold" to the newspaper by an agent of

29. A. V. Kautz, Two Sides to the Same Old Story from Arizona (Prescott, 1877), copy in the Kautz Papers.
Wasson's, possibly the Associated Press representative in Washington, David R. McKee. It did not come to Kautz' attention until April 7.

The purpose of the letter, so explained Mercer, was to appeal as a last resort to the people of the United States and to the federal government for assistance. "Our noble Governor," said Mercer, "has done everything in his power... but owing to the inefficiency and ill nature of General August V. Kautz... all his endeavors have been futile." Mercer claimed that all of the governor's numerous appeals had been rebuffed "by personal calumny, abuse and insult" following positive refusals to do anything. "On General Kautz' head rests the burden of every drop of human blood that has been shed by these murderous Indians since he took command. He found our Territory at perfect peace, but under his maladministration this part of Arizona has become little better than a perfect hell." Kautz was accused of refusing arms and ammunition to citizens and of failing to send any troops to the seat of war. Safford was headlined, "The People's Champion." Mercer eloquently pleaded,

30. The suggestion is not founded on any concrete evidence, but a review of the events that later led to the dismissal of Kautz would strongly implicate A.P. Correspondent McKee. See p. 528 below.

31. Diary, 1877.
If the general government will not recall the present useless ornament of a commander, and aid us by appointing a man in his place who will do his duty—which is all we ask—will the people of the United States stand idly by and see us ruthlessly butchered, our all taken from us by a merciless foe, and not stretch an arm to our succor?

* * *

We hope that the HERALD will hear our prayer and publish to the world our deplorable condition. Our only hope for preservation of our properties and our still more valuable lives is in immediate assistance. You must help us or we perish.

The newspapers of Prescott now jumped in with both feet. Never having evidenced kind feeling for Tucson, nor ever refused their columns to Kautz and other military officers, they were incensed at Mercer's attack. The Arizona Miner called the letter "the most unparalleled falsehood ever perpetrated upon the good people of this Territory." The letter, said Editor Charles W. Beach,

is a long series of villainy [sic], put forth to the... East as an appeal... to come forward and deliver helpless Arizona from the hatchet and scalping knife... It is also implied that every emigrant train... is overhauled in a manner equalled only by that of Mountain Meadows...; and, as in our early days, every rock and bush has lurking behind it a desperate savage.

Beach deplored the effect such a letter would have on the acquisition of financial capital and concluded that "it is hard to forgive the 'dispoilers of their own nest,' notwithstanding a Boston tramp was used for the purpose."32

The Arizona Enterprise was more to the point; "This letter to the Herald," editorialized the new semi-weekly,

is a farrago from beginning to end. In the first place there were not fourteen men killed in the raid in February. In the second place, people are not leaving Southern Arizona . . . which . . . is a fine grazing country and has some very rich mines . . . And again, Gen. Kautz has shown no negligence and incapacity, but has taken all possible pains to carry out his duty as a commander.33

On April 5, the full extent of Wasson's and Safford's scheme was revealed to Kautz when the official mail brought two letters submitted through the War Department asking his removal. The first was that from Wasson to McCormick, endorsed flatteringly by Gen. Sherman. "This communication," wrote Sherman, "comes in a way that is not just or fair," and he asked that Kautz be given an opportunity to defend himself. Sherman was never convinced of Arizona's legitimate territorial status and he caustically added,

If Governor Safford is right in his message . . . that a scout company of 25 citizens and 25 Indian scouts can settle this question in three months, I advise that we withdraw all troops from Arizona, the most expensive place for troops on the face of the Globe, and allow Governor Safford to try his hand at this game with the Apaches.34

33. Prescott Arizona Enterprise, April 11, 1877.
34. First end., March 9, to 1281 A.G.O. 1877.
In his defense, Kautz dashed off an eight-page letter to the Adjutant General who had forwarded Safford's damning letter. "I regard the Governor," opined the General, "as a weak man and the tool of a few Indian contractors and unprincipled men in Tucson." He again attributed the Apache raids to mismanagement by Indian Bureau officials and disclaimed responsibility. He deprecated the effort of the Arizona volunteers. He asked that, if any action against him were contemplated, a court of inquiry be convened or an inspector general be sent out.35

The second letter enclosed by the Adjutant General on the 5th of April was less important because less official, but it bore the endorsement of Kautz' old commander, General Ben Butler, now a senator from Massachusetts. It was written by one James P. Page from Tucson, on the letterhead of Ewing & Curtiss, beef contractors. It claimed that southern Arizona was "at the mercy of a renegade band of Apache Indians," and that Governor Safford, in trying to cope with them, was "opposed at every turn by Genl Kautz." The author declared it to be "unexplainable" that Kautz was retained.

The fact is, the headquarters are at Prescott, far away from any danger, and the garrison devotes its entire time to balls, parties & dress parades, while the miners and settlers

35 Depredation Report.
on the Southern Frontier have to stand guard all the time, and even then, are liable at any moment, to be ... massacred ... We naturally look to the army for protection, but ... it is useless to do so as long as this dept. has Genl Kautz in command. Perhaps if you should bring this matter before the Secy of War he would relieve us.36

And Butler had indeed referred the paper to the Secretary, George W. McCrary, on March 11. At Sherman's recommendation, it was sent, along with the more official document from Safford, for Kautz to comment upon. "I have no knowledge of James P. Page," wrote Kautz; "he can be no person of note in this Territory ... I do know however that Ewing and Curtis [sic] in whose office this paper bears evidence of having been prepared, have had ... the supplying of beef to ... San Carlos." Curtiss, said Kautz, "I do not know personally as he spends most of his time in Washington. Ewing I know; he professes to be warm friend of mine. I know him to be my enemy in secret."37


37. Depredation Report. Thomas Ewing is listed in the Ninth Census as 35 years of age, with property valued at $10,000, a "grain contractor," and originally from Ohio. The next year, 1871, he appears in the federal register as an employee of the territorial surveyor, John Wasson, who also edited the Citizen. Bourke, who came to Arizona in 1871, mentions him as a boarder at the "Shoo Fly" restaurant. He apparently came to Arizona from Nevada, where he had known A. P. K. Safford. This much information I have been kindly provided by Mrs. Constance W. Altshuler, who has vainly tried to discover his connection with Safford. He may have been related to the same Ewing family of Ohio that adopted Gen. Sherman as a youth, which would account for his Eastern connections. Kautz mentions him several times in his diary but without further identification.
Kautz sent the documents forward to Headquarters of the Division of the Pacific on April 9, having previously dispatched a private letter to Sherman in Washington.\textsuperscript{38}

Sherman, meanwhile, had received Kautz' earlier report of February 15 and on March 27 submitted to the Secretary of War with a further sympathetic comment:

\begin{quote}
Arizona is a large country, has a Regt. of Cavalry and one of Infantry. Ten times this force could not prevent murders in New York City. . . . at the moment Gov. Safford read his offensive message, he knew that troops were in motion toward Sonoita Valley . . . . If Genl Kautz is incapable, . . . he should be removed; but if Gov. Safford . . . attempted to injure the fair fame of a worthy officer, he should be removed.\textsuperscript{39}
\end{quote}

At the Presidio of San Francisco, General McDowell noted that "Colonel Kautz's statement is so full as not to call for any further comment from me," but nevertheless he also wrote several hundred words in Kautz' defense, including the observation that, "General Halleck used to say that there was but one mine in Arizona that paid—that was the U.S. Government."\textsuperscript{40}

By the time the file returned to Washington, the Department of the Interior had acknowledged that Indians from New Mexico were at least

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{38} Diary. 1877.
\item \textsuperscript{39} Second end., March 27, to 1608 A.G.O. 1877.
\item \textsuperscript{40} Sixth end., April 23, to 1281 A.G.O. 1877.
\end{itemize}
partly responsible for Arizona's troubles and that fact apparently capped the arguments in Kautz' behalf.

As early as June, 1876, the Secretary of the Interior, as well as the War Department, had known that the Chiricahua Indians collected at Ojo Caliente, New Mexico, were starving, defiant, restless, and armed to the teeth. When raiders swept down the century-old plunder trails into southeastern Arizona in February, 1877, it required little prescience to know whence they came. On March 14, Kautz received a dispatch from Lieutenant Austin Henely, 6th Cavalry, stopping at Fort Craig, New Mexico, in which he reported that Geronimo was at the Warm Springs agency with a hundred stolen horses and "very indignant because he could not draw rations." Soon after, the report of Rucker's latest expedition came to Kautz. In the face of terrible winter weather, Rucker had pursued the major group of renegades from Arizona into New Mexico, but had been unable to strike them before they took refuge at Ojo Caliente. On March 26, Kautz forwarded this information, together with a confirmatory letter from the acting

41. Telegram, Henely to Kautz, March 14, encl. no. 3 with Kautz to T.A.G., March 26, 2079 A.G.O. 1877.

42. Rucker's report is encl. no. 4 with ibid.
agent at Warm Springs, to the Adjutant General through General McDowell's headquarters.\textsuperscript{43} The papers were laid before the Secretary of the Interior on April 2.

The Office of Indian Affairs, however, had already taken action. On March 20, a telegraphic message was sent to Agent Clum by Commissioner John Q. Smith. Clum was ordered to take his Indian police force and arrest the Indians at Ojo Caliente who were presumed to have fled from the old Chiricahua reserve in Arizona. He was to recover any stolen livestock and confine the depredators at San Carlos. He was authorized to call upon the military if he needed assistance.\textsuperscript{44}

Clum waited until Clay Beauford returned from his scout with the Arizona militia, then sent to Kautz, on March 29, a copy of his instructions from the Indian Office and the note, "I start for New Mexico tomorrow." Clum was using the telegraph at Tucson, and it is just possible that his next message was inspired by Governor Safford. Both men knew that the Reservation was wholly in New Mexico, a part of the Military Department of the Missouri. Troops from Arizona could not be sent on escort duty into another

\textsuperscript{43} The query to the agent at Ojo Caliente, and the reply, are encl. nos. 1 and 2 with ibid.

\textsuperscript{44} Encl. with Schurz to Secretary of War, April 3, 1927 A.G.O. 1877. There also is a copy in 3063 A.G.O. 1877: encl. no. 2 with Kautz to A.A.G., Div. of the Pacific, May 11, 1877.
department without higher approval. Nevertheless, a second wire was sent on March 29 to Headquarters, Department of Arizona, in which Clum requested military "cooperation."\(^{45}\) Safford and Clum probably anticipated that Kautz would at least delay assistance until he cleared the operation with division headquarters in San Francisco, by which time Clum would be gone and another case of neglect of duty could be shown. They were right, for Kautz advised Clum to call on "General Pope at Leavenworth [Kansas]" or "General Hatch at Santa Fe."\(^{46}\)

Clum and his police marched to Silver City.\(^{47}\) On April 15 he arranged for two companies of cavalry to come from Fort Bayard and on April 21, before the troops arrived, Clum and Beauford arrested fourteen Chiricahua renegades at Ojo Caliente. Among the prisoners were Geronimo, Francisco, Ponce, Gordo, and Gordo's son.\(^{48}\) The

\(^{45}\) Ibid.


\(^{47}\) The following story of Clum's apprehension of Geronimo has been told several times, usually by Clum himself, who lived until 1932 and would repeat it at the drop of a luncheon invitation. For an account that traces the literature, see "'All About Courtesy,' in a Verbal War, John P. Clum Has a Parting Shot," Arizoniana, Vol. 4 (Summer 1962), 11-18.

\(^{48}\) Cf. Ogle, 173.
Indian Office then sent further instructions to round up all the Indians and transport them to San Carlos. It had been decided to close the agency and abolish the reserve.

Before the new order arrived, Clum sent Beauford off with the majority of native police and the intrepid agent was left with only twenty-five faithful assistants. These he had intended to use in guarding the prisoners who now numbered seventeen. When Clum attempted to corral the Warm Springs Indians, their chief, Victorio, escaped with his personal band and Clum counted only 453. At last, on April 30, he set these Indians on the trail to Arizona and employed General Hatch's cavalry to escort the dangerous renegades who were in irons and loaded in wagons.

Before Clum left the Hot Springs agency with his charges, General Hatch at Santa Fe sent a message over the circuitous telegraph line to General Kautz at Prescott. He advised Kautz that the Indian prisoners would reach the Arizona line on or about May 4. "Can you relieve my cavalry guard," he asked, "and furnish three wagons to haul Chiricahua prisoners . . . to replace my wagons?"

The message did not reach Fort Whipple until May 4\textsuperscript{49} and Kautz immediately wired the commanding officer at Camp

\textsuperscript{49}. The message was received at the construction camp of the party building the telegraph line eastward in the San Simon valley on April 27, probably the same day it was sent at Santa Fe. Encl. no. 4 with 3063 A.G.O. 1877.
Bowie, Captain William Wallace, to effect the relief of the New Mexican troops and to replace the vehicles. Wallace in turn queried Clum by telegraph to Silver City: "Please inform me when and where you will cross the Arizona line . . . . troops from this department are to relieve the escort from New Mexico." To this request, Clum haughtily replied, "For the information of the Department Commander [Kautz], I wish to say, no escort has been asked for from Arizona, nor will any be accepted."  

In a day when economy dictated every military action except in the direst emergencies, and frontier quartermasters were fortunate ever to have enough vehicles and animals, or the grain to feed them, the chagrin of General Kautz over the antics of a peevish Indian agent can well be imagined. Kautz thought Clum's action at least discourteous and said so to General McDowell. When the report reached General Sherman, he was as irritated as Kautz. But there was little that could be done except to allow the New Mexican troops to march 200 miles into Arizona and to submit the case to the Secretary of War with the observation, "Agent Clum had no business to decline the escort tendered by General Kautz." Furthermore, Sherman

50. Encl. no. 1 with *ibid*.
51. *Ibid*. 
charged, the agent had, "by personal and official discourtesy," made the work of the army more difficult. Secretary McCrary relayed the matter to the new Interior Secretary, Carl Schurz, who turned it over without comment to the acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Alonzo Bell.

By the time Bell's letter, which demanded from Clum an explanation, reached the tempestuous agent at San Carlos, he had resigned. He did not hesitate, however, to defend himself, and he chose the public columns of John Wasson's *Citizen* rather than official channels. The resulting diatribe was headlined, "ALL ABOUT COURTESY: A Lot of Big Chief's Roughly Handled by an Ex-Subordinate," and it ended the six-month war of words between Kautz and his Arizona enemies, with a verbal defeat for the general.

iii

One long-lasting and unforseen by-product of southern Arizona's Apache troubles in 1877 was the founding of Fort Huachuca. As early as June, 1875, the Interior Department had conceived the idea of a post at the southern end of the Chiricahua Reservation, near the Mexican border. It was thought such a post might control incursions of Chiricahuas into Mexico. General Kautz had been asked to comment on the proposal and, after his inspection of that

52. Second end. to *ibid*.

53. *Citizen*, August 18, 1877.
quarter of the territory in October, he wrote, "It is a frontier of growing importance and a post somewhere in the vicinity of the abandoned site of Camp Wallen would be of public service to guard against border troubles." A short time later, the border was violated by revolutionists under Francisco Serna fleeing from Sonora. In the summer of 1876, however, the Indians were removed from the reservation to San Carlos and the major reason for the proposal was assumed as void. Even though two companies of cavalry were needed early in 1877 to patrol the region near the Sonora line, Kautz intended to remove them.

One of the companies of the 6th Cavalry which had taken the field to protect the San Pedro valley in February, 1877, was Company B from Camp Lowell, commanded by Kautz' comrade of the Civil War, Captain Samuel Marmaduke Whitside. Whitside was directed to select a camp site to


55. See Kautz to A.A.G., Div. of the Pacific, May 5, 1877. This letter forwarded three reports of expeditions near the Sonora line: April 6 to 28 by detachments of Cos. H and L, 6th Cavalry, with Co. C. Arizona Indian Scouts, Lt. Rucker commanding; April 18 to 21 by detachments of Cos. B and M, 6th Cavalry, Lt. Louis A. Craig commanding; April 16 to 24 by Co. M, 6th Cavalry (minus detachment under Lt. Craig), Captain William A. Rafferty commanding. Cos. B and M were operating from "Camp in the Huachuca Mountains." 2882 A.G.O. 1877.

56. Whitside had served in the 6th Cavalry since its organization in 1861. He was born in 1839 in Canada. His Civil War career had not been especially distinguished.
serve as temporary base of operations. By February 14 he had fixed on the locality of old Camp Wallen, and next day he was authorized to draw rations and supplies indefinitely from Lowell.57 On March 3, Whitside, now joined by Company M from Camp Grant, moved his command to a canyon in the Huachuca Mountains58 and the bivouac began to be referred to as "Camp Huachuca." The site was higher than Wallen, commanding a panorama of the San Pedro valley. There was a permanent supply of water and plentiful wood and forage. In May the camp received a new company of Indian scouts enlisted among the Hualpais in northern Arizona for six months to serve against renegades from New Mexico.59 By then, Kautz had concluded that "posts must eventually be established for the security of the settlers near the line."60 On August 15, writing in his annual report for the year, he asked an appropriation to build quarters and

but he had been an aide to Generals McCellan, Banks, Martindale, and Pleasonton, and he had been severely wounded at the Battle of Culpepper Court House, Va. Joining his regiment in Arizona in December of 1875, his family was stricken with smallpox and he lost one child at Yuma. Although he became a brigadier general in 1902, he is best remembered as the founder of Fort Huachuca and its C.O. until 1881. Powell, 641-42, and compiled service record (RG 94, National Archives).

storehouses. 51 Five months later, he directed that troops at the camp start submitting post returns and requisitions independently of Camp Lowell. The formal founding of modern Fort Huachuca dates from January 21, 1878. 52

Appropriations for any purpose, however, were nonexistent for the first five months of the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1877. The Tilden-Hayes campaign, which resulted so disastrously for the Texas & Pacific railroad in Arizona, also caught the army in the middle, and the outgoing Congress refused to pass the usual appropriation act. The Democratic House passed a bill reducing the army and restricting its use in Reconstruction governments. The Republican Senate refused to sanction the restrictions and insisted on a full 25,000 men. The Congress adjourned sine die on March 4. On May 18, 1877, all pay and allowances for officers and men was stopped effective June 30. 53

During President Hayes' first month in office he proposed an extra session of Congress, but it was postponed

51. Secretary of War Report, 1877, 548.

52. Letter, A.A.G. to C.O., Camp in the Huachuca Mountains, Jan. 21, Arizona Letter Book, 1878, 15-16. Kautz directed that the new post should thereafter be regarded as a permanent camp and, therefore, that the Commanding Officer's of Camps Grant and Lowell would immediately drop from their returns Cos. B and M, 6th Cavalry; and that the Commanding Officer of the new post "will be required hereafter to forward to these headquarters the usual monthly reports . . . required from Post Commanders."

53. G.O. 51, May 19, 1877.
until October. Acrimonious debates ensued until further concessions were made to the Southern Democrats, including a promise to place more troops on the Mexican border of Texas to combat the bandits and Indians. It was in September that Secretary of War McCracy ordered both the Southern Pacific and the Texas & Pacific companies to cease construction at Fort Yuma. On November 12 an act was at last passed by the disenchanted House.64

Through all this, the Department of Arizona was severely strapped. "The recent reductions [to 25,000 men] have diminished the rank and file in this command very materially," noted Kautz in his annual report, "which, with the limited appropriations of last year [1876-77], and the failure of an appropriation by Congress . . . for the present fiscal year, has seriously affected the efficiency of the troops. It is fortunate that no greater demand has been made for the services of this command."65 Most serious was the lack of funds for more Indian scouts. Fortunately, Kautz anticipated the need at the first report

64. The preceding two paragraphs are drawn from Woodward, Reunion and Reaction, passim. For a sprightly account of the time when the army went without pay, see S.E. Whitman, The Troopers: An Informal History of the Plains Cavalry, 1865-1890 (New York, 1962), Ch. 8, "All Work and No Pay," 106-17. Pay was finally restored by the act of November 21, published as G.O. 107, Nov. 27, 1877.

65. Secretary of War Report, 1877, 547.
of renewed depredations in southeastern Arizona, and on February 20 he requested authority to enlist a new company. The authorization came by telegraph on March 17, and Kautz succeeded in signing up thirty-four native soldiers before recruiting was officially stopped May 9. The pinch began to be felt when Chief Joseph and his Nez Perce Indians revolted in Idaho. In April, General Howard had asked for one hundred scouts and General McDowell refuted the necessity for them. By May, Kautz had a full four companies, 160 Indians, in service, and when the Nez Perce war flamed anew in June, he lost but twenty-five of his allotment to Howard's department. The harassed posts of Bowie and Huachuca were thus able to maintain their patrols against recalcitrant Chiricahuas through the summer of 1877.

Enlisting Company D of the Indian scouts proved unexpectedly difficult. Lieutenant Robert Hanna was sent to San Carlos to recruit the usually eager Apaches, but

67. Diary, 1877. G.O. 47, May 9, 1877. Indian scouts for the entire army were thereby limited to no more than 600 in all departments.
68. Telegraphic correspondence between Howard, McDowell, and Sherman in 2262 A.G.O. 1877.
69. Ibid. Kautz discharged 25 so that Howard could enlist that number. Before the end of August, however, he had to discharge a total of 35 more. Secretary of War Report, 1877, 361.
Agent Clum refused to permit the enlistment until Kautz made "proper application" and showed the "authority and necessity for said scouts."\(^70\) Fearing the spreading Chiricahua trouble from New Mexico, and racing to enlist his Indian auxiliaries before all recruiting should stop, Kautz sent Hanna with the persuasive guide Dan O'Leary to Mohave County where Hualpai Indians were enlisted.\(^71\) Notwithstanding, Clum was squelched by the Secretary of the Interior and when the terms of service of scouts in Company A expired, he was compelled to permit recruiting once more.\(^72\) In the meantime, Clum continued to keep one hundred of his own Indian police in service at government expense.\(^73\)

The enlistment of the Hualpais was a satisfying conclusion to Indian troubles in that section of Arizona. The experiment of using them as scouts worked well and they served at Camp Huachuca until autumn. On June 9, Kautz forwarded a letter to the Adjutant General for transmittal to the Interior Department from James E. Stevens of Hackberry. Stevens was a friend of Chief Sherum and the Hualpais, and he had been asked to intercede with the army

\(^70\) Telegram, Kautz to T.A.G., April 12, 2026 A.G.O. 1877.
\(^71\) Diary, 1877. Telegram, A.A.G., Dept. of Arizona, to Hanna, April 3, encl. no. 1 with 2308 A.G.O. 1877.
\(^72\) Encl. no. 6 with ibid.
\(^73\) Ogle, 173.
to redress the wrongs committed by whites against them. "The Hualpais regard you as their friend," began Stevens in his letter to Kautz; "I congratulate you on your successful effort to raise scouts from these Indians; it keeps them on their good behavior, and I see already beneficial effects." Stevens then went on to enumerate the many injustices and atrocities committed against the Indians, "which if you cannot right, I trust you will at least be willing to share with me the pain and shame of knowing." Kautz indeed knew such wrongs first hand, and the letter from Stevens doubtless brought back a flood of memories from Washington where he had befriended the Nisqually Indians. Concluded Stevens:

> These are specimen seeds that germinate into full grown Indian wars, and their fruit when matured may be garnered in a harvest of desolation and death to innocent victims of savage vengeance. If you can suggest a remedy for these wrongs you will receive the thanks of all who love justice.74

Kautz had been considering the remedy since 1875 when the Indian Bureau reluctantly allowed the Hualpais to remain off the Colorado River Reservation. Now, endorsing Steven's letter, Kautz stated: "I herewith refer to . . . the petition of W. H. Hardy and others under date of Feb'y 3rd wherein I recommended that a Reservation on

74. Stevens to Kautz, May 24, 3668 A.G.O. 1877.
Cataract Creek be set apart for these Indians . . . I am satisfied this is the best thing that could be done."75 Kautz had in mind a narrow canyon descending to the Grand Canyon which later became the reserve of the Havasu people. The Indian Bureau, however, ignored all warnings and in 1878 the Hualpais nearly starved until the army intervened and issued rations. Their plight was not to be relieved until 1883 when President Chester A. Arthur set aside a large reservation for them on the south side of the Grand Canyon around the big bend the river makes through Granite Gorge, centered on Peach Springs.76

With the rest of the Chiricahua (except Victorio's band) herded into the San Carlos bottom lands, and the Hualpais and Mojaves keeping an uneasy peace, Kautz looked anxiously toward Camp Bowie for some results from the 6th Cavalry. March of 1877 had been uneventful in Arizona while the Indian Bureau and John P. Clum removed the Chiricahua from New Mexico to San Carlos. One of the expeditions from Camp Huachuca reported two citizens killed by Indians on April 15 in the Sonoita valley and another wounded in an attack upon Hardin's ranch the next day. "The total number of stock run off," said Captain William A. Rafferty, "is 60 head—not including those which Mr. [Thomas] Hughes

75. First end. by Kautz to ibid.
76. Walapai Papers, 124-30, 146.
reported killed or run off by Indians, but [who] does not state the number."77 Kautz received this report and another "long winded" dispatch from Captain Whitside on April 18.78

Tony Rucker returned from his unproductive but informative expedition into New Mexico on April 28, and on May 7 (the same day Lieutenant Hanna and Guide O'Leary were leaving Whipple for their new station at Camp Huachuca) Rucker set out once more.79 This time he could find no Indians at all, and yet on May 29 a small war party ambushed the westbound mail-carrier four miles east of Camp Bowie.80 All the available troops rushed out to find the Indians—and did so, but were repelled from the Indians' rocky fort about a mile from the murder scene. The Indians were in a narrow defile which the officer in charge, Lieutenant Frank West,81 had the temerity to enter without

77. Rafferty's report of April 24 is encl. no. 3 with 2882 A.G.O. 1877.
78. Diary, 1877.
79. Secretary of War Report, 1877, 350.
80. Ibid., and Miner, June 4, 1877.
81. West, commissioned from the Academy in the 6th Cavalry in 1872, served that regiment until 1900. He was promoted to captain in 1887. For less than a year he was in the 9th Cavalry and returned to the 6th upon promotion to major in 1901; the same year he entered the Inspector General Department. In 1903 he was made lieutenant colonel of the 5th Cavalry. His long service in Arizona was climaxxed at the Battle of the Big Dry Wash in 1882, the last
securing the flanks. According to one trooper, West perceived they were in a cross-fire and "didn't lose a second in deciding what order to give." Instantly he yelled "Follow me!" Continued trooper Fred Platten.

Those are about the bravest words, I know, when followed by a charge on the enemy. Lt. West, however, didn't charge the enemy. No horse nor man could have scaled the steep sides of the canyon anyway, in the face of the Indians' fire. Instead, he whirled back up the trail . . . Were we good soldiers and did we obey . . . ? I'll say we did! . . . if he had not had the fastest horse in the Sixth Cavalry he would have been hard pressed to stay in front of us. 82

Even if West's retreat was not so precipitate as the sergeant recalled sixty years later, it was ignominious and probably did result in the "skinning" from Captain Wallace which was also related. 83 At any rate, the post commander now decided he needed reinforcements, for Rucker was still thirty miles pitched battle fought against Indians in Arizona and one of the last in the United States. In 1892, West was awarded the Medal of Honor for rallying his command, Troop I, 6th Cavalry, and leading it in "the advance against the enemy's fortified position," on July 17, 1882. Heitman, I, 1020. American Decorations: A List of Awards . . ., 1862-1926, War Dept. Doc. 18a (Washington, 1927), 115. Cullum, III-VII, passim. For an excellent account of the fight at Big Dry Wash, see Thrapp, Al Sieber, 244-57.


83. Ibid., 22-23. Platten's narrative is interesting, but he related events many years afterward in the 1920's to Way, whose work is presented as Platten's "autobiography." The errors are numerous.
away, returning by easy stages from the Chiricahua Mountains, and his command would be so exhausted as to be useless when he returned. Wallace wired Fort Whipple and received the promise of thirty men from Camp Grant at once.84

About the 4th of June, Rucker dragged his broken-down pack-train and tired troops into Camp Bowie. He had failed to find a single renegade. Two days before, Lieutenant Timothy A. Touey had set out with about a dozen men, five Indian Scouts, but no guide. Informed of their operations, Kautz sourly commented to his diary, "I do not expect any results. There does not seem to be any improvement on the part of the 6th Cavalry nor do they learn by experience."85 Touey, at least, did find the Indians. He picked up the trail of six renegades, presumably the ones who murdered the mail carrier, eight miles east of Bowie. He pursued them doggedly for 122 miles, south to the end of Chiricahua range and east into the Animas Mountains of New Mexico. In that wild region adjoining the state of Chihuahua, his Scouts surprised the six at a roast-horse feast and scattered them like quail, but could not kill a one. Touey returned to Bowie on June 9.86

85. Diary, 1877.
86. Touey’s report is encl. no. 1 with Kautz to T.A.G., June 22, 3802 A.G.O. 1877.
Kautz could console himself with the knowledge that the Arizona militia were faring no better. The day before Touey returned to Camp Bowie, Governor Safford (now a private citizen) and sometime Pima County Sheriff Robert N. Leatherwood arrived back in Tucson after three weeks with the volunteers. They had been out since mid-May when Beauford had taken over the company once again. Despite the leadership of Beauford, the forty-five volunteers had not seen one solitary Indian classed as hostile. They had "made an extensive and hard scout through the Chiricahua mountains, into Sonora and for a long distance through mountains by way of Altar [Sonora] westward to the Cananea and back into Arizona." 87

Kautz, furthermore, still had the confidence of the Prescott people. On May 3 they had honored him at a grand ball in the new public school, where the military guests were received by the first citizens of Prescott. The 8th

87. *Citizen*, June 9; *Miner*, June 13, 1877. Leatherwood was born in North Carolina in 1844 and served in the Confederate States Army. He came to Arizona in 1869 and owned town lots in Tucson when it was incorporated in 1871. In 1874 he was elected to the town council and over the next 25 years was treasurer, mayor and sheriff of Pima County. He ran a livery stable in Tucson and in 1881 sold the land to the town for erection of the first city hall. In 1885 he was elected to the legislature. Next year, he tried his hand again at Indian fighting, forming a militia company known as Leatherwood's Rangers. His later years were spent in mine promotion and politics, with little success at either. He died in 1920. Mable F. Blow, "Robert N. Leatherwood," *Arizoniana*, Vol. 1 (Winter 1960), 14-17.
Infantry band played and, in an adjoining room, a sumptuous luncheon was spread. "After lunch had been partaken, ... Gen. August V. Kautz, the hero of the evening, thanked his friends in an appropriate manner." Fannie Kautz, eight months with child, nevertheless attended, and "was superbly attired in an elegant black silk, with demi-trained point lace berths and tunic. ... This lady has so wonderfully preserved the freshness of her beauty, that it is difficult to realize that she is the mother of several intelligent children." The wife of R. H. Burmister wore wine velvet, trimmed in white tulle and diamonds in her hair with golden bracelets. Coles Bashford's wife wore steel gray silk. Kautz delivered a carefully prepared speech which, under the circumstances, brought tears to his eyes as he expressed his gratitude. The words, however, were little more than an apology for failure.

In all the war of words in 1877, those of one obscure newspaper editor struck the truth of that failure. Not Kautz' apologia, nor the scribbling of Beach and Marion, far less the polemics of Wasson, reached the heart of the matter so well as an editorial in the Yuma Sentinel which appeared on June 30:

88. Miner, May 5, 1877.
More Blood—Less Ink

The army in Arizona under Kautz, has been too busy writing for the newspapers to do much fighting... Crook... taught the army here two great lessons... he made allies of the Indians... and with them subdued those still hostile. But he and his officers accompanied them... Kautz and his subalterns seem only to have learned that lesson as far as the sending out of Indian soldiers...

Crook did much valuable service and got credit for it. But he also taught the army another lesson. This was to keep himself and his services ever before the people through the press. He did this with such skill that it promoted him in one jump from a Lieut-colonelcy into the first vacant Brigadier-Generalship... But the example has ruined most of the officers in this department. Each of them thinks it easier to win promotion by spreading a paper's news ink than by... spilling his blood in fighting Indians. Crook never used newspapers unless he had accomplished something. Any officer can make a good record by faithful services; but it takes more skill than all now in Arizona together possess, to win a single grade by manipulating newspapers.

The Department of Arizona is in disgrace...

General Kautz read the editorial by George Tyng and pasted it in his clip book without comment. Did he discern therein his professional epitaph?

89. See, for instance, letter of Captain Tupper to the Miner, April 12, 1877.

90. Kautz met Tyng in May, 1877, when the editor visited Prescott. Diary, 1877. Tyng came to Arizona from California sometime after July, 1869, and is listed in the Ninth Census as 28 years of age, a "farmer" from Massachusetts residing at Yuma, then Arizona City, with property valued at $6,500. Although at this time married, his wife is not listed in the census. He was appointed U.S. Marshal for Yuma County in 1874 and took over the Sentinel in March, 1877. Three years later he sold the paper and went to Mexico. Sometime prior to September, 1885, he went to Texas and raised cattle. Information supplied through the kindness of Mrs. Constance W. Altshuler and based primarily on contemporary newspapers.
CHAPTER XI

AT WAR WITH THE INDIAN OFFICE

In the midst of his heated controversy with Governor Safford about how to deal with marauding Apaches, General Kautz turned his attention to what he believed the source of Arizona's Indian problem—mismanagement of the San Carlos Apache Indian Reservation. Unacquainted with the situation at San Carlos from personal examination, Kautz attributed the depredations in southeastern Arizona primarily to runaways from the reserve. Far better had he addressed himself to the renegade Chiricahua tribesmen who hovered about the borders of the territory and who had never lived for long on any reservation.

The impetuous agent at San Carlos, John P. Clum, gave the general his first opportunity to discredit the administration there. Early in March, 1877, while cavalry patrols from Lowell, Bowie, and Apache scouted vainly for

1. The inspection trips described in Ch. IX are the only instances of personal visits to Camp Apache or San Carlos. He had, of course, regular military reports and he listened to the quartermaster guides and miners whom he saw. For instance, in February of 1877 he noted: "I had an interview with Guide Sieber from Camp Verde who is well posted on the mismanagement at San Carlos. He is of the opinion that more than a thousand Indians are usually absent from the Reservation." Diary, 1877.
the raiders, Clum sent thirty to forty agency police under a guide named Merejildo Grijalva and the White Mountain Apache Chief Diablo, who formerly was an army scout, to Camp Apache to intimidate the families of scouts who were in the field. Company A, Arizona Indian Scouts, under Captain William S. Worth, had started from the post toward Bowie and had left their families at Apache. Clum saw this as an auspicious time to remove the families to San Carlos. Merejildo, however, blundered. The police ambushed and killed one Indian, then were intercepted by a few men of Chief Pedro's band.

The attack occurred on March 10. Eleven days later, Kautz forwarded the report of Captain Ogilby, Camp Apache commanding officer, with the novel assertion that Pedro, who had applied for citizenship, was entitled to emancipation under the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

2. Grijalva was an Opata Indian from Sonora who had been nine years an Apache captive, having escaped the Cochise band in 1859 when he was about nineteen. The Opatas were thoroughly Hispianiced, not aboriginal, and Merejildo quickly reverted to civilized ways. Fluent in several languages and a remarkable tracker, he came to be a favorite with the army, the Indian service, and the courts where he frequently interpreted. He died in 1916. Rita Rush, "'El Chivero'—Merejildo Grijalva," Arizoniana, Vol. 1 (Fall 1960), 8f.

3. On January 30, according to Secretary of War Reports 349.

4. Ogilby to A.A.G., March 11, encl. no. 5 with 2232 A.G.O. 1877.
"Pedro," wrote Kautz, "is desirous of securing himself against ... the hostility of the Agent." The General recommended that Clum be ordered to "protect Pedro in his laudable desires."

Clum's defense was weak. He claimed his police were after the murderers of a squaw near Camp Apache, but the murder had never been properly reported to the military. He tried to muddy the waters with an incredible story that Captain Worth had purchased an Indian woman for immoral purposes. Clum, however, could not escape responsibility for the action of his police.

As Pedro's band supplied the soldiers for Scout Company A, the news of the attack by Clum's police greatly excited Worth's command when they reached Camp Bowie, and it forced their return to Apache. The larger effect, however, was to present one more instance of Clum's interference in military affairs. In April, he prevented the recruitment of a new scout company at San Carlos; and the following month he forced a cavalry detachment from Fort Bayard, New Mexico, to escort his Warm Spring Apache prisoners into Arizona because he refused to inform Kautz

5. Kautz to T.A.G., March 21, cover letter, with encl. no. 5, ibid.
7. Ibid. See also Miner, April 12, 1877.
of the itinerary and schedule of his movement from Ojo Caliente. As for the charge against Worth, Kautz ordered a court of inquiry that showed Clum's tale to be unfounded if not an outright fabrication. The net effect of the affair of March 10 was to expose Clum to the scrutiny of the new Secretary of the Interior, Carl Schurz, when, two months later, the papers filtered through channels.

In the meantime the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Q. Smith, received a letter from the Arizona delegate to Congress, Hiram S. Stevens, dated April 2, in which the Congressman stated that Apaches on the Arizona reservation were still heavily armed and requested that steps be taken at once to disarm them. On April 7, Smith sent Clum a mild rebuke along with a copy of Stevens' letter. The Commissioner only asked the youthful agent to account for all Indians with arms, not included in the police, and to explain how police arms were controlled, but he added, "I desire ... to obtain your views as to the advisability ... of an attempt, at an early day, to completely disarm all Indians on the San Carlos reservation, ... and of hereafter allowing them the use of none but muzzle

8. Kautz to A.A.G., May 2, with 3 encl., 2846 A.G.O. 1877. This file airs the charges of Clum and reiterates his basic antagonism to the military, Gen. McDowell endorsed the papers with the tart comment, "the Indian Agent [should] be required to restrict his action to his reservation."
This was a bitter pill, for Clum bragged that he had disarmed all the dreaded Apaches singlehanded. Also he had flatly rejected all army assistance. On April 9, the Secretary of the Interior referred the letters of Stevens and Smith to the Secretary of War, who passed them to General Sherman. The latter sent the correspondence to General McDowell with the note, "instruct the Genl Comdg Dept of Arizona to afford Agent Clum • •  • military aid • • • to enable him to carry out his instructions to disarm the Indians."¹⁰

Then too, while the evidence of John Clum's meddling in army business collected endorsements on its way up to the War Office, Kautz took a decisive step in his vendetta. On April 9 he penned a request to the Adjutant General for authority "to station an officer of the Army at the San Carlos Indian Reservation, and such other Indian Agencies in this Department," as he deemed necessary, together "with such number of troops as may be needed for [the officer's] protection." Kautz cited an existing federal law that permitted such liaison to help department commanders obtain knowledge of Indian conditions and to forestall outbreak. He went further, however, in requesting that

9. Smith to Clum, April 7, 2098 A.G.O. 1877.
10. First end. on ibid.
"such officer may be authorized to inspect and report upon the character, quality, and amount of supplies furnished, in order that the rights of the Indians may be protected and dissatisfaction at their treatment prosecuted." He noted inaccurately that "the Governor of this Territory has recently made the depredations committed by Indians from the reservations, the pretext for asking my removal from command."  

Next day Kautz began the composition of a long personal letter to Carl Schurz. President Hayes had just appointed the colorful and brilliant German emigrant to be Secretary of the Interior, and he was perhaps the most able man in the cabinet. He had to be. The Indian Bureau of his department was the most corrupt organ in the Grant Administration, and Hayes meant to have it reformed. Kautz had never met Schurz, but knew him by his Civil War reputation as a hard luck general of considerable courage. They had in common, of course, their German birth, and Kautz was in sympathy with the Liberal Republican desire to  


12. Diary, 1877. None of Kautz' correspondence with Schurz could be found in the Schurz Papers (Manuscript Division, Library of Congress).  

reform the civil service. It was quite normal for Kautz to initiate such direct communication. In his letter to Schurz, dispatched on April 11, Kautz stated that he had taken steps to prove his suspicion of fraud at the San Carlos agency. What else he wrote can be surmised: that contractors controlled the reservation; that hundreds of Apaches, the most dangerous Indians in America, went unaccounted for; that most of the Indians were starving; that Agent Clum had wasted government property, or worse; and that for two years the agent had refused to cooperate with the army.

The system of stationing army officers at Indian agencies was not new; it had been, in fact, the foundation of Crook's success in keeping the peace in Arizona after the campaign of 1872-73. In the summer of 1874, however, the Board of Indian Commissioners had prevailed on President Grant to withdraw all military officers from agencies, and next year, in Arizona, they had encouraged Clum to have the army camp near San Carlos removed. So it was surprising that, in the first months of 1877, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, heretofore friendly to Agent Clum, decided to institute the policy once again. On April 27 there was

14. Diary, 1877.

15. Recalled in a letter, Kautz to Schurz, June 2, 1877. Although personal, the letter was copied in Arizona Letter Book, 1877, 155-56.
laid before Secretary Schurz a proposal by Smith that the "Secretary of War be solicited to allow the attendance of a military officer . . . in the vicinity of Indian Agencies . . . , to witness each delivery of beef, and other supplies, by the contractors for furnishing such supplies." By this time Schurz had read Kautz' letter of April 11 and doubtless considered the San Carlos Agency as one place where such a policy would be beneficial. He wrote the Secretary of War, George M. McCrary, that the "expressions of the Commissioner . . . have the approval of this Department" and asked his "favorable consideration." On May 3, and again on June 5, Schurz received files of correspondence in which the instances of Clum's discourtesy and uncooperativeness were detailed. On May 3 also, or shortly after, Schurz received through channels the official request by Kautz to the Adjutant General dated April 9. Meantime he had written Kautz confidentially that he intended to investigate the San Carlos agency.


17. Schurz to Secretary of War, April 28, cover letter with ibid.

18. Secretary of War to Secretary of Interior, May 3, letter of transmittal with 2232 A.G.O. 1877. The War Secretary also transmitted File 2304 on that date. The correspondence revolving around the Indian removal from Ojo Caliente (see Ch. X) was given Schurz under letter of transmittal, June 5, 3063 A.G.O. 1877.

19. Noted by Kautz in Diary, 1877, and in letter, Kautz to Schurz, June 2. See above, n. 15.
Nonetheless, he equivocated in his response to Kautz' official letter of April 9, for he directed only that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs "request the views" of the Indian agents in Arizona on the matter. The resignation of Smith, who had proposed the policy, may also have caused Schurz to hesitate; the bureau was temporarily without a head and, one suspects, without much direction.

Clum's response to the proposal was a petulant defense of his administration and the boast that, if his Indian police force were increased to two companies, he

20. This step was taken sometime between receipt of 2304 A.G.O. 1877, after May 3 (see above, n. 18), and May 31. On the 31st, the acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, S.A. Galpin, sent Clum a copy of Kautz' letter of April 9 in File 2304 and instructed the agent: "You will immediately report to this office your views as to the practicability and advisability of adopting the plan proposed by Gen. Kautz." Galpin to Schurz, May 31, 3307 A.G.O. 1877.

21. John Q. Smith had been commissioner under the former Interior Secretary, Zachariah Chandler, "the supreme spoilsman" who had manipulated the votes in Florida, South Carolina, and Louisiana to stop the election of Tilden in 1876. According to Loring B. Priest, Smith resigned, not for specific charges of fraud, but because he wished to give Schurz a clear field in reforming the office. Furthermore, J. Q. Smith had taken over from Edward P. Smith who had resigned in 1874 rather than face charges of corruption. Schurz, however, could find no one willing to take the job until September when Ezra A. Hayt was appointed. Ironically, both Hayt and Galpin, the acting commissioner during the summer, were later implicated in widespread frauds. On Chandler, see Bowers, Tragic Era, 485, 522-23. On Hayt, who was involved in illicit mining transactions in Arizona, see Ogle, 194-97. Priest, Uncle Sam's Stepchildren, 68-70. Interior Department, Report of Board of Inquiry to Investigate Charges Against S. A. Galpin (Washington, 1878).
would pacify all the Indians in Arizona and the army could leave the territory. If, however, military officers were sent to inspect San Carlos, he threatened to resign.  

Inspection, nevertheless, was already coming. Secretary of War McCrary, on March 4, had approved the assignment of army officers to agencies and authorization had gone out from the War Department. McDowell had circularized his departments in the Division of the Pacific with authority, pursuant to which, on June 9, General Kautz ordered First Lieutenant Lemuel A. Abbott to repair to San Carlos.

22. Clum to Commissioner Smith, June 9, 1877, File 8525 (RG 75, National Archives). Cf. Ogle's account of the return of military inspection, Ogle, 176-78. He attributed the policy entirely to Kautz, explaining away the fact that Commissioner J. Q. Smith had independently made the proposal on April 27 (n. 16 above) by asserting that, "Political influence was doubtless brought into play ..." (Ogle, 177). If there was one thing Kautz lacked, it was political influence. The policy in fact stemmed from the recent troubles with the Sioux. After Gen. Crook received the surrender of these Indians who had been at war for a year, at about the same time Kautz was criticizing Clum in April, the Interior Department sought relief from further embarrassment on account of the corruption at the Nebraska agencies. Smith's proposal to restation army officers at all agencies was meant more for that contingency than with Arizona in mind. Bourke, 417-19; Crook Autobiography, 214-16.

23. Schurz' request of April 28 to the Secretary of War (n. 16 and n. 17 above) was end. by the War Secretary's chief clerk: "Approved and respectfully referred to the General of the Army to issue the necessary instructions to carry out ... the wishes of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs." Subsequently, Gen. Alfred H. Terry, C. G., Dept. of Dakota, as well as Gen. Crook, C. G., Dept. of the Platte, issued special orders appointing military inspectors. 2526 A.G.O. 1877.

Perhaps a better man to have detailed would have been Captain Ogilby, but on May 30 that resolute soldier had died of pleurpneumonia at Camp Apache. Abbott, however, was a discreet officer of the 6th Cavalry, and he had some experience at civil law enforcement. He had been stationed in New Orleans from the end of the war until February, 1868, and Kautz may have known him in that time. Early in June, Schurz had ordered a comprehensive and searching inquiry into the entire administration of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In Kautz' instructions to Abbott, the General confided, "Mr. Clum will probably be succeeded by another agent very soon."

"Abbott is now like a young bear cub--his troubles are all to come," wrote George Tyng, editor of the Yuma Arizona Sentinel. "If he . . . finds no stealing, the country will think he is 'dividing;' if the opposite occurs, he will get h--l for malignant persecution of the appointees of the Reformed Dutch Church." Although no one accused


26. Abbott had enlisted in a Volunteer Vermont regiment in 1862 and was commissioned next year. He accepted a commission in the 6th Cavalry in 1867. From September, 1868, to June, '69, he had been detached on civil duty at Jefferson, Texas, to protect loyal citizens and to arrest desperadoes, for which he was officially commended. Powell, 10-11.


the Vermonter of "dividing," Abbott turned up disappointingly little with which to indict Agent Clum. Kautz himself could do scarcely better, but on June 2 forwarded directly to Schurz a confidential report of the court of inquiry that investigated Worth. The court had taken the opportunity to search Clum's activities as well as Worth's but could find no peculation at San Carlos.

On July 1, 1877, John Philip Clum rode away from San Carlos. Although he had telegraphed the Indian Office that he would resign if an army officer were sent to inspect, the message did not register at the top, and Schurz, as late as July 25, did not know he had departed. On that date he assured General McDowell that an Interior Department circular confirming the military orders had been sent to all agents including Clum. In the interim, the chief clerk at San Carlos, Martin A. Sweeney, was acting agent and it would be September before Henry L. Hart arrived to relieve him.

The departure of Clum actually was of little advantage to Kautz, and the events leading thereto should be viewed beside those of the feud with Governor Safford and the

255f.
32. Schurz to Secretary of War, July 25, 4498 A.G.O. 1877.
broader conflict with the Indian Bureau. On April 5, three days after Congressman Stevens had complained of Clum's failure to disarm the Indians on his reservation, Kautz had received the application of Governor Safford to have the General relieved. Two days later, the sensational letter in the New York Herald, containing an infamous attack on Kautz by the Tubac postmaster, arrived in Prescott. And on April 9, the same day that Kautz wrote for permission to station an officer at San Carlos, he had sent back through channels his lengthy defense of his conduct against Safford's charges. The letter to Schurz sent April 11 was dashed off on the heels of this document and three days after a similar personal letter to General Sherman. Kautz thus was embroiled in a dispute with the Indian Bureau—and mainly with a minor employee of that bureau—at the very time when his trouble with Safford was being ventilated in the press and in official channels. Moreover, his preoccupation with the welfare of reservation Indians did not look well, as the renegades from New Mexico and Sonora continued to murder settlers in the Sonoita valley and to waylay mail carriers on the Silver City road. April wore into May, and the 6th Cavalry was unable to punish a single Apache depredator.

As though his trouble with Safford were not enough, and apparently not satisfied with harrassing Clum, Kautz
sought more controversy with another Indian Agent, J. H. Stout, who served both the San Xavier Papago agency and the Sacaton agency of the Pima and Maricopa Indians. Twice, early in 1877, troops were called to the Pima agency—once to investigate an alleged robbery and murder by Indians, and again to recover a few cattle taken by Indians. Altogether, however, the Piman Indians were the most peaceful and friendly natives in Arizona, assisting the settlers against Apaches, their mortal enemies, and pursuing agriculture as they had since the time of Spanish occupation. On May 8, Agent Stout wired from Tucson for military assistance in recovering three cows said to have been stolen from a Salt River rancher. Kautz refused to aid him unless Stout personally were present at Sacaton to take responsibility. An acrimonious exchange of telegrams finally led to the desired assistance. On May 16, Lieutenant Summerhayes took a detachment of cavalrymen from Camp McDowell to the Pima-Maricopa agency and reported to the clerk. It turned out that Mexicans had stolen the cattle and sold them to the Pimas, who finally gave up the animals peacefully when they saw the soldiers.


34. Ibid. Five telegrams are enclosures and Kautz' allegations are in 1st end.
This episode Kautz used as pretext for accusing Stout of negligence. Forwarding Summerhayes’ report under endorsement of May 31, the General said, "Agent Stout . . . is habitually absent from his Agency. He furnishes no aid . . . to the Indians in any way. . . . twice before . . . I have sent . . . a detachment to control these Indians and no Agent was present or could be found. He was then believed to be in San Diego."\(^{35}\) This report reached Secretary Schurz on August 17. By then an able new Indian Commissioner had been appointed, Ezra A. Hayt, and the matter was pursued by giving Stout an opportunity to rebut the charge. On September 4 he patiently explained the circumstances of military assistance at his reservation and pointed out that, as the two agencies for which he was responsible were over a hundred miles apart, he could not "conveniently occupy both reservations at once."\(^{36}\) Even then, Kautz did not let the matter drop but required Summerhayes to travel around the vicinity of Florence and Maricopa Wells taking affidavits on the subject of Stout’s administration.\(^{37}\)

\(^{35}\) First end. to ibid.

\(^{36}\) Stout to Commissioner, Sept. 4, copy in 6422 A.O.O. 1877.

\(^{37}\) The report of Summerhayes, six pages with eleven exhibits, was not submitted until March 14, 1878. It is encl. with 3rd end. by Gen. C. B. Willcox, April 9, on ibid.
Governor Safford, at this juncture, gained an unexpected ally in the person of another official of the Indian Bureau. In April, Indian Inspector William Vandever had arrived in southern Arizona to inspect the San Carlos agency. Vandever, a sixty-year-old lawyer from Dubuque, Iowa, had been a general in the Civil War Volunteer Army, and he had served two terms in Congress before the war. His opinions could be expected to carry some weight in Washington. Agent Clum greatly impressed Vandever, who was taken with the style and energy of the youthful deputy. He went so far as to oppose his own bureau when it was suggested that army officers be stationed at agencies and he openly sympathized with Clum. Far more important, however, was his advocacy of the governor's cause.

On May 3 Vandever wrote from Tucson "unofficially" to the Secretary of War, "At the suggestion of Governor Safford and several other gentlemen of this place."

38. Biographical Directory of the American Congress (Washington, 1928), 1642-43. He was elected to Congress again from California in 1886 and served until 1891. Ibid. Vandever commanded the 9th Iowa and a brigade of Eugene A. Carr's division at the Battle of Pea Ridge in 1862. During the Atlanta Campaign of 1864, he commanded the District of Marietta, Ga., in Sherman's army. O.R., Vol. 8, 266-68; Vol. 38, passim. He ended the war in command of a division of XIV Corps and was breveted major general of Volunteers. O.R., Vol. 47, 495-98; and Heitman, I, 982.

39. Vandever to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 31, 1877, Inspectors' File No. 1646 (RG 75, National Archives).
He stated that "a small body" of Chiricahua Apaches who had refused to move to San Carlos in June, 1876, were carrying on a "murderous war" in the vicinity of the Sonoita valley. The raiding had gone on "for months" he said, and he charged that,

General Kautz . . . when called upon to furnish troops to pursue . . . these savages and capture or destroy them . . . at first refused to believe that any outrages had been committed and charged that it was simply a scheme to obtain troops in Southern Arizona for the benefit of contractors. What the General may now think, I do not know, but the people here all feel that he has been indifferent to their safety.

Vandever referred McCrary to Safford's correspondence, which he had seen, and to Commissioner Smith "for fuller information." Then he got to the point: "Now what is desired here . . . is that General Hatch, commanding in New Mexico, or some other equally active . . . officer may be substituted for General Kautz." Vandever disclaimed any personal ill feeling against Kautz, "but I do think him slow in punishing bad Indians," and concluded: "I hope the means may be found of relieving General Kautz—without injury to his feelings."\^40

Vandever's letter reached the eyes of General Sherman on June 1. He knew Vandever well but prudently

\^40 Vandever to Secretary of War, May 3, 1877, copy returned by A.A.G., Div. of the Pacific to Hq. of the Army with copies of prior end., 3627 A.G.O. 1877.
declined to take action until the matter could be referred to Kautz' division commander for investigation.\footnote{41} Vandever in the meantime started for the recently closed agency at Ojo Caliente and on June 13 sent a telegram from San Carlos to the commissioner stating that he was unable to travel into New Mexico because of hostile Indians on the Silver City road. "Murders on upper Gila occur almost daily," he telegraphed; "Military inactive." This alarm was given at once to Secretary Schurz who handed it to the Secretary of War "for action."\footnote{42}

General Sherman regarded the mounting confusion and controversy in Arizona with misgiving. "If Gen. Kautz," he wrote, "be inactive and involved in personal controversies with the Indian agents to an extent that [en]dangers the general interests of the Country, I must yield to the pressures & advise a change of Commanders."\footnote{43} On or before the 21st of June he conferred with the Adjutant General, Townsend, and with the Secretary of War, McCrary. Then he suggested to General McDowell that the best remedy was to send to Arizona a colonel on duty with his regiment to assume command on a brevet rank, as Kautz had done. "If you

\footnotetext[41]{41. Referred "to investigate and report," June 1; copy returned to T.A.G. June 18 and received A.G.O. June 26. The papers were filed in \textit{ibid.}; the original letter of Vandever was not located.}

\footnotetext[42]{42. Telegram, Vandever to Commissioner, June 13, in 3426 \textit{A.G.O.} 1877.}

\footnotetext[43]{43. First end. to \textit{ibid.}}
agree," he wrote to McDowell, "I suggest that a part of the 12th Infantry be ordered to Arizona with its Colonel Wilcox [sic], that Col (Genl) Kautz with part of his Regt. be transferred to California." The only other practical solution was to "select some Colonel, say John Gibbon or Jeff. C. Davis, for the command."\(^{44}\)

Irvin McDowell would not hear of it. Intensely loyal to his subordinate, he insisted that a formal court of inquiry be held to impeach Kautz. He also pointed out that Arizona was in fact administered quite efficiently and economically—as well as they might expect any other regimental colonel to do.\(^{45}\) By June 27 Sherman, however, had modified his views. He rejected the proposed court of inquiry, but allowed McDowell to employ an officer of the Inspector General's Department to "accomplish all that could be done with a Court." The basic matter seemed to him now whether "the Civil authorities by persistent declamation can drive away a Dept. Commander." From a military standpoint, Kautz was about as good as any available, and the next might be no more satisfactory to the civilians. He concluded,

\(^{44}\) Ibid.

\(^{45}\) Telegram, McDowell to Secretary of War, July 10, 3858 A.G.O. 1877.
Arizona is a desert, with few people who are bona fide inhabitants. But when the political capital is returned to Prescott, I think the complaints against Genl. Kautz will cease. But if the Secretary [of War] deem a change of military commanders proper, the one I have named . . . will be most appropriate.  

Of all this, Kautz had only the barest knowledge. It is obvious from his later reaction in February, 1878, that he knew nothing of Sherman's proposal in June of 1877 to remove him from command of Arizona. On July 16, he learned that "Genl. McDowell has taken up the cudgel for me," and he probably knew that the new territorial governor, John Philo Hoyt, had promised the Interior Department to discontinue his predecessor's attacks and to seek cordial relations with the military. Still, Kautz did not

46. First end., June 27, to 3627 A.G.O. 1877.  
47. Diary, 1877.  
48. Hoyt to McDowell, Prescott, July 4, 4597 A.G.O. 1877. On April 13, numerous citizens of Prescott and vicinity had signed a petition protesting "any change that shall deprive the Department of his [Kautz'] valuable services and able management." The first signature is "[levi] Bashford & Co., Merchants." Other signatories included: John H. Marion, editor of the Miner; George D. Kendall, druggist, who, as a captain in the California Volunteers had commanded Fort Whipple in 1865-66; Thomas Fitch, lawyer, and later Congressman from California; "[oseph] Goldwater & Bro.," uncles of the later Senator from Arizona; and C. C. Bean, president of the Peck Mining Co. The document was sent to the Secretary of War, who directed it to Gen. Sherman on April 28. On May 1, Sherman sent it to the President, but ventured the opinion that "as a rule we [should] attach little importance to petitions, but as efforts were made by residents of Tucson to damage Genl Kautz, it is but fair that the other side of the question should be fairly presented." 2421 A.G.O. 1877.
have enough sense to cease his own attacks. Inspector Vandever had proceeded to San Carlos after Clum's resignation. He was virtually the agent while he waited there for further instructions. When he declined to allow Lieutenant Abbott to inspect the issuance of supplies, Kautz angrily demanded compliance. The papers in regard to the matter, however, moved at a snail's pace through official channels and did not come to the Interior Secretary's attention until September 17, by which time Agent Henry L. Hart was established.

By June of 1877, indeed, Kautz had weathered his stormy contest with the late governor. Safford had retired from office in April because of poor health, and President Hayes had appointed Hoyt, the territorial secretary, to succeed him. In June, the capital was moved back to

49. Fourth end., Kautz, August 11, on 5394 A.G.O. 1877. Vandever also refused to allow Abbott's escort, five men, to remain on the reservation. First end., Kautz, August 16, on 5533 A.G.O. 1877.

50. Acting Secretary of Interior [Alonzo Bell] to Secretary of War, Sept. 17, in 5910 A.G.O. 1877. Hart started well enough, although Kautz warned that he lacked the experience and knowledge to be effective. First end., Sept. 22, 6526 A.G.O. 1877. He was soon in trouble because of loose procedures in purchasing supplies, apparently continuing many of Clum's practices. In 1879 he became involved with the mining scheme of Commissioner Hayt. See above, n. 21, and Ogle, 184-97.

51. Hoyt had been appointed territorial secretary by Grant in May, 1876. His term as governor, begun in April, was cut short in the next June by the necessity to make way for John C. Frémont. Interestingly, Hoyt went to
Prescott. Kautz was still the commanding general and, though Safford had declined reappointment, the advent of a conciliatory new chief executive and a return of government to the north lent an appearance of victory. About this time, a shrewd writer, ex-Union Army officer, and correspondent for the San Francisco Post, Richard J. Hinton, visited Prescott and took the measure of August V. Kautz quite well:

A safe man is General Kautz . . . having the rather slow but absorbent, logical, regular brain of the Teuton—a little contentious and apt to kick if he is not regarded as the "Great Mogul." An honest man . . . , but just a little inclined to believe otherwise of those who do not agree with him. He is . . . a soldier and man to be trusted . . . Yet he will fret a little, and his fretting is shown in the Indian agent quarrel now on his hands. I don't propose to enter into the quarrel, and only suggest that the general wastes considerable powder at what ought to be small game.

Washington Territory when he left Arizona in 1879. He settled in Seattle and was an associate justice of the state supreme court, 1889-97, while Kautz lived there in retirement. See Eugene E. Williams, "The Territorial Governors of Arizona: John Philo Hoyt," Arizona Historical Review, Vol. 7 (April 1936), 84-87.

52. Diary, 1877.

53. Hinton had been the first officer in the army to lead colored troops and before the war he had supported the abolitionist cause in Bleeding Kansas. He was widely known for his numerous popular writings that included a Kansas emigrant guide, the biography of Sheridan previously noted, and an account of English radical leaders. See the introduction to the reprint of Hand-Book to Arizona by Arizona Silhouettes press (Tucson, 1954), 3-4.

54. San Francisco Post, June 6, 1877.
General Kautz had some inkling of the damage done
his reputation by the protracted controversy with Governor
Safford and the Interior Department, but he was totally
unprepared for a personal attack soon mounted within his
own official family. Captain Charles Patrick Eagan, the
newly assigned commissary of subsistence for the department,
reported at Fort Whipple in February, 1877. A Volunteer
officer in the Civil War and a hero of the Modoc War of
1873, Eagan had gained appointment in the Subsistence
Department through the recommendation of the Judge Advocate
General, Brigadier General William McKee Dunn. Eagan also
was a warm friend of Mrs. General Sherman. An officer of
indisputable competence, he brought to Arizona the favor
of several influential people.55

Soon after his arrival, Eagan expressed bitterness
because he had been assigned to the desolation of Arizona
by the Commissary General, Brigadier General Robert
Macfeely.56 At first, apparently, Eagan got on well with
Kautz, for in April it was he who persuaded the general to
order a court of inquiry in the case of Captain Worth and

55. See Appendix below.

56. Letter, Kautz to Gen. Robert Macfeely,
Commissary General of Subsistence, marked "personally
official," Jan. 18, 1878; encl. no. 2 with Kautz to T.A.G.,
Agent Clum instead of a court-martial. About the same
time he approached Kautz with the suggestion of withholding
charges against the commanding officer of Fort Yuma, Major
Thomas S. Dunn, 8th Infantry. Doctor Leonard Y. Loring,
the assistant surgeon at Yuma, had preferred charges
against Dunn of "conduct unbecoming an officer" on account
of his acute alcoholism. On Eagan's advice, Kautz decided
to drop the charges if Dunn would take a pledge of abstinence,
and Eagan offered to serve as intermediary in making the
proposal to Dunn. The major, it should be noted, was a
brother of William McKee Dunn who had gotten Eagan his
Subsistence Department appointment.

Eagan, according to Kautz, soon thereafter began
to denounce those who he suspected had brought about his
assignment to Arizona, especially the Commissary General.
The other staff officers at Fort Whipple gave him little

57. Diary, 1877. The narrative in the next five
paragraphs is based on this source, unless otherwise noted.

58. "Taking the pledge" was not an uncommon alter­
native for officers faced with charges of habitual drunken­
ness. The pledge usually consisted of a letter to the
regimental commander promising to resign or face the
charges in the event he touched liquor for a specified
time. Of course, the pledge had no effect if the officer
were transferred to another regiment. In Major Dunn's
case, he secured a transfer to the 12th Infantry on May 14,
1877. On June 29, 1879, he was retired after 17 years com­
missioned service "for disability resulting from disease
not incident to service." Hamersly, 413. Diary, 1877.

59. "Personally official" letter, Kautz to Macfeely,
Jan. 18, 1878.
sympathy. Kautz finally tired of his interminable visits to headquarters. In April, Eagan tried to get the post tradership for a brother-in-law, and, failing that, he complained to Kautz that there was a combination at work against him as indeed there was: his own sensitive honor and paranoia. By May, there was very considerable feeling against Eagan, and he made himself offensive by his extreme views and by his interference in other officers' business.

From early May onward, Eagan's actions were decidedly antagonistic. He also by then had found an ally in the person of a kindred spirit in the 6th Cavalry, Captain Charles H. Campbell, who was stationed at Camp Apache.60 In the latter part of July, Campbell was ordered to Whipple for trial on charges of misappropriation of his company fund, disrespect to a superior officer, and making a false

60. Charles Harrod Campbell was the son of Archibald Campbell, engineer and explorer responsible for the survey of the northwestern U.S. boundary, 1858-60, whom Kautz apparently had met when he was military quartermaster of the boundary commission. Diary, 1858. Young Campbell attended the U.S.M.A. from July, 1863, to the next July; then he received a commission in the 1st N.Y. Artillery. In 1866 he was appointed Second Lieutenant in the 6th Cavalry. Heitman, I, 277. In October, 1875, Lt. Campbell requested a court of inquiry to investigate allegations by Major Compton that he disobeyed orders while the regiment was serving in Kansas. 1660 A.G.O. 1875. From January, 1875, until December, 1877, Campbell accrued indebtedness to the Subsistence Dept., the Quartermaster Dept., and civilians so extensive that Kautz remarked, "it would take about one year's full pay" to satisfy his creditors. First end., Kautz, Feb. 13, on 1678 A.G.O. 1878. Also, 1030 A.G.O. 1876 and 1368 A.G.O. 1877.
official report. Eagan was a member of the court and, notwithstanding, was conspicuous as the champion of the accused. Campbell, whose career was tottering from repeated reprimands and admonitions, might well have been cashiered in 1877 if the court had acted with greater probity. The findings on that occasion, however, were insufficient to admit so severe a penalty. "It is impossible," commented Kautz, "to understand how a Court Martial could take so lenient a view of such an offense against military propriety."

Eagan himself, if we are to believe Kautz, was vulnerable to punitive action. In the summer of 1877, his gambling in Prescott caused a scandal. It was alleged that at a public gaming house, playing with citizens, Eagan "lost so heavily that he could not pay, losing seventeen hundred dollars at one sitting." Kautz recorded that, on one occasion, "He was in Prescott drunk, wearing his uniform, and after dark whilst wending his way to a house of prostitution fell into a well and had to be pulled out by the inmates of the house." The General, however, refrained from official action because he felt that other means of

61. G.C.M.O. 18, Dept. of Arizona, August 7, 1877 Diary, 1877.
62. Ibid. Campbell was sentenced to be reprimanded.
controlling his officers were preferable. Also, Eagan had a wife and three children whom Kautz characterized as "an interesting family, that would be welcomed by every family here if Capt. E. would permit them to visit." Although Kautz withheld court-martial charges for some time, Eagan was eventually to prove his "great capacity for mischief." 64

Perhaps a personal tragedy in the Kautz family in June of 1877 beclouded his better judgement. Fannie had been expecting their third child since the previous autumn; on April 14 she came down with "something like remittent fever" and was in bed for two days. On the evening of June 12, she delivered a still-born baby girl. "She passed through the painful ordeal very well indeed," the General recorded, but she was "much depressed" by their loss. 65

The next day the chaplain christened the infant "Lillie" and in the afternoon she was buried in the Fort Whipple cemetery. Fanny recovered rapidly, but the psychological shock confirmed her desire for a vacation among her family and friends in the East. The General had ruled against a leave so soon, but by June 19 he had agreed to send her home and to join her in Cincinnati in the fall, if he could obtain leave.

64. Ibid.
65. Diary, 1877.
On August 7, after reviewing the record of the latest Campbell court-martial, General Kautz commenced his annual report for the preceding fiscal year. It was to be an unnecessarily long document in which he renewed his attacks on Safford and Clum, and speculated at length on alleged corruption at the San Carlos agency. This diatribe was followed by gratuitous comments on the management of Indians generally and the need for transferring the Indian Bureau to the War Department. As he finished a week later, he complied with General Schofield's request for the detail of an officer to the Military Academy and ordered First Lieutenant George S. Anderson, 6th Cavalry, to prepare to accompany Fannie east.

On Sunday, August 19, a caravan of wagons, pack-mules, and horsemen departed Camp Verde. The principal members of the party were the general and his family, who had come from Whipple, including Fannie with four-year-old Austin and two-year-old Frankie, and the nurse Polly, accompanied by Lieutenant Anderson. They were escorted by the redoubtable guide Al Sieber and Second Lieutenant William Baird with three soldiers and six Apache scouts.

66. This document Kautz had printed and sent to the Congressional committee investigating the matter of transfer. See below p. 581. A copy of the pamphlet, which varies slightly from the report in Secretary of War Report, 1877, is in the library of the A.F.H.S.

67. Diary, 1877.
Infantry quartermaster, and the legendary half-breed interpreter, Mickey Free, were also along. With a tangled mane of red hair and only one eye, the onetime captive of the Apaches was said to be the son of John Ward who figured in the Bascom affair of 1861.68 Sieber once described him as "half Mexican, half Irish and whole son of a bitch."69 Anderson and Whitney were both to entrain at Santa Fe with the general's family.

The party camped the first night on Dry Beaver Creek at the foot of the Mogollon Rim.70 Next day they struggled up the steep road to the plateau with Kautz driving the ambulance to insure the children's safety. They reached Stoneman's Lake in the afternoon and camped.

68. Although two accounts agree that Mickey was a member of the party, his presence went unnoticed in the general's diary. Kautz did, however, mention him on other occasions as a reliable man. Mickey is mentioned in the Miner, Sept. 14, 1877; and in the Reminiscence of Charles F. Bennett (A.P.H.S.) as accompanying the Kautz party in 1877. Bennett was one of the soldiers. Thrapp, Al Sieber, 190ff.

69. Thrapp, Sieber, 262.

70. This and the next two paragraphs are based on the Diary, 1877, but Thrapp's account is excellent and more full: Al Sieber, Ch. 12, 190-213.
They continued by way of Jaycox Tanks, through Chavez Pass, to the Little Colorado River, which they forded on the 23rd. That night was spent at Barado's store where they met Corydon E. Cooley "and quite a number of other people" and were treated to Mexican hot chocolate by the wife of the proprietor. On the 24th they paused at a camp on Carrizo Creek to hunt fossils and petrified wood specimens. Near modern Holbrook they turned up the Puerco and marched across the Painted Desert to the New Mexico line. The dusty, travel-worn entourage camped at a Navajo trading post on the 26th, thirty miles west of Fort Wingate.

On August 27, the Kautzes reached Wingate where they were warmly received by the lieutenant colonel of the Infantry, Peter T. Swaine. A hop was held for them but it was "very dull" as the "people here do not harmonize very well." Kautz renewed his friendship with Captain Horace Jewett. On the morning of the 29th, Fannie with Whitney and Anderson, Frankie and Austin, and nurse Polly set out for Santa Fe, while the pack train started west, to camp at Wallace's station. Kautz and Baird spent another day at Wingate, departing late that evening.

71. Fannie's arrival in Santa Fe was noticed by the Santa Fe Daily New Mexican, Sept. 4, 1877. She arrived on the 3rd and that evening was "the recipient of calls from General Hatch and wife . . . and other military officers and their wives at Fort Marcy."
The expedition toured by way of old Fort Defiance, thence to famed Canyon de Chelly. The highlight of the sightseeing was to be a visit to the Grand Canyon, but at Canyon de Chelly on September 2 the Navajos warned Kautz that it was the wrong season to travel there. They visited the Moqui villages, however, and Kautz found them "filthy and unprepossessing in the extreme." On the 6th, they headed for Prescott by way of Antelope Springs, Volunteer Valley, and Chino Valley. They all made camp about two o'clock in the afternoon on the 10th, at Banghart's ranch, but Kautz did not choose to sleep out again. He saddled his horse after dinner and rode into Fort Whipple, arriving at his lonely quarters about 9:30 p.m. Baird and Sieber brought the vehicles and train in next day. They had traveled nearly a thousand miles in twenty-four days.

In his absence, Kautz had been well served by his versatile A.A.G., Major James P. Martin. When the general went down to headquarters next morning he read the dispatches from Lieutenant Abbott and General McDowell and listened to Martin explain the events at San Carlos in the past three weeks. Abbott had reported in mid-August that food supplies for the reservation's Indians were dangerously short and that many families were forced to roam the barren country in search of nuts, beans, and wild food to prevent outright starvation. Inspector Vandeuer
had apparently failed to meet the emergency and the Indians had become very aggravated. They were already stirred up by the mixture of dissident bands, especially the Warm Spring Indians brought from New Mexico in May. Suspicion of the whites, traditional tribal enmity, and restlessness at being forced to farm, nearly compelled an outbreak.\(^7\)

On August 28, McDowell's A.A.G. had telegraphed Martin to inquire what troop dispositions were being made in Arizona to cope with the anticipated outbreak. He also had reported that the new agent, Hart, was at Tucson.\(^7\) Martin had replied that the commanders at Camps Grant, Thomas, and Apache were advised of Abbott's reports, and all were alerted for action.\(^7\)

Another U.S. Mail rider had been murdered by Indians, so Martin told the general, twenty miles east of Camp Bowie on the 23rd, which had been reported to San Francisco on the 29th.\(^7\) On the 31st, Abbott had wired Martin that, three days previous, the infamous renegade Pionsenay and sixteen others had approached the Chiricahua

---

\(^7\) Abbott to A.A.G., Dept. of Arizona, August 21, 6526 A.G.O. 1877.

\(^7\) Telegram, A.A.G., Div. of the Pacific, to A.A.G., Dept. of Arizona, in 5639 A.G.O. 1877.

\(^7\) Telegrams, Martin to A.A.G., August 28 and 29, in ibid.

\(^7\) Martin to A.A.G., August 29, ibid.
sub-agency and made peace overtures. The Indians had left with five stolen horses and had been pursued by Lieutenant Overton. As Abbott sent the message, he had reported the surrender of one of Pionsenay's adherents, Nolgee, with three others, to Overton. Abbott also had advised headquarters of the organization by the new agent of a volunteer native force to pursue renegades, as well as the distribution of supplies which seemed to quiet the Apaches. The murderers of the mail rider had subsequently been traced to the reservation but not found. All this, too, Martin had passed to division headquarters. Then, as an actual exodus of Indians was reported, Martin had directed the coordinated movements of three 6th Cavalry columns in pursuit. During this time the A.A.G. had attended to departmental administration down to the finest detail, including a strict accounting of official U.S. postage stamps on requisition. Had Kautz cared to, he could have left the department headquarters in his able adjutant's hands and gone in person to the scene of exploding Indian trouble.

On the first day of September, Pionsenay returned surreptitiously to San Carlos and convinced the leaders


Nolgee, Loco, Juh, and Gordo to take the warpath. On the evening of September 2, he drew away from the reservation 310 Indians of the Chiricahua bands. It is notable that in this instance, Geronimo stayed.\textsuperscript{78} The renegades fled to New Mexico, probably to secure cached arms in the vicinity of the now closed agency at Ojo Caliente. A large volunteer force of Apaches initially pursued them to Ash Creek and routed their camp, but only thirty women and children could be rounded up. In New Mexico, after joining with the band of Victorio, they attacked a settlement on the upper Gila and killed eight white men. Thereafter a month-long pursuit by troops and Indian Scouts was required to bring them to surrender.\textsuperscript{79}

The 6th Cavalry was to play the major role in running down the renegades. In mid-August a small party of Chiricahuas had made the mistake of stealing Guide Dan O'Leary's horse while he was scouting the Sonoita valley. When this catastrophe was reported to Camp Huachuca, Lieutenant Bob Hanna had started after them with the entire

\textsuperscript{78} Telegram, McDowell to T.A.G., Sept. 11, 5705 A.G.O. 1877; letter, Agent Hart to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sept. 18, encl. with Schurz to Secretary of War, Oct. 19, 6606\textsuperscript{3} A.G.O. 1877. See also Ogle, 183; Geronimo was not recognized at this time as a war leader, contrary to Clum's later claims. See Clum's letter to the editor, Citizen, April 12, 1884.

company of Hualpai Scouts and twenty-four white soldiers. They trailed the raiders through the Whetstone Mountains, across the San Pedro valley, through the Dragoon Mountains, and across the northern end of Sulphur Springs Valley into the Chiricahua Mountains. Stopping at Bowie, Hanna had learned of the murder of the mail rider on the 23rd. His Scouts soon after found the trail of the hostiles which led across the San Simon valley and northward. The death of a federal mailman evidently made the case more serious than simple horse theft, and Hanna was joined by Lieutenant Tony Rucker with eighteen more men from Bowie and another company of scouts. Hanna had by this time been out for a week. 80

East of Bowie the cavalry had marched with little water, and once during the next eight days they went for twenty-four hours in the saddle totally dry. "Many of the men," reported Hanna later, "became almost insane." They had climbed for a day through the Pinaleños near Stein's Peak, then picked up the hostile track headed north, toward the upper Gila. Having approached to within five miles of the San Carlos Reservation, they had ridden into Camp Thomas where they were joined by twenty native police from

the agency. At the military post on September 3 they were advised by Martin by telegraph not to enter the reserve, and next day came the news from Agent Hart that a general outbreak of the Chiricahuas led by Pionsenay had occurred. Hanna and Rucker were soon joined by another detachment of the 6th Cavalry from Camp Grant under Captain Tulius Cicero Tupper who assumed command. 81

The expedition now consisted of sixty troopers drawn from Companies B, G, H, I, and M with two Scout Companies, C and D, with about sixty friendly Apaches and Hualpais. The command under Tupper moved at daylight on September 5. Soon they entered the tangled mountains of southwestern New Mexico. Hanna best described the march:

> From the 4th to the 9th of September we traveled from daylight to sundown, camping where night found us, stopping only once a day for water and to cook. On the 8th our scouts overtook the renegades near evening near the San Francisco River, New Mexico, and had a running fight for over ten miles until long after dark. Twelve hostiles killed and thirteen captured. 82

This one sharp skirmish was the only real fight of the brief campaign, although General Pope reported that "almost every soldier in New Mexico is out after these Indians who left the agency in Department of Arizona." 83

---

81. The reports of Rucker and Tupper are encl. nos. 3 and 1 with ibid. Cf. Yorktown to Santiago, 191-92

82. Hanna's report with 6633 A.G.O. 1877.

83. Telegram, Pope to Secretary of War, Oct. 18, 6609 A.G.O. 1877. See also telegrams Sheridan to T.A.G.,
The renegade leader, Pionsenay, escaped into the Sierra Madre of Mexico and later was killed by a Mexican near Janos. On the 14th, Tupper had to break up the force for want of supplies and Hanna returned to Camp Huachuca. "My command," concluded Hanna in his report, "was exhausted." After praising O'Leary's Scouts, Hanna laconically added, "Total distance traveled 702 miles."

Not only the pursuit by troops, but also the difficulty of avoiding the many new settlements and of eluding the telegraph which told their movements, finally intimidated the Apaches. In the fall of 1877, the once dreaded Chiricahuas at last realized that their once impregnable mountain empire was no longer their own. Hence forward, no renegade Apache would stay free unless he took refuge in old Mexico, and even there he was not safe. Victoriño's people managed to stay free for one month. On October 5, 154 of them with Loco surrendered to Major Jewett at Fort Wingate. Within a month, ninety more had come in, but their able leader chose freedom in the Sierra Madre. The surrendered Indians, however, vowed they would

---

Sept. 18 and 20, in special file, 5705 A.G.O. 1877. One might easily assume that the subsequent surrender of Loco was due entirely to the activity of Gen. Hatch's command.

86. Yorktown to Santiago. 192-93.
sooner die than go back to San Carlos, and temporarily
they were held at the old Hot Springs agency. 88

Kautz apparently placed little importance on the
Chiricahua outbreak, 89 and regarded the surrender at Fort
Wingate as a conclusion to the trouble. Even in this
instance, however, he was unable to avoid conflict with
his peers. First occurred a minor dispute with General
Pope over the responsibility for the depredations. After
Inspector Vandever had asserted that "Murders on upper Gila
occur almost daily," General McDowell had defended Kautz
by correctly stating that only two murders were reported
from that quarter, in May, and that the "upper Gila" was
in New Mexico. The depredations were therefore beyond the
responsibility of Kautz. This assertion reached Pope in
September who said all the trouble was caused in the Depart­
ment of Arizona. On October 3 Kautz was required to write
a special report for McDowell so the latter could demand a

88. Dunn, Massacres of the Mountains, 639; and
Ogle, 193. The history of the final removal of the
Chiricahuas to San Carlos may be followed through Files
6150, 6186, 6629, 6802, 6969, and 7499 A.G.O. 1877.

89. Kautz' end., Oct. 12, on report of a scout by
he commented, "like that of Lieut. Craig's [forwarded
Oct. 6] . . . shows the disposition to exaggerate Indian
troubles."
retraction. Then on September 8 the postmaster at Silver City claimed he could no longer get the mail through because Indians frequently waylaid the mail contractor's wagon near Camp Bowie and the commander of that post had refused protection. This brought a protest from the Postmaster General and Pope as well, for the latter claimed he was escorting the mail without help from Arizona. Both the complaints proved erroneous and, probably because he was out of the department by the time the correspondence reached Fort Whipple, Kautz did not enter into another controversy. Major Martin adroitly handled the matter.

90. Kautz to McDowell, Arizona Letter Book, 1877, 304. I have not located the original of this report or the correspondence of Pope which instigated it, but the telegrams in special file 5705 A.G.O. 1877 are careful to emphasize that the Indians being pursued in New Mexico were from Arizona.

91. Space here will not permit a summary of this correspondence found in Files 6053, 6539, 6609, 6776, 6984, and 8010 A.G.O. 1877.
CHAPTER XII

THE CASE OF CAPTAIN CAMPBELL

Although Kautz was gratified by Major Jewett's announcement that Loco had surrendered, his mind was becoming completely occupied by concern for Fannie. On September 17 he had learned from a letter that she had been ill at Fort Union but was improved sufficiently to travel again, and Lieutenant Whitney had wired from St. Louis on the 19th that all were well and safe.\(^1\) Meantime the General had not received permission to leave the department and he felt uneasy about his young wife's attraction for her traveling companion, Lieutenant George S. Anderson. During the trip to Wingate, it had seemed that her preference for him had grown "greater and more manifest with each day of our journey,"\(^2\) and that only the inherent safeguards of so many companions had, it seemed in retrospect, prevented her from reciprocating Anderson's advances—if such they were.

---

1. None of this correspondence has survived. See the Diary, 1877.

2. Letter, Kautz to his wife, October 12, 1877, in Kautz Papers. This letter apparently was never sent but was preserved as a memento.
Whitney left the party at St. Louis and Kautz heard nothing from his wife until October 3. The general took his meals with the Biddles who "are very kind and . . . set a good table," but he was desolate in his lonely quarters and the weather turned rainy, cold, and gloomy. The letter of October 3 said that she was "homesick in the midst of her friends." Yet she did not ask to return to Arizona; instead, on the 9th, she telegraphed that she was visiting at the Military Academy, Anderson's new station.3

October 10 was a "wretched day" for Kautz. Fannie's dispatch from West Point weighed upon his mind. "I can't sleep," he wrote, in a letter never mailed, "and [I] have lost all ambition; the contents of the dispatch has not a particle of interest, I don't care for it or the Dept. of Arizona or anything."4 Fannie was only twenty-six years of age, just two years younger than Anderson,5 and now Kautz was sure that he was regarded "as an old fool who has married a young wife." He at first thought to write a letter but could not trust himself. At last on October 12 he took up a pen in his lonely quarters and tried "all day

3. Diary, 1877.

4. Kautz to his wife, Oct. 12, 1877. Other quotations in this paragraph, except the diary entry (n. 6), are also from the letter.

5. Anderson was born September 30, 1849, in New Jersey. Powell, 17.
to write . . . , but the many interruptions as well as the difficulties of the subject," prevented him from completing a letter. His concern may have been groundless, the result of "a diseased mind," as he himself was sane enough to realize. But the embarrassing gossip about Prescott moved him to conclude that "bona fide ruin stares me in the face." His letter, still preserved, but never sent and perhaps never read by Fannie, gives poignant meaning to August Kautz' detachment from the mundane affairs of his military command in 1877:

My poor silly wife:

How could you commit such a folly . . . ? Did you think that no one was aware of your preference for Mr. A.? Did you think Mr. W. [Lt. Whitney] did not see it or feel it . . . ? How could you put yourself in the mouths of the people here to be talked about? . . . I am vassilating [sic] between a maze of resolutions no sooner made than abandoned. . . . It is a perpetual strain with me . . . to appear calm and composed. . . . I pray that some mantle of propriety, however thin, has been cast over your indiscretion . . .

I have poured over this letter, and have tried to finish it for the mail . . . [But] I don't know that I can tell you in writing and make you understand what I am enduring. . . . I have spent the day between the office and going to . . . meals and trying to compose this letter. Most of the time is spent in . . . trying to collect my thoughts, . . . People ask me what is the matter, and I say I am not feeling well, which is true. Everybody is ailing, and charges it to the south-easter which has been blowing now for two days,

6. Diary, 1877.
and most people believe me when I attribute my trouble to the storm. But the storm outside is nothing to the storm within. . . . A man cannot believe what he pleases, he must believe what he can. If the order comes soon I will go to you . . . How bitterly I reproach myself that I allowed you to go without me.

To such a state of mind may we credit Kautz' clumsy handling of the Campbell affair. Although disgusted at the outcome of the court-martial in July, Kautz was wise enough to know that it would be only a matter of time before Campbell would commit himself again. When Kautz returned to Fort Whipple in September, Lieutenant Austin Henely brought new and more serious evidence to show that Campbell had misappropriated considerable government property to his own use. Campbell had failed to account for a carbine and half a dozen Colt's revolvers; he had used without payment articles of clothing and lost other equipment; and he had brazenly stolen from his company fund.7

On September 24, Kautz determined to entertain the charges.8

7. As will be related, the second trial of Campbell became an issue in the court-martial of Kautz in 1878. See Ch. XIII. A complete true copy was therefore introduced into the Record of Trial of Colonel August V. Kautz, 8th Infantry, before General Court Convened at Omaha, Nebraska, May 1, 1878, General Court Martial File QQ-628, Records of the Office of the Judge Advocate General (RG 153, National Archives). Cited hereafter as Kautz G.C.M.

8. Diary, 1877. Although Campbell had been tried in July on charges that stemmed from Biddle's inspection of Camp Verde in June, the record of the Campbell trial in Kautz G.C.M. suggests that Biddle's report was the basis of the new charges tried in October as well.
The commissary of subsistence, Captain Eagan, promptly agreed to be Campbell's counsel for the defense. On October 8 a court composed of seven officers assembled at Fort Whipple to try the case. The president was Doctor McKee. Major Henry R. Mizner, Captain Alfred T. Smith, and Lieutenant Summerhayes of the 8th Infantry could also be expected to reflect their Colonel's views of military propriety. The other members of the court were Captain Edward C. Woodruff of the 12th Infantry, Captain John Simpson of the Quartermaster Department, and Captain Tupper, Campbell's only fellow officer from the 6th Cavalry.9

Because of Smith's illness, the court heard no pleas or motions until October 9.10 Then on request of counsel, a three day recess was declared to give Eagan a chance to study an additional specification to the charges. Evidence was taken beginning on the 12th, but because of his disturbed state of mind it is doubtful if Kautz paid close attention to the proceedings. Next day, the general was further diverted by receipt of permission from San Francisco to go after his wife. Had his full attention been focused on Eagan's defense tactics, it is almost

9. Record of Campbell trial, Kautz G.C.M.
10. The account of the trial in the following pages is based on ibid.
certain he would not have fallen into the counsel's subtle trap.

The charge against Campbell, in essence, was that he had used, loaned, or consumed public property charged to Company A of the 6th Cavalry or to the post of Camp Verde. The moral issue was that he had failed to pay for, or even to account for, the property; Eagan intended to skirt that issue and to show that it was customary at all posts to use public property for private purposes. The biggest user, naturally, was the departmental commander, and he happened also to be the author of a widely circulated handbook on "customs of service." If Eagan could get Kautz to testify against himself, the case would fall to the ground, and he intended to do this by calling the general as an "expert" witness. The tactic was ingenious, but Kautz should have recognized at once, as he later admitted,\textsuperscript{11} that every member of the court was presumed to be an "expert" in customs of the service and that his testimony would at best be judged as superfluous, if admissible at all. Moreover, he was the convening authority and should never have been permitted by the president to testify, a point of law that even General Sherman missed in his later review.

\begin{footnote}
\textsuperscript{11} End. to \textit{ibid.} by Kautz, Nov. 26, 1877.
\end{footnote}
Nevertheless, Kautz acceded in Eagan's demand and on October 13 presented himself to the court.

After several ambiguous and inadmissable exchanges, which a more alert president would have used as pretext to dismiss the witness, Eagan asked the question: "Where an officer . . . publicly admits . . . small deficiencies in the property for which he is responsible to the United States, but which he is unable to pay for . . . , yet bears the deficiency on hand to be accounted for on his returns, is such an act . . . a violation of the true meaning of the 8th Article of War?"

The judge advocate, Lt. Henry P. Kingsbury, jumped to his feet and objected, "as the question is just exactly what the Court is ordered for." Eagan glibly replied that his question was only "a simple illustration of a commonplace fact in the Army." The judge advocate withdrew his objection.

Kautz carefully answered Eagan's question: "I think it is."

The clever Irishman must have hidden a smile as he calmly asked: "Have you a spring wagon or ambulance team of four or more mules with harness, set aside for the exclusive use of yourself and personal staff officers?"

The witness had no time to answer that one. Kingsbury, his face red, hurriedly closed the court and Eagan
left the room with the defendant. When the court reopened, Campbell was instructed by Doctor McKee to withdraw the last question. Then he was officially informed that he should, for the sake of his case, either change his line of defense or get another counsel.

The next day, the 14th, was a Sunday, and the court recessed. On Monday, Campbell announced that his counsel had retired; Tuesday, a rambling, inane letter from Eagan was permitted to be read into the record; and on October 17 the court recessed so Campbell could employ other counsel. By then Kautz had departed on leave for the East.

Burdened with domestic troubles, August Kautz virtually ceased to exercise effective control over the military situation in Arizona after August of 1877. It is no exaggeration to say that the military machinery ran itself, and if the department had a commander, it was its assistant adjutant general, Major James Porter Martin. For the most part, however, the post commanders attended to local affairs, each in his own way, and reported the results to the A.A.G. When depredations were reported near Prescott, for instance, Captain Charles Porter, 8th Infantry, set out from Camp Verde on September 16. With Indian Scouts under Guide Sieber, he searched the country eastward into the
Tonto Basin, to the Mogollons on the north, and to North Peak. They were out until October 1 and marched 235 miles, but they found that cattle, reportedly stolen by Indians, had only strayed.\textsuperscript{12} A few Indians were discovered who were on passes from San Carlos hunting, and they narrowly escaped ambush by the Scouts who "seldom allow their prey a chance to surrender or time to offer explanations."\textsuperscript{13}

By contrast, when Captain Tupper had returned to Camp Grant on September 18, there appeared to be no further cause for extended scouting in southern Arizona. He probably joined the post adjutant in the more important business of filling the complement of the 6th Cavalry band, whose reputation was eclipsing that of the 8th Infantry at Whipple.\textsuperscript{14} The adjutant was said to have engaged "several

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{12} On September 28, Major Martin telegraphed to Camp McDowell: "The General does not consider it necessary to order a scout from your post, though if you think it necessary you are authorized to make a scout." Arizona Letter Book, IS??, 298.
  
  \item \textsuperscript{13} Report of Captain Porter, October 2, 1877, 6806 A.G.O. 1877. The expedition is also described by Thrapp, Al Sieber, 197-99.
  
  \item \textsuperscript{14} About this time, a roving reporter for the Miner ignored the Indians when he related the news from southern Arizona, and he observed that, "The Whipple band is older than that of Grant, and I must confess that they play more in unison than the Grantites, ... [Fort Grant's] string band, which I had occasion to hear at a hop given in the Adjutant's office, is faultless in every respect and is composed of first-class soldiers on their respective instruments." Miner, November 26, 1877.
\end{itemize}
first-class performers . . . in St. Louis, and some on their way to Grant.15

The 6th Cavalry, however, was learning its business. During the autumn, Major Compton, virtually in command of the regiment,16 used the lull to recruit his pack trains and to secure competent civilian packers. This would make possible sustained mobile operations without returning periodically to Arizona posts. On November 27 Lieutenant Rucker left Camp Bowie with thirty-five men of Companies C, G, H, and L; thirty-five scouts under Lieutenant Touey and Guide John Dunn; and eight packers with forty days' rations and extra ammunition. Their mission was to search for renegades known to be hiding out with Juh and Nolgee in the Sierra Madre, across the line in Mexico. From that refuge most of the plunder trails seemed to emigrate.17

15. Ibid.

16. Yorktown to Santiago, 194. Colonel Oakes, nominally in command but perennially sick since the war, finally intimated a desire to Kautz in October of 1876 to be retired. Ill again, so he reported, Oakes relinquished actual command until July, 1878. The efforts of Kautz and Sheridan, however, came to nothing when the colonel got well enough to thwart a retiring board and, apparently, refused to apply for retirement under the thirty years law. Sheridan's correspondence on the matter with Kautz and Sherman is in Sheridan Papers: Sheridan to Sherman, Oct. 25, 1876; and Sheridan to Kautz, same date. See also Powell, 139. Oakes was at last retired in 1879 and lived until 1910.

17. The subsequent expedition of Rucker was described in his after action report of December 31, 1877, 1377 A.G.O. 1878, from which the next two paragraphs are drawn. See also Yorktown to Santiago, 194-95, and Ogle, 185.
Rucker's expedition met a Mexican militia company on the San Bernardino River in Sonora who had pursued some Apaches said to have gone north on the east side of the Guadalupe Mountains into New Mexico Territory. On December 5, Rucker set out for the line and on the 7th met an officer of the Mexican Army with his company at the southern end of the Guadalupes. Here Rucker found a hostile trail and followed it through incessant winter rains northward until December 14 when three Indians were sighted at Ralston Flat. The Apaches were cooking and taking advantage of a clear day to dry out their plunder. The scouts killed one hostile and would have gotten the others but they stopped to repossess the mules and merchandise for themselves.

Rucker concluded that he was close to a war party returning from a raid into the United States. He at once determined to cut their trail into Mexico and he crossed to the Las Animas Mountains where he picked it up. He pushed rapidly after the party, estimated to be at most sixteen strong, and on December 17 discovered a large hidden rancheria. The troopers and scouts dismounted and surrounded the Indian camp during the night. Next day they attacked and surprised perhaps sixty Apache warriors; fifteen were killed by actual body count, and numerous others, perhaps mortally wounded, fled into the rocky ravines with the troopers in pursuit. Without their horses
at hand, the soldiers had to give up in a few hours, and
next day they set out for Camp Bowie. It was later learned
that part of this renegade band had ambushed a wagon train
at Ash Springs on December 12 and they had probably killed
a mail driver on the Silver City road.\footnote{18}

Meanwhile, on October 15 General Kautz had taken
the early stage for Wickenburg.\footnote{19} Still despondent over
his wife's perplexing behavior, he took small pleasure in
talking with the only other passenger, Judge Walsh, and in
walking the road while teams were changed. Mrs. Biddle
had packed a generous lunch that the two men shared, and
they were spared the miserable fare of the stage stations.
Kautz reached Ehrenberg at 3:00 a.m. on the 17th and was at
the railroad terminus at Dos Palmas by noon of the 18th.
He paused but briefly in San Francisco and eight days later
was aboard a train from St. Louis to Cincinnati. On
Saturday morning, the 27th, he alighted from the cars, and
went directly to the office of his brother-in-law's news-
paper, the \textit{Volksblatt}. Colonel Markbreit took him at once
to the Hassaureks' home in Mount Auburn "where I found my
little family all well and comfortably provided for."\footnote{20}

\footnote{18. Telegram, Martin to A.A.G., Div. of the Pacific,
Dec. 13, 7914 A.G.O. 1877; and same to same, Dec. 15, 7915
A.G.O. 1877.}

\footnote{19. \textit{Diary}, 1877.}

\footnote{20. This quotation, as well as most of the material
in the next six pages, is based almost entirely on \textit{ibid}.}
What happy reconciliation he had there with Fannie we may only imagine. It is likely that much of his apprehension was unfounded; the inevitable diary entry for that day is silent. For the next week the general enjoyed a round of theatrical performances and restaurant dinners, and visited his father. Certain it is that August Kautz was content with whatever explanation his wife gave him, for he turned his attention wholeheartedly to professional matters and cultural interests.

Leaving the children in the care of Friedrich Hassaurek's family, the again harmonious couple entrained for Washington where they put up at the Ebbitt House on the evening of November 6. Immediately after breakfast the next day, on Wednesday morning, Kautz went up to the War Department. He called on the principal officers, including General Sherman who, he noted, "did not ask me a word about Arizona." The Kautzes spent the afternoon in the hotel where they were called on by numerous friends and military acquaintances. The next morning Kautz went to the office of General Macfeely, the Commissary General. The purpose of this visit, unstated in Kautz' diary, was doubtless to discuss Captain Charles P. Eagan, the troublesome chief commissary of Arizona. While in Cincinnati, Kautz had been advised by Major Martin that Lieutenant Kingsbury had preferred charges against Eagan. These stemmed from Eagen's
scandalous conduct at the Prescott gambling halls in August and September past. It was now learned that, despite an earlier application to have Eagan relieved and transferred, nothing had been done by Macfeely's department.

After a long talk with Macfeely, Kautz went to the War Department again to see the Secretary of War, George W. McCrary, in company with General Sherman. Later, an Arizona "delegation" called on the Secretary, while Kautz and Sherman were present, "in relation to Indian troubles." The visitors included the former territorial governor of Arizona, Richard C. McCormick, and the then territorial delegate to Congress, Hiram S. Stevens. McCormick was an assistant secretary of the Treasury Department under John Sherman, brother of the Commanding General. 21 "McCormick was impertinent," noted Kautz, but made an appointment to see him again in General Sherman's office next morning. In the evening Kautz went by to see the Secretary of the Interior, Carl Schurz, with whom he had a long talk.

21. Richard Cunningham McCormick (1832-1901) was born in New York City, the son of a journalist. He went to Europe in 1854 as a news correspondent for several New York papers and covered the Crimean War. From 1857 to '59 he was editor of Young Men's Magazine. In 1860 he enthusiastically transferred his abolitionist sympathies to the emerging Republican Party and campaigned for Lincoln. He was a war correspondent for a short time until appointed secretary of the newly created Territory of Arizona in March, 1863. He was subsequently governor and delegate to Congress for Arizona. On arrival at Fort Whipple, the first territorial capital, he set up a small press that he had brought overland and established a newspaper, the Weekly Miner. As governor from 1866-69, McCormick was energetic
In the next three days, Kautz had lengthy sessions with McCormick and Stevens. Friday, November 9th, "provided a very good day," Kautz judged:

I went up to the War Dept. and had the interview with the Arizona delegation with Mr. McCormick in Genl. Sherman's office, and I think maintained myself well. The Asst. Sec. of the Treasury went out very mild, & I had the opportunity [sic] to prove the reverse of his statement that I know nothing of Arizona & he knew all about it.

On Saturday, Kautz "met Mr. Stevens ... and had an hour's conversation with him on Arizona matters." Then he "called on Mr. McCormick and had a very satisfactory interview with him." Following these meetings, Kautz obtained an interview with President Hayes, "who received me very pleasantly and talked with me for fifteen minutes about Arizona." 22

Kautz concluded his Saturday morning tour with a visit once and imaginative. As territorial delegate, 1869-74, he proved shrewd and opportunistic. After leaving Congress, he held several federal appointments until his retirement to private business on Long Island in 1878. His position as an assistant Treasury secretary, obtained in 1876, he owed to the then Secretary Lot M. Morrill, Eagan's friend and Dunn's father-in-law. McCormick was twice married, the second time to a daughter of the powerful Ohio politician, Allan G. Thurman, who had mining interests in Arizona.

22. The published diaries of Hayes are silent with respect to Kautz, and an enquiry to the library at Fremont, Ohio, where his papers are deposited elicited no information. It is likely, however, that a thorough search in the numerous Hayes papers which are unpublished and superficially indexed would reveal Kautz material.
again to General Sherman with whom he "had a very pleasant & satisfactory talk." On Sunday evening, Kautz spent two and a half hours at McCormick's home where he met John N. Goodwin, another territorial ex-governor.  

In the absence of any written record of these conversations, or of any hint as to their purport except Kautz' general remark that McCormick and Stevens initially came to see him in relation to Indian troubles, it is difficult to assess their importance. Several points, however, seem clear. Since Indian affairs at this time were being managed satisfactorily, the "troubles" discussed must have been the events of February through June. Kautz would surely have defended his conduct by pointing to the confidence of the new territorial administration, to the growing efficiency of the cavalry and scouts, and to the expeditions of Major Compton then in preparation.  

23. John Noble Goodwin, for whom old Camp Goodwin had been named, was the first Arizona governor to serve, traveling overland to the new territory with McCormick in the fall of 1863. Goodwin formally proclaimed the new government at Navajo Springs on December 31, 1863, en route to Fort Whipple from Santa Fe. He was elected delegate to Congress in 1865 and never returned to Arizona. He was at this time about 53 years old and practicing law. Williams, "... John N. Goodwin," Arizona Historical Review, Vol. 6 (July 1935), 59-73. B. Sacks, "Proclamation in the Wilderness," Arizonaiana, Vol. 5 (Fall 1964), 1-13. Sacks, Be It Enacted, passim.

24. Evidence of Kautz' keen interest in the success of the 6th Cavalry is seen later in his prompt communication of Rucker's December victory. While Kautz was in San Francisco on Christmas Day, he would receive a telegraphic dispatch from Camp Bowie which he immediately would transmit
in the November meetings with McCormick was there any hint, insofar as Kautz' diary shows, of a rift between Kautz and the Arizona politicians. Unless we are to ascribe purely vindictive motives to McCormick, it must be assumed that he no longer sought Kautz' removal on behalf of Safford.

Sunday evening, after they left McCormick, the Kautzes went to the home of General Macfeely, and the next day Kautz had supper with the Commissary General. No conclusive results were recorded. Perhaps Macfeely wished to await the outcome of Eagan's trial.

From Washington, the Kautzes went to New York to shop and take in more stage plays. The General visited the Reverend Doctor F. D. Ogilby, father of the late captain, at Trinity Episcopal Church. It was afterward arranged with the Quartermaster General for the remains of Ogilby's son to be transferred from Camp Apache.25 On to the Adjutant General without awaiting the written report. Papers accompanying the telegram in the A.G.O. files show that this news was given to the Departments of State and Interior on December 27, and it would have been known to McCormick in a few days. Telegram, Kautz (transmitted by McDowell) to The Adjutant General, Dec. 25, 7921 A.G.O. 1877. Letters of transmittal, Secretary McCrary to the Secretaries of State and Interior, Dec. 27, with ibid. The suggestion that McCormick would have been informed assumes that he was interested; it is even possible that by this date he no longer was interested in the Arizona Indian problem.

25. Rev. Ogilby had written Kautz on the subject September 15. The difficulty in obtaining government transportation was that Ogilby had not died as result of enemy action. On October 16, Kautz had written The Adjutant General begging the regulations be relaxed to assist transfer
November 17 Lieutenant Anderson came down from West Point to meet the Kautzes, and that evening they all went to the Eagle Theatre. As the general's only comment was, "We amused ourselves greatly," it appears that his reconciliation with Fannie was complete. On November 21 they departed for Cincinnati to spend another three weeks at home.

On the 25th the mail brought Kautz the proceedings in the case of Captain Campbell, whose trial had concluded on October 29. In the office of the Volksblatt, he read the testimony and studied the findings. Campbell had been found guilty and sentenced to be dismissed the service. Now, in the normal course of events, Kautz would, as the convening authority for the court, either approve or disapprove the findings. If approved, he could either approve the sentence, or recommend its mitigation. But these prerogatives stemmed from his position as departmental commander, not from the fact he was Campbell's superior officer, and he was on leave beyond the limits of his department.

of the remains because, "Both the father & mother are old & poor, & I think are more crushed than parents usually are by their great loss." The correspondence is in 6326 and 6856 A.G.O. 1877.

26. Record of Campbell Trial, Kautz G.C.M.

If Kautz read the record carefully, he would have noted another discordant element: his own testimony was in the record. On advice of the court, Campbell had released Eagan after Kautz had testified, and he had secured the service of a prominent Prescott attorney, Benjamin Morgan. Morgan had never asked that Kautz be recalled but in the summation of the defense he had claimed that the accused had never had opportunity to complete cross-examination of the "expert" witness.

To Kautz it was self-evident that his testimony was inadmissible as "expert" and that, from the record, the accused had not requested such testimony after retirement of his first counsel. But technically Kautz had in fact been subpoenaed and he had absented himself from the trial without offering a deposition. The president, Doctor McKee, had not offered to recess the court until Kautz could return but had accepted the defense summation and proceeded to the findings. On this basis alone Kautz should have disapproved the proceedings as irregular and

28. A native Virginian, Morgan was said to be "one of the best speakers in this or any other country." Prescott Courier, Sept. 26, 1884. In 1879 he moved to Tucson and next year became director of the Monitor Silver Mine in the Tombstone District. Citizen, March 14, April 11, 1879; Tucson Arizona Star, Feb. 19, 1880. He shortly moved to California where he became a Democratic politician "of some standing," but returned to Tucson in 1899. Ibid., Sept. 6, 1899.
ordered a new trial. Of course, had he interpreted the record in that way he would have in effect censured Doctor McKee and Lieutenant Kingsbury, the judge advocate.

Then there was the uncertain status of Kautz while on leave. The granting of military leave in that day was so loosely administered, and the ease with which Kautz by railroad had placed himself two thousand miles beyond his command was so novel, that no one from General Sherman downward was sure of its legal effect on a court-martial. It must have seemed somewhat incongruous to Kautz, however, to be reviewing a court-martial convened in Arizona in a newspaper office in Cincinnati. A more prudent commander would have pocketed the papers and postponed consideration until he was once more within his department, or at least at division headquarters in San Francisco.

Nevertheless, on November 26th, Kautz approved the sentence and finished his written review in which he positively objected to any clemency. Then he mailed the papers to the Bureau of Military Justice in Washington. It was

29. It was not customary in that day to publish special orders for leave; leaves for thirty days were granted, not on the basis of a yearly allowance but according to seniority in the regiment and how many officers were absent at one time, and extension of leaves could be made verbally by the Adjutant General from month to month. In his endorsement to the Campbell court-martial, Sherman leaned to the opinion that the telegraph obviated any necessity for a commander to be within the limits of his command to exercise prerogatives.
the first act in a confused chain of events which would deprive him of his command and culminate in his own court-martial. He might have reflected upon an opinion he had once written about another general; in 1872, he had attributed the failure of Alfred Pleasonton to enforce discipline within his Civil War command to that general's "irregular mode of action." 30

Kautz paid one last visit to his father at Ripley, Ohio, visited the Tods at Youngstown, and on December 12 boarded the cars for the West. "We are now on our way to Arizona," he reflected that evening, "for another long tour . . . I shall be quite satisfied to remain a few years." At Omaha they were met by General Crook and stayed two days in his home. How far apart their minds had grown; they had some long talks about Indian affairs, Crook's favorite subject these days, and, "We do not agree very well. He [Crook] looks upon the Indian Ring as very formidable and dangerous to the Army. We did not come to any satisfactory conclusions."

The Kautzes arrived in San Francisco on the 21st and prepared to spend Christmas among their many army friends before returning to Arizona.

30. See above, p. 94.
On December 23 in San Francisco Kautz received the proceedings in the case of Captain Eagan, who had been tried on November 19. If Kautz had expected to be rid of the quarrelsome Irishman by conviction at a sensational court, he was sorely disappointed. Eagan had been arraigned on three charges. First, conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline involving gambling "habitually" and for "high stakes." Second, disobedience of a War Department general order which prohibited disbursing officers from gambling. And third, conduct unbecoming an officer and gentleman reflected in his failure to pay a large gambling debt.

The president of the court had been Colonel Wilkins, and to Kautz' chagrin and amazement, Wilkins had sustained a plea "in bar of trial" to the second and

31. Diary, 1877.

32. G.O. 2, Dept. of Arizona, Jan. 12, 1878, summarizes the cases of six enlisted men, tried at Camp Apache, as well as the trial of Eagan by general court at Fort Whipple. The third paragraph of the order is pertinent, and the next three paragraphs of text are based thereon.

33. The army's system of military justice allowed an accused to plead that a particular specification under a charge either did not constitute the military offense implied by the charge, or was repetitious of another specification and therefore did not constitute another offense. It was up to the president of the court to sustain or deny such a plea, on advice of the other members and the judge advocate. Winthrop, Military Law, 96, 101.
third charges. The plea was apparently based on the fact that the specifications of the latter two charges were similar to those of the first, despite the fact that separate elements of the general specifications resulted in the different charges. If Kautz were willing to grant that it was risky business to try Eagan on several charges stemming from the same incidents, the question was, why did Wilkins permit the plea in bar of trial to the second and third charges rather than the first and third? If Eagan had been convicted of wilful disobedience of orders, the penalty could have been severe. As it was, Eagan was convicted of but one charge, the first, and even there the court accepted the accused's contention that he did not gamble "habitually" or for "high stakes." The sentence of the court was, "To be reprimanded in orders by the Department Commander."34

Kautz accepted half a loaf and approved the findings of the court so that it would stand upon Eagan's record. However, he disapproved the sentence. He wished to prevent, he said, "the establishment of a precedent which would require a reprimand as the proper sentence" for violating an important army order. "Captain Eagan," he

34. G.O. 2, Dept. of Arizona, January 12, 1878.
reluctantly concluded, "will be released from arrest and . . . assigned to his legitimate duties."35

On Christmas Day, Kautz received a telegraphic dispatch from Camp Bowie that announced Rucker's successful fight with the Chiricahua renegades in New Mexico on the 17th. It was heartening news.36 Weary and nearly broke, the Kautz family took the train from San Francisco on the afternoon of December 29. Eleven days later, they reached their quarters at Fort Whipple and retired almost at once.37 Meantime in Washington the mills of the gods were grinding.37

iii

On November 13 a gray, dignified old soldier, who was about to retire as Chief of the Corps of Engineers after more than forty years of service, penned a letter in his office. It was Brigadier General (Brevet Major General) Andrew Atkinson Humphreys, a hero of Gettysburg, and he wrote to the Judge Advocate General, William McKee Dunn:

I have this moment learned that the son of my life-long friend, Archibald Campbell, has been tried by Genl. Court Martial under a series of charges such as men influenced by personal considerations get up against one for whom they have no friendliness.

35. Ibid.
36. See n. 24 above.
37. Diary, 1877.
The officer I refer to is Capt. Chas. H. Campbell, of the 6th Cavy. . . . His first service in the Army was with me when I commanded the 2d Army Corps, as an Aide-de-camp. I have known him too all his life. Notwithstanding a certain recklessness, he possesses many fine traits. [He] is high toned, sensitive to personal affronts, and too quick to resent them. Of late years he has become in all matters of business more careful than formerly . . . . I do not know the nature of the charges upon which Capt. C. has been tried—merely the fact that the proceedings have gone to Washington. I write this to you because Mr. A. Campbell is in such a state of health that the matter has to be concealed from him, . . . and because I feel the deepest interest in Mr. & Mrs. Campbell, and in their son, and wish you to know something more of Capt. Campbell than would appear from the proceedings by a court.38

A few days later, Dunn was visited by David R. McKee, Washington correspondent for the Associated Press. McKee was married to a daughter of the Judge Advocate General and also was an old friend of Charles P. Eagan.39 He offered to show—but Dunn later testified under oath that he did not actually see—a letter from Eagan. The letter is not extant but we may surmise its content in relation to the Campbell case and to Eagan's own troubles with General Kautz. No friend of Kautz, and perhaps a friend of John Wasson and Anson P. K. Safford, McKee would have related to his father-in-law that Eagan and Campbell

38. Letter, Humphreys to Dunn, November 13, 1877, in Kautz G.C.M.

39. See Appendix below.
were being persecuted by a thick-headed, incompetent command­ing officer. That McKee sought to intercede for Campbell, Dunn later admitted.  

As for Eagan, he did not require an intermediary to reach General Dunn. It will be remembered that he had been instrumental in having Major Thomas S. Dunn, the brother of the Judge Advocate General, saved from a court martial. General Dunn in 1869, then a lieutenant-colonel and assistant J.A.G., had recommended Eagan for commission as an army paymaster; and in 1874 Dunn had helped to secure for Eagan his position in the Subsistence Department. Moreover, Dunn's wife was the daughter of Senator Lot M. Morrill of Maine, formerly Grant's Secretary of the Treasury, who once wrote for Eagan a strong letter of recommendation. Who can doubt that Eagan wrote Dunn directly on the subject of the Campbell case?

Given the irregularities apparent in the Campbell case, followed by at least two appeals on behalf of Campbell from influential people, is it any wonder Dunn rejected the record? On December 7, he wrote a long, rambling,

40. Kautz G.C.M.

41. Appendix.

42. Ibid. It was Morrill who appointed Richard C. McCormick an assistant Treasury secretary, and it is likely the two men knew each other even before Eagan went to Arizona.
repetitious opinion, the essence of which can be reduced to three points: Kautz had no right to review the proceedings in Cincinnati while on leave beyond the limits of his command; Kautz was at least disrespectful, if not guilty of contempt, of the court by absenting himself while under a lawful subpoena; and there was some color to the defense allegation that Kautz, the convening authority, had been instrumental in preferring the charges. [43]

On December 12, General Sherman reviewed the Campbell case and read the Judge Advocate General's opinion. He was to forward it to the President through the Secretary of War. Sherman endorsed Dunn's opinion with the recommendation that "the Record be returned to [Kautz], with directions to reconvene the Court for the purpose of giving the accused the benefit of Genl. Kautz' testimony, and for the purpose of correcting any informality in the endorsement of the Dept. Commander." Sherman, however, was sharply skeptical of Dunn's reasoning. He flatly denied that responsibilities or privileges of command ceased when a commander left his department. [44]

On the day after Christmas, President Hayes disapproved the proceedings and findings in the Campbell case.

---

43. Record of Campbell trial, Kautz G.C.M.
44. Ibid.
Possibly the friends of Campbell had been at work in the White House. He set aside the sentence. The record was returned next day to the Adjutant General, and on the 27th of December, the general court-martial order with the adverse opinion was prepared but not printed. On the 29th, the Adjutant General sent extracts of Dunn's opinion to Kautz.45

Sometime between the moment when Hayes disapproved the record and about the 5th of January, the son-in-law of Dunn, David R. McKee, put a story on the Associated Press wire which was printed that day in the San Francisco Alta California. Kautz was en route from San Francisco to Prescott, arriving at Fort Whipple on the very day that the A.P. story was reprinted verbatim by the Prescott Arizona Enterprise. Kautz was shocked to read,

The President has set aside the entire proceedings in the Court-Martial case of Captain Chas. H. Campbell, of the Sixth Cavalry. Copies of his order of disapproval, and of the reports of the Secretary of War and Judge Advocate General, on which it is based, have been sent, . . . to each member of the Court, and to Colonel Kautz, . . . This very unusual action attracts considerable attention in army circles and among Pacific Coast people. It is universally regarded, and was doubtless intended, as a very pointed rebuke . . . It appears from the records . . . that Kautz was summoned as a witness . . . , Captain Campbell

45. Ibid. The content of these extracts is unknown, but the full opinion and draft of the G.C.M.O. was mailed to Kautz on Jan. 15.
proposing to prove, in mitigation of... devoting Government property to private uses, that he had simply... followed an example set before him by his Commanding General; but Kautz, while still under summons,... went to the Atlantic States, without allowing himself to be examined. The Court, nevertheless, proceeded to close the case, and forwarded to Kautz in the East a sentence of dismissal. Kautz received the full record of proceedings while in Cincinnati,... although his approval of a sentence rendered under the circumstances... was manifestly anomalous, and glaringly at variance with all the safeguards of judicial protection. The facts... all appearing in the record, were speedily discovered... in Washington, and President Hayes... took action upon them... annulling the whole proceedings and discharging Campbell from further arrest or custody.}

Kautz' reaction was volcanic. On January 12, he commenced a reply to Dunn's opinion, extracts from which he had received in addition to the news story. He suspended the order which had restored Eagan to duty, and he "determined to make an official application to have Capt. Eagan relieved from my staff on account of his antagonism to me." Two days later, he telegraphed the Office of the Adjutant General to learn whether the court-martial order in the Campbell case had been printed and formally promulgated. "If it has not," he requested, "can it be suspended until the receipt of my answer to the... opinion?"

46. San Francisco Alta California, Jan. 5, 1878; and Prescott Arizona Enterprise, Jan. 9, 1878.

47. Diary, 1878.

The request to the Adjutant General that Eagan he relieved and assigned elsewhere went to division head­quarters on January 14 where McDowell endorsed it "recom­mended as necessary for the good of the service." It reached Washington on the 29th. On the 18th, Kautz wrote an eight-page, "personally official" letter to General Macfeely with which he enclosed a clipping from the Arizona Citizen. The news item not only repeated McKee's dispatch of January 5 but its headline echoed the controversy with Clum in the previous summer when Kautz and Sherman had declared the Indian agent "discourteous." The editor of the paper must have taken pleasure in setting the type: "'Dis-cour-te-ous' Kautz Caught in Court. Bad as Indian Agents. 'Never Made Us Blush.' ... Got his come-up-ance." The editor was none other than John Philip Clum himself, who had purchased the paper and taken it to Florence.50

Kautz' letter to Macfeely read in part:

49. First end., Jan. 28, on 881 A.G.O. 1878. The clerk wrote, "Respectfully forwarded . . .", but "... as necessary for the good of the service" is in McDowell's hand.

50. Ryan, "Trail-Blazer of Civilization," 54-56. See Florence Arizona Citizen, Jan. 25, 1878. The editor of the Arizona Sentinel, George Tyng, was again most percep­tive. On January 19 he proclaimed that "KAUTZ is a gone cat" and interpreted the outcome of the Campbell case as a snub and an inference that Kautz himself was using "public property for private purposes," for which he might be relieved. This was 18 days before he was relieved, but not for that reason.
My Dear General:

... In order that you may understand to what extent I am justified in making this application [to have Eagan replaced] I will give you the history of his career here.

* * *

... At the second court [of Captain Campbell] in October, he [Eagan] went before it as counsel... He first made an effort to have the case referred to a court of inquiry... and concluded by stating that he would be obliged to put me on the witness stand. This was nothing less than a threat... to make me testify against myself.

... I at once replied to call me as a witness by all means if I could be of the slightest service to the accused. I have considered Capt. Eagan to a certain extent insane, and certainly a man of very morbid mind, to be throwing stones at everybody whilst living in such a frail glass house.

* * *

... I have a number of officers on my staff who are very vulnerable, and such a man as Eagan can keep them in constant terror by his threats... By this means he was enabled to control his own court... just in the selection of its members and afterward in the action of the court.

... I supposed that Eagan after his trial would be differently disposed, and so he is, but only in degree, he is worse than ever.

* * *

... Eagan seems to have some friends away from here and he has managed to use them against me. You know that Scott McKee [sic] is a friend of his that works faithfully for him. Genl. Dunn is another... It is... apparent in the opinion of the Judge Advocate General in the Campbell case. I hold Eagan personally responsible for this issue with Genl. Dunn... Campbell is utterly worthless as an officer. I have had a great regard for his father and if there were any hope for his son I should certainly have tried to save him.

* * *

---

51. No such person has been identified. Kautz apparently refers to David R. McKee. See Ch. X, no. 30, above.
I hope you will be able to relieve Capt. Eagan and trust that you may be able to find some one to succeed him who will give satisfaction. You can use this letter in any way that you may feel disposed. It is not confidential. I can substantiate all I have stated.

* * *

... It is discouraging to have a chief of a Bureau in Washington maintaining such worthless officers in service ... If he was sent out here to fight Indians, Indian Rigs, and Contractors, for a while he would appreciate such a threat from the rear in its proper light.

Very respectfully,

August V. Kautz

Kautz' letter, only a small portion of which has been reproduced here, was a tirade of insulting proportion. Macfeely rejected it out of hand, and when the official application came he coldly endorsed it with the observation, "As Captain Eagan has performed his duty ... in an efficient and satisfactory manner ..., I do not recommend his transfer ... If he has been guilty of ... unmilitary ... conduct he should be brought before a Court Martial." The Secretary of War, furthermore, was asked to telegraph Kautz and order him to restore Eagan to duty.\footnote{54}{Third end. by Macfeely, Feb. 1, on \textit{ibid.} The mention of the telegraph is interesting because just three days previous Eagan had sent a personal telegram to David R. McKee, asking, "Am I relieved? Where do I go--Frisco}
At Prescott, meanwhile, Kautz labored on his rebuttal to Dunn's opinion. Now informed that the general court-martial order was not to be published, and having received the full proceedings in the case, the general had printed a circular, in the form of a letter to the Adjutant General, a pamphlet of eight pages, that contained extracts from Dunn and a long comment upon it. Too lengthy to quote here, it began with the preamble:

I hold that the opinion of the Judge Advocate General misrepresents the record, that it is unsound in law, and, if accepted as correct, destructive to military authority; manifestly unjust to me, and biased in favor of the convicted officer; and that I consider it my duty to point out these errors and request that this communication be laid before the President for his consideration.55

The document was mailed to Washington on January 30, and in the next few days Kautz mailed several score copies to interested army officers—among others, to every regimental commander in the army and every department and division commander.56

Such an act on the part of a general officer of the active army may seem incomprehensible to us today, but it or Washington? Telegraph." Despite its personal character, the telegram wound up in the A.G.O. file just cited as encl. no. 3 and bore a clerk's notation: "Wait the reply of the Comary Genl to Genl Kautz letter."

55. Exhibit M, Kautz G.C.M.
56. Diary, 1878.
had precedents. Only a year and a half earlier, for instance, Kautz' division commander, General John M. Schofield, had addressed a circular letter to the army in which he took to task the Judge Advocate General for "misinterpreting" the 60th Article of War in relation to military jurisdiction over civilian quartermaster clerks. On top of Kautz' concurrent controversies, however, it was bound to have explosive effects on "Cump" Sherman.

The request to have Eagan relieved was laid before Sherman on February 4. It had gone through Secretary McCrory's office, but the civilian chief had made no comment. Sherman endorsed it with the opinion that,

As a rule we should always sustain the Comdg General of a Department, but in this case I am forced to the conclusion that there has been too much controversy, both with civil and military officers, and that a change of Dept. Commanders is advisable.

I recommend that the 8th & 12th Infantry inter-change Posts, and that Colonel & Bvt. Maj Genl O. B. Wilcox [sic] be appointed by the President to command the Department of Arizona.


CHAPTER XIII

"THE OBJECT . . . WAS TO SUPPLANT ME"

On Wednesday evening the weekly hop was in progress in the headquarters building at Fort Whipple. The date was February 6, 1878. The officers, with General Kautz and Fannie in front, had taken their places for the first dance when a soldier from the telegraph office rushed into the room and delivered a dispatch to the general. The party was electrified to learn that the 8th Infantry was going to change stations with the 12th Infantry in the Department of California. In Kautz' words, the news "threw a damper on the party."¹

Kautz did not completely credit the message, though next day Captain Eagan was boasting around Prescott that he had "done it." On Saturday, Kautz received a private wire from Washington claiming that a group allied with Indian Bureau interests and with the former governor of Arizona had "been at work for some time to effect" his removal.²

¹ Diary, 1878. The next paragraph also is drawn from this source except as otherwise noted.

² Letter, Kautz to President Hayes, Feb. 15, in 1693 A.G.O. 1878.
On the following Tuesday, February 12, the general was uncertain still "how long I am to remain here," but next day a telegram from General Sherman made it clear: "The President issued the order. No injustice; you have served your three years. Wilcox [sic] is your senior in rank and length of service." The official mail on the 16th brought the order for change of station.

Kautz struggled briefly for a reprieve. On the 9th, after reading the enigmatic dispatch about Governor Safford and the "Indian Bureau interests," he had sent a telegram to President Hayes stating that he had "reason to believe that yourself and the War Department have been imposed upon . . ." and that the government would be saved a great expense "by delay and investigation." When, however, he sat down on February 15 to write an explanation of his telegram, Kautz was unable to make out much of a case. The "instructions from Division Headquarters," he observed, "indicated that only one company and Headquarters of each regiment would interchange at present. Whilst this much only . . . could be done, for want of funds, it is . . . manifest, that the object to be accomplished was to supplant


4. Telegram, Kautz to President Hayes, Feb. 9, in 1693 A.G.O. 1878.
me." He told the President that he assumed his enemies had "misrepresented" his administration of the department and that his "arch enemy Ex-Governor Safford" was in Washington for the purpose.⁴

Territorial Secretary John J. Gosper, meanwhile, was getting up a petition to have Kautz retained, and it was duly referred to the President on February 26. Hayes, nonetheless, gave no indication of his willingness to intercede or temporize. He immediately passed it to his Secretary of War, George W. McCrary, who at once gave it to Sherman. On the 5th of March, Sherman, who by this time had seen Kautz' letter of comment on the Judge Advocate General, wrote a last exasperated endorsement: "... the whole matter has long since been determined, and the change of Commanders has been made. Army administration must ... be absolutely independent of local popular feeling."⁵

---

⁴ Letter, same to same, Feb. 15, in ibid.
⁵ Second end. by Sherman on 1576 A.G.O. 1878. The petition shows evidence of being drafted at Kautz' suggestion. The paper was signed by 57 persons, including three Goldwaters; the lawyer who had defended Campbell, Benjamin Morgan; eight settlers from the Little Colorado region; the mayor, postmaster, and district attorney; and Thomas Fitch. Ibid. Gosper also wrote to the President in Kautz' behalf. Diary, 1878.
The officer who was to replace Kautz was Orlando Boliver Willcox, an older man with a variety of talents who had distinguished himself nearly as well as Kautz in the Civil War but whose last experience with Indians had been in Florida in 1856 and '57. Lately he had been commanding his regiment, the 12th Infantry, from his post at Angel Island in the Bay of San Francisco. Two of his companies, however, had always served in Arizona. Like Kautz, he held a regular brevet of major general, and he was to assume command with that rank. Willcox was a scholar with an introspective mind much as Kautz, but he was a widower with only a grown daughter at home. He would not enjoy so well the spacious new house just constructed for the department commander at Fort Whipple.

7. Willcox (1823-1907) graduated from the Academy in 1847 and served ten years in the 4th Artillery including a year in Mexico, the summer of 1850 on the Plains, and in the Billy Bowlegs War in Florida. He resigned to practice law in Detroit. He received the command of the 1st Mich. Infantry in 1861 and was wounded and captured at the first Battle of Bull Run. Exchanged next year, he was made a brigadier general of Volunteers and fought at Antietem. At various times he was a corps commander and received the brevet of Volunteer major general in August, 1864. Like Kautz, he was awarded a similar regular brevet in 1867. In the reorganization of 1866, Willcox obtained the colonelcy of the 29th Infantry and commanded that regiment until March, 1869, when he joined the 12th Infantry in San Francisco. He was the author of an artillery manual and of two moderately successful novels. D.A.B., X, pt. 2, 243; Powell, 645-46.
Sherman had advised McDowell to make the exchange of troops at leisure and as economically as possible. 8 On Monday, March 4, Colonel Willcox and his aide-de-camp, First Lieutenant Harry L. Haskell, arrived at sundown. Major Biddle took the colonel in charge and later steered him around to the Martins' quarters where "Quite a party to play Keno gathered . . . and we had a pleasant evening and a good supper." It was nearly midnight before all retired. The next morning, Willcox took command of the department. 9 Kautz moved his office to regimental headquarters and informally briefed the new commanding general on affairs in Arizona. He found General Willcox "very agreeable and pleasant and rather gushing." As was customary, the Kautzes held a sale of their many household furnishings. To Kautz' disgust, Willcox did not even attend

8. Telegram, Sherman to McDowell, Feb. 6, encl. with 881 A.G.O. 1878. The same day, Sherman drafted an army order to effect the change of command and exchange of regiments. Why the order was published at army level, rather than left to McDowell is unexplained. G.O. 3, 1878; draft encl. in ibid. McDowell issued a special order, the usual procedure, on February 15 which directed only the exchange of the regimental headquarters elements and which "authorized" the interchange of Co. F, 8th Infantry, with Co. A, 12th Infantry, at Camp Mojave. S.O. No. 8, February 15, 1878, Div. of the Pacific, encl. with ibid.

9. G.O. No. 8, Dept. of Arizona, March 5, 1878, encl. with ibid.

10. The rest of this paragraph and the next are drawn from Diary, 1878.
and, so Kautz thought, missed a great many bargains. Fannie, meanwhile, rushed through the tremendous task of packing up, and her husband wired to Fort Garland to hold up the overland shipment of new furniture and carpets purchased in the East, diverting it to San Francisco.

For some months, Kautz had not given much thought to his mining investments, but in the last days at Prescott he sold the Emmett Mine to Territorial Secretary John J. Gosper for a promissory note of one thousand dollars payable in one year at twenty-four per cent interest.

The press in Arizona was not too harsh on Kautz, considering his past notoriety. As could be expected, John P. Clum got in the first shot with his Citizen from Florence. The story, on February 8, however, was only one column. It began, "Gen. Kautz is relieved and so is Arizona. The great commanding Fossil is about to receive government transportation to some remote point where his inefficiency and imbecility won't be noticed . . ." The Enterprise and its editor John Marion at Prescott commented on February 16 and took the opportunity to criticize both Clum and the editor of the Prescott Miner, Charles W. Beach. The cheeky piece was printed as a letter to the editor signed "Veritas," but is plainly Marion's work:

Mr. Clum's early career as a bootblack and newsboy have peculiarly qualified him for his present position, editor of a blackguard paper. . . . I had supposed that the Miner, that weak-kneed, faint-voiced organ of the Military, would have commented . . . . on this spirited piece of journalism; but with rare tact, the editor avoids it. . . . It is singular that here in Prescott, the largest strictly American town in Arizona, where the General is best known, and where his administrative acts have been directly under the eye of the people, that no dissatisfaction . . . . exists.12

George Tyng, the perceptive editor of the Yuma Arizona Sentinel, claimed that Clum's remarks "completely take the wind out of the Sentinel's rigging" and so instead turned upon the Prescott Miner which, true to Marion's expectation, had printed a virtual eulogy to Kautz. Said Tyng,

The Miner says Kautz wants to go there [Angel Island] but that, perhaps, he cannot be spared from Arizona. McDowell wants to have Kautz handy, where he can revise K's newspaper articles before they get into print. Angel Island is a lonely spot; being placed in command of it in the words of Beach "is neither promotion or reduction." If Kautz really likes this island business, he has only to behave at Angel as he has in Arizona, to get himself neither promoted nor reduced to the command of the Farallones or Coronados.13

On March 8 a farewell gala was held for the Kautzes at the Fort Whipple officers' club which by this time was

styled the "General Crook Club." Dancing and a sumptuous supper continued on into the night.\textsuperscript{14} About ten o'cloak on the morning of March 12, a Tuesday, after a sleepless night of last-minute packing, the Kautzes' household and the 8th Infantry staff and band departed Prescott. Kautz noted that "Quite a number of people went out several miles with us . . . I have overcome all regret at leaving and am looking forward to a pleasant time at Angel Island." On the 17th, the caravan stopped at Goldwater's store in Ehrenberg where the colonel and his wife were made comfortable until camp was prepared on the riverbank. Toward nightfall, the steamer Cocopah arrived from upriver, under Captain Jack Mellon's sure hand. Next day they embarked.\textsuperscript{15} On March 19 they "reached Yuma between three & four p.m. in ample time to have all our effects transferred to the cars and we took the train at half past seven for San Francisco."\textsuperscript{16} The Yuma newspaper had the last public word on the departure of August V. Kautz:

\begin{quote}
Last Tuesday afternoon arrived the Cocopah with General Kautz, Eighth Infantry band and part of the late staff of the Whipple Theatre, en route for their new station at Angel Island. Some of our citizens "gathered at the beau-co-oo-tiful river," to hear music or to tender free use of the Court-house for an histrionic performance; they were
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{14} Arizona Enterprise, March 9, 1878.

\textsuperscript{15} Diary, 1878.

\textsuperscript{16} Ibid.
disappointed. The band had been playing "I'd like to be an angel, and on Angel Island stay," till they were out of breath; and some of the star performers had Kautz—with such a cold, that they couldn't declaim. Ta-ta! Brevet-General. 17

To the end of his life, Kautz and many Arizonans believed that he had been removed from Arizona because he opposed the so-called Indian Ring. This feeling was confirmed in Kautz when he met Governor Hoyt en route to California and was told that McCormick had been most persistent in his effort to have Kautz relieved. 18 This opinion Hoyt transmitted to Hubert Howe Bancroft who carried it into the most widely read history of Arizona. 19 It is now clear, however, that Kautz was relieved by the decision of William T. Sherman alone, and that decision was delayed nine months precisely because of pressures by Safford and others. Sherman would not submit the army to political rule of its internal affairs. To be sure, he would naturally hear what the vocal people in Washington said about Kautz. Richard C. McCormick, Judge Advocate General Dunn, and Mrs. Sherman all doubtless supported Eagan. Ellen Sherman had known Captain Eagan from her days on the Pacific Coast,

18. Diary, 1878.
19. Bancroft, 569. Cf. Priest, Uncle Sam's Stepchildren, 26. Kautz and Hoyt were not alone in their suspicion of an "Indian Ring" plot; see such contemporary newspapers as the Arizona Enterprise, Feb. 16 and Mar. 12, 1878.
twenty-two years since. She had once said of him that "a brighter braver boy never lived." So far as General Sherman was concerned, Arizona Territory was more trouble than it was worth. He could not care if it were given back to Mexico. From that remote frontier were constant demands for more troops and new military posts. Fed up with constant civilian clamor, he had endured, longer than would most commanders, his subordinate's feuds with petty officials. Kautz' incessant bickering with agents of the Indian Office, quarrels with Tucson politicians, and sniping at other military officers had been patiently tolerated. Then had come the Campbell affair and the attack on Eagan.

There can be little doubt that President Hayes was reached on behalf of Campbell. Eagan had powerful friends: besides the persuasive McCormick and General Dunn, there were David R. McKee, Senator Lot M. Morrill, and, perhaps most important, Mrs. Sherman. General Humphreys' concern for Campbell would have carried great influence with General Sherman too. These people, moreover, were close to the source of power. They could belittle Kautz and point out that "important" people in Arizona were against him. The apparent persecution of Eagan was the last straw.

20. Mrs. Sherman to Secretary of War Belknap, July 1, 1873, in the Eagan File. See Appendix, n.19, below.
As for Kautz, his was a feeble voice crying from the wilderness. As the poet Kipling warned,

Men who spar with Government need, to back their blows, Something more than ordinary journalistic prose.

In the end, Kautz was simply expendable. Sherman tired of dissension and finally bowed to personal pressure. He was remarkably patient with Dutch Kautz and sincerely wished to spare his feelings.

II

The "pamphlet strictures," as General Townsend called the Kautz commentary on the Campbell case, were received in the office of the Adjutant General on February 13, 1878. About the same time, regimental adjutants and the assistant adjutants general of divisions and departments throughout the United States were opening their official mail to find similar pamphlets. Some were amused and others annoyed by the philippic. The Adjutant

21. "The order is issued to day for court to meet at Omaha May 1st. The charges are based on Col. Kautz' publishing his pamphlet strictures on Judge Adv. General." End. by Townsend on 2105 A.G.O. 1878, March 25.

22. The copy to The Adjutant General (see note below) was stamped as received, but at what times others arrived is impossible to tell without direct evidence. Kautz noted sending them on February 1 and again, to regimental commanders, on February 11, and he may have sent other copies at other times. Diary, 1878. Although at least fifty must have been distributed, and any copy preserved would receive a librarian's attention as a pamphlet, I have not found any surviving copies outside the ones noted below and one in Kautz Papers.
General's copy, however, had a special handwritten postscript which said in part,

The Judge Advocate General has . . . been influenced by . . . things outside the record, and I . . . feel justified in stating some points outside of the record also. Captain C. P Eagan . . . is a disaffected officer with such . . . offensive traits that he has ostracized himself socially . . . he has been working . . . to embarrass and annoy me. For this reason he . . . became the champion of Captain Campbell. . . . the action of the court . . . compelled the accused to procure another counsel. . . . Yet the . . . quibbling counsel is sustained [and] the proceedings set aside.

In case Townsend did not know, Kautz went on to review the relationship between Eagan and Dunn. This, Kautz said, explained

the appearance and tenor of the enclosed slip cut from the Associated Press dispatches in the Daily Alta California of Jany. 5, the Adjutant General having informed me that the opinion of the Judge Advocate General would not be published. On account of the character and appearance in the papers on this coast of this dispatch I respectfully request that the printed portions of my reply and the Judge Advocate General's opinion be given to the press for publication.23

The reaction of Townsend to this message is not recorded. Next day he passed Kautz' animadversion to Sherman who coolly observed in his endorsement to the Secretary of War that the new controversy of Kautz with

---

23. Kautz G.C.M. The printed comment on the Judge Advocate General's opinion received by The Adjutant General was held as File 1093 in the A.G.O. Later it was introduced in evidence by the prosecution as Exhibit "M". Two more copies (without Ms. addition) were submitted by Dunn with his letter of February 15. See fn. 25 below.
the J.A.G. was "purely official & the Public feels no interest in it." He recommended that President Hayes "should read Genl. Kautz' statement, but disapprove any publication."\(^{24}\)

The reaction of Judge Advocate General Dunn was unexpectedly indignant. He could not have failed by this time to have learned of his son-in-law's newspaper sally. He probably knew that Kautz had requested time to answer the opinion before publication of the general court-martial order. Yet the sharpness, audacity, and length of Kautz' reply, which Dunn also found in his mail, must have surprised him. Dunn sputtered with impotent wrath. If he received his copy of the pamphlet on February 13, it required two days to draft a request to the Secretary of War for redress. "Gen. Kautz," Dunn noted superfluously, "was . . . officially informed that the views expressed by me . . . had been approved and adopted by the President." Despite that, he told the Secretary, the J.A.G. opinion had been criticized in print by Kautz who "has charged the author of the opinion, a superior officer, with dereliction of duty." Concluded Dunn, "The interests of the service require that this grossly unmilitary conduct should not

\(^{24}\) End. by Sherman, Feb. 14, on 1093 A.G.O. 1878, ibid.
be permitted to pass without punishment or rebuke."\textsuperscript{25}

Sherman was not personally antipathetic to Kautz, and he had some reservations about Dunn's own jurisdiction.\textsuperscript{26} He allowed that Kautz' criticism of Dunn had much real merit but it had passed the bounds of propriety when it had been printed. "Had General Kautz," he wrote for the Secretary, "addressed ... a single copy [of the pamphlet], to be ... considered on its merits alone I would be disposed to sustain some of his points." Furthermore, he pointed out, "the Judge Advocate General ... is not his [Kautz\textsuperscript{3}] superior."\textsuperscript{27}

Secretary of War McCrary, at Sherman's advice, declared the publication by Kautz to be "a positive wrong."\textsuperscript{28} But they were undecided what to do about it. At first

\textsuperscript{25} Letter, Dunn to Secretary of War, Feb. 15, encl. two copies of Kautz' printed animadversion upon the J.A.G.'s opinion of the Campbell case, Kautz G.C.M.

\textsuperscript{26} In December, 1876, Dunn had written the Secretary of War a three page letter complaining that Kautz had signed court-martial records as "Colonel, 8th Infantry, Brevet Major General, Comdg. Dept." rather than as "Major General by assignment." The Secretary had passed the quibble without comment to Sherman, who endorsed it: "... the manner of signature is not material. Yet as the Judge Advocate Genl thinks it material the Adjt General will ... [send] to Colonels Comdg Depts ... a Copy of this paper with a suggestion to comply ..." 7130 A.G.O. 1876.

\textsuperscript{27} End. by Sherman, Feb. 15, to letter cited above, n. 25.

\textsuperscript{28} First end. by McCrary, Feb. 19, to \textit{ibid.}
McCrary was in favor of publishing the general court-martial order, together with the J.A.G. opinion. Sherman probably decided him against it, for publication would not only expose Dunn's faulty review but also cause sympathy for Kautz if his animadversion were not published. Kautz could not be reprimanded without the action of a court-martial, which Sherman was reluctant to order, and a court of inquiry such as Kautz and McDowell had requested would doubtless bring to light more than theoretical legal opinions. Sherman probably felt he had done all he could for his wife's friend, Eagan, and he had no particular friendship for Dunn. On March 6, the day after Willcox assumed command in Arizona, the Secretary of War revoked the order to publish the J.A.G. opinion and directed that the papers be returned to Dunn, "who will determine for himself what . . . further action he will take."  

29. When Dunn sent Sherman a draft of the charge against Kautz, on March 12, the Commanding General would not immediately order a court but referred the matter back to the Secretary of War, with the observation: "Generally it suffices . . . to advise an officer of Genl. Kautz experience of final judgement of authority, but he seems to contest . . . such action, and it may be well to submit the question to a Court Martial. If this be determined, the Court can be ordered . . ." The Secretary asked for a trial on March 13, but Sherman did not draft the order until about March 20, with the notation, "To be issued in four or five days." S.O. 63 was issued March 25. 1802 A.G.O. 1878. See also 2105 A.G.O. 1878.

30. Second end. by McCrary, March 8, to letter cited above, n. 25.
The Kautz household, meanwhile, was en route to San Francisco. Their train reached Lathrop for breakfast on Thursday, March 21, and they arrived at the Oakland ferry three and one-half hours later. The steamer McPherson was there to take them to Angel Island in the bay. Some baggage inadvertently strayed to the city and had to be retrieved, which delayed them an hour, and they did not reach the island until two o'clock. Miss Marie Willcox received the General and Fannie in the commanding officer's quarters and spread a luncheon before turning over the house.\(^{31}\) Both August and Fannie were fatigued and suffered from headaches. They retired early, and not until Friday morning did the colonel go to headquarters to assume command and look at his mail. He found many letters, but the "most important document was a copy of a telegram from ... Sherman to Genl. McDowell informing him that I am to be court martialed at Omaha about the first of May on charges preferred by Judge Advocate Genl. Dunn."\(^{32}\)

Kautz was not certain on just what ground Dunn had chosen to fight, but he was altogether confident of success. He never for a moment considered the employment of any

\(^{31}\) Diary, 1878.

\(^{32}\) Ibid. The original telegram in Sherman's hand asking McDowell to "Please notify General Kautz that he may be fully prepared" is in 1882 A.G.O. 1878.
counsel but himself, and before the week was out he was at headquarters in San Francisco gathering the legal ammunition he would need. The officers at division headquarters from McDowell downward were all sympathetic, and he enlisted the aid of the assistant adjutant general, John C. Kelton, as well as Captain Alexander B. MacGowan of his own garrison, to prepare his defense.33

The charge preferred by Dunn did not reach Kautz until April 2, and he did "not find [it] very serious."34 It was styled, "Conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline." The single specification alleged that Kautz, having been sent an extract from the report of the J.A.G. regarding the trial of Captain Campbell by the Secretary of War, with instructions to

cause the ... extract ... to be communicated to each member and the Judge Advocate of the ... Court ... that they may be advised of ... the action taken ..., which will not be published in orders.

did then:

33. Diary, 1878. MacGowan commanded a company of the 12th Infantry, still at Angel Island. He had been a lieutenant in the California Column under General Carleton, and Kautz noted in his diary that "he knows some of the parties concerned." This may be a reference to Eagan and the Dunns. MacGowan later agreed to "study up all the points he can." For MacGowan's career, see Powell, 361. Kelton, an 1851 graduate of the U.S.N.A., was A.A.G. of the Div. of the Pacific from 1870 to 1885, and was The Adjutant General from 1889 to 1892. Ibid., 324-25. Heitman, I, 38; 590-91.

34. Diary, 1878.
publish and circulate in the Army a printed paper, consisting of the said extract and of a communication by him to the Adjutant General, relating to said extract. which said publication was throughout wholly irregular and unmilitary.35

On April 5, Kautz received the order to repair to headquarters, Department of the Platte, at Omaha, where the trial would be held commencing May 1. The Army and Navy Journal for March 30 had announced the detail for the court, and Kautz probably was more confident than ever that he would be vindicated. By law, the court had to consist of officers senior to him. Not only did it include some of the most respected military names of the post-Civil War army but also some friends of Kautz. The president was to be Brigadier General Christopher C. Augur, commander of the Department of the Gulf. Kautz' closest military friend, Brigadier General George Crook, was to be a member. Kautz' and U.S. Grant's friend of prewar days, Colonel Rufus Ingalls was ordered to attend. And a comrade of the Battle of 35. Kautz G.C.M.


37. Augur (1821-1898) was commissioned from the U.S.M.A. in 1843. His career would provide a good study of frontier command, for he served in Texas before the Mexican War, on the Pacific Coast afterward, and commanded two western departments: the Platte, 1866-69, and the Missouri, 1882-85. He was promoted to regular brigadier, in March of 1869. His life is sketched in the D.A.B., Vol. 1, pt. 1, 427f.

38. Ingalls (1820-1893) won distinction the hard way in the Civil War as chief quartermaster of the Army of the
of Monterey, Colonel Charles L. Kilburn, was a member. Appointed also was the colonel of the 2nd Artillery, William F. Barry, and the colonel of the 2nd Cavalry, Innis N. Palmer. Two notable Smiths were named: Colonel Charles Henry Smith of the 19th Infantry and Colonel John Eugene Smith of the 14th Infantry. Other members were Colonel John H. King, 9th Infantry; Colonel Thomas G. Pitcher, 1st Infantry; and Colonel Franklin F. Flint, 4th Infantry.

Detailed as judge advocate was Major Horace B. Burnham of the J.A.G. Department.

Potomac, for which he was given the regular brevet of Major General. He had graduated from the Academy with Grant and served in the 1st Dragoons during the Mexican War, marching into New Mexico with Kearny. He had known Kautz at Vancouver Barracks. There is no biography of this splendid soldier. Powell, 305; Heitman, I, 562; and Cullum, II, 94f; III, 163; IV, 62.

39. Kilburn (1819-1899) was an 1842 graduate of the Academy. He was breveted first lieutenant for his action with the 3rd Artillery at Monterey and captain for his conduct at Buena Vista. From 1853 he had held various commissary posts and at the time of the trial he was Assistant Commissary General to Macfeely. Powell, 330; Heitman, I, 597; Cullum, II, 52f; III, 153; IV, 59.

40. Barry was an 1838 U.S.M.A. graduate and had been colonel since December, 1865. D.A.B., Vol. 1, pt. 1, 655f. Palmer graduated in 1846 and had commanded the 2nd Cavalry since June, 1868. Ibid., Vol. 7, pt. 2, 184f. C. H. Smith had been colonel of the 1st Maine Cavalry and in 1895 he would be awarded the Medal of Honor for rallying his regiment at the Battle of St. Mary's Church, Va., in 1864. He had been a regular colonel since July, 1866. J. E. Smith had commenced the Civil War as colonel of the 45th Illinois Infantry and risen to brevet major general. He had been a colonel since July, 1866. Ibid., Vol. 9, pt. 1, 249f, 301f.

41. Horace Blois Burnham (1824-1894) practiced law in Pennsylvania until he helped raise the 67th Pa. Infantry.
At all odds, the case of Kautz in 1878 was the most important judicial proceeding held by the army since the Civil War, but the conduct of the case by the judge advocate, Burnham, could not be brilliant. It was soon overshadowed, too, by the special commission that met in June to reopen the case of General Fitz-John Porter, and next year the Reno court of inquiry drew still wider attention.

Kautz prepared his case thoroughly, so much so that on the eve of his trial he confided to his diary that "I have thought so much in regard to my case that it begins to lose interest." He determined to plead not guilty to the charge but guilty to the specification except the words, "which said publication was throughout wholly irregular and unmilitary." He intended to show that, not even in the realm of military justice, could the head of a staff bureau claim final authority in a matter for consideration of a

in 1861 and was mustered in as its lieutenant colonel. In the fall of 1864 he accepted appointment in the J.A.G. Dept. as a major and stayed with the regular army after the war. He served in several Reconstruction districts until November, 1872, when he was assigned as staff judge advocate of the Dept. of the Platte. He served nearly 14 years at Omaha and ended his career with two years at San Francisco as judge advocate of the Div. of the Pacific. In 1888 he retired to an estate he had acquired in Henrico County, Va. Powell, 98-99.

42. The trial was said to be the most impressive military court convened since the trial of Major Marshall Saxe Howe, 2nd Dragoons, in 1856. A.N. Journal, May 11, 1878.
departmental commander; and that commanders are sustained, whatever their decisions, until overruled by superior officers of the line, and that staff officers' opinions are never more than just that—opinions. It is not clear if Kautz was prepared to expose the connection of Dunn and Sherman with Eagan, he had so little real knowledge of it; and there is no hint that he was aware just how heavy had been the pressure of General Humphreys to have Campbell acquitted. The most bizarre aspect of his defense, however, was to be an appeal to the government of the army for substantiation of his right to free expression and fair public hearing. His list of witnesses to call for this purpose surprised General McDowell and was not taken lightly at the time by Sherman. On April 9 he asked that President Hayes, Secretary of War McCrary, Sherman, and Dunn himself be summoned as witnesses for the defense.

Dunn began to see the pitfalls of a verbal joust with Kautz. On April 5 he suggested that some officer outside his bureau replace Burnham on the court, but Sherman would not make a change. Major Burnham, he stated, would serve unless, and until, Colonel Kautz positively

43. Diary, 1878.
44. Ibid.
45. Kautz to Burnham, April 9, 2751 A.G.O. 1878.
objected to him. On April 10 Burnham himself requested that Dunn attend the trial to act for the prosecution, but his chief flatly refused. 46

Kautz' request for witnesses was received at Washington on April 18. Sherman could not very well ask McCrary or the President to concern themselves directly and he made it clear he was not going to attend, either. He even excused Dunn. 47 While this course was most of all a reflection of Sherman's lack of interest in the case (and the availability of the witnesses for depositions was not excluded), it also was a blow to the spectacular defense Kautz wished to make. All the witnesses, with the exception of the President whose reaction to Kautz is unknown, wished to avoid any confrontation. The defendant was too well respected for the force of his rhetoric. Sherman and the Adjutant General, furthermore, played no favorites. When Major Burnham requested the presence of General Humphreys and General Stephen V. Benét 48 as witnesses for the prosecution, Townsend rejected them at once. 49

46. 2465, 2672 A.G.O. 1878.
47. 2751 A.G.O. 1878.
48. Benét, father of the poet, was Chief of Ordnance and probably unacquainted with the case. He would have been useful to Burnham, however, for his knowledge of military law. He was author of a Treatise on Military Laws, and the Practice of Courts-Martial. Cullum, II, 229f; III, 198; IV, 75. Parry E. Stroud, St. Vincent Benét (New York, 1962).
49. 3006 A.G.O. 1878.
Phil Sheridan was apprehensive; "Old Kautz will worry that court for at least three or four months," he told Sherman. He tried to have Rufe Ingalls relieved because that officer had been assigned to the Military Division of the Missouri as chief quartermaster and Sheridan did not want him absent so long.\textsuperscript{50} Sherman's reply to Sheridan's request gives a hint of the Commanding General's attitude. "I prefer Ingalls should remain on the court," wrote Sherman, because he has fame\cite{Sheridan to Sherman, April 13, 1878, letterbook, Box 45, Sheridan Papers}. & knowledge and can keep the court down to its work. Kautz has already summoned the President, Secretary of War, \ldots &c, and I suppose will next summon Congress & the Supreme Court. Of course we will not go. The court should confine its action to the simple question at issue—Had he the right to impute to the Judge Advocate General the motive of being influenced by the Campbells and had he a right to publish & circulate his answer before it was received by the Adjt. General.

Sherman was not so pessimistic about Kautz' ability to drag out the proceedings. "I think," he wrote, "Genl. Augur \ldots will make short work of the court." Before moving to another subject in his letter, Sherman revealed something of his relationship to Kautz: "I wish Kautz well, but he would not take my hints or advice, and the

\textsuperscript{50} Sheridan to Sherman, April 13, 1878, letterbook, Box 45, Sheridan Papers.
more I tried to caution him the more stubborn he seemed to prove."

### iii

The Kautzes, together with a party of officers and ladies from the island, spent the evening before his departure in San Francisco. They attended a play appropriately entitled, "A Celebrated Case." Early on the morning of April 26, Kautz left the Palace Hotel and took the train for Omaha. The trip proved uninteresting but the spring weather was cool and pleasant. On April 30 Kautz detrained at Omaha shortly after one o'clock. He was surprised to find that his court was to meet in the Grand Central Hotel where he took a room. Perhaps with tongue in cheek, Kautz noted in his diary that, "Neither . . . President [Hayes] Genl. Sherman or the Secretary of War are here," but he was amazed to see General Dunn who, apparently, had second thoughts about refusing to testify. Late in the day, General Augur and Colonel Ingalls arrived. The trial, therefore, could start on schedule. Kautz spent the evening alone in his hotel room arranging his case.

---

51. Sherman to Sheridan, April 20, 1878, Box 39, ibid.

52. The narrative of Kautz' trial by court-martial is drawn, unless otherwise noted, from Kautz G.C.M. and the Diary, 1878.
It rained all day Wednesday, May 1. At noon, the court opened its proceedings in the Grand Central Hotel. Major Burnham, the judge advocate, produced an additional specification to the charge which had been transmitted only the day before by Judge Advocate General Dunn. It alleged that Kautz in his letter to the Adjutant General had "repeatedly charged that the said Judge Advocate General had misrepresented ... the record ... and done so for no other reason than to relieve said Campbell from the penalty for his offenses." Kautz asked until the next morning for time to restudy his special plea in bar of trial. The court adjourned to meet again at eleven o'clock on the 2nd.

Thursday dawned, a bright, beautiful spring day. The members of the court, the judge advocate, and the witnesses gathered in the hotel, resplendent in full dress. Augur and Crook wore the elaborate uniform of general officers. Crook's crackling full beard, parted in the middle, was turning gray. Augur was "a man of imposing presence"; and with his heavy Burnsides, he looked "as young and as genial as ever."53 There as witnesses for the prosecution were Majors Edward R. Platte and George D. Ruggles, adjutants of the departments of the Missouri

and Dakota. The correspondent of the Army and Navy Journal busily prepared a long dispatch, and the Omaha Herald reporter believed that the court was "marked by a large amount of brains, as well as military rank and dignity." At exactly eleven, General Augur called the court to order. He sat at a long table, in the center, with General Crook at his right and Colonel Kilburn at his left. Directly opposite sat Major Burnham beside another table that was placed perpendicular to that of the court. The other eight members of the court flanked the president alternately in descending order of rank. Colonel Kautz sat alone in a chair at the foot of Burnham's table. No doubt a look of confident good nature passed between himself and Crook, and we may imagine that Burnham, already sensing that he was out of his depth, avoided the glance of the defendant.

After the reading of the charge and specifications, Kautz arose to make his plea in bar. He claimed, first, that the specifications were not clear as to the offense, "and I am at a loss to know how to plead." Second, that the specifications did not contain any military offense to

54. The Herald story was reprinted in ibid.

55. Winthrop, Military Law, 69f.
sustain the charge.  Here Kautz introduced a circular written by General Schofield, then commander of the Division of the Pacific, on June 24, 1876. Relating to the status in military law of civilian employees, it clearly was a paper that controverted the views of the J.A.G. and, like Kautz' pamphlet, had been circulated throughout the army. "I have not heard," observed Kautz to the court, "that General Schofield has been court-martialed." With this example before him, Kautz asked, was it surprising that, when he was directed to publish in his command the report of the J.A.G., "which report • • • misrepresented the record, was wrong, and would seriously affect the discipline" of his command, he should accompany the document with his own letter to the Adjutant General? "I claim," Kautz said, "that I had a full justification • • • [when] the report of the Judge-Advocate-General • • • was published in the principal papers of the Pacific coast • • •." He paused to introduce into the record the entire front page of the Alta California with the damning dispatch marked.

"The law of self-defense," proclaimed the defendant, "would have fully justified me in publishing my reply in • • • •

56. "The right to publish," asserted Kautz, ". • • is a right that pertains to every department commander. He is provided with a printing establishment for the purpose." Modern readers should realize that military headquarters at the department and higher levels were provided with letter-press equipment in the 19th century almost to the extent that modern army headquarters have mimeograph or multilith equipment. The printers were civilian employees at Ft. Whipple
the public press." Instead, he admitted, he had only printed and circulated the pamphlet, "as I would an official communication from the Headquarters of the Department ..."

He claimed that he was guilty of no offense and had violated no regulation of the army. "With regard to the second allegation," he continued,

that I did impute certain acts and motives to the Judge-Advocate-General, ... I trust that the court will rule that in order to constitute an offence the specifications must allege that my imputations are not true. ... As to the third allegation in the specification, that I did controvert the views ... of the Judge-Advocate-General, after ... they had been adopted by the President, ... I claim that the virtual assumption that I was criticising ... the President ... is not justified. ... I do not see how I can be held for criticising ... the President's views by showing how the Judge-Advocate-General misled the President. ... The tenor of the allegation seems to be that the Judge-Advocate-General is a privileged officer whose action cannot be questioned.

Kautz had been reading for perhaps ten minutes—only a minor fraction of his remarkable and ponderous plea has been repeated here—when Major Burnham objected that this was not a plea at all but an argument of the case in advance. General Augur, after the court conferred with the judge advocate in private, overruled the objection and told Kautz to continue his reading.

and Kautz complained that they were frequently drunk if not kept busy.
Burnham then defended his draft of the charge, not very convincingly, and Kautz asked that the last specification be altered to say that he had falsely stated his animadversion to the J.A.G. Burnham responded, "I shall so treat the charges as if they meant false representation. I have no objection to adding the word 'false'."

"The word 'misrepresented' in the specification," Kautz pointed out, "does not apply to me at all, but to the Judge-Advocate-General."

After an embarrassed pause, Augur turned to Burnham and explained to the judge advocate: "The ground that the accused takes is that no offense is charged unless the specification charges him with falsely representing."

It required but a few minutes for the court in closed session to consider Kautz' special plea. After they reconvened, the judge advocate announced that the plea was denied. The court then heard Kautz plead "Not Guilty" to the charge but "Guilty" to the specification—except for, in the first specification, the alleged unmilitary character of his pamphlet; and except for the words, in the second specification, "for no other reason."

The judge advocate proceeded to call Majors Platte and Ruggles, the departmental adjutants whom Dunn had selected as his witnesses, to tell of their reaction when they had read Kautz' "pamphlet strictures." Both officers
testified that they had received the pamphlets in the official mail and they considered them "unmilitary" or at least irregular. Platte, however, seemed not especially perturbed; and Ruggles was careful to say that he had not actually seen the pamphlet in the official mail because his clerk had opened the envelope and removed the official cover.

Thursday was thus consumed, and the court adjourned.

That evening, Kautz dined with his old classmate, Major John P. Hawkins, the commissary of subsistence for the Department of the Platte, and some members of the court. Meanwhile, back in Washington, a correspondent for the Army and Navy Journal had asked Sherman what he thought would be the result of the extraordinary trial in Omaha. The General was reported to have answered that "the Court would probably find the Judge-Advocate-General guilty." 57

On Friday, Dunn was summoned to testify for the prosecution. He described the final action in the Campbell case as the culmination of a difference of opinion between himself and Sherman, in which he himself had been upheld by the President. After his chief had testified, Judge Advocate Burnham stated to the court his desire to use as evidence the original letter from Kautz to the Adjutant

57. A.N. Journal, May 18, 1878.
General, which bore the lengthy handwritten postscript. His purpose was to record those portions of the document that were the subject of the charge against Kautz. To this the defendant objected at once. The entire letter, he insisted, should be read into the record, "As there was some very 'interestin' readin'" in the remainder of the letter . . . , and he desired that the whole letter be placed on record."\textsuperscript{58} His objection was sustained.

Kautz next introduced a letter from General McDowell, which had authorized Kautz to absent himself from Arizona in the previous winter, but which had not granted a formal leave. McDowell, rather, had declined to designate a temporary commander and, instead, had required Kautz to keep in touch with affairs in his department. This was Kautz' basis for claiming that his action on the Campbell case in Cincinnati had been justified. Nothing more of importance occurred and the court adjourned early in the afternoon.

After dinner, Kautz visited Crook at headquarters and the two men discussed at length, not the trial, but their mutual interest in mining. Crook, he learned, had invested heavily in a mine at Nevada City, California. That evening, the mayor of Omaha, and a citizens committee, held an elaborate reception for the military assemblage.

\textsuperscript{58} Ibid., May 11, 1878. The document was placed in the record, but the quote above does not appear in the transcript.
Some three hundred guests attended the party at the hotel where Kautz "enjoyed the throng and met an immense number of people." A welcoming speech by Mayor Wilbur concluded: "Permit me . . . to assure you that Omaha, in her heart and soul and strength, utters an indignant protest against any purpose [by Congress] to weaken, or in any measure to degrade the small but noble band of veterans which constitutes the Army." The 9th Infantry band played and there was dancing and eating until one o'clock in the morning.

Kautz retired to his room about 2 a.m. Saturday, and he felt rather stupid when the court convened again at eleven. He presented a written statement requesting to know if the witnesses he had summoned would be required to attend. Only General Dunn had come to Omaha, he noted, although Lieutenant Kingsbury was en route. The court ruled that, the trial having thus far developed no apparent need for them, the other witnesses could be dispensed with. Kautz acceded with good grace and proceeded to introduce in evidence the record of the Campbell court-martial, over the protests of the judge advocate. The court adjourned on Saturday at two o'clock.

On Saturday afternoon, Mayor Wilbur and several members of the court visited the local smelting works, an

59. Ibid.
excursion that greatly interested Kautz. Sunday, Kautz rested and refreshed his mind on the Campbell record. The trial was now in his hands and he desired to end it smoothly and quickly, but with a flourish that would swing the court completely to his side. He was becoming accustomed to the excitement of the trial, he noted, and now felt quite at ease.

On Monday, Kautz continued to read from the Campbell record and to comment on certain aspects of that case which showed "that the Judge Advocate [General] had misrepresented the record." He then requested adjournment to allow him time to prepare a closing statement for his defense. The court rose at noon, and in the afternoon they were photographed in a local studio. Later in the day Kingsbury and Major Martin arrived from Arizona.

On Tuesday, Burnham called as witnesses for the prosecution Kingsbury, nominally Kautz' witness, as well as Martin. Burnham apparently intended to reopen the case, but he was repeatedly warned by the court that he could only offer testimony in rebuttal. In the words of the Army and Navy Journal reporter, "he threw up the sponge and requested until the following morning to make his reply."60

As a matter of fact, they gave him until Thursday, and on

60. Ibid., May 18, 1878.
Wednesday morning heard Kautz make his closing argument. "This," observed the *Journal* reporter, "was a carefully prepared, dignified document—short but to the point—and it occupied but a few minutes for its delivery." Burnham's conduct, by comparison, had been very damaging to the prosecution. When the court adjourned Wednesday morning, there was no question that Kautz had deeply impressed them.

The court met for the last time on Thursday, May 9, at 9:30 a.m. Burnham took two hours to deliver his rejoinder, described as "a huge document containing a great many words and some personalities." Augur then pronounced the court closed, both the defendant and the judge advocate withdrew, and the eleven members deliberated for nearly three hours. At 2:15 p.m. the court adjourned sine die. No verdict was announced, and Kautz would have to wait nearly a month before he learned the outcome. He had little doubt, however, that he would be acquitted. That evening he wrote in his diary: "There was much disgust felt at the manner of Burnham's delivery," referring to the incoherent closing statement. "My cause has not suffered much at his hands. He had no idea of the case."

---

61. Ibid.
62. Ibid.
Next day Kautz took the train to the nearby town of Blair where he had invested in some farm land in 1869. After making arrangements to rent the property, he returned to Omaha in time to see most of the members of the court take their leave at the Union Pacific depot. "I shall be greatly deceived," he observed in his diary, "if the Court has not relieved me entirely." The evening was used for farewell calls, as was also the next morning. After taking leave of Crook, he hurried to the depot at 11 a.m. to catch a train which, it turned out, did not leave for two and one-half hours.

Despite fog and storms, the train made up for lost time and Kautz reached Colfax, California, on May 15 in time to catch a train up to Nevada City. Apparently at Crook's suggestion, Kautz went to inspect the Murchie Mine in which Kautz was considering investment.63 He stayed overnight but caught the 7:30 train out of Colfax next morning. He arrived in San Francisco the night of the 16th and went to the Palace Hotel; next morning he was back at Angel Island.

63. For the story of the ill-fated Murchie Mine, see Crook Autobiography, 237-40; and below, Chap. 14, pp. 589-90.
CHAPTER XIV

CALIFORNIA INTERVAL

For the first time since their return from Cincinnati in December, 1877, Fannie and August Kautz relaxed from the tension of personal trials. The island was a Robinson Crusoe domain, rife with flowers and soaked with frequent rain, where the temperature never reached freezing; nor did the sun sear the eyes. Despite frequent fogs, the island was usually sunny, covered with lush grass, live oak, and aromatic laurel. Except for the occasional administrative duties of the post, Kautz was at last free to write and read and enjoy the civilized pleasures of San Francisco. Numerous crates of household goods had been unpacked, new carpets shipped from New York had been laid down, and the colonel's study and woodworking shop were soon fixed up. The frequent boats to the city took the Kautzes on visits to many old friends. There were Tichnor

1. Pacific Posts, 73f.
2. Diary, 1878. The next paragraph also is based on this source.
3. Kautz identifies H. B. Tichnor only as a "very prosperous" old friend. It is likely he was related to William Tichenor, the founder of Port Orford where Kautz had served, 1853-55. See H. H. Bancroft, History of Oregon, Vols. 29 and 30 of the Works (San Francisco, 1888), II, 193-96, 414, 432, 434, 452.

573
and General Keyes from antebellum days; the ne'er-do-well DeVeuve and loyal Colonel Mendell; the McAllister family and, occasionally, General Crook. The A.A.G., Kelton, and General McDowell were frequently seen socially, as were other officers of the division headquarters. The city's theaters and restaurants were never-ending sources of pleasure, and Fannie could satisfy her expensive tastes in the best shops on the Pacific Coast.

On May 29 Kautz read in the newspapers that the court-martial before which he had lately been arraigned seemed to have acquitted him, as expected, "but Genl. Sherman makes some remarks that are very much mixed if correctly reported." Not until June 4 did he receive the official order of the court. It was a complete acquittal. Sherman set forth his opinion, as was customary, and admonished the other officers of the army not to accept the decision of this court as precedent for future conduct.

It was a dilution of justice that galled Kautz and he set

---

4. Hall McAllister, who had come to California in 1849, was the most prominent member of a San Francisco law firm that had included his father who died in 1865 and his brother who returned to New York in 1852. When Kautz had sailed via Panama to New York on leave in 1859, he had been accompanied by Hall McAllister's wife whom he had not seen again until now. By 1878 she had four children and the Kautzes visited them many times. McAllister was the best known and most successful lawyer in California. See D.A.B., Vol. 6, pt. 1, 545ff.

5. Diary, 1878.
about writing a reply. The findings, he feared, did not
give him very much room for another animadversion but he
was encouraged by a flood of congratulatory mail and
sympathetic words at McDowell's headquarters. At last he
prevailed on the *Alta California* to publish a letter over
the signature "Ex-Regular" and ordered one hundred extra
copies to circulate.⁶

Kautz was not satisfied and grew more resentful
of Sherman. Some reconciliation was had in September, 1878,
when the Commanding General visited San Francisco. Fannie
urged her husband to go and see Sherman and make a display
of good feeling. "I am disposed to do it," Kautz reflected,
"with little hope that such a course would conciliate.
My estimate of Sherman is that he respects those most who
are least afraid of him."⁷ On September 26 Sherman arrived
by train in a special railway car accompanied by his aide-
de-camp, Colonel Alexander McDowell McCook. The Kautzes
went to the station and Sherman received him on board. The
meeting was cordial enough, but Sherman, remarked Kautz,
"has acquired some very erroneous notions about Arizona."
Next day Fannie returned home but August "decided to
remain . . . to cultivate friendly relations with the

---

⁶ *Ibid.* A copy of the letter has not been found.

Genl. & spent an hour or so in the evening in the Genl's. rooms with Mendell & McCook.\textsuperscript{8}

Shortly after Kautz had received the final verdict in his court-martial, General McDowell had ordered the headquarters of the 8th Infantry to make still another change of station. On June 22 they had been ordered to Benicia Barracks, twenty-eight miles east of San Francisco. A recent act of Congress had required the relinquishment of rented military facilities in San Francisco, and McDowell had been forced to send the 4th Artillery to Angel Island so that division headquarters could move into the Presidio.\textsuperscript{9}

As the 8th and 12th regiments were still exchanging posts, Kautz' small headquarters was easy to move and there were spacious empty quarters at Benicia. The Kautzes (August at least) took the second uprooting in four months with equanimity. "The prospect of leaving," concluded the colonel, "is not so objectionable . . . [because] we are going . . . where the climate is less moist and much warmer."\textsuperscript{10} Also, the move was relatively easy, for they could go by water all the way.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{8} \textit{Ibid}
\item \textsuperscript{9} \textit{Secretary of War Reports, 1878, 112}
\item \textsuperscript{10} \textit{Diary, 1878}
\end{itemize}
The Benicia Military Reservation, composed of an arsenal and barracks, was established on the Suscol Grant of Mexican General Mariano G. Vallejo in 1849 and comprised 347 acres. The reservation lay at the east end of the Straits of Carquinez, fronting the water and only seven miles from the town of Vallejo. The barracks occupied a strip on the northwest edge of the arsenal, which was a separate station. They provided quarters for six companies, formerly occupied by the 1st Cavalry, and had served as a cavalry recruit depot until 1875 when the stables were burned and all public animals destroyed to stop the spread of glanders disease. By the time Kautz arrived, there were fourteen sets of officers' quarters, the commanding officer being allotted a fine two-story frame house.\textsuperscript{11}

Vallejo was on the railroad and the water voyage to San Francisco was but twenty-five miles, so the Kautzes were nearly as close to the city as before. As for the climate, however, Benicia was to be wetter and colder when winter set in. Nor was the society at the new post an improvement. While he had few troops, Kautz remarked in July that "there is nothing doing"; and he still complained in October, "There is little for any one to do here and I scarcely know how to keep all hands usefully employed."\textsuperscript{12}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{11} Pacific Posts, 76f.
\textsuperscript{12} Diary, 1878.
\end{flushleft}
In August the 12th Infantry began to displace to Arizona.\textsuperscript{13} It was mid-September of 1878, however, before there were many men of the 8th Infantry at Benicia. In the meantime only Company F, 8th Infantry, was on hand while officers and detachments of the 12th passed through. The movement of the regiments was complicated by the outbreak of the Bannock Indians that had occurred in May in Oregon. One company of the 8th regiment had been continually in the field with General O. O. Howard since July, 1877, during the Nez Perce troubles,\textsuperscript{14} and as the war gathered steam in the following spring, three more companies of the 8th and six companies of the 12th were drawn away to the Department of the Columbia. When the regiments exchanged headquarters, General Willcox kept two companies of the 8th in Arizona, and Kautz had to detail three others to Camp McDermitt, Nevada.

Of his regimental officers, only Lieutenant Colonel Wilkins; Major Wilhelm, the adjutant; and Lieutenant Whitney, the quartermaster, were with him. The first was older and rather dull, and the second was studious and

\textsuperscript{13} Change of station for companies of the 12th Infantry was announced in S.O. 122, Div. of the Pacific, August 16, 1878. Willcox tried unsuccessfully to keep the 8th in Arizona. See 5518 A.G.O. 1878.

\textsuperscript{14} Co. H, commanded by Captain Daniel T. Wells, earned a guidon silver band for this service. Army of the U.S., 523; Lineage Book, 86.
retiring. Whitney was soon sent to Winnemucca, Nevada, to act as quartermaster for the troops in the field. Company F's commander, Captain Van Horn, was on leave. The officers of the 12th Infantry were all full of that antagonism common when two different units occupy a small post. Kautz was soon exasperated with their constant running to the city and their disgusting sprees. The likeable but alcoholic Captain Byrne of the 12th Infantry was on the verge of marrying Miss Titus when his fellow officers prevented the match. And they succeeded in voting through the post council the appointment of an ex-officer named Pond to be post trader\(^1\) over the colonel's objections.

At the end of October the last officer of the 12th took his leave of Benicia and Kautz hoped he had seen the last of them. By mid-November three companies of the 8th, in addition to Van Horn's, were in garrison at Benicia and the society of the post greatly improved.\(^2\)

Kautz' official responsibilities were now insignificant and, in the hands of his competent adjutant, the duties almost non-existent. The headquarters of the Department of California had long since been merged with division headquarters in San Francisco, and Kautz reported

\(^1\) Possibly former Captain Richard H. Pond, 12th Infantry, who had resigned in 1873. Heitman, I, 797.

\(^2\) Diary, 1878.
directly to McDowell’s A.A.G., Kelton. All troops at Benicia Barracks were of his own regiment, the arsenal being entirely independent; and until the Apaches made more trouble in Arizona, Kautz scarcely paid attention to the other posts where 8th Infantrymen served. Indians, however, provided one more matter of official importance for Kautz in the closing months of 1878.

Given the warlike nature of North American Indians and the fixed desire of the white and red races to live apart from the beginning, it was natural that the military arm of the United States Government should deal with Indian affairs. This natural state was altered in 1849, however, by the premature transfer of Indian affairs from the War Department to the newly created Department of the Interior.17 The army continued to be the only agency that could pacify the tribes and, with the establishment of reservations after the Civil War, it was the principal source of competent agents. Then, in 1870, the Board of Indian Commissioners took even this function from the army.18

17. George D. Harmon, Sixty Years of Indian Affairs: 1789-1850 (Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1941), 172f.

18. Indian Affairs Report, 1870, 10. Army officers continued to be used pending appointment of civilian agents for new reservations. Thus it was not until late 1872 that all Arizona reserves were established and another year before civilians could be found for all agencies. Ibid., 1872, 1873, 1874, passim.
While the division of responsibility for handling Indian affairs spoiled the work of civilization, the corruption of the Grant Administration infected the Office of Indian Affairs so deeply that some Congressmen and many army officers suggested a return of the office to the War Department. In 1876 the House Committee on Military Affairs questioned a great many army officers regarding this matter, and Kautz, while he commanded the Department of Arizona, wrote a reply to their questionnaire on March 11. "By far the greatest number of military posts that we have," he wrote from Prescott, "are established for the protection of white settlements and Indian agencies." He then stated the case for transferring authority over Indians back to the army: "The officers could perform the duties of the agents," as they had frequently done in Arizona, "and save much wear and tear of the troops, the salaries of the agents, and much expense in the building of agencies, and would secure an honest application of the Indian appropriations, because the system of accountability in the Army is subject to such supervision and control by superior officers on the ground, that there is nearly everywhere the greatest

19. "The question of transfer was proposed or implicit in every discussion of Indian affairs in Congress from 1867 to 1879." Priest, Uncle Sam's Stepchildren, 15.
possible check against the misapplication of public funds.20

The proposal was earnestly debated for two more years, the resistance centering around the Board of Indian Commissioners who deplored all army influence in the Indian country, and the army officers steadily exposing corruption and incompetence where they found it. Kautz, for his part, had found little of it, for John P. Clum was a paragon of virtue in comparison with most other agents. In the spring of 1878, as the Forty-Fifth Congress drew to a close, a section was included in the Army Appropriation Act to create a joint committee "to take into consideration the expediency of transferring the Indian Bureau to the War Department."21 Pursuant to the act, the Senate President appointed Richard J. Oglesby of Illinois, Alvin Saunders of Nebraska, and Thomas C. McCrery of Kentucky to form the committee. In response to the same legislation, the House Speaker appointed Alfred M. Scales of North Carolina, Andrew R. Boone of Kentucky, Charles E. Hooker of Mississippi, Nelson H. Van Vorhes of Ohio, and Jacob H. Stewart of Minnesota.


21. Testimony taken by the Joint Committee appointed to take into consideration the expediency of transferring the Indian Bureau to the War Department, Senate Misc. Docs., 45th Cong., 3rd Sess., No. 53.
They were directed to sit during the Congressional recess and to report back before January 1, 1879. In the preliminary meeting in June, Senator Saunders was given the chair after General Oglesby, ex-governor of Illinois, notified them he could not accompany the others on their fact-finding tour.22

Kautz from the beginning took a keen interest in the work of the joint committee. It has been noted that a good deal of his annual report for 1877 had concerned Indian affairs in Arizona, and when he learned of the appointment of the joint committee, he sent each member a copy of his report. As the subsequent sessions of the investigators were held throughout the West, Kautz followed the developments in the newspapers.23 After an inspection of the Indian Territory, which included an interview with the exiled Nez Perce leader Joseph, the committee proceeded to Omaha in October where they listened to General Crook. The last half of the month was spent visiting Indian agencies and military posts in Nebraska, Utah, and California.24 On October 29, Kautz received a note from Kelton

22. Ibid.

23. Diary, 1878. See especially the editorial in the *A.N. Journal*, August 31, 1878.

24. Testimony taken by the Joint Committee.
that instructed him to report next morning to the chairman
of the joint committee at the Palace Hotel in San Francisco. 25

Next morning at ten o'clock, Kautz and Kelton
entered the hearing room. Senator McCreery was presiding
and he listened first to Captain Joseph B. Campbell and
Captain Marcus P. Miller of the 4th Artillery. Their
testimony was brief and Kautz was soon called. After Kautz
was sworn, McCreery started by asking him to give his
general opinion on the subject. Kautz, of course, said he
favored the transfer. He said that transfer would be
economical to the government because, if the Indians became
entirely self-supporting under the army, the agents could
be dispensed with. 26 "I will add," he said, "that I have
been in the service about 26 years . . . and all my
service has been on the frontier with the Indians except
during the war."

McCreery continued, "Will you please detail any
facts that have come to your knowledge connected with
civil management under the agents of the Interior Depart-
ments?" To this, Kautz replied that the facts were to be
seen in his annual report in their hands. "Will you make

25. Diary. 1878.

26. Ibid. The ensuing dialogue is taken verbatim
from the testimony printed in Senate Misc. Doc. 53.
a short detail of the facts," asked McCreery, "so that they may be embodied in the testimony?"

"I do not know whether I can remember them in a connected form or not," advised Kautz.

"Well, disconnected then," urged McCreery.

Kautz alleged that the number of Indians reported on the Arizona and New Mexico reservations was grossly overestimated by civilian agents so that more rations could be drawn. In 1871 at Fort Stanton, he recalled, "The very first report which the agent made . . . was about 600 . . . The number continued to increase until I left in the spring of 1872, they claimed 1,400 Indians on that Reservation. I subsequently learned by letters that as high as 1,800 had been claimed, and the last number that I heard was 2,200." Concluded Kautz, "I do not think that the whole number of the Mescalero Apaches can possibly be above 500."

Kautz concluded his testimony by expressing his opinion that Indians could only be made self-sufficient by force; the army was not only best equipped to exercise calculated force but army officers were better supervised than civilian agents; and civilians were easier to corrupt than army agents. He also reiterated his belief that he had been removed from command of the Arizona department because he opposed the Interior Department. 27

27. Testimony taken by the Joint Committee.
Kautz was followed in the witness chair by other officers and by several civilians, among them Samuel Forster Tappan, former lieutenant colonel of the 1st Colorado Infantry. Tappan, despite his wide frontier experience, advocated as his final answer to the problem, the extension of equal civil law and legal protection to all Indians. By that time Kautz and Kelton had left the committee room.

The joint committee returned to Omaha early in November, from thence to Washington, D. C. They reconvened November 26 and further testimony was taken in the Capital until December. Secretary Schurz appeared, as did Phil Sheridan, and the contrast was unexpected. Schurz evidently thought he had cleaned the Indian Bureau of its grafters sufficiently to justify another chance for civilian administration. The tone of his testimony was condescending, while Sheridan's reply was the best-measured explanation of the way in which Indian policy should work that can be found in contemporary literature. The military voice, however, fell on deaf ears.

28. Ibid.
29. Diary, 1878.
30. Testimony taken by the Joint Committee.
31. Priest, otherwise the most cogent modern commentator on the subject, certainly was wrong in his explanation: "While there has been some disagreement over the reason why transfer was never sanctioned, the primary
Except for a muffled criticism of General Willcox, who tried to conjure an Indian war in Arizona for himself to put down, Kautz ceased to worry about Indian affairs. Relieved of most military duties, he turned his hand to finishing the memoir of the Civil War he had begun and he cast a fascinated eye to the San Francisco stock market. Mining had become a mania.

factor was a sincere conviction on the part of a large majority of the public that the Army was not fitted to direct Indian affairs. They were, of course, generals who angered the West by demanding justice for the tribes. 'General Kautz is relieved and so is Arizona,' a local paper wrote of one such offender. The majority of military men made heroes of aggressive fighters like Custer while officers responsible for mistreating Indians escaped prosecution." The majority of Americans applauded Sheridan's stand but apathy precluded political action. And it was the civilian public that idolized Custer. Priest's final comment is incomprehensible: "The work of such men as General Crook, Howard, and Miles was frequently embarrassed by their military affiliations." Uncle Sam's Stepchildren, 26f.

32. Willcox claimed that Kautz had neglected southern Arizona and thereby invited depredations. Tucson Arizona Star, August 29, 1878. The work of the 6th Cavalry, especially Lieutenants Rucker and Touey, had in fact broken up Geronimo's band in December, 1877. Yet Willcox, in his annual report for 1878, attributed the peace of the territory to "the measures he took to organize scouting under one head from a Camp Supply near the Mexican border as if nothing of the sort had ever been done until he took command." Kautz to T.A.G., Dec. 24, 8972 A.G.Q. 1878. Sherman refused to submit Kautz' letter to Willcox for reply, so Kautz ventilated his opinion in a letter to Major Biddle which was published. Tombstone Epitaph, May 1, 1882.
"The influence of the Stock Market . . . has been and is immense," pontificated a contemporary reviewer, and a business in which nearly everybody is interested must have an influence on public opinion. Stocks form the theme of everybody's conversation . . . . The stage, the pulpit, the press, the bar (not of the saloons), and the forum, all refer to stocks. The slang of the market permeates the conversation of the most refined society.

"Stocks," in San Francisco, meant mining stocks, and "Whoever walks through the blocks . . . bounded by Pine, Sacramento, Kearny, and Battery streets, the very heart of our city, . . . and notes the immense number of stock-brokers' offices, . . . and the enormous business they do, may get an insight into the extent of the Stock market . . . ." Continued the enthusiast:

England may be "a nation of shop-keepers," but San Francisco is decidedly a community of stock-dealers; and, so long as enterprise, skill, and a liberal expenditure of money offers such probabilities of success as are offered by the gold and silver mines of the Pacific Coast, so long will there be life and activity in our Stock Market.

In Black Canyon, near Prescott, Kautz had seen the Tip Top mine and was impressed with its steady output of good ore. He had invested several hundred dollars before leaving Arizona and watched closely the fluctuation of the

33. Pacific Coast Annual Mining Review and Stock Ledger (San Francisco, 1878), 5.
stock quotation. At one point a share was worth $1.50, up a quarter from what he had paid; but he had paid at least one fifty-cent assessment on every share, and the stock soon fell. 34

He turned to an even bigger loser in the winter of 1878-79. At Omaha, during the time of his court-martial, Kautz had talked to Crook about the Murchie mine in Nevada City, California. Subsequently, he visited the property but "was not much impressed with it." On May 17, 1878, after returning to Angel Island, he wrote Crook a letter in which he "rather disparaged the Murchie property. In fact I do not see much in it. It has great advantages as to wood & water & labor but the ore is very low grade." Yet four months later Kautz invested $658 in 387 shares of Murchie stock. In February, 1879, he bought another five hundred for one thousand dollars. And by April 10, 1879, he had purchased 2,047 shares of Murchie, "and I am done buying." Seven hundred dollars in debt to his bank, he was to dig still deeper when the directors levied a twenty-five cent assessment.

Part of the madness was doubtless the confidence that Kautz held in his friend Crook. In November, 1878, Kautz went with the company's secretary, Andrew Snider.

34. This and the next two paragraphs are drawn entirely from the Diary, 1878, 1879, passim.
to formally inspect all the Murchie claims and works at Nevada City. There they met Crook and two other heavy investors: Major Thomas Tipton Thornburgh and Major Marshall Independence Ludington. The five men went into the principal mine, examined the mill, and heard Crook expound on the potential wealth—or perhaps it was Snider who carried the most persuasion. They all lost their senses, and the Murchie never paid Kautz nor Crook a dollar.35

The culmination of Kautz' mining speculation was in 1880, when he and Snider organized the Rowe Gold Mining Company to work an Arizona claim of doubtful value.36 After they purchased the property for $5,000, and sent out an agent to develop it, nothing more than assessments ever materialized. Kautz at least was spared one other flyer: he successfully resisted John J. Gosper's effort to incorporate the Oriental Mine, and after the Rowe debacle avoided further involvement.37

At Benicia the Kautzes found opportunity for the civilized pastimes of America's Gilded Age. Fannie revived her theatricals in the spring of '79, but not

36. The Rowe Mine was 15 miles north of Camp McDowell, Miner, June 1, 1877.
37. Diary, 1880, 1881, passim.
with great success. It was in these months, however, that she discovered painting, a passion that remained the rest of her life. August had been taught to sketch at West Point and improved his talent at every opportunity. His watercolors first attracted Fannie. When she elected to try oils, he was glad to make her frames in his woodshop and to stretch her canvas. As his sketching had more balance and perspective, he usually "took a view" for her in charcoal. Or she would paint flowers and still life, in the color for which she had great natural talent.  

As their children matured, Fannie sought religion. Austin and Frankie were baptised by the Episcopal missionary bishop of Northern California, John H. D. Wingfield, in August of 1878. Thereafter, Fannie sang with the choir in the Vallejo church and evinced a genuine concern for her faith. August, on the other hand, had been too long at remote frontier posts and absorbed too much of the fatalism of the battlefield to be an active Christian. He attended church only at Easter.  

Besides Wilkins, Wilhelm, and Whitney, the garrison at Benicia came to include three other officers whose families completed the narrow social world of the Kautzes.

38. Diary, 1879. Several of Fannie's canvases are still in possession of the family.
39. Diary, 1878-86, passim.
Captain (Brevet Major) Daniel T. Wells was not a West Pointer but he was an officer of uncommon capacity. Moreover, he loved the regiment in which he had served since 1863. He had been in forty-three campaigns, battles, and skirmishes, including the Battle of Gettysburg and the Siege of Petersburg, and had served a number of staff positions. He had commanded, at different times, four companies of the 8th Infantry and was commanding officer of San Diego Barracks before coming to Benicia. His family got on well with the colonel and Fannie.

Captain (Brevet Major) William S. Worth, in contrast, was a bachelor famous with the ladies and he frequently quarreled with Fannie. He was a trusted friend of the colonel, however, and had served with the regiment since 1861. Like Wells, he had been at Petersburg and had served in Arizona during Kautz' entire command. Lieutenant Whitney, another bachelor, replaced Wilhelm as adjutant in July, 1879, and was frequently a visitor at the Kautzes. It is remarkable that all these officers except Colonel Wilkins were commissioned from civil life and the fact probably accounts for Kautz' lack of military snobbishness.

40. Hamersly, 270; Powell, 628f.
41. Ibid., 667.
42. Ibid., 641.
At nearby Benicia Arsenal, the Kautzes also found companionship with the family of Colonel Julian McAllister. He was several years Kautz' senior, a member of the Class of 1847, a veteran of the Mexican War, and the senior ordnance officer of the Division of the Pacific. The Kautzes frequently visited the McAllisters in their fine brick quarters and accompanied them to the city.

The society life of San Francisco had always owed much to the military, and the affairs that Kautz attended were in modest proportion to what a distinguished brevet general officer might have experienced. In September of 1878 he was a guest at the reception in honor of John C. Frémont, gotten up by the "old pioneers." McDowell frequently gave lavish dinner parties at his mansion on Black Point. Most often the Kautzes would stay a night in the city and see a play. The greatest excitement, however, occurred when General Grant returned from his world tour in the fall of 1879.

The return of Grant to America was anticipated weeks in advance and heralded by the local press until

43. Cullum, II, 182; III, 184.

44. Diary, 1878.

45. Ibid. and see Otto L. Hein, Memories of Long Ago (New York, 1925), 133.
early September, when it was learned he was sailing to San Francisco on the steamship Tokio. On the 20th Kautz was at the Palace Hotel in time to view the parade past in the ex-President's honor. Next morning Kautz did not hesitate to call upon his old friend in his hotel suite before breakfast. There followed a whole month of enthusiastic receptions and public appearances that surprised the Californians. "Even the Confederates," Kautz wryly noted, "are out-doing themselves." 46

It was not the "high life" however, but the urge to travel and see the wonders of nature that always held sway over August Kautz. At Benicia there was little to keep his family from excursions, and before the spring of '79 they had determined to see the Yosemite. On May 10 they set out with Miss Titus, Pauline, the children, Captain Worth, Mrs. Kelton, and a detachment of teamsters. They took the toll road from Hornitas to Mariposa, from thence to Mormon Flat and Cold Spring where they established camp. The road to the Big Trees was not yet finished, but they visited Bridelieve Fall, the toll road to which cost them forty-one dollars. They saw Vernal and Nevada falls, and also Mirror Lake. They later paid twenty-one dollars in tolls, and Kautz sourly observed that the "remarkable

46. Diary, 1879.
thing is the variety and number of expenses of this trip." By May 24 they were back at Benicia. 47

A more delightful excursion was made in the fall to Navarro, California, in the Mother Lode country. This time they were accompanied by the Wilhelms and several other families. Miss Titus had departed. 48 Kautz at last could relax on a trout stream, and he spent two weeks fishing, hiking, and sketching. His diary reflects a peace and contentment he had not experienced since the days on Bonito Creek near Fort Stanton.

Toward the end of 1879 it became clear that the regimental headquarters would be returned to Angel Island. One wonders, indeed, that McDowell could not have utilized the island more fully or sent the artillery to Benicia in the first place. On February 17, 1880, orders to move again were received. On March 2 the faithful steamer McPherson tied up at the arsenal wharf to take them to the Bay. 49

The eight years that followed his transfer from Arizona were for August Kautz a period of professional idleness. Although he was a colonel of a regiment, it was scattered from San Diego to Camp Halleck, Nevada; and from

47. Ibid.

48. She apparently returned to Cincinnati on, or shortly after May 31. Diary, 1879.

49. Diary, 1880. See Secretary of War Report, 1880, 177f.
Camp Gaston, California, to New Mexico. He never gave an order to so much as a platoon of his troops. He was the senior field officer of the line in the Department of California, but the headquarters at the Presidio of San Francisco administered both the department and the Division of the Pacific. Nor did he serve on the commanding general's staff. Too far from Washington, he was never called to serve on army boards. It was true he commanded two posts in succession, and Benicia Barracks had been for a short time the marshalling point for Indian country expeditions, but Angel Island was as remote from military affairs as Irkutsk.

Part of Kautz' inactivity may be laid to his contentious nature, which had caused his relief from command in Arizona. Nevertheless, San Francisco was full of admirers and old friends, including two commanding generals who would readily admit his ability. McDowell had staunchly defended Kautz to the last in Arizona matters and continued to treat him with respect after assignment to California. When McDowell retired in October of 1882, General Schofield returned to California and Kautz noted that the old man treated him with more deference than had McDowell, who had ruffled Kautz by constantly interfering with the administration of Angel
Island. Only in the last three years was the commanding general in the least way hostile, for in 1883 querrulous John Pope replaced Schofield. This mattered little, for the Kautzes were out of the country for nearly the first year of Pope's command, and Pope seemed to have mellowed his former dislike for Kautz, even supporting his bid for promotion in 1886.

The principal cause for the seeming waste of Kautz' talent was the anomalous character of regimental command in the nineteenth century. As early as 1861, Secretary of War Stanton had perceived that the system of administration by regiments was outmoded and had advocated the battalion system on the French plan. After the war the dispersal of the army throughout the West practically destroyed all need for the regimental structure, but it persisted due to Congressional apathy. By 1880 the real field commanders were the heads of departments and districts, and the commanders of military posts within the geographic commands. Thus no regimental commander exercised his nominal function and many were

50. Diary, 1878-82, passim. When, in September of 1878, McDowell called for detailed estimates for repair and construction at Benicia, then disapproved the whole program, Kautz remarked that he was "the most successful disorganizer I ever knew."

51. Diary, 1886.

superannuated or absent with sick leave. The colonel of a regiment, such as Kautz, was little more than commander of his post. In small matters of promotion within the companies, of assignment to regimental staff duties, and of selection for special assignment outside the military division, Kautz still exercised some authority. There were, of course, endless courts-martial, boards of survey, and inspections to attend, and Kautz spent a good deal of time traveling to such places as Camps McDermitt and Bidwell or even to Omaha. The inevitable conservatism of soldiers, and the reluctance to do away with forty-five colonels' positions, sanctioned the retention of the old regimental system until 1917.

Angel Island, a beautiful lump of cretaceous sandstone that faced the Golden Gate, was only a mile square, with barracks for four companies and quarters for twelve officers. After their return in 1880, the Kautzes reoccupied the spacious two-story commanding officer's house on Point Louise, which they laboriously refitted with the carpets and furniture that had been shipped to and

53. Until 1898 there were 25 infantry, 10 cavalry, and 5 artillery regiments, with 40 colonels. In that year two more artillery regiments were created. Three years later the artillery units were consolidated into a corps with 14 colonels, but the infantry and cavalry were increased by five regiments each. Thus until World War I there were 45 regimental colonels. Heitman, II, 620-22.
fro since 1877. A small second-floor room the colonel turned into a library and study and another room he made into a workshop where he set up his lathe. Later, he built a miniature refractory furnace in which to assay ore. Fannie decorated the drawing room in exquisite Victorian style. Nearby were tennis courts and the stable held horses for pleasure rides. A government steamer provided daily mail and irregular passenger service, and a launch was kept for emergencies.\(^{54}\)

Martha Summerhayes, who arrived in the summer of 1880, has left a rapturous description of Angel Island life. She was perhaps overawed by the setting after Ehrenberg and Camp McDermitt, but she thoroughly enjoyed the gay receptions, the band concerts, the colorful dress parades. She also became Fannie's close friend, and Mrs. Kautz helped her read the German literary classics, a taste for which Martha had developed while spending the year of 1871 in Hanover. "Mrs. Kautz, so brilliant and gay," she averred, "held grand court" at Angel Island.\(^{55}\)

On July 14, 1880, another girl was born to the Kautzes. They named her Navarra and, despite Fannie's difficult delivery and long postnatal illness, the child

\(^{54}\) Pacific Posts, 72-74.

\(^{55}\) Summerhayes, 182.
grew strong, healthy, and alert. The Christmases on Angel Island and the excursions with the children to San Francisco became the happiest interludes in the aging warrior's life. All of them rode horses, even Navarra in time, and Austin and Frankie had private tutors and a French governess who taught them the language. The Negro nurse, Pauline, who had brought her mother to live with them, instilled the obedience and respect in the children that their father desired. He, indeed, confessed his inability to handle all the children together when Fannie would leave for her frequent shopping tours of the city. Polly jealously guarded her ascendence over the little ones and protested sending Austin to a school in the city.56

To August's disgust, his home was "nearly as much annoyed with visitors" on the island as they were in Arizona. Once, while he visited in the city, Fannie received Michael Goldwater, the Prescott merchant, with eight friends. In 1882, Fannie's mother made an extended visit. General McDowell liked to show his visiting dignitaries the post as well.57 But Martha Summerhayes remembered best the visit of the actor, Friedrich Haase,

56. *Diary, 1880-86, passim.*
whom Martha, Fannie, and the colonel watched at the
German theater in San Francisco. Haase was from the
Royal Theatre of Berlin. "We never missed a performance,"
recalled Martha

and when his tour was over, Mrs. Kautz gave a lawn
party . . . for him and a few members of his
company. It was charming. I well remember how
the sun shone that day, and, as we strolled up
from the boat with them, Frau Haase stopped,
looked at the blue sky, the lovely clouds, the
green slopes of the Island and said: "Mein
Gott! . . . Warum haben Sie uns nicht gesagt, Sie
wohnten im Paradies!"58

Kautz might have used his time for literary pursuits.
He read a great deal, and made notes, but he reproached
himself for not finishing his projected memoir of the Great
Rebellion. In 1884 he purchased the latest novelty of the
age, a "type-writer." When he was free of callers, and
could resist some invitation to spend an evening in the
city, he frequently rode about the island or climbed
Mount Ida, the 820-foot central hill. If he chose to walk
around the island it required but two hours and there were
caves and inlets to explore with the children. In the
rainy season, he spent long hours in the woodshop.59

58. Summerhayes, 184.

59. Diary, 1880-86, passim. Kautz noted that his
typewriter was "a source of recreation" and he took great
pleasure in writing all his letters on it, both official
and personal. The remainder of this chapter is based on
ibid.
Despite frequent exercise and improved diet, Kautz continued to suffer migraine headaches and dyspepsia. He wore glasses for all close work and he fretted about his weight, now over 180 pounds. At one time he tried a diet of raw oysters and lean ham. He periodically gave up smoking and practically ceased to take all alcoholic drinks. "It seems to be necessary," he worried, "to help nature all the time with some sort of medicine." He tried a series of patent-medicine remedies, had the doctors prescribe, and always came back to the old stand-by, quinine, which he had been taking since the days in the Northwest. Reading in his diary of the succession of "liver invigorators" and tonics, one wonders that his constitution was strong enough to withstand the medication.

Neither did Colonel Kautz' finances prosper at Angel Island. The Murchie and Rowe mines were a bottomless pit that yielded only further assessments. By January, 1881, Kautz had put $2,500 in the Rowe Mine, and he had induced his brother-in-law, Colonel Markbreit, to invest $1,500. The enterprise appeared to be a complete failure, and Kautz felt morally responsible to make good his friend's investment in the next two years.

In the second month of 1883, the Kautzes at last realized their long ambition to see Europe. Fannie was the main engineer of the grand tour and had talked of little
else since 1879 when her husband had consented to go. For the next few years, he regarded his finances as woefully inadequate. With an improved national economic picture, however, his investments in land, in railroads, and in Markbreit's newspaper restored his confidence. They saved and—within Fannie's small ability—economized their household. General Schofield readily granted a leave after New Year's of 1883 and on February 20 the entire Kautz household departed for the East. They took ship at New York in the spring and sailed to Bremerhaven, Germany, to be gone "beyond the sea" for six months.  

60. Among others, his lots in Prescott increased in value from $250 to $270, 1881-83. Yavapai County Tax Rolls, 1881, 1882, 1883 (Recorder's Office, Prescott).  

61. Officers needed permission of the Adjutant General to travel abroad; the order is in Kautz Papers.
CHAPTER XV

BACK TO OLD ARIZONA AGAIN

Oh, it's old Arizona again,
It's old Arizona again;
With its greasers and bad, bad men.
They don't know the Boston dip,
But they shoot you from the hip,
Down in old Arizona again.

—Old 4th Cavalry Song

When Kautz resumed command of Angel Island on
November 20, 1883,1 he learned that General Crook had once
again pacified the Apache Indians of Arizona. In March of
that year, Chato and some other very bad Chiricahua Apaches
had crossed from Mexico into Arizona and New Mexico to
murder and plunder. Guided by a disaffected Chiricahua,
Crook and two companies of cavalry had pursued the renegades
into the Sierra Madre in May. Defeating them once, and
penning them up within their mountain hideout with Mexican
troops all around, Crook had induced Chato, Geronimo, Loco,
and the other head men of the Chiricahuas to surrender. By

1. Edward A. Dolph, "Sound Off!" Soldier Songs
from the Revolution to World War II (New York, 1942), 552.

2. Diary, 1883.
June 24 the outlaws who had laid Sonora waste and lately terrorized the Arizona border were again domiciled at San Carlos. Crook had performed the incredible feat of subduing of worst Indians in the Southwest only eight months after he had taken command of the Arizona department from General Willcox.  

The history of this episode must have interested Kautz more than his off-hand diary notations would reveal. Not only was Crook his closest friend, but the 8th Infantry had been to some extent engaged in Arizona's Indian problem for the past two years. It will be recalled that in the winter of 1877-78 the escaped Warm Springs Indians of Victorio had been punished by the 6th Cavalry, and they had been sent in November to their old reserve at Ojo Caliente to await a decision on their final disposition. They refused absolutely to move to San Carlos and about eighty escaped, only to seek asylum in December at the Mescalero agency on the Tularosa River. In February, 1878, Victorio himself surrendered with his personal band at Ojo Caliente. The stage was set for a possible peaceful settlement of the Chiricahua trouble, but the Warm Springs people reiterated that they would rather die than go to


4. See above, Ch. XI, p. 501f.
San Carlos. They also refused to live among the Mescaleros. They wished to remain at Ojo Caliente, a reservation the Interior Department had officially abandoned and was unwilling to reopen.\(^5\)

Willcox had succeeded Kautz in March of 1878 after Lieutenant Rucker had defeated a large part of the Southern Chiricahuas led by Juh and Nolgee.\(^6\) Many more Apaches were roaming northern Mexico. In April still other Southern tribesmen, including Geronimo, Ponce, and Francisco, ran from San Carlos to join the renegades in Mexico. Simultaneously, it was announced to the Warm Springs Indians at Ojo Caliente that they were to be taken to join their brethren on the Mescalero Reservation. Victorio and his band once more fled but they finally surrendered at the Mescalero agency in June. Peace with these reluctant warriors was still possible, but in November the Warm Springs Indians still at Ojo Caliente, something over 160 of them, were forced to go onto the San Carlos reserve. Although the army, with the aid of railroad and telegraph, had up until now kept the territories fairly safe from raids, the badly used people of Loco and Victorio were acutely conscious of the white man's

\(^5\) Dunn, *Massacres of the Mountains*, 638f.

\(^6\) See above, Ch. XII, pp. 513-15.
duplicit. The dissident Chiricahua in old Mexico were well armed and occasionally ventured into the United States to plunder or to secure reinforcements from the San Carlos and Mescalero Reservations.

Victorio's stay at Mescalero was short. When it seemed that civil authorities of Grant County were about to arrest him and other members of his band, his people declared unremitting war, bolted from the agency, and commenced a bloody raid through New Mexico and Arizona until the troops chased them into Old Mexico. In September, 1879, Victorio returned to New Mexico, convinced about two hundred Mescaleros to join him, and depredated in that territory until April of the following year.

In April of 1879, the 6th Cavalry in Arizona was joined by its new colonel, Eugene Asa Carr. The territory was peaceful, though the people watched events in New Mexico anxiously. In April, 1880, the 9th Cavalry of Colonel Edward Hatch launched a major campaign to drive out Victorio. The renegades were pushed into Arizona where Carr's troopers turned them into Old Mexico once again. Subsequently, the Apaches killed nearly a hundred

people in northern Mexico. Meantime, in January of 1880, Juh and Geronimo came voluntarily to the San Carlos agency with over a hundred Chiricahuas, after being induced to surrender by Tom Jeffords. They did not leave again until 1882, although many of their kinsmen continued to raid from Mexico in alliance with the Warm Springs Indians.

After Kautz had left Arizona, Willcox had exaggerated some trouble with the Chimihuevi Indians into a "war," which he quickly suppressed, and he curried favor with inhabitants of southern Arizona by "cleaning up" the border. In truth, the expedition of Carr in April, 1880, was the only major action in that quarter. Then in October of 1881 Willcox suddenly found himself with a full-scale revolt on his hands. The Interior Department's agent at San Carlos, J. C. Tiffany, had cheated and stirred up the Indians. They turned for leadership to a medicine man who was called Nakaidoklini, and in August the "ghost dance" fervor reached such alarming extent that Carr was sent to arrest him. Carr ascended Cibicue Creek at the end of August with two companies of cavalry and a company of

8. Dunn, Massacres of the Mountains, 640.
10. Secretary of War Report, 1880, 206-208. Indian War Engagements, 88f. See above, Ch. XIV, n. 32.
Indian scouts. Carr was attacked on August 30, the scouts mutinied, and the troops were forced to retreat to Fort Apache. The matter was not so serious that a show of force and a dose of diplomacy could not have cured it. Willcox, however, took fright and called for reinforcements. In September, Kautz was instructed to send, among other troops, seven companies of the 8th Infantry to Arizona.

By December 20, all but one of the 8th Infantry companies, none of whom had seen combat, had returned to their former stations. The trouble was not over, however, for in April of 1882 the Chiricahua bands of Juh, Geronimo, and Nachez, a son of Cochise, made a general exodus from San Carlos. When it became clear that an ordinary campaign such as might be conducted in the Pacific Northwest would not subdue the Apaches, and that most of the trouble was due to mismanagement by the Indian Bureau, General Sherman decided to send Crook back to Arizona. The 12th Infantry and its colonel, Orlando B. Willcox, had been four years in Arizona and it was convenient to transfer them to the East, so that Crook would have a clear field. This

11. Yorktown to Santiago, 210-22.
12. Secretary of War Report, 1881, 137f.
occurred in September.\textsuperscript{14} The 12th's place in Arizona was taken by the 1st Infantry from Texas.\textsuperscript{15}

Crook immediately restored order and honesty to the Indian administration, and he gradually convinced the Apaches at San Carlos that they would be fairly treated so long as they kept the peace. Military officers took charge. When Chato, who had never surrendered, invaded the States in March of 1883 with about fifty warriors, Crook was ready to turn his attention toward Mexico. The campaign in the Mexican Sierra Madre ensued, which Kautz learned of upon his return to America. All of the renegades were brought back except Juh's band.\textsuperscript{16}

For two more years, Geronimo, who was gaining a wide reputation, and Chato, with all the other renegades including Juh's band who had surrendered later in 1883, behaved well. It was hoped that under military management the Apache question would be settled for all time. Yet once more, in May of 1885, Geronimo and Nachez fled the San Carlos reserve with a small band of Chiricahua braves. The Indians were not blameless and Crook never forgot that these desert savages were the fiercest men on the continent.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{14} Crook Autobiography, 243.
\item \textsuperscript{15} Army of the U.S., 412.
\item \textsuperscript{16} Bourke, An Apache Campaign in the Sierra Madre, 17-26, 56ff.
\end{itemize}
But had his firm control of the reservation not been disputed and sabotaged by the Interior Department, the last Indian war probably would never have occurred. Another incident that proved unfortunate for Crook was the change in higher command. William T. Sherman, who unquestioningly had supported Crook, was succeeded upon retirement in 1883 by Phil Sheridan. Sheridan seems not to have possessed the patience and detachment of Sherman where Indian affairs were concerned.

Although Geronimo's band numbered scarcely thirty-five men, the pursuit and capture of them was to occupy a third of the army and to require one year. It was the last real Indian campaign in which the army engaged, and it was the cause of the 8th Infantry's dispatch to Arizona for the third time. Until 1886 the campaign did not involve the 8th, and although Kautz followed events with keen interest in the newspapers, a recital of the details would serve no purpose here. Crook entered upon the work with

19. A neverending subject of popular interest, the Geronimo War of 1885-86 has evoked many worthwhile accounts. Besides the Crook Autobiography, Bourke is fundamental for Crook's part, and for the brief involvement of Gen. Nelson A. Miles see his Personal Recollections (Chicago, 1897). Essential published works include William H. Carter, The Life of Lieutenant General Adna R. Chaffee (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1917); Thomas Cruse, Apache Days and After (Caldwell,
his usual vigor and soon organized the mule pack-trains and Indian scout companies that were the mainstay of his tactics. The scouts were placed under Captain Emmett Crawford. Crook established his headquarters at Fort Bayard, for he was given overall command of both the Department of Arizona and of the District of New Mexico. Shortly he moved his headquarters to Fort Bowie.

In January, 1886, Crawford was killed in Mexico during an encounter with Mexican militia, who claimed they mistook the scouts for hostiles. He was succeeded by Lieutenant Marion P. Maus who, in March, arranged to bring the Chiricahuas to Cañon de los Embudos for a parley. On March 27 the renegades surrendered on condition that they would not be handed over to civilian courts but would be exiled for two years in Florida. As Crook was returning to Fort Bowie on the 30th, however, Geronimo and Nachez bolted with twenty men and thirteen squaws. They were drunk with whisky given to them on the previous night by one Tribollet, a white trader whose name surely should go upon the blackest page of Southwestern history. As consequence, Sheridan refused to support Crook any further in his


methods and Crook asked to be relieved on April 2. He was replaced by the servant of the Republic, Brigadier General Nelson Appleton Miles.

Meanwhile, Kautz had been glad to send a battalion of his regiment in January to help his old comrade Crook. The "gray wolf" put his trust in Indian scouts and in shrewd young officers to do the guerrilla fighting in the sierras, but infantry were essential for such tasks as guarding the roads and waterholes, repairing the telegraph lines, providing outposts and guards, and doing the myriad tasks that back up a campaign. The seven companies were under command of the regiment's new lieutenant colonel, Montgomery Bryant, who had replaced Wilkins in June, 1882. Headquarters of the battalion was at Bowie Station on the railroad that had crossed southeastern Arizona in 1883.21

While the younger officers, however, were making their mark in Arizona, their colonel had his sights on a general's star. Early in 1886, Kautz heard that vacancies for two brigadier generals were to be opened by the promotion of O. O. Howard and A. H. Terry to major-generals.22


22. Diary, 1186.
Only three colonels were senior in service to Kautz\textsuperscript{23} and he reckoned that his qualifications were as good as theirs. Encouraged by his friends at division headquarters, Kautz decided to take political measures that were, for him, unprecedented; he would go to Washington and lobby in his own behalf. He departed Angel Island on February 26 and arrived in the Capital six days later. He spent ten days in visiting senators, including Leland Stanford, and in organizing the press corps. He saw President Cleveland and gained the sympathy of Secretary of War William C. Endicott. By the time he had returned to California in April, however, T. H. Huger and J. H. Potter had been confirmed by the Senate. Undaunted, Kautz continued through the summer to encourage such elements of the press as he was familiar with to advocate his candidacy.\textsuperscript{24} He also wrote numerous letters. Brigadier General Potter was due for mandatory retirement on October 12.

In Arizona, the 8th Infantry was increasingly involved in Miles' effort to eradicate the Chiricahua menace. The foot soldiers, sometimes mounted on mules or wagons, performed escort duty and scouted for stray hostiles.

\textsuperscript{23} Thomas H. Huger, Joseph H. Potter, and Orlando B. Willcox.

\textsuperscript{24} Diary, 1886.
In April Company E was selected to escort the Indians captured in Mexico to Florida where they were interned at Fort Marion.\textsuperscript{25} In May Company D aided the pursuit of Geronimo and Natchez, and the regiment's chronicler observed that the "men on this march were . . . completely worn out, barefoot and almost destitute of clothing," and that afterward eight men required medical treatment at Fort Huachuca.\textsuperscript{26} Miles, who constantly worried about his rear as if Geronimo were Jeb Stuart, placed some of the 8th along the railroad to guard against Indians holding up a train. He also tried a signalling innovation from British India, the heliograph or heliostat, and utilized infantrymen to man the stations.\textsuperscript{27}

It was decided prior to April 19 that the 8th Infantry would ultimately be transferred to Miles' command, but not until June of 1886 were orders issued assigning the entire regiment to posts within the Department of Arizona. Kautz received instructions to remove his headquarters and two companies, F. and H, to Fort Lowell, near Tucson.\textsuperscript{28}

\begin{itemize}
\item 25. Richard H. Wilson, "The Eighth Regiment of Infantry," in \textit{Army of the U.S.}, 524.\textsuperscript{25}
\item 26. Ibid. Wilson served in the regiment 1877-1901 and was the adjutant 1891-94. Heltman, I, 1048.\textsuperscript{26}
\item 27. Heliograph operators of the 8th Infantry are listed in Field Order No. 101, Dept. of Arizona, Oct. 7, 1886.\textsuperscript{27}
\item 28. Diary, 1886. Field Order No. 31, Dept. of Arizona, April 9, 1886.\textsuperscript{28}
\end{itemize}
On the eve of his departure from Angel Island, August V. Kautz was fifty-eight years old, a graying, portly, veteran of two major wars and too many political controversies. He had commanded his regiment for twelve years and Angel Island for five. Although promotion might come, and with it command of another department, he knew he had less than six years to serve before statutory retirement. As his family and a handful of other officers boarded trains at San Francisco, his major concerns were to make the coming stay in southern Arizona as pleasant as possible with a minimum of household goods and to provide his children with a semblance of home and education. Austin was thirteen and his schooling had been up to now fortunately quite thorough. Frankie was ten and would need more gentle company than they were likely to find in Arizona. 29 If they stayed long at Fort Lowell, Navarra also would need education and Kautz doubtless wondered if the predominantly Mexican community of Tucson had as yet a public school. With economy his colonel's pay and numerous investments might allow the children to go east for their higher education, and already Kautz planned to send his

29. Austin attended the public school in San Francisco and Frankie boarded at the academy of Madame Zeitska, returning home on Saturdays. Diary, 1885. The "Zeitska Institute" at 922 Post St. was noted in the Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1885-'86 (Washington, 1887), 418.
son to either West Point or Annapolis. Fannie, still in her thirties, probably dreaded a sojourn in Arizona, but on the hot, monotonous trip across the California desert she resolved to preserve her social and cultural ascendancy in whatever military circle they were entering.

On the morning of July 7, 1886, the Southern Pacific cars stopped long enough in Casa Grande for the troops to get coffee. The train arrived at Tucson about ten o'clock, where they were met by First Lieutenant (Brevet Major) Louis Philip Brant of the 1st Infantry who temporarily commanded Fort Lowell. He was the post quartermaster, and he had brought transportation to take out the enlisted men and the baggage. Colonel Kautz rode out with Brant to look over the post and to sign the order by which he assumed command. 30

When Kautz returned to town, he found his family ensconced at one of Tucson's better hotels which, however scarcely deserved the name "Palace". That evening the Kautzes received calls from such leading citizens as Wheeler W. Williams, 31 the Zeckendorfs, 32 and Mr. Jerome

30. Diary, 1886. The remainder of this chapter is drawn chiefly from Kautz' journal for the months of July through November, 1886, which is the only known account of daily life at old Fort Lowell.

31. Williams was Dr. Lord's partner in the firm of Lord & Williams. See above, Ch. IX, n. 4.

32. William Zeckendorf (1842-1906) was a younger brother of the pioneer Santa Fe merchants, Aaron and Louis,
from New York who was visiting William Zeckendorf.33 There were also a number of territorial officials at the hotel. Next morning the colonel took his family to the army post on Rillito Creek, an easy seven mile trip by ambulance.

The road led toward Leopoldo Carrillo’s ranch and the brown Cebadilla Hills. Away to the east, on the Kautzes’ right, loomed the purple peaks of the Rincon Mountains; and the rugged precipices of the Santa Catalina Mountains dominated the whole northern horizon. Where the

who opened a store at Tucson in 1867. All were German emigrants, William having received a good education in Hameln, state of Hanover, before removing to New York in 1856. William followed his brothers to New Mexico where he joined the Union army at the outbreak of the Civil War. In 1869 he came to Arizona and soon after opened a general mercantile trade with Theodore Welisch. In 1873 he left Welisch to join brother Louis in what became the largest general trading firm in the territory, L. Zeckendorf & Co. William quit the company in 1878 to form a new business with another German, Z. Staab, who retired two years later. The Tucson store of William Zeckendorf failed in 1883, but he weathered the financial crisis and branched into mining and New York real estate, the latter eventually to make a family fortune. Louis Zeckendorf left his Arizona company to be managed by his nephew Albert Steinfeld about 1884. William stayed in Tucson where he and his wife were socially prominent. He was active in Democratic politics and had served in the legislature. He retired to New York in 1891. William and Louis Zeckendorf files, Pioneer Biographical Files (A.P.H.S.).

broad, dry Fantano Wash joined the Rillito, Fannie saw for
the first time her new home, a neatly ordered collection
of adobe houses that rose from the cheerless desert with
a single row of magnificent cottonwood trees along
officers' row.

Camp Lowell had been constructed on the Rillito
site in 1873, when Crook had ordered it moved from the
environs of Tucson. Kautz, of course, had visited there
many times while he commanded the department, but in his
time it had been an unimportant station. It had been
designated a "fort" in 1879. The completion of the southern
trans-continental railroad in 1883 and the Geronimo war had
made it a depot and communications center of great value.
"The post," observed Kautz, "is much improved on what it
was when I last saw it," but he recognized many needs for
a place that was to house four companies and a regimental
headquarters.

The fort was laid out on a rectangle, with the
parade in the center and officers' quarters on the south
side. On the north and northeast side were the barracks
and on the east was a new adobe hospital. The office of the
post adjutant and the guardhouse were on the west side by

34. See above, Ch. IX, p. 381.
35. Diary, 1886.
the road to Tucson. Storehouses for the commissary and quartermaster lay on the northwest corner and beyond them were the corrals. Apart from the main post, to the west, was the store of the post trader. As usual at Western camps, a scattering of small shanties for laundresses and married non-commissioned officers had sprung up on the east side.36

Despite its dreary setting in the desert foothills, Fort Lowell had, by 1886, taken the look of a vast garden because of the abundant water channeled through the acequia. To obtain pure water for drinking, wells had been sunk and one was worked by a steampump. The gardens provided vegetables and the women had planted flowers and shrubbery. The cottonwoods that fronted the officers' quarters were tall and leafy. Outside the post, however, the desert rolled away toward the Santa Cruz River. Cholla, prickly pear, and the lordly saguaro cactuses covered the ground, and through that thorny growth wound the road to Tucson. There, in less than eighty years, a city of over two hundred thousand people would arise. Yet the town, in the year when Kautz knew it best, had only about five thousand inhabitants.

36. Peterson, "Fort Lowell," plan on p. 13. The next paragraph is drawn from this source, passim.
The Kautzes were fortunate in being able to move directly into the commanding officer's house, vacant since Captain John William Martin, 4th Cavalry, had departed in April. Their new home was a large, square adobe structure with a high ceiling and a dirt roof. The floor was stoutly planked. The corner rooms had deep fireplaces and pot-bellied stoves heated the others. Long central halls connected the wide doorways on each side and thus caught the breeze from any direction. Broad porches ran along the front and two sides—"piazzas" as Martha Summerhayes romantically called them. Behind the house, which was in line with six other similar structures, was a smaller adobe building that was used for cooking and servant quarters.

Pauline improvised a kitchen with borrowed utensils and they obtained bunks from the hospital for sleeping until the household goods should arrive. On the next day, the colonel was ready to receive the courtesy calls demanded by custom, and that evening they were serenaded by the 8th

37. This was the center dwelling on officers row, flanked on each side by three almost identical houses. The site is now within a Pima County recreation park. In 1963 the building was reconstructed from original plans and it houses a military museum with rooms furnished after the style of the 1880's.

38. Return for April, 1886, in Returns, Fort Lowell.

39. Summerhayes, 188.
Infantry band. There were as yet no other ladies at the post than Mrs. Kautz and the wives of the post trader, Frederick L. Austin, and the chaplain, Joseph A. Potter. Five days later, on July 14, the families of Captain Wells and Captain Summerhayes arrived.  

Colonel Bryant and his command was still at Bowie Station with five companies of the 8th. Company I from California was ordered directly into the field and joined Captain Henry Ware Lawton’s command on the Fronteras River in Sonora. Lawton already had with him detachments from Companies D and K under Captain Worth. Company C, which for a time had occupied a camp at Davenport’s ranch in New Mexico, had been withdrawn, first, to the camp at Bowie Station; then, in June, it had been sent to Fort Mojave under command of Captain A. W. Corliss. Company A continued its duties on the railroad under Captain Whitney. In July the entire regiment was assigned to posts or was serving “in the field” so that the 1st Infantry could then be sent to California. Why Sheridan thought it necessary
to exchange the regiments is obscure, since he also ordered the 9th Infantry to join General Miles at this time.\footnote{42}

In addition to his headquarters, the band, and two companies, Kautz had at Fort Lowell two troops of the 4th Cavalry regularly assigned. As the campaign wore on, numerous detachments, casual officers, and entire troops of the 2nd and 4th Cavalry arrived and departed. The four barracks were inadequate and troops frequently camped by the post trader's store. Excess officers might stay in Tucson and non-coms slept in their offices. While the post served primarily as a supply depot, the town also had quarter-master corrals and a paymaster. When Kautz took command in July, the nominally "four-company" post housed nearly two hundred officers and men. In September he had to administer nearly three hundred.\footnote{43}

Fort Lowell's principal connection with the campaign had been to serve as a cavalry remount depot and as a distribution point for supplies that arrived by rail. Tired troops of horsemen were constantly arriving and departing. The officers of these little groups, who were doing the real fighting in the field, often visited Kautz.

\footnote{Army of the U.S., 529f.}

\footnote{Troops A and M, 4th Cavalry, were regularly assigned. Troops A and K, 2nd Cavalry, were assigned in September making an aggregate strength of 287. Returns, Fort Lowell.}
and informed him of events. Kautz was especially impressed when he met Lieutenant Powhatan H. Clarke, 10th Cavalry, whose bravery in this campaign was rewarded with a Medal of Honor many years later. 44 Officially, however, the post was far removed from the bloody business. The pathetic efforts of some local militia units were nevertheless reported in glowing terms by the papers. Kautz knew them for what they were truly worth. On August 28 he noted the arrival at the fort of "Capt. [Robert N.] Leatherwood with a detachment of volunteer scouts." They were, he observed, mostly Mexicans from outlying areas who were said to know the mountain haunts of the Apaches but who had had little success in finding the enemy. Kautz doubtless remembered Governor Safford's puny efforts to raise a militia force in 1877. Leatherwood's "rangers" were brought to Lowell to be discharged after three months in the country around Arivaca and Oro Blanco. They had, of course, never laid eyes on an Indian. 45 "They were a little disorderly," Kautz observed, "at least a portion of them that passed through town and got too much whiskey."

44. Diary, 1886. American Decorations, 19. Clarke brought Leatherwood's Rangers in from the field. See below.

Some had to be confined in the guardhouse. "They . . . have only been employed," he wrote, "as a sop to the disaffected people of the Territory."46

In the Tucson of 1886, a brevet major general who controlled the town's principal economic asset, as well as the Territory's best brass band, was certain to be a figure of immense importance. Fannie Kautz intended to reap as much social distinction as possible from the fact of her husband's status. Kautz, for his part, was not socially ambitious. If left alone he probably would have confined himself to the small society of the fort. Nevertheless, the Kautzes soon became acquainted with the better class of citizens in "the old pueblo."

They found the little city very much divided socially, between the Zeckendorfs and the family and friends of Edward Nye Fish. William Zeckendorf, a native of Germany, ran a mercantile business in addition to his management of large mining claims with New York capital. Fish, on the other hand, was a middle-aged merchant from Massachusetts who owned the local flouring mill.47 The

46. Diary, 1886.

47. See n. 32 above. Fish (1827-1914) had been a Forty-Niner and had opened a store in Sacramento. In 1865 he brought goods to Arizona and opened stores at Calabasas and Florence. His general mercantile firm, E. N. Fish & Co., was founded in Tucson in 1867. He was a big supplier of government contracts. In 1874 he purchased the flouring mill of James Lee, later the Eagle Milling Co. His second
Fishes represented the more Puritan aspects of encroaching Anglo culture. Kautz noted that they were "professors of religion and antagonistic to sports and amusements such as the Fiesta, and they left the impression on my wife's mind that they did not approve of her... visiting" a Mexican celebration then in progress. Allied with the Fishes were Major Brant of Fort Lowell; the local banker, Baron Jacobs; the family of Jacob S. Mansfeld; and the family of A. S. White, owner of the new brick yard.

Major Brant at first tried to establish Mrs. White through Mrs. Kautz. Fannie, however, soon found the liberal views of the Zeckendorfs and their friends more congenial. Among the latter were the family of E. B. Pomroy, a lawyer who had defended several soldiers at Kautz' request in 1877. Other friends of the Zeckendorfs were Albert Steinfeld and Lewis Wolfley. Among them all, Kautz tried to steer a middle course and he largely succeeded, letting Fannie derive as much pleasure as she

wife, whom he married in 1874, was Maria W. Wakefield, a pioneer schoolteacher. They had three children. Fish was a Unitarian, a school trustee, a county commissioner, and a prominent Mason. Fish File, Pioneer Biographical Files (A.P.H.S.).

48. Diary, 1886.

could. For instance, in October of 1886, the Zeckendorfs held a Keno party in celebration of their eleventh wedding anniversary. Fannie fretted to go but August remained at his desk trying to catch up his paper work. William Zeckendorf sent word that his party was very much hurt by the non-attendance of the Kautzes. "I can't help it," the colonel responded; "I can't accomplish any work if I go to all these amusements that the ladies see fit to get up." Then, too, the children of the Fishes were always as welcome at the Kautz quarters as were the little Pomroys. The colonel's closest military friends, Major Wilhelm and Major Earnest, also took but slight notice of Tucson society.

The Kautzes and the Wilhelms shared a carriage and the colonel also had a spring wagon which he christened "Apache." These they used on the frequent trips to town. Kautz most enjoyed the informal visits, as when he and Fannie drove in to call on the Zeckendorfs unexpectedly and were "entertained with some lemon Waterice and some beer and cigars." Among the elite of Tucson whom Kautz knew was Lewis Wolfley. He had been an officer during the Civil War in the 3rd Kentucky Cavalry. Kautz discovered

50. Diary, 1886.
51. Ibid.
that Wolfley had participated with him in the pursuit of
the Confederate raider, John Hunt Morgan. Wolfley was now
a merchant in Tucson and in 1889 would be appointed the
eighth territorial governor.52

Picnics and camping were the favorite summertime
diversion of the Fort Lowell officers. Sabino Canyon,
with a refreshing creek that sometimes ran among lush
treecrowth, lay close within the military reservation, but
they would travel most of a day to other spots to camp.
Kautz also enjoyed a solitary horseback ride and, as he
had done at Fort Whipple, he spent many hours searching
for Indian ruins and artifacts.

In September, 1886, the officers and their families
went on a trip into the low pass between the Catalina and
Rincon mountains where the road went to Redington. The
Wilhelms and the Summerhayeses, and some others, accompanied
the Kautzes. Most of the men rode horseback, but the ladies
and children took "Apache" and two ambulances. Three months
before, Doctor Clinton H. Davis had been murdered on this
road by Indians,53 and Kautz described the scene:

52. Wolfley's career is sketched by Effie R. Keen,
(Oct. 1930), 11f. See also Heitman, II, 163; and O.R.,
Vol. 23, pt. 1, 641.

53. Davis had been ambushed by about eight Apaches
while he stopped for water in Youtcy Canyon on June 3.
Citizen, June 4, 1886.
Maj. Wilhelm accompanied my wife and I . . . to the point where Dr. Davis was found killed by the Apaches . . . We went about three miles east of our camp . . . Mrs. K. made an oil sketch of the site and I made a pencil sketch. The locality is at the entrance to the canon on the east side of the range where the Indians were able to see the Dr. for several miles on the road. The scene is a wild one and would make a fine sketch if well executed.  

In October the families made a camping trip to see the mission church of San Xavier, a magnificent Franciscan structure built in the eighteenth century which stands nine miles south of Tucson. They camped a half-mile south of the mission in a cool mesquite grove, away from the squalid Papago Indian village which surrounded the old church. Fannie made an oil painting of the mission, the colonel sketched it from a nearby hill, and Major Wilhelm, an ardent photographer, made a wet plate photo.  

Although it was but seven miles from Tucson, Fort Lowell maintained its own social life. In the autumn the stellar attraction was the first "hop" given at the improvised club, presumably in Post Trader Austin's commodious quarters. On the evening of September 23, everyone from the post who could leave his duty—enlisted men as well as officers—and numerous civilians attended. "We all went  

54. Diary, 1886.  
55. Ibid. See Summerhayes, 189f.
down between eight and nine o'clock and staid [sic] until after twelve," noted Kautz, "and we had a very pleasant time, for the affair was well attended by all the best people in town and passed off without any unpleasantness."\(^56\)

For Kautz, who drank little and demanded propriety in his junior officers, it was a decorous affair. He observed, nonetheless, that, "From various indications, I am led to the belief that the young gentlemen are indulging in some excesses that remind me of some of my own recollections of the follies of young officers."\(^57\)

Some army posts had organized schools for dependents, though it was not until 1895 that they were provided on a regular basis.\(^58\) Fort Lowell had a soldier identified only as one Delaney who taught the children, and he must have been an excellent teacher or else Kautz thought the Tucson school to be too far away. At any rate, Delany gave the oldest Kautz children lessons and they liked him very much.\(^59\)

Meantime on June 6 in the Mexican sierras, Captain Lawton with a small picked command of Indian scouts and white

---

56. *Diary*, 1886.
57. *Ibid*.
officers had overtaken the little band of Geronimo, now reduced to but twenty grown men and encumbered by women and children. The Apaches lost their food supplies in a brief skirmish though they themselves escaped. Lawton had been in hot pursuit now more than thirty days and ordinary soldiers might have fallen behind, but they kept close to the hostiles until Geronimo was again contacted near the village of Tonababu, Sonora. This time on July 13 the scouts captured the remaining horses of the hostiles and redoubled the pursuit toward the Torres Mountains.

Lawton had abandoned even his pack-train, and all direct communication with Fort Bowie ceased except an occasional courier. What little information that reached General Miles was relayed by telegraph, and Colonel Kautz and others at Arizona posts awaited word of the pursuit deep into Mexico. From the time he arrived at Fort Lowell, Kautz had thought that the end of the campaign was but a matter of days. Finally, on August 30, a dispatch announced that Geronimo had surrendered and was coming into Bowie accompanied by Captain Lawton. The story of Geronimo's final surrender on September 3, of Lieutenant Charles B.

60. Ibid. The announcement was premature, for Geronimo had, on August 25, agreed only to meet Gen. Miles. From then until the 31st Lawton's command was en route to Skeleton Canyon where Miles arrived on September 3. Gatewood, "Surrender of Geronimo," 39-43. See also Robert M. Utley, "The Surrender of Geronimo," Arizoniana, Vol. 4 (Spring 1963), 8.
Gatewood's courageous visit to his camp, and of General Miles' subsequent betrayal of the Indians' trust was possibly never known in full to Kautz. It was certainly not known in the fall of 1886, though Kautz remarked in his diary that there was some little dissatisfaction among officers of the 2nd Cavalry about Lawton hogging the credit for getting Geronimo. As for Phil Sheridan's pre-emptory removal of Crook earlier that year, Kautz never expressed an opinion. He apparently accepted Miles' conduct at face value: the efficient conclusion of a difficult campaign with unlimited resources.

The news of Geronimo's surrender and the government's decision to deport all the Chiricahuas to Florida, including the faithful scouts who had made it possible, was confirmed on September 6. A celebration was held in Tucson and "the citizens ... asked for a gun and the Band to celebrate the event. These were granted them and I went down in the evening with Capt. Summerhayes after dinner and participated in the demonstration and made a few remarks among the number of short speeches." Kautz had never abandoned the hope of promotion in 1886. He kept in touch with Washington friends including

61. Diary, 1886.
his brother Albert, and wrote to such influential people as Carl Schurz and Senator Stanford. The coming retirement of General Potter in October would open another vacancy, and after the Indian troubles were settled Kautz sought the help of the hero of the hour. Miles had gone to Albuquerque from Fort Bowie after the surrender of Geronimo. Kautz ascertained by telegraph that the general did not intend to visit Tucson before going east, and on September 16 he himself took the train for New Mexico. Not only was the coming selection of another brigadier on his mind, but also the question of who would command the Department of Arizona should Miles leave.63

On September 18 at Albuquerque, Kautz had a lengthy and cordial interview with Miles. First of all, the general assured Kautz that he wished for him to succeed to the command of the Arizona department. As for promotions, Miles "did not commit himself about his plans, and I question very much if he knows just what he will do, although he is evidently intent on looking out for Miles first and possibly Kautz next." It was a very uncertain outcome, but Kautz enjoyed the railroad trip through country he had not seen since 1872. In the vicinity of

63. This and the next two paragraphs are based entirely on the Diary, 1886.
Fort Craig, he found that "the route I laid out in 69 and
70 [to Fort Stanton] is the road now used in supplying
the post." Kautz was back at Tucson on September 20. On
October 12, Orlando B. Willcox was promoted to brigadier
general vice Potter. The main obstacle to Kautz' promotion
seems to have been Phil Sheridan, who adamantly refused to
support his old friend's candidacy. As commanding general
of the army, he is presumed to have had the last word with
Secretary Endicott and President Cleveland.

Kautz looked forward at least to a new tour of
duty as department commander, possibly at Fort Grant should
the headquarters be taken from Fort Whipple. Then, on
October 27, the troops at Fort Lowell were electrified by
the news that the 8th Infantry was ordered to the Department
of the Platte. Various indications—newspaper stories,
quartermaster inquiries for transportation needs, and just
plain rumor—tended to show that the decision was taken
deliberately and secretly in Washington. Kautz was justified
in his opinion that his regiment and himself had been
severely imposed on. The station designated for 8th
Infantry headquarters was Fort Niobrara, Nebraska, a remote
outpost recently established to help control the Sioux
Reservation.

Martha Summerhayes recalled the near hysteria among
the ladies at Lowell who had so lately moved their possessions
and followed their husbands to Arizona, presumably for a
two or three year stay. They were simply "appalled."

"We did not even know," she confessed, "where Fort Niobrara
was." Therefore, on the night that the orders came,

We all rushed into Major Wilhelm's quarters, for
he always knew everything. We (Mrs. Kautz and
several of the other ladies . . .) were in a state
of tremendous excitement. We pounded on Major
Wilhelm's door and we heard a faint voice from his
bedroom (for it was after ten o'clock); then we
waited a few moments and he said, "Come in."

We opened the door, but there being no
light . . . we could not see him. A voice said:
"What in the name of . . ." but we did not wait
for him to finish; we all shouted: "Where is Fort
Niobrara?" "The Devil!" he said. "Are we ordered
there?" "Yes, yes," we cried; "where is it?"
"Why, girls," he said, relapsing into his customary
moderate tones, "It's a hell of a freezing cold
place, away up north in Nebraska."64

For August V. Kautz, his Southwestern career was
closing. He confided to his diary that he would make the
best of a bad situation. Before he was to leave in
November, he was visited by Miles who was traveling by
rail from Los Angeles to Washington. Promotion and assign-
ment were put out of mind and Miles himself was hurt by
Sheridan's criticism of the Geronimo surrender. Sheridan,
who was famous for his remark that only dead Indians were
good Indians, considered even the concession of the
renegade's life a mistake. He refused to support Miles'

64. Summerhayes, 190.
ambitions for rank and kept the conquering hero in command of Arizona for two more years.65

On the morning of November 9, the Kautzes and Major Wilhelm met General Miles at the railroad depot in Tucson. The party went to breakfast at the town's best restaurant, the Maison Dore. Afterward a reception was arranged for Miles at the fort, "and due notice was given the people in town requesting all who desired to meet him" to attend. The reception was to be held at the post because apparently Fannie Kautz feared the Jacobs family would "get hold of the Gen. first, and appropriate him" to their own social ends. The troops spruced up the barracks and the retreat ceremony that evening turned out smartly. Dinner for the visiting general was held at the Kautzes' quarters and all the regular members of the mess attended. Immediately after dinner, the people began to arrive for the reception, and the evening until after eleven o'clock was spent in receiving and entertaining guests. Kautz had little opportunity to talk with the general and "did not get any news out of him."66

65. His headquarters, however, was transferred to Los Angeles. Miles, Personal Recollections, 533-44.

66. Diary, 1886. The next paragraph also is from this source.
A long Southern Pacific train chuffed slowly to a halt on November 24 at Tucson. In the preceding week, Colonel Kautz had sold his furniture for $103.50, turned the fort over to Major Henry E. Noyes, 4th Cavalry, and moved his family to the San Xavier Hotel on the morning of the 23rd. That evening had been taken up by a farewell gala with a Mexican band and dancing in the hotel dining room. "The party," Kautz suspected, was "gotten up by our friends the Zeckendorfs and Mr. Jerome, Col. Wolfley, Mr. Pomroy and others." On the afternoon of the 24th, as the populace of Tucson watched the 8th Infantry board the cars for Deming, Fannie cried and August looked on the "old pueblo" for the last time. It was a sad farewell and a hard departure.
CHAPTER XVI

"LIKE THE FARMER'S . . . WORN-OUT WAGON"

The 8th Infantry unloaded its baggage from the railroad cars at the small settlement of Valentine, Nebraska, and commenced the four mile shuttle to Fort Niobrara in the first week of December, 1886. The journey itself, though undesired, had been pleasant enough. They had come—six companies of soldiers and laundresses, officers and wives, children and servants—entirely by rail across New Mexico and Kansas to St. Joseph, Missouri; thence by rail up the wide Missouri and across the northern edge of Nebraska. "Valentine," remembered Martha Summerhayes, "was like all frontier towns; a row of stores and saloons."  

It had sprung up on the Sioux City & Pacific R.R. in the spring of 1881, and it would have a population of 1,177 by 1890. The fort, which had been established in April of 1880, was to the east of Valentine

1. Summerhayes, 201.
3. Eleventh Census.
on the south bank of the Niobrara River near the mouth of the Minnechaduza.4

Although Indian resistance had been crushed, and the former Sioux reservations in Nebraska abandoned, the whites still feared an outbreak. Fort Niobrara had been founded to protect settlers and cattlemen from Indians who now resided sullenly on reserves in South Dakota.5 Much of the violence and disorder of the frontier remained. Mrs. Summerhayes related the story of an officer who one day went to Valentine with business at the railway depot. A short distance up the track from the station the lifeless body of a man was seen hanging from a telegraph pole.

"What does that mean?" inquired the officer.

"Why, it means just this," said the station man, "the people who hung that man last night had the nerve to put him right in front of this place, by G—. What would the passengers think of this town, sir, as they went by? Why, the reputation of Valentine would be ruined! Yes, sir, we cut him down and moved him up a pole or two. He was a hard case, though," he added.6

Officers of the 9th Cavalry met the train at Valentine, and soon the families of the 8th Infantry were


5. James C. Olsen, History of Nebraska (Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1955), 146. See also Herbert S. Schell, History of South Dakota (Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1961), 139.

driving in ambulances across the rolling prairies toward the fort. It was a large post with two troops of the 9th Cavalry still there and room besides for the six infantry companies. Lately it had been commanded by Kautz' old wartime comrade of the 6th Cavalry, Brevet Major General James S. Brisbin, now lieutenant colonel of the 9th. Also there was Doctor Lippincott, post surgeon, with whom Kautz had corresponded before the move from Arizona. The cavalry officers took care of the new families until quarters could be reallocated, and the Lippincotts took in the colonel's family.

When first built Fort Niobrara was reputed "one of the most beautiful in the western country." A scarcity of timber on the Plains no doubt dictated the use of adobe bricks for buildings which were "finished in neat and elegant style." A healthy climate and a fine, plentiful water supply from springs made the post doubly attractive. When the 8th Infantry arrived, however, it was nearly winter; and with some scant snow lying on the brown and barren hills, "the place struck a chill" in Martha Summerhayes' heart. "What a contrast was here," she remembered,

8. Diary, 1886.
9. Omaha Herald (as cited above, n. 2).
and what a cruel contrast! With blood thinned down by the enervating summer at Tucson, here we were... Ice and snow and blizzards...
The mercury disappeared at the bottom of the thermometer, and we had nothing to mark any degrees lower than 40 below zero... Enormous box stoves were in every room and in the halls...
Into these, the soldiers stuffed great logs of mountain mahogany, and the fires were kept roaring day and night.10

Outdoor exercise was impossible except when the temperature warmed to only eighteen below zero. "To frappé a bottle of wine," she recalled, "we stood it on the porch; in a few minutes it would pour crystals."11

No exaggeration need be ascribed to this account, abundantly corroborated by Kautz' diary, for this winter was the most severe on the Plains in the memory of man. The frost and snow had come early, then relented in February of 1887, only to return with double fury. The vast, unfed herds of beef cattle—many of them tender shorthorn breeds—starved, drifted and froze. "Thousands of cattle," wrote one chronicler, "went into that winter never to see the spring flowers again."12 Indeed, with spring the big cattle companies perceived a catastrophe from which most never recovered. The herds generally

10. Summerhayes, 193.
11. Ibid.
suffered losses ranging from thirty to sixty per cent, while some were completely wiped out. The biggest bank in Cheyenne failed. The Niobrara Cattle Company succumbed and carried with it the leading bank of the St. Louis stockyards. That winter is sometimes called, in the literature of the range cattle industry, the White Disaster.

Winter on the High Plains, however, could not deter Fannie Kautz and the other artistic residents of Fort Niobrara from organizing a theater group and a string orchestra. Weekly "hops" were soon being held and the plays attracted civilians from Valentine. In February Fannie gave a "Soiree Musicale" in which the "part performed by the 8th Infantry Band Quintette Club ... was wonderful. Mrs. Lippincott ... sang ... in an artistic and pleasing manner. Mrs. Gen. Kautz sang ... with marked effect. ... the piano duett by W. Meissner and Master Austin Kautz was a success."14

As the summer of 1887 drew on, a tennis court was made and it was possible to ride out on horseback or in a carriage. Hunters and fishermen, as well as the farmers of


14. A.N. Journal, March 5, 1887.
surrounding "grangers," provided the post with a never-ending supply of wholesome food. The Kautzes kept several saddle horses, and all of the family rode daily. In August, Fannie was thrown from a runaway carriage and her leg was broken in two places. The accident occurred as she returned from the races. Two cowboys ran their mounts too close and frightened the carriage horses. Her recovery, however, apparently was complete.

Austin Kautz, now fourteen, was thinking about the Naval Academy. Uncle Albert was a captain and the president of the Naval War College, which apparently impressed the lad more than his father's unglamorous frontier life. Eastern schooling was obviously required, and the parents of his friend Harry Summerhayes were also preparing for that expensive step. Harry was to leave late in 1888. The younger children—Frankie and Navarra Kautz, Katherine Summerhayes, and Aubrey Lippincott—were inseparable companions, though Doctor Lippincott's family was to depart in August, 1887. They attended the post school but apparently found ample time for pranks. On one occasion, the doctor's son shot a toy arrow through one of Fannie's oil paintings.

15. Diary, 1887, 1888, passim. This and the next two paragraphs are drawn entirely from this source.

16. The accident was reported in the Tucson Citizen, August 27, 1887.
She graciously excused him and expertly repaired the canvas.17

On January 5, 1888, Kautz was sixty, only four years away from mandatory retirement. He was portly and gray, with the full mustache and little goatee one sees in paintings by Rembrandt. Life had not slowed for him, though the official duties of his post and regiment were light. Only occasional inspections at Fort Robinson, 160 miles away by rail, to the west were needed to insure that the battalion under Major Charles J. Dickey was in good order. The year previous, Kautz had been absent over one month on court-martial duty at Fort Duchesne, Utah, and afterward he and Fannie had spent the last of March and the first week of April in Washington. While Fannie nursed her broken leg, the colonel was commander-in-chief of the G.A.R. encampment held in August at Norfolk, Virginia. In 1888, he took leave in the East four times and was absent three months in all.

After the destructive politics of Arizona and the seclusion of Angel Island, Kautz' closing years on the Nebraska frontier worked something of a renascence in his professional life. The army was passing into a new era that

17. This anecdote was related to the author by Aubrey Lippincott, son of the doctor and a retired officer, who resides in Tucson. The damaged painting was given to Dr. Lippincott when he left Fort Niobrara and now is in the possession of his son.
Kautz would participate in briefly before he retired. In 1881, the unfinished study of American military policy by Colonel Emory Upton began to circulate posthumously.\(^{18}\)

It is not known definitely that Kautz saw the document, but it was read by General Sherman, General Winfield Scott Hancock, and numerous high ranking officers.\(^{19}\) Also in 1881 Sherman established the "School of Application" at Fort Leavenworth, the foundation of the army's system of higher education and the precursor of today's Command and General Staff School. Succeeding years saw great progress in the application of scientific knowledge to ordnance and communications, and the development of managerial techniques to replace the haphazard staff work of former decades.

Sherman retired in 1883 to be succeeded by Sheridan. As the Red Man retreated, garrisons were consolidated, many

---

18. Walter Millis, *Arms and Men: A Study in American Military History* (New York, 1956), 140. Upton, born in 1839, committed suicide in 1881. He had been one of the most promising products of the Civil War, having risen to Bvt. Major General and recognized as the most astute observer of military affairs in America. For his career, see D.A.B., Vol. 10, pt. 1, 128-30. Kautz knew Upton but not intimately; they had served together before Petersburg and met when Kautz visited the Academy where Upton was commandant, 1870-75. Kautz may have read extracts of Upton's "Military Policy" that appeared in several numbers of the M.S.I. Journal, 1880-83.

frontier posts abandoned, and the regiments given formal military training. "The United States," so the most perceptive writer on the subject has observed, "had reached the dividing line between the generations—between Sherman's 'boys', who knew so well what kind of hell war was . . ., and the youngsters, . . . for whom war was again seeming to be 'all glory'." The Civil War era and influence ended with Sheridan's death on August 5, 1888. Congress thereafter would not bestow his rank of lieutenant general on his successors in command.

One aspect of renewed interest in military training was the organization of summertime camps of instruction. In May of 1888, Brigadier General John Rutter Brooke

21. Mlllis, Arms and Men, 142.
22. O'Connor, Sheridan the Inevitable, 356. Despite their differences with regard to Indian affairs, and Sheridan's treatment of Crook, Kautz regarded Sheridan as a true friend. Comparing him with Grant and Sherman, Kautz had observed: "I like Sheridan better than any of them, he is quite confidential with me and seems to appreciate my interest in him. . . . I cannot talk with them as I can with Sheridan." Diary, 1868.
23. Born and raised in Pennsylvania, he enlisted in the 4th Pa. Infantry in April of 1861. He immediately was made a captain and seven months later was appointed colonel of a new regiment, the 53rd. Promoted to brigadier in the Volunteers in May, 1864, he also received brevets of colonel and brigadier for his conduct at Cold Harbor and Gettysburg. His major general brevet was for action at Spottsylvania and Tolopotamy. In July, 1866, he was appointed lieutenant colonel of the new 37th U.S. Infantry.
replaced Crook as commander of the Department of the Platte and promptly began to plan a summer training program for which the town of Bordeaux was selected as the site. At Fort Niobrara on August 21, 1888, the general call was sounded at 9 a.m. sharp,

and the six companies of the 8th Inf. formed on the lower parade ground, fully equipped for the march. After a casual inspection by Gen. Kautz, the command 'right forward fours right' was given, the band struck up ... [The Girl I Left Behind Me] and off they went for the Camp of Instruction at Bordeaux.24

The camp was commanded by Edward Hatch, colonel of the 9th Cavalry. Until the end of September, the troops marched, drilled, skirmished, and lived under field conditions. By October 8, they were back at home stations.25

On December 16, Major Alfred T. Smith, 7th Infantry, was promoted into the 8th as its lieutenant colonel, vice Montgomery Bryant promoted colonel of the 13th.26 Kautz handed command of the regiment over to Smith and commenced

In the reorganization of 1869 he was transferred with rank to the 3rd Infantry and served at Fort Stanton before Kautz and the 15th Infantry arrived. In 1879 he was promoted colonel in the 13th Infantry and shortly returned to the 3rd. J. G. Wilson and John Fiske (eds.), *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (6 vols., New York, 1889), I, 385.


a three month leave. He and Fannie visited friends in the East, and in January of 1889 he traveled to Tacoma to look after his real estate interests. He rejoined Fannie in Cincinnati. Meanwhile, Martha Summerhayes had taken her children to Washington to start them in school; and in February, her husband was promoted to captain by transfer to the Quartermaster Department. Kautz resumed command of his post and regiment on March 21. Retirement to Puget Sound was now vying in his mind with thoughts for the children's education, and it was decided that Fannie would follow the Summerhayeses to Washington the next winter.27

In September, 1889, the camp of instruction was held at Fort Robinson. By this time the department commander could marshal three brigades, one of which Kautz commanded. His regiment was united with the 7th Infantry of Colonel Henry Clay Merriam. The encampment was named in honor of Crook, now commander of the Division of the Missouri, who visited with his old friend Kautz and inspected the troops in review on September 9. That same day the 8th Infantry set out on a practice march, conducted in accordance with conditions of actual warfare, which lasted until September 14 and covered seventy miles.28

27. Diary, 1889.

In October a second officer of the "8th Foot,"
First Lieutenant John McEwen Hyde, regimental adjutant, was promoted into the Quartermaster Department. The appointments of Summerhayes and Hyde were a matter of pride to Kautz, and Martha Summerhayes related that "when the news of the second appointment reached him, [he] exclaimed, 'Well! well! does the President think my regiment a nursery for the Staff?'"29 Hyde was replaced as adjutant by First Lieutenant Wilds Preston Richardson, who had been with the 8th since his graduation from the Military Academy in 1884. Richardson, later a brigadier general and commander of the American Expeditionary Force to North Russia in 1919,30 has left a striking picture of Kautz in his last years:

In person General Kautz was of medium height, strong build, with a fine head and kindly eye; of a quiet demeanor and most abstemious in his habits of life. In character he was free from even the suspicion of anything like smallness, ... [and] courageous to the very last degree in maintaining what he considered right ... Free from small vices himself, he was equally free from prejudice against those who did have them, and who differed from him in their views upon the conduct of life. Independent in his own opinions, he freely acknowledged that right to everyone else. He measured men by no fanciful standards, but by how they accomplished the tasks set before them.


30. Cullum, supplement vols. IV to VII, passim.
Frugal and economical by nature, preferring self-denial to indulgence, no one, on the other hand, was ever readier to loosen his purse strings in answer to any reasonable call. These were eminent traits in his character; a rigid system of life for himself and generosity in all things toward his fellow man.31

The unexpected death of George Crook at his home in Chicago in March of 1890 saddened Kautz as it did hundreds of other humane Americans. Kautz sent Mary Crook condolences but could not attend the simple burial service at Oakland, Maryland. General Brooke ordered mourning and promised that Crook's faithful old mule "Apache" would be protected and fed in honorable retirement at Omaha.32

Down in Arizona, when news of the general's death was spread about the White Mountain Reservation, former Apache Indian scouts "sat down in a great circle, let down their hair, bent their heads forward on their bosoms, and wept and wailed like children."33 Chief Red Cloud of the Sioux perhaps best expressed the Indian sense of loss: Crook, he said, at least had never lied to them.34 Crook's departure also left a vacancy in the army for one more major general that was filled with the elevation of Nelson Appleton Miles on April 5, 1890.

33. Ibid., 487.
34. Ibid., 486.
In July, 1890, Kautz was delighted to see notice that his classmate, the brilliant soldier Colonel Alexander McD. McCook of the 6th Infantry, was promoted to the vacant brigadier generalcy that had been left by Nelson Miles and but temporarily held by Benjamin Grierson who had now retired. McCook was to assume command of the Department of Arizona. More interesting was news from Washington that Congress might revive the grade of lieutenant general. No one had served in the grade since Sheridan's death. Should one of the three major generals be thus honored, one more slot for a general would be created by the simple operation of moving up a brigadier. Kautz at once sought influence to get it for himself. In any event, Brigadier General John Gibbon was due to retire the next April, and it was not too soon to campaign.

35. A.N. Journal, July 19, 1890. The issue of July 5 noted the impending retirement of Grierson who had commanded the Arizona department since Miles' departure in 1888.

36. John M. Schofield and Oliver O. Howard, in addition to Miles, were major generals. The House of Representatives declined to approve the act and the grade of lieutenant general was not revived until 1895 when Schofield was promoted for the last seven months of active duty. Then no further appointment was made until 1900 when Miles was advanced by the Act of June 6 which provided that the senior major general of the army should thereafter have the higher rank. Heitman, I, 19; II, 621.

37. This and the next paragraph are based on the Diary, 1890. In the Kautz Papers are copies of letters to President Harrison and William McKinley soliciting aid in securing promotion. He also sought newspaper support and
In July, 1890, Kautz was delighted to see notice that his classmate, the brilliant soldier Colonel Alexander McCook of the 6th Infantry, was promoted to the vacant brigadier generalcy that had been left by Nelson Miles and but temporarily held by Benjamin Grierson who had now retired. McCook was to assume command of the Department of Arizona. More interesting was news from Washington that Congress might revive the grade of lieutenant general. No one had served in the grade since Sheridan's death. Should one of the three major generals be thus honored, one more slot for a general would be created by the simple operation of moving up a brigadier. Kautz at once sought influence to get it for himself. In any event, Brigadier General John Gibbon was due to retire the next April, and it was not too soon to campaign.

35. A.N. Journal, July 19, 1890. The issue of July 5 noted the impending retirement of Grierson who had commanded the Arizona department since Miles' departure in 1888.

36. John M. Schofield and Oliver O. Howard, in addition to Miles, were major generals. The House of Representatives declined to approve the act and the grade of lieutenant general was not revived until 1895 when Schofield was promoted for the last seven months of active duty. Then no further appointment was made until 1900 when Miles was advanced by the Act of June 6 which provided that the senior major general of the army should thereafter have the higher rank. Heitman, I, 19; II, 621.

37. This and the next paragraph are based on the Diary, 1890. In the Kautz Papers are copies of letters to President Harrison and William McKinley soliciting aid in securing promotion. He also sought newspaper support and
Early in October, Fannie took the children to Washington where Austin was to enter a preparatory school for the Naval Academy. Perhaps the lack of restraint led the colonel to quarrel with the department commander about the administration of post schools for enlisted men, one of Kautz' current enthusiasms. Both Kautz and Brooke preferred charges against each other for court-martial, but, through the persuasion of Commanding General John M. Schofield, the charges were mutually withdrawn and a reconciliation effected.

What might have been professional calamity apparently turned to Kautz' favor. On the 1st of November, the Army and Navy Journal had presumed that Brooke would be detailed to preside over a board for selection of a new army magazine-fed, caliber-thirty rifle. But on December 6 the newspaper published the appointment of Kautz to head the board. One might suspect that Brooke was happy to have Dutch Kautz out of his hair. If so, his joy was shortlived for in December the unrest on the Sioux reserves erupted in violence that culminated with the Wounded Knee affair of the 29th.\[^{38}\] Brooke went in person to the Pine Ridge agency

---

and Colonel Smith took a battalion of the 8th Infantry from
Fort Niobrara to the Rosebud agency. 39

Kautz, meanwhile, had traveled to New York, and
on December 16 he convened a board of four other officers
to "consider and recommend a suitable magazine system for
rifles and carbines for the military service." 40 Eight
years had already elapsed since another board had recom­
mended the testing of several available magazine rifles.
The Ordnance Department, in fact, had been studying numer­
ous popular repeating arms introduced during and since the
Civil War. By 1873, however, the farthest the army would
go was to adopt the breech-loading Springfield, still a
single-shot, caliber-forty-five weapon. In 1877, Congress
had specifically authorized a board to select a repeating
arm, but none of the designs they tested were considered
equal to the issue Springfield. By 1890 the Ordnance
Department had finally settled upon a modern bottle­
necked cartridge of .30-inch caliber, loaded with smokeless
powder, and Congress appropriated $400,000 for new small
arms. The stage was set for ultimate modernization of the
infantry. 41 Meantime, another American named Hiram Maxim

39. *Army of the U.S.*, 524f. *Secretary of War
Report*, 1891, 388.

40. Ibid., III, 23.

had invented a rapid-fire weapon that would eliminate the
horsemounted cavalry, but no one in the War Department was
interested in a "machine gun."

A great many successful repeating rifles were
available, as the large number subsequently tested in 1891
would show. The American delay in choosing an arm was due
largely to obtaining the new smokeless powder, invented
in 1884 by a French chemist. At last, early in 1891, the
Wetteren powder was obtained from Belgium, and the Frank-
ford Arsenal quickly manufactured 100,000 caliber-thirty
cartridges (and rifle barrels as well) to supply interested
American inventors.42

It was May of 1891 before Kautz' board could examine
and compare all fifty-three arms that were submitted to
them at Governor's Island. Most attention was given to
the Lee rifle, manufactured by the Winchester company and
already quite popular in the United States; a small-caliber
Springfield rifle; and three foreign designs: the Mannlicher,
the Schmidt, and the Krag-Jorgensen. Actually, all these
weapons embraced the basic idea of the Lee, which used a
central magazine coupled with a manually operated bolt.
The crucial part of the tests—the extensive firing
exercises to be held at the Springfield Armory—were not

42. Secretary of War Report, 1891, III, 23-25.
commenced until July, and on the 6th of that month Kautz left the board to assume his last command in the United States Army. The episode is not complete, however, without mentioning that, thirteen months later, the reconstructed board of officers recommended adoption of the Krag-Jorgensen rifle, a slightly modified version of the Danish service arm. August V. Kautz thus played a part in the introduction of the army's first modern repeating rifle.

August Kautz, colonel of the 8th Infantry since June of 1874, had been promoted to brigadier general on the 20th of April, 1891, vice John Gibbon who had commanded the Department of the Columbia since 1885. Kautz' service with the magazine arms board, however, was considered too important to warrant his immediate assignment to a command.


44. Arcadi Gluckman, United States Muskets, Rifles, and Carbines (Harrisburg, Pa., 1959), 330f.

45. A.N. Journal, April 25, 1891. Col. Kautz' date of rank was June 8, 1874. There were three colonels with dates subsequent to his but who were promoted ahead of him: Alexander McD. McCook, Sherman's aide, whose date of rank was June 11, 1875; Wesley Merritt, colonel of the 5th Cavalry, July 1, 1876; and Brooke, March 20, 1879. Heitman, I, passim. Merritt was a West Pointer, Class of 1860, a brilliant soldier and one of the great cavalry leaders of the war. His promotion to general grade on April 16, 1887, was a deserved honor. McCook was a classmate of Kautz and had commanded a division at the Battle of Shiloh and a corps at the Battles of Stone River and
Action was precipitated by the Executive Order of July 2 which discontinued the system of military divisions and made the department commanders directly subordinate to the Commanding General. Kautz was ordered to the Department of the Columbia, and on July 26 he took up his new duties at Vancouver Barracks, Washington. It was almost thirty-nine years since he had commenced his career as an officer on the wild frontier of the Pacific Northwest.

Soon after taking command, General Kautz visited all of the posts in his department in order to understand fully their requirements. He "was not able to discover any urgent or serious need at any post, and all seemed to be, so far as the ordinary post duties are concerned, in good working order." The only circumstance which appeared to require special attention was the continuing trouble between Indians and white settlers in the country of the Kootenai River in northern Idaho and Montana. Second Lieutenant Letcher Hardeman was ordered from Fort Sherman, Idaho, to visit the area and to report for the benefit of the Interior Department.

Chicamauga. He was justly acclaimed for his staff work and organizational ability when he was promoted to general on July 11, 1890. The promotion of Brooke ahead of Kautz, however, must be viewed in the light of Kautz' contentious nature.

46. Secretary of War Report, 1891, 55.
47. Ibid., 262.
48. Ibid., 261.
As Kautz prepared his annual report in September, 1891, he returned to the subject of the need for broader dissemination of military knowledge in the United States. It was indicative of his last literary efforts as a soldier-essayist. In 1888, the Century Magazine had published his ideas pointing to the need for reform in recruiting the enlisted strength of the army, and next year the Journal of the Military Service Institution had printed a similar article which explained how the infantry in particular might be made to serve the need for more popular military education. So strongly do these ideas reflect the notions of Emory Upton that one may suspect a direct influence. We do not know that Kautz saw Upton's manuscript on military policy, but the possibility is almost certain that he discussed Upton's proposals with someone knowledgeable, perhaps General Schofield.

Shortly before Kautz' death in 1895, he completed a more elaborate exposition of his suggestions for military education which the Military Service Institution published posthumously in the Journal. Kautz' final article, entitled "Military Education for the Masses," was, unfortunately, 


so prolix that it cannot excite much admiration for style. Certain passages, however, are worthy of modern consideration by a nation which still seeks a solution to problems of conscription and universal military training in an enlightened age.

Kautz' solution, in essence, was to deliberately train every enlisted man as a potential leader for future national emergencies. To this end, he proposed that the regular army in peacetime function as one vast school, with special quartermaster troops used for housekeeping and the Military Academy providing the majority of instructors. It also would be necessary that enlistments be limited to one each, of three years duration, except for a small cadre of non-commissioned officers. It was Kautz' opinion that such a system would be so well received by the people, and the army made so attractive to youth, that the small peacetime army would have to impose quotas on enlistments. Kautz was most vehement in his deprecation of the "old soldiers" who made a profession of being privates and corporals, and who, in time of real emergency, were unsuited to much active campaigning. He insisted that the rank and file be composed of men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one. The soldier's vocation, wrote Kautz, was "an accomplishment that every able-bodied man
should acquire as he does reading and writing, in order that he may serve his country when called." 52

Doubtless writing would have been Kautz' first choice as a vocation in later years if he could have foreseen a regular income from it. "General Kautz was always a great student," observed his adjutant, Lieutenant Richardson. "He was methodical to a remarkable degree, and his industry was something prodigious. He was always at his desk or at some other work . . ." And yet, noted Richardson, the "only reason he did not give more to the world during his life was because he preferred to gather information and record it for his own satisfaction, rather than for publication. What he did give was from his own store of facts, and never speculative or uncertain." 53

The closest he came to the presentation of narratives for general reading was his brief article in Battles and Leaders of the Civil War and "Ascent of Mount Rainier" in the Overland Monthly of May, 1875.

Kautz' taste in literature ran to history and realistic social commentary. 54

52. Ibid., 496.


54. The paragraph which follows is based on a review of all the extant volumes of the Diary, 1857-95, wherein Kautz frequently noted books he had read and sometimes his opinion of them.
Charles Dickens, William Makepeace Thackery, and James Babbington Macauley, were his favorite authors. He studied *Gulliver's Travels* by Jonathan Swift with interest, but its satire left him cold. When he read *The Count of Monte Cristo* by Alexandre Dumas, he found it "neither true nor probable." Characteristic was his comment on a certain novel that he skimmed while lounging at Fort Craig in 1869: "It is well written and gives some views of high life, but has nothing useful in it. It is not historical or practical in any way." His opinion of some army officers who plied the literary trade were unenthusiastic. It is difficult to tell if he disliked Lew Wallace himself more than he did *The Fair God*, and he ridiculed the publication of Sherman's memoirs. On the other hand, he welcomed the publication in 1879 of Captain Thomas Wilhelm's military encyclopedia.55 "There is," he stated, "nothing of the kind in the English language equal to it." This view was perhaps envious, for from 1865 to '67 Kautz himself had been urged by the publisher Lippincott to undertake such a volume.

Apparently Kautz' taste was respected by at least one professional writer. Between 1874 and 1879, Friederich Hassaurek submitted chapters of his novel, *The Secret of the Andes*,56 to him for criticism. We have already noted


56. Published by the Robert Clarke Co., Cincinnati, 1879.
that Phil Sheridan tried hard to enlist Kautz's service as ghost writer in 1866. Had he lived longer, Kautz might have published his own memoir of the Civil War. As it is, his literary reputation rests mainly on the three small manuals published in the 1860's. Of these, *The Company Clerk* was the best known, selling more than 13,300 copies. *Customs of Service for Non-Commissioned Officers* was nearly a failure in the market.57 His most impressive volume was *Customs of Service for Officers*, which went through at least two editions and may be regarded as the great grand-daddy of all latter-day "officer's guides." No continuing record of sales of the book was kept by Kautz, and the records of the Lippincott company are unavailable. It seems unlikely that more than 1,500 were sold, but that would have been a great many for an army with less than 3,000 officers. The important fact is that hundreds of officers purchased and used it as late as 1878.

Pursuant to law, Brigadier General August Valentine Kautz was retired at his sixty-fourth birthday on January 5, 1892. On the evening of the 4th, a Tuesday, the officers of Vancouver Barracks gave a reception in his honor. The

57. Kautz noted the sale of 1,417 one year after its publication and never mentioned it again. *Diary*, 1865. *The Company Clerk* sold briskly, on the other hand, and the various notations in the *Diary*, 1863-65, add up to 13,310 copies sold, probably a few hundred short of the final total. It was reprinted at least once.
guest list included every officer of the army and navy serving in Vancouver and Portland, as well as many citizens. Fannie Kautz was assisted in receiving by the wife of the post commander, Colonel Thomas M. Anderson, and by Mrs. Charles C. Byrne, whose doctor husband was chief medical officer of the department and an old friend from Angel Island days. After many hearty congratulations and not a few sincere regrets, Colonel Anderson briefly addressed the assembly and called for a response from General Kautz. The old soldier returned his thanks with honest emotion. He concluded:

Now, if I were like the farmer's old worn-out wagon, which, when the wheels had become worn and the spokes are getting loose and threaten to fall out, he takes it to the blacksmith shop and retires it, it comes out again nearly as good as new, with another career of usefulness before it. If this kind of retirement could be made to apply to my case, it would be highly satisfactory. As it is, I must enter on my new career and endeavor to find in new interests a new ambition. It is gratifying to me, however, that I am assisted out in such a brilliant manner. I am going out, like a comet, in a great blaze of light, and I assure you that I appreciate it very highly, that I am truly grateful and thank you very much.

The general had purchased town lots in Steilacoom while he served in Washington before the Civil War, and in 1879 he had his agent in Tacoma buy twenty more in that city. Now he was quick to establish his residence in the state. In 1893 he secured an appointment to the Naval

58. A.N. Journal, Jan. 28, 1892.
Academy for his son Austin from Congressman Watson C. Squire. 59

The Kautzes, however, were as fond of travel as ever, and for most of 1892, '93, and '94 they moved about the East. 60 Money, apparently, was sufficient if not plentiful. The general still had farm lands in Iowa and Illinois, an interest in the Cincinnati Volksblatt Co., and some promising mining stock as well as his retirement pay. The depression of 1893, however, reduced the value of his silver claims and his farms. In June, 1894, the Kautzes returned permanently to Seattle. For a short time they stayed at the home of Daniel Jones, but soon they bought a house on James Street at the southwest corner of Eleventh. 61

Navarra was fourteen. Frankie, nineteen, encouraged her father to write and commenced to transcribe his diaries on the typewriter. Austin looked forward to graduating with the Naval Academy class of 1897 and Uncle Albert was

59. Diary, 1859, 1879, 1893.

60. Kautz' visit to the Columbian Exposition in Chicago was noted by Captain Bourke who was there on detached service for the State Department. Bourke mentioned on June 8, 1893: "Captains Peirce and Hoyle came next--then General A. V. Kautz, who talked with me about General Crook and other old friends." Bourke Journals, Vol. 112.

61. Diary, 1894.
on shore duty at Newport and Boston. The general enjoyed the best of health and basked in the adulation accorded old pioneers. He visited the scenes where he had soldiered four decades earlier, and perhaps he appreciated the growth of Steilacoom and the numerous towns about Puget Sound. Even the ghost of Leschi had found a place in the hearts of Washington's citizens.

Since their visit to Germany in 1883, Kautz had suffered periodically from severe intestinal trouble, the result, so he said, of his hardships in ascending Mount Rainier in 1857. Recurrent malaria and migraine headaches also weakened him but throughout 1895 he enjoyed the best

62. Commodore Albert Kautz took command of the Pacific station in 1898 on the flagship Philadelphia and in October was promoted to rear admiral. Ordered to Samoa to protect American rights against German and British claims, he intervened to subdue a native civil war and incidentally ended the influence of the other powers. He was retired the same year upon his return to the United States and died in 1907. National Cyclopaedia of American Biography, Supplement I, 142f. Austin Kautz rose to captain in the navy and died while serving as military attaché at the U.S. Embassy in Berlin in 1927. Pension application of Louise Folsom Kautz (widow of Austin) in Records of the Veterans Administration (RG 15, National Archives). Frankie had a successful career as a writer until her death in 1962. Navarra still resides in New York.

63. Diary, 1894, 1895. Leschi was reburied with a great public ceremony on the Nisqually Indian Reservation near Tacoma, July 4, 1895. Meeker, Pioneer Reminiscences, 455-57.

64. Pension File.
of health. Considering the longevity of his parents, he had every expectation of living another ten or twenty years. In Seattle he continued to walk long distances regularly, which exercise he found to be the best remedy for his dyspepsia and constipation. In the last week of August, the Kautzes visited Snoqualmie Falls. There the general climbed down the long stairway and the exertion seemed to excite the old disorder of the stomach.\textsuperscript{65}

On Tuesday, September 3, his dyspepsia became especially bad. He went to his nephew, Doctor R. W. Schoenle, who prescribed for him, and he retired to bed as usual about 11 p.m. Shortly after midnight he awoke with terrible cramps and Doctor Schoenle was called. In great pain, he was given morphine and the doctor washed out the stomach. The relief afforded some rest but the pain grew worse about 5 a.m. on September 5. Later in the day, four other doctors were consulted and the morphine injections were continued.

The general bore his suffering with the immense fortitude and optimism that had always characterized his life, but life itself was slipping away. At one time Fannie asked, "Can you tell what is the matter, General?"

\textsuperscript{65} Obituary. The next two paragraphs are based on the newspaper account of his death.
August replied, "That's what the doctors are trying to find out." He remarked to Doctor Schoenle that if it were not for his family he would give up. A few minutes before 10 p.m., the doctor gave anodyne. "That's good," responded the general. Then, turning to Fannie, he murmured, "You can help me," and about 10 o'clock he died.

General Kautz was temporarily interred in the cemetery plot of Colonel Granville O. Haller at Lake View. He was buried with full military honors.66 Four years later he was buried in Arlington National Cemetery.67

66. Ibid.

67. Q.M.G. Documents 91863, 98225, Cemeterial File of A. V. Kautz, Records of the Quartermaster General's Office (RG 92, National Archives).
APPENDIX

CHARLES PATRICK EAGAN

As Captain Eagan, the chief commissary of the Arizona department, was something of a bete noire to General Kautz, more should be said of him than can be encompassed in an ordinary footnote. Charles Patrick Eagan was born in Ireland in 1841 before his parents emigrated to New York. There, at about the age of twelve, he gained employment in a lawyer's office, which speaks for his precocity. Sometime in 1853 or '54, he caught the attention of one of the most eminent lawyers of California, John T. Doyle, who occasionally returned to New York where his own father, another Irish emigrant, had settled in 1815. Doyle took the boy to San Francisco, got him a job, and looked after him to the extent that, when he thought Eagan was "getting on too fast," he sent him home to New York.¹

Eagan returned to the Pacific Coast on his own before the Civil War. When the conflict began he secured a commission in the 1st Washington Territorial Infantry. After the war he accepted a regular commission in the

¹ Oscar T. Shuck, Bench and Bar in California: History, Anecdotes, Reminiscences (San Francisco, 1888), 120f.
infantry and served with distinction until appointed a
captain in the Subsistence Department in July, 1874.² He
was recommended for the post by Lieutenant Colonel William
McKee Dunn, then an assistant judge advocate general, on
the instigation of a relative, one Redick McKee, who Eagan
knew in San Francisco. Eagan also was helped by Senator
Lot M. Morrill, a former governor of Maine and Dunn's
father-in-law.³

Eagan's personal relationships were the touchstone
of his amazing career. Redick McKee, with whom Eagan may
have lived in San Francisco, was at one time an Indian
agent in California and the holder of a succession of
petty federal appointments. He resided at different times
in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco with his children,
including a son, David R. McKee, who was a correspondent
for the Associated Press and who lived with his father in
Washington in 1870.⁴ There was some indeterminate family

². Heitman, I, 393. Powell, 190.
³. Morrill served as Secretary of the Treasury,
1876-77, and appointed Richard C. McCormick to the first
assistantship. The foregoing information is from letters
to the author from Dr. Benjamin Sacks of Baltimore, Md.,
May 15 and 19, and June 5 and 6, 1966. Data was collected
by Dr. Sacks from several printed sources unavailable to
me, as well as from records in the National Archives
which he kindly located and examined at my request. Cited
hereafter as Eagan File. On Morrill, see D.A.B., Vol. 7,
pt. 1, 199f.
⁴. Eagan File.
relation between the McKees and Judge Advocate General Dunn which brought Eagan his powerful assistance. William McKee Dunn had been a professor at Harvard University and a Congressman from Massachusetts before the war. He was an aide to General McClellan before becoming a judge advocate of Volunteers in 1863. His brother, Thomas S. Dunn, was a major in the 8th Infantry and in command of Fort Yuma while Kautz served in Arizona. Another relative was Major William McKee Dunn of the 2nd Artillery. David R. McKee was his son-in-law.

Eagan's relationship with the Sherman family is more curious. General William T. Sherman was the orphan ward of Thomas Ewing, prominent Ohio politician and cabinet member under Presidents Taylor and Fillmore. The general married his guardian's daughter, Ellen Boyle Ewing, and took her to California where he engaged in banking before the war, having resigned his commission in 1853. In 1855 Ellen Sherman sailed from San Francisco to visit her family. Her ship, the Golden Age, struck a reef two hundred miles from Panama. On board was fourteen-year-old Charles P. Eagan.

returning home to New York from his sojourn with Mr. Doyle.

In the first days of the voyage, Mrs. Sherman was warmly attracted to the boy and after the wreck they shared two anxious days until rescued by a passing ship. Thereafter, Ellen Sherman never lost touch with her young protégé. In 1870 she tried to use her husband's influence to secure for Eagan a Subsistence Department appointment. In 1873 she tried to have Secretary of War Belknap award Eagan a brevet for bravery in the Modoc War. On the latter occasion, she wrote that

during an encounter with [the Indians], shortly after the death of Genl. Canby, Lieut. C. F. Eagan distinguished himself and although severely wounded he remained with his men throughout. I knew that young man when he was a boy . . . and a braver brighter boy never lived. I wish he could be brevetted for his recent conduct. I should feel that the honors were conferred on me . . . .

After Kautz left Arizona, Eagan continued to cause his superiors trouble and his own professional demise in 1899 would have seemed poetic justice to Kautz. Eagan

---


10. Ellen Ewing Sherman to Secretary of War, July 1, 1873, in ibid.

11. In June, 1878, he tried unsuccessfully to have Kautz' "personally official" letter to Mafteely removed from the A.G.O. files. See 4406 A.G.O. 1878. See the Tucson Arizona Star, Oct. 13, 1881, for his part in the alleged attempt by Gen. Willcox to "fix up" testimony regarding the Indian mutineers of Cibicu.
served in Arizona until 1885,\textsuperscript{12} and in various Western departments until the Spanish-American War. He was promoted major in 1892, lieutenant colonel in '97, and colonel just before the war with Spain.\textsuperscript{13} On May 3, 1898, the day after word reached Washington that Admiral Dewey had smashed the Spanish fleet at Manila, Eagan was elevated to Commissary General and promoted to brigadier. When hostilities ended in Cuba in August, the antiquated War Department of Secretary Alger was subjected to merciless criticism, much of it falling on the Commissary General for his extravagant purchase of seven million pounds of tinned meat, the infamous "embalmed beef." The leading accuser was General Nelson A. Miles, Commanding General of the army, who insinuated in the newspapers and testified before an investigating commission that Eagan had experimented with the beef knowing that it was unfit for consumption and had possibly profited in his deals with suppliers. Eagan demanded a hearing, and on January 12, 1899, he read out a vituperative tirade against Miles that was so insulting and vehement that the commission refused to admit most of it into the record, though the papers gleefully printed it.

\textsuperscript{12} As of June 30, 1884, Eagan was "under orders" for transfer to San Francisco, and by June 30, 1885, he was purchasing and depot commissary at that city. \textit{Secretary of War Report}, 1884, 708; and \textit{ibid.}, 1885, 701.

\textsuperscript{13} \textit{Eagan File}. 
The public, the army, and President McKinley demanded a court-martial. Later in January Eagan was tried for conduct unbecoming an officer and prejudicial to discipline. The court met in the Ebbitt House in Washington. Eagan was convicted and sentenced to be dismissed, but the President commuted the penalty to six years' suspension. In 1900 he was retired at his own request and died in New York, a bitter old man, in 1919.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{14} The story of the "embalmed beef" and Eagan's fall is in Margaret Leech, \textit{In the Days of McKinley} (New York, 1959), 297-300, 316-18.
SHORT-TITLE INDEX

This index gives the names by which certain frequently used or cumbersome titles are cited after the first full references to them. Each publication or manuscript so treated has been fully cited once in a footnote, at its first mention, and it thereafter appears under its short title alone. The adopted short title is given here at the left in alphabetical order and underscored. Then comes the name of the author, editor, or manuscript repository as it is listed in the Selected Bibliography. And finally there is a longer identifying title. In most instances these titles have been somewhat shortened, inasmuch as the bibliography contains full information.

A.G.O. National Archives, R.G. 94. General Correspondence of the Adjutant-General's Office. A number preceding the short title is the file.


Army of the U.S. T. F. Rodenbough and W. L. Haskin (eds.). Army of the United States.


673
Battles & Leaders. * Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, 4 vols.


Census. *Decennial Census of the United States.* Page citations refer to published record; others to microfilm publication of original record in National Archives.

Citizen. *Newspaper, Arizona Citizen.*

Chiricahua Report. National Archives, R.G. 94. Report of Kautz to the assistant adjutant general, Division of the Pacific, June 30, 1876; File 4396, General Correspondence of the Adjutant-General's Office, 1876.


Customs of Service. A. V. Kautz. *Customs of Service for Officers.*


G.O. or G.C.M.O. War Department. A general order or
general court-martial order of the U.S. Army,
printed and published in Washington by the A.G.O.

Hamersly. Records of Living Officers of the Army. (pub.
by L. R. Hamersly & Co., 1884).

Hayden Biographical Files.

Heitman. F. B. Heitman (comp.) Historical Register and

Indian Affairs Report. Interior Department. Annual Report
of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, various years.

Indian War Engagements. G. W. Webb (comp.) Chronological
List of Engagements between the Regular Army and
Hostile Indians.

Kappler. C. J. Kappler (ed.). Indian Affairs, Laws and
Treaties, 2 vols.

Kautz G.C.M. National Archives, R.G. 153. Record of Trial
of Colonel August V. Kautz before General Court,
1878.

Kautz.

of Kautz to the assistant adjutant general, District
of New Mexico, May 26, 1870; Records of the District
of New Mexico, correspondence, letters received.

K File. National Archives, R.G. 92. Historical sketch of
a post, camp, or station.

Lineage Book. Department of the Army. Army Lineage Book,
1953, Infantry.

Miner. Newspaper, Arizona Daily Miner and Arizona Weekly
Miner.

M.S.I. Journal. Journal of the Military Service Institution
of the United States.

Obituary. Newspaper, Seattle Post-Intelligencer. Kautz
obituary, Sept. 8, 1895.

O.R. F. C. Ainsworth and J. W. Kirkley (eds.). War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records. All citations are to Series I, unless otherwise noted.


Report of Indian Troubles. National Archives, R.G. 94. Report of Kautz to the assistant adjutant general, Division of the Pacific, Oct. 23, 1876; enclosure no. 1 to File 5456, General Correspondence of the Adjutant-General's Office, 1876.


Secretary of War Report. U.S. Congress or War Department. Annual House Exec. Doc. No. 1, pt. 2; or, separately published, Annual Report of the Secretary of War; several vols. The Secretary's own report and the report of the General of the Army are always in Vol. I, which is meant unless otherwise noted.


SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

This list of writings includes much of the literature that concerns the Southwest of A. V. Kautz, as well as all published works and unpublished materials that concern Kautz himself in any significant way. Basically it contains the sources that were cited in footnotes, regardless of their relative importance. In addition, there will be found here a few references which were consulted in the course of research to visualize a geographic region, to understand the historical background, or to corroborate another source, but for which no occasion for citation occurred.

An alphabetical arrangement within each of several orthodox bibliographical categories has been employed. The entire list is divided between unpublished manuscript material and published works. The latter part, much the larger, is further divided into five categories: (1) U. S. Government documents of an official character; (2) books, pamphlets, and articles used as primary sources; (3) other publications consulted as secondary authorities; (4) newspapers; and (5) general works of reference. Some more important items derived from works in the fifth category have been listed separately in the second and third.
MANUSCRIPTS

1. Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, Tucson

Bennett, Charles F. Typescript reminiscence, "Story of Judge ... Bennett, Casa Grande, Arizona."


• Roster of Troops Serving in the Department of Arizona, commanded by Colonel August V. Kautz. A printed pamphlet dated "Headquarters, Prescott April, 1875."

Pioneer Biographical Files: Thomas E. Farish, Edward N. Fish, Wheeler W. Williams, William Zeckendorf.

U. S. Army, Department of Arizona. 143 Special and Field Orders in the Department of Arizona. Bound volume of printed orders published at Whipple Barracks, 1886.

2. Arizona Department of Library and Archives, Phoenix


Papers of General Philip H. Sheridan. An immense collection of nearly 18,000 items in 117 containers that occupy 53 feet of shelf space. Pertinent to this work are General Correspondence, 1869-87, 31 containers; Autograph Letters, 1865-87, 4 vols.; Letter Books, 1871-88, 22 vols.; two boxes of papers re: Indian affairs; and Newspaper Clippings, 1874-78, scrapbook.

Letter, Stanton to Chairman, Senate Committee on Military Affairs, April 18, 1864. Papers of Edwin M. Stanton.

4. The National Archives, Washington, D. C.


Record Group 75: Records of the Office of Indian Affairs. General Correspondence, letters received. National Archives microfilm publication M-234. Passim, 1869-78.


Record Group 98: Records of United States Army Commands.
District of New Mexico correspondence, 1869-74.
Department of Arizona correspondence, letter books, 1874-78.
Records of posts, camps, and stations:

Record Group 153: Records of the Office of the Judge Advocate General (War).
Record of Trial of Colonel August V. Kautz, 8th Infantry, before General Court
Convened at Omaha, Nebraska, May 1, 1878 (includes copy of record of general court-martial of Captain
Charles H. Campbell at Ft. Whipple, October, 1877).

5. Ohio State Museum, Columbus
Letter, Kautz to Smith, October 1, 1890. William Henry Smith Collection.

6. United States Military Academy Library, West Point
Academic Record of August V. Kautz, Class of 1852.
Bourke, Captain John G. Diaries and Notebooks, 1872-1895.
Cadet Delinquency Record, August V. Kautz.
Post Order Book No. 3, 1850-51.

7. University of Arizona Library, Tucson

8. University of California Library, Los Angeles

9. University of Oregon Library, Eugene
Letters, Kautz to Stevens, 1876, 1877. Papers of Hazard Stevens.

10. University of Wisconsin Library, Madison
11. Yavapai County Recorder's Office, Prescott


County Tax Rolls: 1881, 1882, 1883.

PUBLISHED WORKS

1. Government Documents*


Army, Division of the Missouri. Record of Engagements with Hostile Indians within the Military Division of the Missouri, from 1866 to 1882. Lieutenant-General P. H. Sheridan, Commanding. 1882.


* The Government Printing Office at Washington, D. C., is the publisher and place of publication, unless otherwise noted.


Congress, 45th, 3rd Sess. Testimony Taken by the Joint Committee Appointed to Take into Consideration the Expediency of Transferring the Indian Bureau to the War Department. Senate Misc. Doc. No. 53. 1879.


Decennial Census of the United States, 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th (1869-90). Manuscript copies of 8th - 10th on National Archives microfilm.

Interior Department. Report of Board of Inquiry to Investigate Charges Against S. A. Galpin. 1878.

Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, for the years 1869-86. 1870-87.

Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, for the years 1869-86. 1870-86.


Interior Department, National Park Service. Yosemite National Park, California. 1939.


Thian, Raphael P. *Notes Illustrating the Military Geography of the United States, 1813-1880.* 1881.

War Department. *Annual Report of the Secretary of War for the Year . . . [title varies].* Several vols. 1878-91.


*General Orders and General Court Martial Orders of the United States Army, 1861-1884.*

War Department, Surgeon-General's Office. *A Report on Barracks and Hospitals, with Descriptions of Military Posts.* Circular No. 4. 1870.

2. Primary Sources


Arizona Territory Journals of Ninth Legislative Assembly. Tucson: Office of the Arizona Citizen, 1877.


Dodge, Grenville M. *How We Built the Union Pacific Railway and Other Railway Papers and Addresses*. Council Bluffs, Iowa: Privately pub., c. 1911-14.


[Giddings, Luther]. *Sketches of the Campaign in Northern Mexico in 1846-7*. "By an Officer of the First Regiment of Ohio Volunteers." New York: Privately pub., 1853.


Hodge, Hiram C. *Arizona As it is; or, The Coming Country*. New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1877.


_ Customs of Service for Officers of the Army As Derived from Law and Regulations and Practised in the United States Army. Being A Hand-Book of Military Administration for Officers of the Line, Showing the Specific Duties of Each Grade from the Lowest to the_
Highest, Enabling Officers Promoted to a New Grade to Know What They Have to do, and How to do It. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1866.

Two Sides to the Same Old Story from Arizona. Prescott, Ariz.: Privately pub., 1877.


Keyes, Erasmus D. Fifty Years' Observation of Man and Events. Civil and Military. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1884.


Powell, William H. A History of the Organization and Movements of the Fourth Regiment of Infantry, United States Army, from May 30, 1796, to December 31, 1870; together with a Record of the Military Services of all Officers Who Have At Any Time Belonged to the Regiment. Washington: Privately pub., 1871.


Tice, John H. Over the Plains, on the Mountains, Kansas, Colorado, and the Rocky Mountains; Agriculturally, Mineralogically and Aesthetically Described. St. Louis, Mo.: Industrial Age Printing Co., 1872.


3. Secondary Authorities


Battles & Leaders. Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, 4 vols.

Biddle. Ellen M. Biddle. Reminiscences of a Soldier's Wife.


Census. Decennial Census of the United States. Page citations refer to published record; others to microfilm publication of original record in National Archives.

Citizen. Newspaper, Arizona Citizen.

Chiricahua Report. National Archives, R.G. 94. Report of Kautz to the assistant adjutant general, Division of the Pacific, June 30, 1876; File 4396, General Correspondence of the Adjutant-General's Office, 1876.


Cullum. G. W. Cullum (comp.) Biographical Register of the U.S. Military Academy. 3 vols. and supplements.

Customs of Service. A. V. Kautz. Customs of Service for Officers.


Ogle, R. H. Ogle. Federal Control of the Western Apaches.

O.R. F. C. Ainsworth and J. W. Kirkley (eds.). War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records. All citations are to Series I, unless otherwise noted.


Report of Indian Troubles. National Archives, R.G. 94. Report of Kautz to the assistant adjutant general, Division of the Pacific, Oct. 23, 1876; enclosure no. 1 to File 5456, General Correspondence of the Adjutant-General's Office, 1876.


Secretary of War Report. U.S. Congress or War Department. Annual House Exec. Doc. No. 1, pt. 2; or, separately published, Annual Report of the Secretary of War; several vols. The Secretary's own report and the report of the General of the Army are always in Vol. I, which is meant unless otherwise noted.


Ogle, Ralph H. Federal Control of the Western Apaches, 1848-1886. Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1940.


Olson, James C. History of Nebraska. Lincoln, Nebr.: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1955.


Rister, Carl C. Border Command: General Phil Sheridan in the West. Norman, Okla.: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1944.


Victor, Frances F. The Early Indian Wars of Oregon. Salem, Ore.: State Printer, 1894.


4. Newspapers

Florence Arizona Citizen, 1877-78.
New York Herald, 1876-78.
Prescott Arizona Enterprise, 1877-78.
Prescott Arizona Weekly and Arizona Daily Miner, 1874-78.
Prescott Pick and Drill, 1899.
San Francisco Daily Alta California, 1877-78.
San Francisco Post, 1877.
Santa Fe Daily New Mexican, 1870-1877.
Seattle Post-Intelligencer, 1895.
Tacoma Ledger, 1893.
Tucson Arizona Citizen, 1874-77.
Tucson Arizona Star, 1877-78, 1886-87.
Virginia City, Nevada, Territorial Enterprise, 1875-76.
Yuma Arizona Sentinel, 1877-78.

5. General References


Diccionario Porrua: Historia, y Geografia de Mexico.

Encyclopaedia Brittanica [9th ed.] . . . with New Maps and
Original American Articles by Eminent Writers.

Hamersly, Lewis Randolph (comp.). The Records of Living
Officers of the U.S. Navy and Marine Corps, 4th ed.

Heitman, Francis B. Historical Register and Dictionary of
the United States Army, rev. ed. 2 vols. Washington:

Hodge, Frederick Webb (ed.). Handbook of American Indians north

Johnson, Allen, Dumas Malone, and others (eds.). Dictionary

and 1st Supplement New York: James T. White & Co.,
1898-1910.

Pearce, T. M. (ed.). New Mexico Place Names: A Geograph­
ical Dictionary. Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico

Powell, William H. (comp.). Records of Living Officers
of the United States Army. Philadelphia: L. R.
Hamersly & Co., 1890.

Prucha, Francis P. A Guide to the Military Posts of the
United States, 1789-1895. Madison, Wisc.:

Records of Living Officers of the United States Army.

Rodenbough, T. F., and W. L. Haskin (eds.). The Army of
the United States. New York: Maynard, Merrill &
Co., 1890.

Wallace, Andrew (ed.). Sources and Readings in Arizona
History: A Checklist of Literature Concerning
Webb, George W.  *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.:

Wilson, James G., and John Fiske (eds.).  *Appleton's