THE HISTORY OF FORT WHIPPLE

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: ARIZONA 1848-1863

To understand fully and appreciate any segment of the military history of Arizona, it is necessary that the general political and social beginnings of the area be briefly summarized. Frontier military fortifications, such as was Fort Whipple, can only be studied in the light of the historical framework of events preliminary to their establishment.

The United States, as a result of a victorious war with Mexico, acquired by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, May 30, 1848, a vast area in the Southwest that included the present states of Texas, Nevada, Utah, California, New Mexico, Colorado and Arizona. The southern boundaries of this area were the Rio Grande, the Upper Gila and a line uniting these rivers just above the latitude of El Paso, extending west to the Pacific. There was never any question about the line of the Rio Grande but the southern boundary of New Mexico and the line to the Gila River produced five years of international bickering and surveying. Not until 1853 with the Gadsden Purchase did an intelligible boundary, based on parallels of latitude rather than "nonexistent rivers," clarify the exact extent of this great area of the Southwest.[1]

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[1]Randolph G. Adams, A History of the Foreign Policy of the United States (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1925), p. 195.

President Pierce headed an expansionist administration and saw a need for the purchase of a railway right-of-way through the southern part of present day Arizona. The remarkable growth of population in California following the discovery of gold in 1848 clearly justified the administration's interest in the construction of a transcontinental railroad. With this purpose in mind, a southern railroad man, James Gadsden, was sent to Mexico in May 1853, as Minister and the subsequent purchase bears his name. By December 30, 1853, Gadsden had signed the treaty with Santa Anna that insured our possession of the area so coveted as a railroad route.[2] Santa Anna, the Mexican dictator, justified this further grant of Mexican land to the United States by reasoning that if he had not sold, the United States would have taken it anyway.[3]

The Gadsden Purchase area further swelled the limits of what was to be Arizona after 1863 but which in 1853 comprised the sprawling Dona Ana County within the Territory of New Mexico. The addition of this Santa Cruz Valley to Dona Ana County meant the acquiring of a few small towns such as Tucson and Tubac and these gave Arizona its first claim to anything resembling civilized life. The degree of "civilized life" is relative and some historians feel this term is too

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[2]Thomas A. Bailey, A Diplomatic History of the American People (New York: F. S. Crofts and Co., 1946), p. 278.

[3]Adams, op. cit.

strong a one to apply to this "feeble and miserable chain of settlements" that Sonora had gladly given over to the Arizona region as a result of this purchase.[4]

A failure to secure a more convenient boundary by the Gadsden Purchase was to be felt first in 1854 by immigrants coming into Arizona by way of the Gulf of California. They only learned after being arrested for not having passports that Sonora was not embraced in this new acquisition of Mexican territory. A more speedy development of Arizona and the Southwest would have no doubt resulted if a land connection had been obtained with the Gulf of California through this purchase.[5]

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, in Article XI, had obliged the United States to restrain the Indians living within the area from making incursions across the boundary into Mexico under the penalty of paying all claims that might result from such incursions. This term of the treaty was especially distasteful to the American government and its military since to attempt such control over this rough terrain and this broad expanse of wild frontier proved a most expensive obligation. President Pierce, therefore,

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[4]Frank C. Lockwood, Pioneer Days in Arizona (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1932), pp. 145-146.

[5]James M. Callahan, American Foreign Policy in Mexican Relations (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1932), p. 227.

freed the United States from such obligations by including within the Gadsden Purchase, Article II, which simply declared that Article XI of the Guadalupe Hidalgo Treaty of 1848 was abrogated. Jefferson Davis, as Secretary of War under President Pierce, had made only perfunctory efforts to stop the border turbulence of raiding, robbing and shooting.[6]

Just how "perfunctory" the efforts of Jefferson Davis were can best be shown by sighting the fact that previous to 1854 only two military posts existed in the Arizona region; one to the north near the 109th parallel called Fort Defiance and the other located to the west across from the mouth of the Gila in California called Fort Yuma which existed for the protection of immigrants coming into California. With such inadequate military protection in Arizona previous to 1854, it is apparent that no real attempt was even made to carry out the provisions of Article XI of the treaty.[7]

Not until 1856 did any United States troops move into Arizona with the sincere intent of protecting this newly acquired territory. In 1857 the Military Department of New Mexico then stationed only seven of its total twenty-eight companies of Infantry in the Arizona region. This

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[6]Samuel F. Benis, A Diplomatic History of the United States (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1936), pp. 324-326.

[7]John M. Weaver, The History of Fort Lowell, (Masters Thesis: University of Arizona, 1947) p. 3.

meager force of seven companies can be explained, however, by the demand for troops in the north where, in 1858, trouble existed with the Navajos. The next year saw need for the troops of the Military Department of New Mexico to be concentrated in the northeast plain regions due to trouble with the Comanche Indians. Troops existed in the New Mexico Territory, but Arizona, with her Apache depredations and lawless whites, lacked protection because it was felt that priority troubles existed elsewhere. As a result of Colonel Bonneville's inspection of the Military Department of New Mexico in 1859, Arizona was to have constructed two posts in her area: one at Tucson (Camp Lowell) and one on the San Pedro River (Fort Grant). This recognition of Arizona's need of the military was most welcomed by the desperate souls living on a hostile and lawless frontier.[8]

Growing out of this early period of lawlessness was a strong desire on the part of civilized settlers for protection through the establishment and organization of Arizona as a territory. As early as 1856, a citizens' committee held a convention in Tucson and signed a petition consisting of 250 names that was then sent with Nathan P. Cook to Washington. Cook arrived in Washington as Arizona's Territorial Delegate to Congress and as such was denied a seat.

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[8]Jerome Stone, The History of Fort Grant (Masters Thesis: University of Arizona, 1941), pp. 7-8.

Not to be easily discouraged, the next year saw another petition sent to Congress; but again no action was taken. All the conventions, agitation, elections and sending of representatives to Washington failed to secure Congressional action favorable to the recognition of Arizona as a separate and distinct territory from that of New Mexico.[9]

With no apparent action forthcoming out of Washington to this plea for more adequate civil administration and military protection, the City of Tucson became the scene of a Constitutional Convention. In April of 1860, thirty-one determined delegates "ordained and established a Provisional Constitution to operate so long, and only so long, as Arizona be left unorganized by Congress. . . . Some officers were elected and others were appointed, but there is no evidence that this temporary government ever functioned."[10]

The reason for Washington's indifference to Arizona's fervent plea for territorial status during these pre-Civil War days was in part due to the outspoken sentiment of its population for secession. This affection for the Confederate cause became apparent in the summer of 1861 when the sixty-eight American voters in the City of Tucson held a convention and voted to fly the "eleven starred banner." This meeting

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[9]Lockwood, op. cit., p. 146.

[10]Ibid.

also elected one Granville Oury to be the Territorial Delegate to the Confederate Congress in Richmond.[11]

Along with the outbreak of the Civil War came orders for the Union troops stationed in present-day Arizona to destroy all forts and to proceed to the defense of the Union forces in the Rio Grande Valley.[12] The Apache Indians observed this exodus of troops in 1861 as their personal triumph and set out on a murderous spree that eventually liquidated or drove out all white inhabitants in southern Arizona except those few hundred citizens who escaped to the protection of the walls surrounding the City of Tucson.[13]

With such conditions existing in the area immediately after the beginning of the Civil War, it is understandable why the townspeople of Tucson were jubilant over the arrival in February of 1862 of Captain Hunter and his 200 Confederate troops from Texas. This occupation by Confederate troops, however, was to be short lived for on May 20, 1862, Captain Hunter withdrew south from Tucson as word reached him that Colonel West and his superior number of Union troops made up of California Volunteers were approaching. By June of that year, General Carleton, commander of the California Column, reached Tucson and declared Arizona a territory of

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[11]Lockwood, ibid., p. 147.

[12]Weaver, op. cit., p. 8.

[13]Hubert H. Bancroft, History of Arizona and New Mexico (San Francisco: The Historical Co., 1889), p. 502.

the United States subject to the control of a military government. General Carleton's formal proclamation in Tucson given on June 8, 1862, sums up the dark picture of the day:

> Now, in the present chaotic state in which Arizona is found to be, with no civil officers to administer the laws, indeed, with an utter absence of all civil authority, and with no security of life and property within its borders, it becomes the duty of the undersigned to represent the authority of the United States over the people of Arizona as well as over all those who compose, or are connected with the Column from California.
>
> Thus, by virtue of his office as military commander of the United States forces now here, and to meet the fact that wherever within our boundaries our colors fly there the soverign power of our country must at once prevail, the undersigned, as a military governor, assumes control of this Territory until such time as the President of the United States shall otherwise direct.[14]

Arizona saw no great battles between Confederate and Union soldiers during the Civil War years. Tucson's transition from Confederate occupation to Union occupation was a graceful one at the end of three months control by the former. The efforts of the Union command to fortify the area were meager. A small garrison was left at the Pima villages and this post was called Fort Barrett in memory of the only officer known to have been killed in Arizona by a Confederate bullet. Outside of Tucson a post named Camp Lowell was established and as a result of a hard fight with the Indians

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[14]Robert N. Scott, The War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1888). Series I, IX, p. 561.

at Apache Pass to the east, they established a post named Fort Bowie.[15]

The climax of the long struggle for Arizona's territorial status was to arrive quite unexpectedly. Within less than a year after General Carleton's proclamation of military rule over the Arizona region, a Republican Congress under the direction of President Lincoln was to pass the bill creating the long awaited Territory of Arizona. The bill had passed the House by a small majority on May 8, 1862, but the Senate postponed its action until finally, on February 20, 1863, it passed by a vote of 25 to 12 becoming law February 24, 1863.[16]

The pros and cons of the Congressional debate over this granting of the territorial status contribute substantially to the historical background of this period. On one side there were those picturing Arizona's white population numbering 6,500 along with 4,000 civilized Indians who were all collectively entitled as citizens to the civil and military protection of the United States. The area's vast mineral wealth was argued as a factor that would justify any necessary expenditures in the execution of this protection. Those holding opposing views evaluated the census figures in a different light and claimed that the 6,500 whites included

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[15]Bancroft, op. cit., p. 515.

[16]Ibid., p. 509.

Mexicans as well as half breeds that were unfit for citizenship. The opposition felt the entire area was in the hands of only rebels and hostile Indians and that to attempt to establish civil government under such conditions would be a "mockery." Some felt that such a bill was being promoted so as to create jobs for territorial office seekers and many felt its necessity rested solely in the fact that such a territory was being organized so that an "anti-slavery proviso" could be made effective over the Arizona area.[17]

It was no doubt a just criticism of the bill by those who said an emphasis was being placed on the territory being organized on the grounds of an anti-slavery proviso because Section 3 of the bill stated: "And be it further enacted, that there shall neither be slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory . . .".[18]

With the Territory of Arizona officially created, President Lincoln appointed John A. Gurley as Governor; Richard C. McCormick, Secretary; and John N. Goodwin, Chief Justice. On August 18, Gurley died and so Goodwin was appointed Governor in his place with William F. Turner appointed as Chief Justice. The rest of the officials included William T. Howell and Joseph P. Allyn as Associate Justices and Almon Gage was made District Attorney. Milton

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[17]Bancroft, ibid., pp. 508-509.

[18]Quoted in James H. McClintock, Arizona the Youngest State (Chicago: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1916), II, p. 314.

B. Duffield was made Marshall; Levi Boshford, Surveyor-General; and Charles D. Poston, Indian Agent.[19]

Not to summarize, at this point, the high personal qualifications of Governor John N. Goodwin for this difficult assignment, would be a gross neglect for the respect and recognition due to the most unifying personality to exist in this beginning period of Arizona's history. The population of Arizona was a mixed one with a predominance of southern sympathizers and had Governor Goodwin proceeded without sound diplomacy he would no doubt have had a civil war of his own to put down. Goodwin, however, was a peacemaker who proceeded to unite the various factions under the banner of a loyalty to the common cause of "redeeming the territory from savage dominion."[20]

When Goodwin visited Tucson for the first time shortly after his arrival in the territory, he incorporated the town by proclamation and appointed William S. Oury, of Virginia, mayor. Oury had been a strong sympathizer with the south and it was his brother who had been made the delegate sent from Arizona to the Confederate Congress in 1861. Goodwin also made King Woolsey head of the territorial militia and here again it was well known that Woolsey was another southern sympathizer.

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[19]Lockwood, op. cit., p. 150.

[20]Thomas E. Farish, History of America (San Francisco: The Filmer Brothers Electrotype Co., 1916), III, p. 188.

These appointments of Governor Goodwin to offices of high responsibility were made irrespective of a man's feelings regarding the war between the north and the south since he was a keen judge of character and asked only for a loyalty to the territory and to his newly formed government. The proof of his sound judgement in these matters of official appointments rests in the fact that never was his trust betrayed.[21]

This party of Territorial Officers had started for the "promised land" in the late summer of 1863 and crossed the border of Arizona on December 27, 1863, attended by a military escort. Just to make sure they were within the Territory of Arizona before they held formal inaugural ceremonies, they continued west for two more days and on December 29, at Navajo Springs, they unfurled the flag of the Republic, said a prayer and all officers took the oath of office. The honor of the inaugural address was given to Secretary McCormick and was followed by Governor Goodwin's Proclamation which, among other things, stated that "the seat of government will for the present be at or near Fort Whipple."[22] The itinerant government then continued their journey reaching Fort Whipple on January 22, 1864.

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[21]Farish, ibid., p. 189.

[22]Lockwood, op. cit., p. 151.

McClintock, the Arizona historian, appears to have a private inside source on information that explains why the Territorial Government chose the central area of Arizona for the capital site rather than a more logical spot such as Tucson.

> From private sources the author [McClintock] has learned that Goodwin and his cabinet were still in doubt concerning their destination when they arrived, November 14, [1863] at Santa Fe. There, it is told, they proved willing listeners when General Carleton suggested that they strike out into the wilderness of Central Arizona and there, protected by a military post he was establishing [Ft. Whipple], erect a new capitol city that should be wholly American, without Mexican or secession influences, within a land wherein rich discoveries had been made, and which, favored by abundant water and timber and by a delightful climate, would seem destined to soon fill with a high class of American residents.[23]

True, General James H. Carleton, so as to afford protection for the prospectors and miners in the region had, only a month previous, established Fort Whipple. In May of 1864, Fort Whipple was to be moved 21 miles southwest of its original location in Chino Valley[24] and into the new capitol area of the Territorial government where the city of Prescott was to be founded.

This introductory summary has briefly traced the social, political and military struggle of Arizona's birth as a Territory of the United States. Those who fought their way

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[23]McClintock, op. cit., p. 315.

[24]Early maps and records call this area "Chino Valley" while later accounts refer to it as "Little Chino Valley."

into this frontier wilderness upon arrival soon learned that the fight against great odds had to continue if their very existence was to be sustained. It shall be further seen that for the next twenty years, Arizona's fight for survival was due in large part to the continued efforts of the military strength concentrated in the area. It shall be the purpose of the following chapters to trace this further struggle of the military in Arizona through a study of the personalities and campaigns associated with the military establishment of Fort Whipple.

CHAPTER II

FOUNDING OF FORT WHIPPLE

This chapter explains the evolution of motives basic to the founding of Fort Whipple. The picture would be most incomplete if one were to assume, at this point, that Central Arizona was opened to civilization by the appearance of troops sent out by General Carleton in November, 1863, to establish Fort Whipple for the sole purpose of protecting the Territorial Government officials who were to arrive in January, 1864.

The story begins in 1862 with the appearance of the Walker party from California and General Carleton's concern by May, 1863, about their activities in unexplored Central Arizona. By late 1863 the motivation for this military interest shifted to that of supplying protection to the flood of miners into Central Arizona as a result of what appeared to be fabulous gold discoveries. The third factor of motivation, and one incidental to the two mentioned, was that of offering military protection to the governmental officers of the Territory upon their arrival in January of 1864.

Previous to 1862 practically nothing was known of Central Arizona. Lieutenant E. F. Beale in 1857 had opened the "Beale Road" running from Fort Defiance, New Mexico,

through Navaho Springs to the eastern frontier of California, but no expedition had thoroughly explored this area until the old trapper and hunter, Captain Joseph R. Walker, led his expedition into Central Arizona in 1861. In entering the San Francisco Mountains in northern Arizona from the West, his party was so harassed by hostile Indians that they continued on east into New Mexico and hence to Colorado with an Indian hunting party under the famed Kit Carson. Determined to return to Central Arizona, Captain Walker, in 1862, mustered a force of thirty-four hardy men who left Pueblo, Colorado, to blaze a trail into the hostile Apache country.[1]

This organized party of whitemen penetrated the unexplored regions of the Hassayampa River and established a base of operations in wooded areas near present day Prescott. Here they felled trees and "built a corral in a hollow square that the savages could not break through, and in which were kept their sixty head of mules during the night."[2]

These introductory remarks about the Walker Expedition reveal no basis for any concern of General Carleton whose military jurisdiction as Commander of the Department of New Mexico included, after January, 1863, the District of Western

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[1]Thomas E. Farish, History of Arizona (San Francisco: The Filmer Brothers Electrotype Co., 1916), II, pp. 241-242.

[2]Ibid., p. 244.

Arizona in which the Walker Expedition was camped.[3] However, General Carleton's interest in the Walker party had begun in September, 1862, as they were preparing to leave Pueblo, Colorado, supposedly to prospect for gold in Arizona. Military authorities were then suspicious of Captain Walker's purpose and "thinking they might be seeking to effect a junction with the Confederates, General Carleton employed A. C. Benedict to accompany the expedition for the purpose of watching its movements and reporting the same."[4]

This suspicion of southern sympathies within the membership of the Walker party is a highly controversial one which reliable sources report in opposing views. A. F. Banta, who at the age of seventeen was to arrive in the Arizona Territory as a "bullwacker" in the wagon train that brought in the troops who first established Fort Whipple, gives an interesting summary and analysis of this military interest in the questionable activities of the Walker party. The following is Banta's full account:

> Much has been written about the 'Captain Joe Walker' party; its aims and objects, etc. One 'authontic' account says it was a prospecting expedition headed for the canyon of the Little Colorado river, where Walker had found gold in the early forties; all these stories are erroneous and far from the truth.

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[3]Farish, ibid., p. 250.

[4]Ibid., p. 243.

Captain Joseph Walker was an honorable man, and a natural commander of men. Captain Sibley, of the Southern Confederacy, had undertaken the conquest of New Mexico, and the capture of Fort Union, the great depot of supplies of the U. S. Government. However, the defeat of the Sibley expedition at Apache Canyon, changed the aspect of affairs.

Captain Joe Walker, with a few followers, started eastward from California, gathering new members enroute, until he reached Colorado. He had no intention of going to Arizona when he left California; otherwise he would have gone south from California and entered Arizona either at La Paz or Yuma, and certainly would not have gone eastward through several states and territories if Arizona had been his objective point of destination. Captain Walker and all his followers -- with one exception -- were Southern sympathizers. The defeat of General Sibley at Apache Canyon was an unexpected event, which Walker had not thought possible, and Sibley's complete evacuation of New Mexico left that Territory in the hands of the Union troops. This changed the aspect of affairs, and the Walker party metamorphosed into a "prospecting party". At this time New Mexico was under martial law, and naturally all armed parties were viewed with suspicion, hence the "prospecting party". There was one man with the Walker party of Union sympathies, named A. C. Benedict, who informed General James H. Carleton, the Union Commander in Santa Fe, of the purpose of the Walker Expedition. Captain Walker, feeling that his movements were under military surveillance, decided to make a strategic movement and hoped by the ruse to deceive the U. S. military. Instead of going down the Rio Grande, he struck westward from Albuquerque over the old immigrant trail leading from that place to Los Angeles. Having reached Antelope Springs at the base of the San Francisco Mountains, and the present site of Flagstaff, Walker knew he must be north of the Gila River, and a southward course would lead to that stream. From any point on the Gila his course would be eastward to Texas. But, reaching the Black Forest Mountains, and discovering gold, which was merely an accidental incident, the Walker party were loath to leave the "real thing" to go gallivanting after such an unsubstantial product as "empty glory." Before the party had pulled out of Albuquerque, Benedict had appraised Carleton of the westward movement.[5]

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[5]A. F. Banta, Biographical File, State Archives, Phoenix, Arizona.

Banta explains his "inside facts" by relating that he was in Albuquerque at the time working for a Lieutenant H. S. Johnson, who was Provost Marshal as well as the publisher of the Rio Abajo Press. As an employee in the newspaper office, Banta professed to be on the "inside" also and, therefore, knew the facts of the case.[6]

T. E. Farish quotes Banta's personal account of the Walker party but cautions the reader against too strong a belief in Banta's statements. Farish states that, "It does not appear in General Carleton's letters, or elsewhere, that there was any suspicion that the Walker party were Confederates; for had their loyalty been suspected, they would all have been arrested in New Mexico and compelled to take the oath of allegiance, so it is probable that this portion of Mr. Banta's statement was founded upon camp rumors."[7]

True, no letter of General Carleton's states directly that the Walker party was under suspicion of any activity in support of a possible Confederate move from the southeast. However, a letter exists among the official records dealing with the war of rebellion that Farish must have overlooked. On May 17, 1863, Carleton wrote Major General S. R. Curtis, commanding the Military Department of Missouri, St. Louis,

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[6]Farish, op. cit., III, p. 29.

[7]Ibid., p. 39.

an official letter in which he states quite clearly his use of "spies" and his concern about the possible march of Confederate forces with the view of taking the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona. Carleton's letter reads: "General: We have circumstantial intelligence that a rebel force from Texas is moving toward this Territory, with a view to its conquest, and to the conquest of the Territory of Arizona as well. I have spies and scouts out to ascertain the strength of the enemy. . . ."[8]

This statement gives a probable emphasis to Banta's story in explaining Benedict's presence with the Walker party as Carleton's "spy." The statement speaks of "circumstantial intelligence" which most certainly is above the level of "camp rumor" as was assumed by Farish to be the basis for Banta's story. Moreover, if Carleton's statement says the purpose of the rebel force was believed to be "the conquest of the Territory of Arizona as well," then who else might be suspect but the Walker party since their expedition was the only organized body of armed men in Central Arizona at that time. Carleton, as a responsible military commander, must have been concerned about the intent of the armed Walker party to the west and rear as well as to those rebel forces that might attack his eastern front.

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[8]Robert N. Scott, The War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1888). Series I, XXII, Pt. II, p. 286.

Farish makes it doubley hard for his readers to follow the logic in his discrediting Banta's statement on the grounds of "camp rumors" when he proceeds to give the valued testimony of a personal interview with another pioneer and old resident of Arizona, Fred G. Hughes. Hughes was a soldier in one of the two companies which made the initial trip into Chino Valley to found Fort Whipple. Hughes' statement says, "General Carleton . . . also decided to locate a fort there [Walker party vicinity], ostensibly to protect the miners against the Indians, but in reality to guard against organization in our rear, for it was known that most of the people going to the new discovery were sympathizers with the Confederacy."[9]

Another source for information regarding this questionable concern of the military for the activities of the Walker party is to be found in a printed folder published around 1900 by Daniel E. Conner, who at that time was the only survivor who had participated in the Walker Expedition. In the interest of "historical truth" Conner gives a first hand account of the purpose of the Walker Expedition as being, "for the express purpose of exploring the unknown regions of Central and Northern Arizona. ..."[10]

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[9]Quoted in Farish, op. cit., III, p. 41.

[10]Daniel E. Conner, The Walker Expedition in Arizona, (Riverside County, California: Elsinore, 1900?), Arizona Historical Pioneers Society Archives, Tucson.

Conner, in his account of the physical hardships and Apache hostility, states that the military gave them no aid and that when the Walker party did meet with the few and small elements of the military in the wilderness, the soldiers were there "not to fight the savages, but to detect any possible seeds of organized rebellion against the government . . . practically a silly waste of time and patriotism. There being no possible need of such precaution. . . ."[11]

Conner's distaste for those who questioned the loyalty of the Walker party becomes especially strong when he proposes to explain why the Union troops wanted to think some connection existed between the Walker Expedition and the Confederate cause. Conner says that "when the truth is known . . . Union troops were acting upon the suspicion created by the military (who preferred to remain in the West to going to the Civil War) that the Walker Expedition had some connection with the rebellion."[12]

Conner would naturally defend the good name of the expedition of which he was a part and, therefore, his harsh statement might have strayed beyond the confining limits of "historical truth." He further defends the loyalty of the expedition on the basis of its thirty-four members representing nearly every state in the Union. This appears to be

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[11]Conner, ibid.

[12]Ibid.

a weak argument, however, when you look into the background of one John (Jack) W. Swilling who was a member of the Walker party. Jack Swilling had served under Captain Hunter and his Confederate troops had captured Tucson before the Union forces under General Carleton forced the rebels to flee. And it was this same Jack Swilling who, as lieutenant in charge of a Confederate detachment, engaged in the only skirmish between Confederates and Union troops on Arizona soil, resulting in the death of Union Lieutenant James Barrett.[13]

No matter what opinion the reader draws from this summary of statements regarding the military movement of troops into the Walker party area, it must be expressed as culminating in a highly probable motive for General Carleton's action in his founding of Fort Whipple.

The second and non-controversial motive for the founding of Fort Whipple is to be found in the Walker party's discovery of gold. In May, 1863, Sam Miller and four others of the Walker party went up Lynx Creek from their corral and camp base on the Hassayampa. While the party of four were hunting, Miller went on to a bank of the creek and washed one pan of dirt that yielded $4.80 in gold. When word reached the main camp, they all broke camp and moved on to Lynx Creek, five miles south of the present city of Prescott where they all

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[13]Farish, op. cit., II, p. 88.

successfully worked in placer mining and trapping. One historian reported that the participants in this gold discovery, between finding wealth and shooting Indians, experienced "booming times."[14]

During this same month of May, 1863, a second party was organized in California under A. H. Peeples and entered this central Arizona region under the famed scout and trapper, Pauline Weaver. They camped on a stream they named Antelope Creek.[15] Here was to take place the famous discovery of Rich Hill. Stories differ as to facts surrounding the actual discovery but Patrick Hamilton's account relates that a Mexican in the employ of Jack Swilling, made the discovery while crossing the mountains to the Weaver (Peeples) camp.

> In a depression on the summit of the mountain, about 4,000 feet above tide-water, the coarse gold was found lying on the bare bed-rock. Pieces of the pure metal, worth several hundred dollars, were picked up, and over $500,000 was taken from about an acre of ground. Butcher knives were used to dig the gold out of the seams in the rock, and it was not an uncommon thing to find from $1,000 to $5,000 under a small boulder.[16]

News of the gold discoveries by the Walker party and the Peeples party soon spread to the outside world. The Walker party, after discovery of the placers in and around Prescott, made trips to Indian villages for supplies and

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[14]Farish, ibid., II, pp. 245-246.

[15]Ibid., p. 247.

[16]Patrick Hamilton, The Resources of Arizona (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft and Co., 1884), pp. 178-179.

here they left letters to be forwarded east and west by travellers who were passing through. Carleton was the recipient of some of these letters at his headquarters at Santa Fe, New Mexico. The company of soldiers Carleton sent out under Captain Pishon and Surveyor-General Clark to the Walker area had instructions to prospect for gold along the route and report to Carleton the results.[17]

A letter from Carleton to Walker dated June 22, 1863, at Headquarters Department of New Mexico, Santa Fe, clearly states the interest held by Carleton in this discovery of gold and states his future plans relative to the establishment of Fort Whipple for the protection of the immigration anticipated.

My dear Captain:

> I have seen two letters written by Mr. Benedict to Judge Benedict, setting forth the wonderful discoveries which yourself and party have made. I have written to the War Department and to General Halleck on the subject. The Surveyor-General of New Mexico proceeds to visit your new gold regions, and when he returns will make an official report on their probable extent and value, so that the government can be well informed on the subject. If you can do so, when General Clark has completed his observations, I desire that you will come by Whipple's route, by Zuni to Albuquerque, with General Clark and escort, so that I may employ you as a guide for a couple of companies of troops which I will send to establish a military post in the very heart of the gold country. . . The people who will flock into the country, around the San Francisco Mountains, will soon open farms and have stock enough for the mines. All they want is military protection on the road and in that country until they

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[17]Farish, op. cit., III, p. 3.

have got a good foothold, then they will take care of themselves. . . .[18]

Surveyor-General Clark, along with a military escort under Captain Pishon, reached the Walker camp after a three months search over a route which was estimated to have been about 525 miles from Santa Fe, New Mexico.[19] Upon their return to Santa Fe in September, the members of Pishon's command spread the news of the rich gold mines in the Hassayampa and Lynx Creek regions of Central Arizona, and many an adventurous and hurriedly organized prospecting party started west.

Carleton, on September 20, 1863, wrote Brigadier-General Lorenzo Thomas, Adjutant General in Washington, of Captain Pishon and Surveyor-General Clark's findings. "That there is a large and rich mineral region between the San Francisco Mountains and the Colorado River there can be no doubt." Also stated in this letter were his intentions "to establish a military post of two companies of infantry," and his plans for the new territorial government reportedly on its way west was considered by his statement: "The new government of Arizona, if it ever come, will be at the gold fields, not at the insignificant village of Tucson."[20]

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[18]Quoted in Farish, ibid., III, pp. 4-5.

[19]Ibid., II, p. 247.

[20]Quoted in Farish, ibid., p. 20.

Governor Goodwin's party was on its way to Santa Fe, New Mexico, at the time news of the gold discoveries was officially released. Jonathan Richmond, among the members making the trip, was to be the clerk of the court under the promise of Judge Howell, and Richmond's letters written during the trip west give an excellent record of happenings along the way. News of the new gold discoveries in Arizona were of particular interest to Richmond and his letter of October 27, 1863, written to his father from Fort Lyon, Colorado, gives his interpretation of a newspaper account of the survey made by Pishon and Clark.

> The governor has a Santa Fe paper (Elnoro Amerjicano) of the 17th of October, from which I have been reading an official report of Capt. N. J. Pishon, U. S. A., concerning the recent mining discoveries among the San Francisco Mountains, "Weaver's and Walker's District." Capt. Pishon left Fort Craig, New Mexico, with his company, to escort Surveyor-General John A. Clark, to the newly discovered gold fields of Capt. Walker and party. . . .
>
> Pishon says in his report that the mines are far richer than any previously discovered. He was there twelve days, travelling and prospecting. Gold was found everywhere. No pan was washed out but yielded more or less of the yellow metal. A quantity of dirt -- about two-thirds full of a flour sack -- was washed and yielded $8.75. The mining ground is known to extend one hundred and fifty miles, and Capt. Walker is confident that richer mines and more water for mining purposes exist further to the east, but he cannot venture into that country on account of the hostility of the Indians. . . .
>
> A soldier here, who was with Capt. Pishon in his prospecting tour, endorses the above report. He says at the time they left the country there were not more than forty or fifty men in both districts, but that they met at least three hundred more travelling towards the new "El Dorado." If all that I have read and heard be true -- which I have no reason to doubt -- I think it

> will do me good to go up there and turn over a few sods. . . . Many of the men of our train intend going into the mines upon our arrival.[21]

The enthusiastic reception by Richmond of the news of new gold discoveries was no doubt repeated by thousands of others across the nation. The exact figures numbering the immigration of people into the gold area in the year 1865 cannot be verified by official census figures. However, H. H. Bancroft gives the Arizona territorial census of 1866 as 5,526 (excluding Indians) and that a year later the population had increased to 7,200. There can be no doubt that following the discovery of gold, immigration into the area increased rapidly.[22]

Increased immigration into this rich but hostile Indian country made even greater the need for military protection and by December, 1863, two companies of infantry were located at Fort Whipple to respond to this need. The very first issue of the Miner published in March, 1864, contained a news item that relates the plight of two prospectors, Vickory and Smith, of the "Lower Hesiampa diggings." They requested of Secretary McCormick military protection for their district since three days previous to their request, a band of Apaches had "killed eight of the miners, five Mexicans, and that

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[21]Letters of Jonathan Richmond, Original Letters on file at State Archives, Phoenix, Arizona.

[22]Hubert H. Bancroft, History of Arizona and New Mexico (San Francisco: The Historical Company, 1889), pp. 529-530.

some twenty more were missing." In reply to this request a force of twenty soldiers were dispatched from Fort Whipple to the endangered diggings.[23]

Carleton not only desired to offer military protection to the miner but also to the valuable product of the mines. Gold was the precious metal the government needed to finance its military operations of the Civil War since "the bonds of the government, while the principal was payable in currency, bore interest which was payable in gold." The interest on these bonds ran from six to seven and one-half percent per annum, and at the time of this discovery in Arizona, gold on the New York market was at its "high-water mark." With these conditions prevailing, it is easily understood why Carleton's interest in the gold fields ran at so high a level.[24]

The statement of purpose and the execution of Carleton's plan for Fort Whipple is well briefed in General Order #27 issued from his Headquarters at Santa Fe, New Mexico, October 23, 1863.

> II The recent discovery of gold near the San Francisco Mountains, within the District of Northern Arizona, and the flocking thither of many citizens of the United States, both from the Atlantic and Pacific slopes of the country, and the coming to that point of many of the people from the Republic of Mexico, renders it necessary that a small military force should be sent to these new gold fields to preserve order and give security to life and property in that region until the civil officers of Arizona, now

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[23] The Arizona Miner, Fort Whipple, A. T., March 9, 1864.

[24] Farish, op. cit., III, pp. 25-26.

enroute from the East, shall arrive within that Territory, and shall establish and set in motion the machinery of a civil government, and organize courts for the administration of justice.

. . .

IV The troops to go to the new gold fields will establish at or near them a military post, which will be known as Fort Whipple, in honor of the memory of Brig. Gen. Amiel W. Whipple, who fell in the battle of Chancellorsville, and who, as a first Lieutenant of Topographical Engineers in 1853, explored the road leading from Albuquerque, New Mexico, through the country of these new gold fields.

Since that period this road has been known as the "Whipple Route."

A Board of Officers to consist of Major Edward B. Willis, First Infantry California Volunteers, Captain Herbert M. Enos, assistant quartermaster, U. S. Army, and Captain Joseph P. Hargrave, First Infantry California Volunteers, will fix the exact site for the post (one suitable for two companies of infantry and a company of cavalry) and will submit a plan for the same, with an estimate of the cost.

The troops will live in huts during the coming winter.[25]

Pursuant to this order, Major Willis left Fort Wingate on November 7, 1863, and arrived at Chino Valley, Arizona Territory, on December 23, 1863, where Fort Whipple was first established.

A. F. Banta, who was a "bullwacker" on the wagon train that accompanied the troops from Fort Wingate to Chino Valley, best tells the story of the expedition in an article published in the Weekly Arizona Journal-Miner of November 6, 1889. This

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[25] General Orders, No. 27, Headquarters Department of New Mexico, Santa Fe, N. M., October 23, 1863. Copy in Arizona Historical Pioneer Society archives, Tucson.

authentic account relates that sufficient transportation and the necessary supplies for the expedition were drawn from the Quartermaster's Department at Fort Union, New Mexico. The expedition consisted of sixty bull teams of six yoke of oxen to the team along with a train of mule teams, 1800 head of sheep and a large band of beef cattle. An extra train of ten mule teams from Fort Wingate, loaded with grain, went as far as Ojo Pescado, which is fourteen miles east of the Zuni villages, where it left the expedition and returned to Fort Wingate.

Troops were under the command of Major Willis and they consisted of Companies F and C of the First California Volunteer Infantry commanded respectively by Captains Hargrave and Benson. The guide was the previously mentioned Captain Pishon.

The route followed was the one formerly traversed by Lieutenants Whipple and Beale until they reached Antelope Springs (present site of Flagstaff), where they left the route and took a southwesterly course across Bill Williams' Mountain. From this point on the expedition was obliged to make its own road over rough rock. Progress was slow so that at times only two miles a day was travelled and wagons broke down. At this point, Major Willis established a temporary camp where half to two-thirds of each wagon load could be left so that the remainder could proceed without delay. Lieutenant Pomeroy was left in charge of this temporary camp. After the advanced

party established Fort Whipple, the empty wagons returned and picked up the balance left in the custody of Lieutenant Pomeroy.

Among the many colorful characters with the expedition there was one in particular named "Sugar-Foot Jack." Banta relates that "several wagons were loaded with barrels of sauerkraut, and the toughs, led by Sugar-Foot Jack, in search for whiskey, bored holes up through the bottoms of the wagons into the kraut barrels, letting the brine run out, and in consequence each barrel of the kraut was spoiled." So complete was their search that each bottom of the wagon boxes closely resembled a sieve.[26]

The initial location of Fort Whipple at Chino Valley on December 23, 1863, was changed in May, 1864, to a site on Granite Creek, twenty-one miles south of the original location. With the permanent establishment of Fort Whipple at Granite Creek, the story of its founding is terminated. The need for this military post in the newly opened region of Central Arizona had been motivated by the desire of Union forces to safeguard national interests from the probable designs of Confederate sympathizers; the desire to protect the lives and property of miners and immigrants from the hostile

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[26]Albert F. Banta, "The Establishment of Fort Whipple -- Men Who Figured in Early History of Arizona," Weekly Arizona Journal-Miner, Prescott, November 6, 1889.

Indians in the area; and the granting of military security to the newly arrived Territorial Government of Arizona. Such were the motivating factors in the history of the founding of Fort Whipple.

CHAPTER III

EARLY LIFE AND DESCRIPTIONS OF FORT WHIPPLE

The reception received by Major Willis and his troops upon their arrival at Chino Valley was apparently a memorable one. Willis, in his letter of New Years Day, 1864, to his commanding general in Santa Fe, tells of the welcome afforded him upon his arrival by the hostile Apaches of the area. Willis had made up seven mule teams to be sent back with sufficient escort to bring in the balance of the supplies left with Lieutenant Pomeroy as previously mentioned. The night before the return trip was to begin, the mules were grazing under charge of guards when they were stampeded by Indians with a total of 43 mules lost and only one saved. This loss of the expeditions mules on the night of December 27, 1863, left no choice but for Willis to send his "foot sore" ox teams out to bring in the remainder of the stores.[1]

This capacity for thievery on the part of the Indians in the area was to be the source of many a problem. Willis states: "There has been of late much trouble with Indians

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[1]E. B. Willis letters, Headquarters Fort Whipple to Ben C. Cutler, Department New Mexico, Santa Fe, Jan. 1, 1864. (Microfilm copies of original signed letters: The National Archives, Records of the War Department, U. S. Army Commands, Washington, D. C.

in this section. The miners have lost about 150 head of animals during the past two weeks, and almost every night some animals are stolen."[2]

This loss of mules was of a critical nature to the Willis command since it acted as ā great drawback to the construction of Fort Whipple in its first location at Chino Valley. Firewood had to be hauled two and one half miles to camp and the timber used in the construction of the Fort was twenty-five miles distant. As of January 1, 1864, Willis summarized his problems by stating: "Being obliged to send so large a party with the ox train, and mounting so large a guard, leaves the working parties small. . . . I have two working parties out, one getting out timbers for the houses, and one about six miles from here getting stuff for corrals, which we need badly."[3]

Four days later Willis reported further trouble to his commander in his letter of January 5.

> Since my letter of the 1st inst. it becomes my duty to report for information of the general command that eleven head of cattle belonging to my command, have been driven off by Indians. This occurred at the Ranchos near Walker mines, where a party were cutting timber for building purposes. Three wagons were sent to bring down the timbers already cut; upon arriving at that point, the cattle were turned out with those of the citizens, and about dark, were driven off.[4]

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[2]Willis letters, ibid.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Ibid., Jan. 5, 1864.

It is reported that two officers, Captain Hargrave and Lieutenant Nelson, started in pursuit of the stolen cattle and only after two days of scouting without food or blankets did they give up the fruitless search. The civilian employee who was acting as guard over the cattle when stolen was discharged on the grounds of carelessness.[5]

Willis reported that he already had his sheepherd secure in a corral just completed and that once the ox teams returned he would be able to haul in enough lumber with which to complete a second corral for the safety of the remaining cattle.[6]

Three weeks later Willis notes in his letter of January 28 the arrival of Governor Goodwin and the Territorial Officials at Fort Whipple. Hard pressed for the necessary means of transportation he informed General Carleton that he could not properly transport the expedition in their survey of the area for the purpose of selecting a suitable capital site. Willis saw a possible solution to this immediate problem, however, when he respectfully requested "permission to retain a portion of the transportation brought here under the command of Colonel Cehaves" who had made up the military escort for Governor Goodwin's party to Chino Valley.[7]

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[5]Willis letters, ibid.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Ibid., Jan. 28, 1864.

Lack of transportation was not the only problem confronting the first troops at Fort Whipple. Willis relates receiving faulty provisions of a most critical kind.

> In accordance with instructions from the general commanding, I obtained all the ammunition possible from the Posts of Los Pinos and Albuquerque. This ammunition turns out to be a very bad quality, and some of it badly damaged. It is also not the proper calibre for our arms, although it can be used.[8]

Provisions of all kinds were in short supply during the early days of 1864 in this Fort Whipple area of Central Arizona. Most all of the Willis letters contain word relative to the seriousness of this provision scarcity. On January 5 Willis remarks that "Provisions are quite scarce here, and this is more cause of persons leaving than anything else. . . . All the trains from New Mexico have sold their goods well, getting $30.00 per hundred for flour in gold, and quick sale."[9]

By March 28, the Indian menace to the area was becoming worse and King Woolsey, commander of the Territorial Militia, made up a party of citizens and miners to start an active 30 day campaign of extermination against the Indians. Willis reported that "the great drawback upon this section at this time is want of provisions. Plenty of men who are ready and willing to assist in subduing these Indians, and who have

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[8] Willis letters, ibid.

[9] Ibid., Jan. 5, 1864.

the gold dust in their pockets to buy with, cannot procure sufficient of the common necessaries of life to afford aid."[10]

This particular Indian campaign was made possible by the intercession of Assistant Inspector General of the Department of New Mexico, Nelson H. Davis, who was at Fort Whipple in March, 1864, inspecting the military there for General Carleton. Davis in his letter to Carleton on March 20 explains the action taken so that Woolsey's party could conduct their Indian campaign in the face of scarce civilian provisions. Davis simply authorized the expenditure of certain military rations that existed at Fort Whipple at a six month's supply level.

> I have also taken the responsibility of furnishing King Woolsey with thirty days' rations for 60 men, of flour and coffee, and 500 pounds of bacon, making, say, 2,400 pounds flour, 180 pounds coffee, and 500 of bacon, to enable him and 60 men to make a campaign against the hostile Apache Indians. . . . The condition of affairs here must be looked in the face and the Indians subdued and rendered harmless, or the country deserted by whites, its mines and agricultural resources undeveloped, and the Territory given up to the savage and coyote.[11]

Not only did the military make this campaign possible by furnishing the necessary rations, Willis also aided its success by sending twelve of his soldiers with the Woolsey party. The effectiveness of the soldiers in this campaign can be judged

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[10]Willis letters, ibid., Mar. 28, 1864.

[11]Robert N. Scott, The War of the Rebellion; a Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1888). Series I, XXXIV, Pt. III, pp. 204-205.

by the Willis letter of April 11th in which he reports that of the fourteen Indians killed in one surprise attack, the soldiers were credited with killing five of them.[12]

The problem of provisions for the area could not be solved by drawing from those rations kept for the military garrison of Fort Whipple. The want of provisions in the various mining districts persisted and in April Willis reported that "Captain Walker informed me a few days ago, that unless some train should arrive, that in five days time not a man in his District would have enough flour to make a cake. Flour readily brings fourty dollars per hundred in gold. . . ."[13]

On April 25 Willis reports the termination of the Woolsey campaign because "for want of provisions; having been some two or three days without anything to eat." An optimistic note is voiced by Willis in this same letter, however, when he mentions of knowing several persons who plan to bring in supplies "as soon as possible, but there is no danger of the market being overstocked."[14]

This optimism does not appear to have been well founded since a second campaign against the hostile Indians under

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[12]Willis letters, op. cit., Apr. 11, 1864.

[13]Ibid.

[14]Ibid., Apr. 25, 1864.

King Woolsey planned for May 11 was postponed until June 1 when it was hoped supplies from La Paz on the Colorado would reach the interior of Central Arizona. The wagon road from La Paz had recently been surveyed by Captain Benson on a return trip from California and reported to be good with the exception of its being a long distance without water. When supplies did arrive the last of May, encouraging news was heard relative to there being 10,000 to 20,000 pounds of barley available in La Paz at 8 to 8½ cents per pound. The availability of this "forage" for the cavalry of Fort Whipple would solve one of the problems of supply. Persons from La Paz also informed Willis that Mr. White, the Indian Agent for the Pima Indians, would "in a short time, be able to deliver flour at this place at $15.00 per hundred pounds." A source of flour at this low figure came when flour was "worth $50.00 in greenbacks, and scarce."[15]

In January Willis had described his urgent need for animals and transport only to find that on June 8, 1864, his letter described quite a reverse situation.

> I would respectively represent, that at the present time, there are at this Post, more animals, wagons and harness than are needed for the use of the Post, six teams having been brought here by Lieutenant Baldwin, which I was not able to return to New Mexico because I was unable to employ teamsters or wagon masters in charge at the prices allowed.[16]

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[15] Willis letters, ibid., May 27, 1864.

[16] Ibid., June 8, 1864.

As early as March the Fort's supply of mules must have been considerable since the problem shifted to that of not having enough mule shoes for them. The solution to this shoe shortage was met by the frontier ingenuity of Inspector-General Davis who authorized the use of some log chains for making the mule shoes needed.[17]

A report of the construction progress on Fort Whipple itself is found in the letters of Major Willis from January, 1864, through May, when it was relocated at its permanent location just outside the newly founded capital city of Prescott. Previous mention has been made to the soldier parties engaged in cutting suitable timbers for buildings and on January 28 Willis reported that: "The buildings necessary for temporary use are being rapidly completed. Corrals for the stock; the Hospital; and Commissary Storehouse will be finished during the coming week; and the Quartermasters Storehouse partially done. We have a carpenter and blacksmith shop already in operation."[18]

It can be assumed that the blacksmith mentioned here was to enjoy no more than two months of effectiveness at his trade, since on March 28 Willis reported the death of one Goodhue, his blacksmith, killed by Indians while enroute from the Haciamp to Granite Creek.[19]

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[17]Scott, op. cit., Ser. I, XXXIV, Pt. III, p. 204.

[18]Willis letters, op. cit., Jan. 28, 1864.

[19]Ibid., Mar. 28, 1864.

On March 18 Willis returned from an expedition with the Goodwin party that had surveyed the region for a suitable capital site as well as a permanent location for Fort Whipple. Among the members of the party were seventy-five miners who were afforded all facilities for prospecting the country over which the party passed and whose presence also made for the security of the expedition in the face of hostile Indians. Upon his return, Willis stated that: "During my absence such work has been carried on as was possible. The Hospital, Commissary and Quartermaster buildings are finished, also the Corral for stock. The men are comfortably sheltered with the few tents (and small buildings covered with wagon sheets) in our possession."[20]

A description of Fort Whipple at the Chino Valley location is found in a report of March 20 made by Inspector-General Davis to General Carleton. Davis states that he found the troops to be "in good health and order" and that the supplies were "well preserved and cared for" in a commissary made of logs with a canvas roof.

The hospital is mentioned as being "about ready for occupation" and that no other buildings exist except a few stone and mud walled tents used as kitchens. A partially completed log building was being used as a blacksmiths shop

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[20]Willis letters, ibid., Mar. 18, 1864.

and building lumber was being hauled twenty-four miles at a cost of "$150.00 per 1,000 feet at the saw-pit."[21]

On April 11th, approximately six weeks before Fort Whipple was to move twenty-one miles south to Granite Creek, Willis makes final mention of the building progress.

> The work done at the Post has not been very considerable during the past two weeks, owing to the smallness of the garrison; each man having to take a regular tour of Guard, Herd and Fatigue duty without intermission. This is caused by having to send numerous scouting parties after Indians, reducing our numbers very much; however, we have completed a stone Guardhouse and Kitchen for the Hospital of the same material."[22]

It can be readily seen that the work schedule of the garrison soldiers was indeed a heavy one in these early days at Fort Whipple. However, mention is made to one particular activity enjoyed by a group of soldiers in their "leisure hours." Willis states that the men "are becoming very enthusiastic upon the richness of the leads in this country. A party of them in their leisure hours, are sinking a shaft on a large lead here at the Post which promises to be very rich in silver."[23]

This active interest in prospecting on the part of the California Volunteers that made up the personnel of the two Companies stationed at Fort Whipple was to have a serious

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[21]Scott, op. cit.

[22]Willis letters, op. cit., Apr. 11, 1864.

[23]Ibid.

consequence toward the latter part of 1864. Willis expressed his concern over the approaching term of service expiration date of his troops to Carleton in his letter of April 11, 1864. Willis stated that it was almost a "unanimous desire upon the part of the troops stationed" at Fort Whipple, to be discharged and "at this point." Willis stated that it was "impossible to enlist veterans among them" and that his soldiers were "anxiously awaiting the expiration of their term of service to commence work in the mines." Willis did not fail to see the soldiers' point of view and defended their desire for a military discharge by reasoning that "they will be a great acquisition to the Territory, and aid materially in developing its resources, being nearly all experienced practical miners from California and Nevada." Willis further qualifies the type of soldier-miner his command contained when he stated that "a better class for this new country is not to be found."[24]

Tisdale A. Hand, editor of the semi-monthly newspaper, The Arizona Miner, first published at Fort Whipple, reported the prospecting activities of the troops and stated that they had "discovered several promising gold and silver lodes." Hand paid the soldiers a high compliment after expressing his hope that they would stay in Arizona when discharged

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[24]Willis letters, ibid.

because "their good knowledge of mining, with their industry and intelligence, will make them useful citizens."[25]

The real concern for the consequences of this mustering out of the Infantry California Volunteers was expressed by Carleton to the Adjutant-General, Lorenzo Thomas, in August of 1864.

> General: I have the honor to call your attention to the condition of this department with reference to its rapidly diminishing force from the mustering out of service now and between this time and next November, of the most of the First Cavalry New Mexico Volunteers, of five companies of the First Cavalry, and the First and Fifth Regiments of Infantry California Volunteers. As you will see, this leaves the department in a helpless condition. The Indians upon the plains are attacking our trains and killing our people. We are in active hostilities with the Apaches of Arizona. . . .[26]

The immediate effects upon Fort Whipple by this reverting of the troops from soldiers to citizen-miners can be clearly shown by a comparison of Post strength in total men "present for duty" during the various months as recorded in the official government documents dealing with the armies of the Civil War. Fort Whipple reached a high of 124 men present for duty in April of 1864 and the report for October of that year shows the strength to have been only 24; this number being members of the 5th U. S. Infantry, Company "F", under the command of Captain Allen L. Anderson.[27]

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[25] The Arizona Minor, May 11, 1864. (Original copies in State Archives, Phoenix, Arizona.)

[26] Scott, op. cit., Ser. I, XLI, Pt. II, p. 897.

[27] Ibid., Pt. IX, p. 380.

Finally, since Major Willis no longer had sufficient troops to command at Fort Whipple, on September 12, 1864, by special order Number 36, he was transferred to Fort McRae, New Mexico, to assume command of that post.[28]

A brief biographical sketch of Captain Anderson who relieved Willis shows clearly that Carleton had sent to Fort Whipple one of his best officers. Anderson had been graduated from West Point in 1859 and had served as a topographical engineer on Carleton's staff. Anderson had participated in exploration and mapping expeditions in the "unknown country around the headwaters of the Mimbres and Gila," and his skill at construction had resulted in the important defences at Fort Craig.[29]

This actual abandonment of Fort Whipple by the original troops of the California Volunteers under Willis is ample proof of the early soldiers sincere interest in adding their energies to those of the miners and prospectors already active in the rich mining areas of Central Arizona. Willis in his warning Carleton of the "unanimous desire" of his troops to be discharged on the spot had made a forcast that was, apparently, correct.

The life of the early soldiers at Fort Whipple has been touched on in the course of developing the existence of early

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[28]Scott, ibid., Pt. III, p. 169.

[29]Miner, August 10, 1864.

Indian hostilities, the scarcity of supplies, the activities involved in the construction of the Post buildings at Chino Valley and prospecting during the "leisure hours." However, nothing has been said relative of the life of the cavalry scouts attached to Fort Whipple. Their manner of living was peculiar to the military of this period and therefore warrants a place in this description of the early life of troops at Fort Whipple.

Rations usually carried by the cavalry scouts of Fort Whipple consisted of pork, flour, coffee and sugar. The flour was usually prepared as flapjacks and fried in pork fat. Because of the lack of time on scouting missions, the soldiers seldom improved their diet by the killing of wild deer or turkey. Sometimes the ration for a six days scout consisted of only pinole, sugar and dried beef. Pinole was a mixture of roasted wheat and corn ground coarsely while the beef was prepared from thin strips dipped in salt and hung in the sun until dry. Preparation of the pinole ration in the field required no fire that frequently led to a failure of an expedition in giving their position away to the Indians. Each man carried his rations behind him on his saddle along with a quart tin cup. The pinole was placed in the cup and water added until a thick paste resulted. This was the scouts supper and for his breakfast he ate more of the same. In order to hold off hunger during the ride, the soldier

chewed on the dried beef until it was time to camp. Colics often resulted from this meager diet and always the scout was anxious to return to the Post from the field so as to once more enjoy pork, flapjacks and hot coffee at the end of a trip.[30]

Scouts in the early days of Fort Whipple especially enjoyed returning from these arduous expeditions since the Whipple commissary had a "side-line ration" for all returning scouts. This ration consisted of one gill per man of unadulterated "Simon-pure Bourbon whiskey." This ration was also the incentive that insured the semi-annual arrival of the government mule teams that brought in provisions from Missouri.[31]

A method used by the early scouts and miners of this area for starting fires was unique in its effectiveness and simplicity. Each soldier would carry in his "hand bullet-pouch, a narrow strip of exhausted flour sack, with gunpowder thoroughly rubbed into it while damp." This impregnated strip of cloth was then dried in the sun and a piece of it used when "striking a fire with flint and knife."[32]

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[30]J. H. Toulouse, "Military Forts in 1869," Arizona Historical Review, VI, (July, 1935), p. 85.

[31]Edmund Wells, Argonaut Tales, (New York: The Grafton Press, 1927), p. 315.

[32]Daniel E. Conner, The Walker Expedition in Arizona, (Riverside County, California: Elsinore, 1900?).

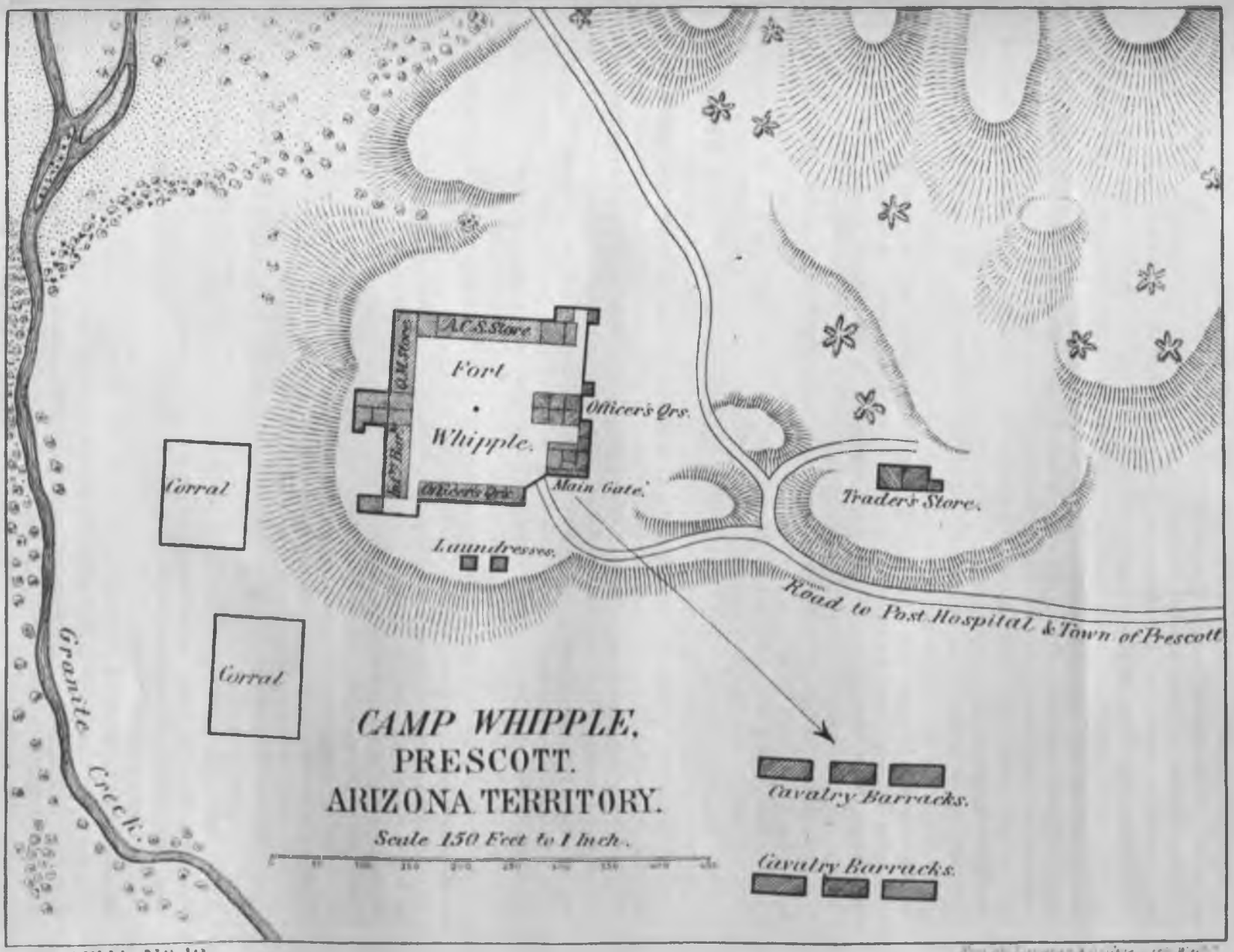
Carleton, in General Order Number 12, dated May 1, 1864, set up the plans for a war of extermination against the Apaches of Arizona. In paragraph III, Carleton ordered that all scouts of seven days or less "can do and must" carry their food in their "haversacks." He further commanded that, "One blanket apiece will be as much bedding as the men will be permitted to have when on scout. To be encumbered with more is not to find Indians."[33]

The quarters at Fort Whipple erected in 1867 as temporary shelters for the scouting troops were not of too comfortable a quality. A report made in 1870 by the War Departments Surgeon General after an inspection of Fort Whipple states that the cavalry scouts were sheltered in "log huts each 53 by 19 feet giving 400 cubic feet air space per man of an occupancy of twenty men." Floors, windows and bunks were later improvements and it was felt that these improvements "will contribute much to the preservation of the health of the men." Open fireplaces provided heat to these shelters and as of 1870, "kitchens and mess-rooms for these troops are about to be constructed."[34]

33Scott, op. cit., Ser. I, XXXIV, Pt. III, p. 388.

34U. S. War Dept., Surgeon General's Office, Circular No. 4, "A Report on Barracks and Hospitals with Descriptions of Military Posts." (Washington, 1871), p. 458.

Reproduced from page 456 of Circular No.4 "A Report on Barracks and Hospitals with Descriptions of Military Posts," U.S. Dept., Surgeon General's Office. Washington, D. C., 1871



PLATE, No 12.

Reference is also made by this medical report to the limited amount of vegetables obtainable by the men at Fort Whipple. The prices were high and "milk, butter, eggs, and chickens are very rare articles of diet in this as in other parts of the Territory." The cavalry companies were mentioned as suffering considerable sickness because of, "the lack of fresh vegetables, their frequent absences from the post, placing them on a poorer ration, the hard riding, want of sleep, and exposure on scouts, and the poor quarters to which . . . they have had to return for rest." As a result of these conditions, scurvy, diarrhea, and fevers were reported as the most prevalent diseases at Fort Whipple.[35]

The scarcity of vegetables in this area might well be judged by the publicity given in the local newspaper of this period. In September, 1864, it was reported that: "A good supply of these wholesome vegetables [potatoes and onions] reached Prescott . . . they sell at seventy-five cents (paper) per pound, and remind us of civilization in all but the price."[36]

By the last of May, 1864, Willis had moved his troops from the temporary site at Chino Valley to its permanent location twenty-one miles south at Granite Creek in the near vicinity of the new capital city of Prescott. A note of reluctance is to be found in the Willis letter of May 10th

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[35] Circular No. 4, ibid.

[36] Miner, September 21, 1864.

relative to this moving of Fort Whipple. Approximately six months of labor had gone into the construction of corrals, commissary, hospital, guardhouse and other buildings at Chino Valley and to leave this all behind so as to start construction once more at Granite Creek, was no doubt disagreeable to Willis. In appraising the new site Willis stated that "the grazing is not so good as here, but still is quite good and somewhat extensive. Water is only to be had by digging: but is abundant and of good quality. . . ."[37]

Pressures in favor of the move, however, came from Governor Goodwin and Inspector-General Davis. Davis wrote Carleton from Tucson after his inspection of Fort Whipple and remarked that the Chino Valley location did not allow the military to properly perform its function of protecting the Territorial Government unless it moved into the vicinity of the proposed capital site of Prescott. "For protection to the miners and other settlers in Northern Arizona against hostile Indians, and for operating successfully against the latter, it is not well located." Davis stated that he was not alone in this opinion and that "Governor Goodwin and others, a portion of the officers here, and all the miners and settlers north of the Gila in this direction with whom I have conversed, and from what I have heard, concur with me."[38]

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[37]Willis letters, op. cit., May 10, 1864.

[38]Scott, op. cit., p. 388.

Governor Goodwin in his letter to Carleton on April 4 expressed his desire to see Fort Whipple relocated at Granite Creek. Goodwin felt the present site of the Post to be too far removed from the center of population and from the center of Indian hostilities to afford effective protection.

> The location of Fort Whipple should be changed. It is too far from the miners to afford protection and for pursuit in case of an Indian raid. In the recent difficulties the officers at the post did all in their power, but were unable to recover the stolen stock or to punish the Indians. The Indian difficulties are becoming very serious, and unless vigorous measures are taken the new mining region will be deserted. I am disposed to convene the Legislature at a point in the new mines if a post can be established sufficiently near to afford adequate protection.[39]

With such a valued majority opinion in favor of the move it is quite understandable why Willis reported on May 27 that the first detachment "arrived to-day" at the new Granite Creek post location and that the remainder of the move was expected to be completed in the next two days.[40]

The first issue of The Arizona Miner published in the new capital town of Prescott reported that Governor Goodwin and Secretary McCormick "have moved their tents from the site of old Fort Whipple, to a pleasant locality on the west bank of Granite Creek, opposite to Prescott." The same issue explained apologetically that the newspaper "due on the 8th

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[39] Scott, ibid., p. 202.

[40] Willis letters, op. cit., May 27, 1864.

of the present month June , was not issued on account of the confusion of our office attendent upon its removal from the old site of Fort Whipple to this new town."[41]

Early descriptions of Fort Whipple in 1864 at its new location picture it as being of "stockade construction" typical of the frontier forts of that period. Fort Whipple was some twenty-five feet above the level of Granite Creek on a bench of tableland. The buildings enclosed a plaza two hundred feet square and the outer walls were constructed of pine logs" twelve feet in length and twelve to sixteen inches in diameter, cut from the surrounding forest." This outer wall of timbers was placed upright in a trench two feet deep and "girded together" forming the outer wall "of the houses built thereon and extending within the enclosure."[42]

> The south side of the enclosure was devoted to officers' quarters and administration offices; the east side to quartermaster and commissary supply stores and ammunition magazine; the north and west sides were built into quarters and barracks for the soldiers. In the southwest corner of the enclosure was the office of the Post Adjutant who had charge of a pair of large heavy lumber gates closing the gateway and main entrance into the fort; they swing out on the south front to the large level plot used for the parade ground. In the center of the enclosure a flagpole stood from the top of which the Stars and Stripes unfurled daily to the play of the mountain winds; at the foot of the pole stood a mountain howitzer mounted and ready for action at all times, the only field piece at the fort. Across the parade grounds to the south were the sutlers store and a line of stockade log houses occupied by citizens

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[41] Miner, June 22, 1864.

[42] Wells, op. cit., pp. 312-313.

> employed at the fort. The Post hospital was on the outside of the enclosure, close by under the complete view of the Post sentinal as he walked his beat day and night on guard.
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> To the north of the fort and on the flat below, under cover of the rifles and fort armament, were the Post corrals, large stockade enclosures with buildings stabling the cavalry and Post service horses, and mules, army wagons, ambulances, and scouting equipments. The cattle and sheep herds were kept in a separate corral, and all under constant guard by posted sentinels.[43]

Further description of the physical features of early Fort Whipple are found in the report of 1870 as compiled by the War Department's Surgeon General previously mentioned. This report states that the crevices of the log stockade were "filled in with mud, and the roofs of the buildings shingled. Ventilation was imperfectly affected, as most of the doors and windows opened on the enclosed parade ground."[44]

The hospital described in this report of 1870 had originally been the building erected in 1864 as quarters for the commanding officer. This hospital was unlike the regular quarters in that it was floored and plastered and had "ridge ventilation." Heat was provided by stoves and open fireplaces and it could "accommodate 24 patients, giving each 800 cubic feet of air space, but its average occupation is but 14." The hospital had its own kitchen, mess room, dispensary and storeroom and all were in "excellent condition."

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[43] Wells, ibid., pp. 313-314.

[44] Circular No. 4, op. cit., p. 457.

FORT WHIPPLE. 1864.

Reproduced from Edmund Wells, Argonaut Tales, (New York: The Grafton Press, 1927) opposite page 316.

The plumbing consisted of a bath and wash room with running water supplied from elevated tanks. Lead pipes carried off the waste water. The location of the hospital was on an elevated ridge, "about midway between the post and the town [Prescott]". So as to provide recreation for convalescents, a three acre garden adjoining the hospital was cultivated. Objections found to the hospital centered in its location being too great a distance from the post and also to the amount of labor required to keep the water tanks supplied by the water wagons.[45]

The Military Division of the Pacific under the command of Major General John M. Schofield, published an outline description of Posts and Stations in 1872, Fort Whipple being among those described. An interesting feature of this report was its explanation relative to the Quartermaster's and Subsistence Depots located at Fort Yuma on the Colorado River. Supplies for Fort Whipple were sent from Yuma up the Colorado River to Ehrenberg, a distance of 140 miles. From Ehrenberg the supplies were transported by wagon road 213 miles to Fort Whipple passing through Camp Date Creek located 60 miles west of Prescott in the heart of the Apache-Mohave area.[46]

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[45] Circular No. 4, ibid., p. 458.

[46] Robert O. Tyler, Revised Outline Descriptions of the Military Division of the Pacific, (Washington, 1872), p. 13.

Yuma, as a result of early gold discoveries in California and Arizona, had become a very prosperous settlement by 1861-62, "until in the latter year it was washed away by an unprecedented freshet on the Gila, the water standing nearly twenty feet deep on a ranch in the Gila bottom just above the town." By 1864 the town was rebuilt and an "extensive Quartermasters depot was erected on the Arizona side by Captain William B. Hooper." Misfortune struck again in 1867 when the depot burned to the ground but Captain W. B. Hughes lost no time in rebuilding it.[47]

The necessity for a military fort on the wagon road that carried supplies to Fort Whipple from Ehrenberg was first recognized in 1866 with the founding of Camp McPherson which was to be renamed Camp Date Creek in 1868. Located in the center of the Apache-Mohave region, the camp gave a much needed protection to supplies and travelers who used this vital wagon route. The Apache-Mohave Indians were "a mongrel tribe, while professing peace, was always on the alert for an opportunity to rob or murder a white man." By 1874 these tribes were subdued and removed to the Verde reservation and this made possible the abandonment of Camp Date Creek the same year. Hamilton remarks that Camp Date Creek "did good service in affording protection to the travel between

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[47]Richard J. Hinton, The Hand-book to Arizona, (San Francisco: Payot, Upham and Co., 1878), pp. 248-249.

Prescott and the Colorado river in early days; and many a traveler hard pressed by the red devils found safety and protection within its walls."[48]

Early attemps to open a wagon route in 1864 before the establishment of Camp Date Creek in 1866 failed because of hostile Indians in the region northeast of La Paz and Ehrenberg. One Robertson had in August, 1864, formed the "Pioneer Express" to carry mail from Murr's Saloon, La Paz, to the Juniper House in Prescott but late in September gave up the enterprise because of "an insufficiency of business and the danger of travelling the road without company."[49]

Stories of colorful personalities associated with early Fort Whipple are many and interesting in that they best explain the spirit and courageous life of those on the military frontier. Willard Rice was but one of the select staff of scouts connected with Fort Whipple in its early days. Rice had a large grayhound dog named "Abe" whose instinct and cunning on Indian trails was as keen as that of his master. The story is told that Rice and Abe, while walking from the sutler store to the Fort, "stopped short" when Abe froze with his eyes fixed on a point in the rocks high across Granite Creek. Rice saw nothing in the distant rocks but he

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[48]Patrick Hamilton, The Resources of Arizona, (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft and Co., 1884), p. 111.

[49]Miner, September 21, 1864.

knew that Abe's evaluation of Indian danger was such that some imminent danger was pending. Rice lost no time in reaching the Fort and warned Lieutenant Curtis who was in command of the few soldiers garrisoned there at the time. Fieldglasses proved the presence of Indians among the rocks working their way toward the stock kept in the corrals. Immediately the one and only howitzer was placed in position and fired into the rocks of the hill. No results were perceived so a second shot was fired and this one found its mark. "It was like stoning a hornet's nest. The Indians came swarming from among and over the rocks, and like a flock of alarmed mountain quail scattered flying back over the rocky point into the rocks and brush beyond. . . . Abe received credit of preventing an Indian raid."[50]

The story is told of prowling Indian spies that infested the wooded areas immediately surrounding Fort Whipple. Proof of this was founded on the fact that Apache signals in the form of owl hoots and coyote barks were answered by similar sounds from the surrounding forests almost nightly. A real concern on the part of the military developed when it was noticed that Indian signal fires sprang from every mountain top whenever a scouting party departed from Fort Whipple. The source of this effective Apache intelligence was revealed late one night in the Quartz Rock saloon "located at the

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[50]Wells, op. cit., pp. 310-312.

north end of Granite Street on the banks of Granite Creek in the Prescott village." Into the saloon came a "lone, half-clad Indian" boy who stated that his home had been in Sonora, Mexico, until captured by the Tonto Apaches during a raid five years previous. Information gained through this boy of sixteen proved the existence of an Indian look-out from a high position that made possible a constant watch over the military activities at Fort Whipple as well as those in the village of Prescott. Needless to say, the next morning saw a body of men with rifles ascend to the spot designated "but the game had flown. There was no more Indian picketing at that point. The nightly barking of the coyote . . . were thereafter seldom heard coming from that brush sheltered picket point."[51]

The first major celebration in the area in which the troops of Fort Whipple took part was that enjoyed on July 4, 1864, in the new town of Prescott. A "mass meeting" was called for 11 A. M. to celebrate the 88th anniversary of the Nations Independence "and to properly inaugurate the Town of Prescott." The program called for "His Excellency, Governor Goodwin" to preside and the oration of the day to be delivered by the Honorable Richard C. McCormick, and "by the invitation of Major Willis, the Fort Whipple garrison

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[51] Wells, ibid., pp. 316-318.

will be reviewed by the Governor, on the Plaza."[52]

The success of the days celebration can be judged by a news item appearing in a later issue of the Miner that reported the event was attended by some 500 persons "during the day and evening." Those persons who stayed at Prescott's only hotel and restaurant, the Juniper House, had the following 4th of July breakfast menu to consider: "Beef Steak, Venison Steak, Fried Liver, Mutton Chop, Tea and Coffee, with milk."[53]

The very first celebration relating to a day of national significance was performed by the garrison of Fort Whipple on Washington's birthday, February 22, 1864, when "a salute of 35 guns was fired at this post." The makeshift arrangements used to perform this salute clearly speaks the determination of the garrison since instead of canon they used "anvils, our only ordnance."[54]

The early garrison of Fort Whipple enjoyed full benefit of the clergy. Reverand H. W. Read had arrived with the members of the Territorial Party in January and he acted as missionary to the people in the area as well as chaplain to the troops. In an early issue of the Miner it was reported that Reverand Read "preached at Fort Clinton, Lynx Creek,

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[52]Miner, June 22, 1864.

[53]Ibid., July 6, 1864.

[54]Ibid., March 9, 1864.

on Thursday evening last, to a large and attentive congregation.[55] It was the first religious service in the gulch."

In connection with Reverand Read's missionary explorations he also took the official census of the area and on occasion married people. An account of one marriage performed by Reverand Read in this early period can best be told in the original text of editor, T. A. Hand.

> At Lynx Creek he [Rev. Read] fell in with George Clinton and Juanita Bachichia and a wedding was the consequence. The miners were quickly summoned, and the affair was conducted in an off-hand and truly western manner. George was in his shirt sleeves and Juanita in her morning gown. After the knot had been firmly tied in English and in Spanish, Secretary McCormick, who had been asked in, headed a list of witnesses on the marriage certificate, and with numerous others, congratulated the smiling couple. George invited all to take a drink, and his friends punished a bucket of old rye as badly as Col. Woolsey promises to thrash the Pinals.[56]

Reverand Read's ministry had its more serious moments. The death of the first soldier at Fort Whipple, Private Fisher, called for his services and here he "preached to the garrison, a sermon appropriate to the solemn occasion." Private Fisher was hit by an Indian arrow on February 27 while a member of the military escort for the Goodwin party during their expedition in search for a capital site. Fisher lived until brought to the Woolsey Ranch but, since it was impossible to remove the arrowhead from his side without surgical aid,

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[55] Miner, April 6, 1864.

[56] Ibid.

there he died. The newspaper reported that Fisher would "be remembered as a good soldier, and his death as the first at this post."[57]

By November 8, 1864, the town of Prescott gave its first "soiree" in Hardy's new building in honor of the members of the Territorial Legislature. "Considering the scarcity of the fair sex in Prescott, the affair was quite a success. Nearly a dozen ladies were in attendance and the dancing was kept up until after midnight when there was an excellent supper at Osbornes." The dance committee did well in choosing to hold the soiree at Hardy's new store since it reportedly had a billard table that was "one of the best on the Pacific slope" and Editor Hand reported that, "the bar is supplied with a better class of liquor than we have been used to in Prescott."[58]

The interesting personalities and happenings of early Fort Whipple are many and it shall be the purpose of the chapters that follow to treat in more detail a few of those courageous men whose leadership was to make possible the opening of the Territory of Arizona to the peaceful settlement of miners and farmers. The story of the efforts of the military in their many campaigns against the Apaches will further unfold the history of Fort Whipple.

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[57] Miner, March 9, 1864.

[58] Ibid., November 23, 1864.

CHAPTER IV

EARLY APACHE CAMPAIGNS: 1864-1870

Military duty at Indian frontier posts such as Fort Whipple was considered by a majority of army officers as an undesirable type of "police duty" where one complied with orders until the great day arrived when he was relieved from the intolerable routine of western army post life. Often the posts were staffed with men who had shown no great promise elsewhere. With such a class of men, little could be expected from them in the way of spectacular Apache campaigns. However, Fort Whipple was to see certain officers in its history who, through their superior courage and leadership, contributed greatly to the final subjugation of the hostile Apache in the Territory of Arizona.

The official War Department record of Indian combats for the year 1864 gives in brief summary an account of the many military contacts made with the enemy by troops within the Military Department of New Mexico. Those expeditions that originated at Fort Whipple are noted by the report and speak well for the efforts of Major Willis.

On March 18, 1864, it is noted that Willis "with 40 enlistod men, and fourteen citizens, fell in with a party

of Apaches near the San Francisco River . . . killed five Indians and lost one man, Private Fisher. . . ."[1]

A Willis report of June 20, states that a detachment of his command attacked a group of Apaches in the Salinas River area killing four of them. Also a scouting mission under Captain Henry M. Benson reported five Indians killed and two wounded and that their party then destroyed large quantities of Indian corn and beans.[2]

The reports make frequent mention of Colonel King S. Woolsey who, with his volunteer parties of citizen-miners, supplimented the efforts of the Fort Whipple garrison in bringing security to life and property in Central Arizona. Woolsey was given his rank of Lt. Colonel by Governor Goodwin and thereby headed the Territorial Militia whose volunteer members often exceeded the effective strength of the regular army troops in this early period. Willis acknowledged Woolsey's importance as did Carleton in his official reports. Under date of April 11, 1864, Woolsey and his party of both citizen volunteers and a lesser number of troops from Fort Whipple, "surprised an Indian rancheria, killing fourteen Indians, who were left on the ground, and wounding others, who escaped."[3]

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[1]Robert N. Scott, The War of the Rebellion: a Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1888). Series I, XLVIII, Pt. I, p. 902.

[2]Ibid., p. 904.

[3]Ibid., pp. 902-3.

It is noted that Captain Allen L. Anderson, who relieved Willis as commanding officer of Fort Whipple in August, 1864, also is credited with a minor victory against the foe by his attack made on an Indian rancheria near the Weaver mines on December 15, killing three and wounding three Apaches.[4]

The total results from these military operations in 1864 in the Arizona Territory were not as great as Carleton had hoped but he stated that they were "creditable, and were won at an expense of toil and privation of which any description could give but a faint idea to one who had never traversed this very singular country." The difficult and long marches were often repaid in but "poor results." Carleton gives an example of one expedition led by "one of our most distinguished officers" where, after a march of 1200 miles, only one Indian was killed.[5]

Carleton evaluated the year's effort as producing some benefit especially with respect to the gain in troop morale over that of the Indians. Now they "flee at the sight of our armed parties and scatter in all directions" and no longer do the Indians stand upon high ridges and make insulting gestures "as they did when we first began war upon them."[6]

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[4]Scott, ibid., p. 907.

[5]Ibid., p. 909.

[6]Ibid.

One must go beyond this brief 1864 War Department summary of Indian campaigns to obtain a truly concise picture of the hardships and privations endured by the troops of this early period. A careful examination of more detailed accounts of the Woolsey campaigns mentioned by Carleton produces a wealth of interesting material that is representative of all phases of Army Indian warfare.

A brief biographical sketch of Colonel King S. Woolsey had best serve as introductory to this analysis, since his background and training gives meaning to his development into prominence among the ranks of great Indian fighters.

Woolsey was born in 1832 in Alabama of parents who were large land owners. His parents had hoped that he would become a priest and placed him, therefore, in a Catholic seminary. This was apparently not to young Woolsey's liking since he was next heard from in Cuba as a member of a filibustering expedition that had, as its glorious mission, that of liberating the oppressed natives from Spanish rule. The mission failed and after three months of imprisonment the English authorities obtained his release and he shipped to California, arriving in 1849 at the age of seventeen. In 1861 he appeared at Fort Yuma and shortly thereafter made money selling supplies to Carleton's troops. By 1863 Woolsey joined the Walker party in the Central Arizona mining regions

and shortly thereafter set up his Aqua Fria ranch on a waterless stream that runs to the Gila and parallels the Rio Verde.[7]

It was Woolsey's interest in ranching at Aqua Fria that was to give him just reason to lead his many expeditions against the thieving Apache. The fact that Aqua Fria was on the outer fringe of settlement made his stock easy prey to the Indian. By March 16, 1864, Woolsey's ranch had been twice stripped of its stock.[8]

An early account of Woolsey's treatment of a hostile Apache throws some light on the cool courage with which he approached his Indian enemies. Woolsey and his two male helpers were hauling a wagon load of forage into the Walker district, when a small band of Indians attack. Woolsey and his party only had one gun among them, so Woolsey took this double-barreled gun and fired the barrel containing a round of buckshot into the Indians hoping to scare them away. The Indians held off momentarily but then started to move in once more; "Woolsey waited until the chief approached within twenty paces, when he discharged the other barrel of his gun . . . down tumbled the yellow savage with a hole through his head."

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[7]James M. Barney, "Col. King S. Woolsey, Famous Arizona Pioneer." The Shoriff, (December, 1947) p. 6.

[8]Hartford Evening Press, Hartford, Connecticut, April 26, 1864. (Photostatic copies in Arizona Pioneer Historical Society, Tucson.)

Then Woolsey decided "to make a conspicuous mark of the dead chief, from which the marauding Indians might take warning," so he hung the body by the neck to a nearby tree with its feet dangling "about a yard from the ground." This fact was verified by a traveler two years later who reported seeing "the body still hanging there, dried and shrunken, and of a parchment color."[9]

The earliest organized expedition led by Woolsey was climaxed January 24, 1864, and is presently famed in the journals of Arizona history as the "Pinole Treaty" or "Bloody Tanks." Carleton's official report of this expedition gives only the briefest summary, stating that "A party of thirty Americans and fourteen Maricopa and Pima Indians under Col. King S. Woolsey, aide to the Governor of Arizona, attacked a band of Gila Apaches . . . and killed nineteen of them and wounded others. Mr. Cyrus Lennon, of Woolsey's party, was killed by a wounded Indian."[10]

The details of this expedition as related by Woolsey's wife when in her eighties, are far more illuminating than the brief Carleton account.

> Captain Woolsey and his associates, representing themselves as peace emissaries direct from President Lincoln at Washington, had opened negotiations with

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[9]John C. Van Tramp, Life in the West, (Columbus, Ohio: Segner and Condit, 1867), p. 717.

[10]Scott, op. cit., p. 901.

the Apache chieftans in the little ravine that later became known as the Bloody Tanks.

The warring factions supposedly had laid aside their weapons of war as the parley opened. Suspicious of each other, however, both the Indians and the whites had smuggled a few weapons into the peace circle.

Captain Woolsey had arranged with members of his little band to open fire at a given signal. He was to lift his right hand to his hat as the signal for opening hostilities whenever he felt the situation warranted it.

The parley was progressing satisfactorily, when of a sudden an Apache runner came from out of the brush with a message that the Indians were to withdraw immediately from the conference; that another chief was approaching with several hundred braves with the avowed intention of exterminating the little band of white men. The message was interpreted into Spanish by a Yuma Indian and Capt. Woolsey immediately gave the signal for opening of the battle.[11]

The results according to this report were given as thirty-six Indians killed, and Cyrus Lennon, a boy of fifteen, was the only member of the Woolsey party killed. The Hartford Evening Press, Hartford, Connecticut, April 12, 1864, carried Judge Allyn's story of this expedition dated Fort Whipple, February 6, and relates that Lennon was run through by a lance when he missed killing his Indian on the first shot. Allyn then put his Eastern readers at ease by stating that "this Indian, however, did not escape, being almost killed instantly."[12]

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[11] The Arizona Republican, Phoenix, "Rout of Apaches in Fight at Bloody Tanks," April 13, 1927.

[12] Hartford, April 12, 1864.

The second campaign against the Apaches led by Woolsey started out on March 29, 1864, and was made up of one hundred men representing all the main mining and ranching districts of Central Arizona. The Arizona Miner, published at Fort Whipple, described the force as a "formidable movement against the savages. Moreover they have had much experience in Indian fighting, and having suffered greatly from the recent depredations, they are eager to chastise the wily foe."[13]

After being out only a few days, Woolsey sent a letter to Secretary McCormick requesting that additional provisions promised be hurried their way since he knew they would be short before the expedition was completed. Woolsey was confident that his men would "punish the red thieves severely;" and he must have won over completely the sympathies of McCormick when he stated: "It is hard to see our brave men bare-footed and poorly clad, and they ought at least to have an abundant supply of provisions. Better men never followed anyone to battle. . . . The soldiers with me fight like old hands."[14]

Woolsey wrote Major Willis at Fort Whipple to keep him informed of his expedition's progress. Woolsey wrote Willis that they had come across a deserted rancheria of the Tontos and Pinal Indians, where they had been making arrows like

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[13] The Arizona Miner, Fort Whipple, A. T., April 6, 1864.

[14] Ibid.

the Yavapais and Mohaves use: "I think they intended to make us suppose that the Mohaves and Yumas are committing depredations. I have never before seen arrows of this kind among the Apaches."[15] Woolsey gave expression to his generous nature at this point and sent both Secretary McCormick and Major Willis a quiver of arrows as a souvenier of the expedition.

One of the members of this expedition, Henry Clifton, wrote two articles that were published in the May, 1864, issues of the Arizona Miner. One day a member of the party, Artemus Ingalls, returned from a deer hunt with two arrow wounds; one in his back and the other in his shoulder. Ingalls had been "waylaid by a party of Indians, first receiving a shot in the back, and as he wheeled around to face them, another in the shoulder." Ingalls returned to the camp "as quickly as possible; his hat was blown or shot off, he does not know which, but did not wait to pick it up," and after reaching the camp, Dr. Alsap promptly dressed his wounds.[16]

There can be no doubt that members of this arduous expedition retained a sense of humor even in the face of the most painful experiences. An example of this fact is to be found in the story told by another member of the Woolsey expedition, Augustus Brichta, who related the following to

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[15] Miner, ibid.

[16] Ibid., May 11, 1864.

James M. Barney at a dinner gathering in 1888.

> Some of us were up and making coffee when in came one of the guards, bare-headed, hair standing on end, hollering--'Indians, I'm shot.' The poor fellow did look pitiful, and, although a serious affair, we could not help laughing. He had an arrow shot through his neck--the point sticking out on one side and the feather on the other. His hair was standing on end and he did look very comical. Dr. Alsap soon relieved him by cutting off the feather and pulling the arrow through from the opposite side it went in on. With a little salve, in a few days he was ready for his regular ration. . . .[17]

The expedition returned to Woolsey's Aqua Fria ranch on April 17, after killing some fourteen Indians. It was during this expedition that privates Beach and Holman from the garrison at Fort Whipple proved themselves to be good Indian fighters by killing five of the total fourteen.

The high esteem held by the members of this expedition for Woolsey can well be seen by the resolutions passed at a meeting of its members upon their return to the Woolsey Ranch.

> Resolved: That we, the followers of Lt. Col. Woolsey render him our most sincere thanks for his kindness and judicious conduct in leading us in the late expedition, and also in bearing with us its hardships and deprivations.
>
> Resolved: That we have the most unbound confidence in the ability, skill, and courage of Col. Woolsey, and that a want of provisions alone prevented us from inflicting such punishment upon the Apaches as would have prevented any further depredations on their part.[18]

To further climax these complimentary remarks, the president of the meeting, J. C. Dunn, called for "three cheers" for

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[17] The Sheriff, April, 1948, p. 27.

[18] Miner, April 20, 1864.

Col. Woolsey. Also, three cheers were given in recognition of the "gallant soldiers" furnished them by Fort Whipple.

Six weeks after the termination of this expedition Woolsey was once more actively recruiting another force of citizen-miners. Again the expedition was in coordination with Major Willis and Carleton's Department of New Mexico in response to General Order No. 12, which requested that the Governor of Arizona organize parties of miners to assist his military forces conduct a rigourous campaign against the Apache. Governor Goodwin's support was assured, perhaps, by the fact that the orders stated that a new base of operations was to be established on the Gila and named, "Fort Goodwin, in honor of the first Governor of Arizona."[19]

The serious nature of the all-out campaign is shown by the paragraph that states all Apache Indians in the Territory are to be considered hostile and that any male Apache "large enough to bear arms . . . will be slain wherever met." Carleton specified that no women or children were to be harmed but they were to be "taken prisoners." The troops were to take to the field on May 25, and remain for sixty days.

Not only did Carleton solicit the support of the miners but also made known his plans to issue arms and ammunition to four friendly bands of Pima and Maricopa Indians so that they

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[19]Scott, op. cit., Ser. I, XXXIV, Pt. III, p. 389.

too could assist in the war against their hereditary enemies, the Apaches.[20]

Woolsey called on Major Willis at Fort Whipple, where plans were coordinated. His request for miner volunteers was published in the May 25th issue of the Arizona Miner and stated that all who wished to accompany him on his "next excursion to Big Rump's Valley" should be at his Agua Fria ranch on "Tuesday May 31, prepared to start on the following day." Woolsey's final words must have had a strong appeal to those men who were undecided about accepting the challenge of joining his force; he tempted them by stating, "There is lively work ahead."[21]

With a party composed of ninety-three men, Woolsey started out on June 1, 1864, to aid the military in their total effort to rid the area of the Apache. Woolsey's letters to Governor Goodwin give a detailed account of the expeditions progress for the eighty-seven days that they were active. He headed for the great Tonto Basin, where he felt confident of finding the Tonto and Pinal Apaches. After a fatiguing march and climb to the top of a mountain overlooking the great basin he descended after much difficulty just to find traces of their recent presence; and only after searching up the small

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[20]Scott, ibid., p. 388.

[21]Miner, May 25, 1864.

streams and ravines about the basin, did Woolsey give up the futile search.[22]

From here Woolsey proceeded on down the Salt River and hence to the mouth of Tonto Creek, where he found a "large Indian village of some fifty huts. It had been abandoned but a few hours before." Woolsey assumed that this was no doubt the headquarters of the Tonto chief, Wa-poo-i-ta or "Big Rump."[23]

After finding a suitable camp site as a base of operations, Woolsey headed a thirty-six man scout with six days rations and headed for the area north of the Salt River. Woolsey states that "by two o'clock the next morning we reached a high mountain, since called Signal Mountain, but were unable to reach the top in the darkness, it being very precipitous, and we lay down until daylight." They continued to the top later and followed the southern rim to a rancheria unexpectedly "and so suddenly that the Indians fled leaving behind their bows and arrows, and their fires burning." They searched for several hours but failed to find the scattered Indians.[24]

At one spot during their travels, a small group of Indians approached their camp with a flag of truce consisting

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[22] Miner, August 28, 1864.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid.

of a white flag tied to a cross. A long talk and visit followed, for Woolsey felt it wise to be friendly until the remainder of his men arrived with the pack train, "although it was evident that . . . they [the Indians] came with the intention of taking our scalps, but found that we were too well prepared for them."[25]

An instance of faulty coordination between Woolsey's force and the military occured in the area of the newly established Fort Goodwin. The tone of Woolsey's report regarding the incident rings with an audible note of disgust.

> We heard the discharge of musketry as though a battle were in progress, and saw the cavalry charging over the hills. I immediately ordered the train to close up and move cautiously down to the water, while I galloped over the point to see what was going on. I found that the soldiers were chasing three or four Indians that had appeared in sight.[26]

This unwarranted charge of the cavalry might well have angered Woolsey because he had previously invited some Indians in for a "talk" and now he was confident that no Indian delegation would risk making an appearance.

On the return trip to Prescott the expedition passed along a "very rough and difficult trail on the side of a hill, and overlooked by a high cliff of rocks." It was at this point that "some Indians attempted to annoy us by rolling rocks down the hill," but one of the party was

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[25] Miner, ibid.

[26] Ibid.

injured and "a few shots from some of our long range guns scattered the rascals."[27]

At the conclusion of the eighty-seven day campaign, Woolsey admitted that it had been a failure as an effort in killing Indians because his men never could get close enough to them. Three members were lost: J. W. Beauchamp was killed by Indians, Porter wandered off from camp in a fit of petulancy and undoubtedly fell prey to the Indians, and a man named Morell was killed by an accidental shot. Woolsey saw the benefit of the campaign in the dispelling of the erroneous idea that there were vast numbers of Apaches in the area. This fact would make possible a speedy extermination of the Apache "when once the government shall know how small is the enemy by which so much annoyance has been caused."[28]

The Apache campaigns after 1864 were to be conducted by military officers of lesser abilities than those possessed by Woolsey. Not until General George Crook arrived at Fort Whipple in 1871 was Arizona to feel that her war with the Apaches was to succeed in a victory for all time. A brief sketch of the campaigns that were conducted from Fort Whipple during the interim period of 1865-70 will show this to be the case.

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[27] Miner, ibid.

[28] Ibid.

A reorganization of the military divisions of the United States took place June 27, 1865 as specified by the War Department, General Order No. 118. This order put the Territory of Arizona under the command of the Department of California, which was part of the Military Division of the Pacific commanded by Major General H. W. Halleck with headquarters at San Francisco. On June 30, 1865, the District of Arizona was commanded by Brig. Gen. John S. Mason with a total number of 1588 men and ten pieces of field artillery for all Arizona. Fort Whipple was commanded by Captain John Thompson whose troops consisted of Company F, 5th U. S. Infantry and Company K, 1st New Mexico Cavalry.[29]

Mason, after looking the situation over in the Arizona area, stated that in his opinion no permanent peace could be made with the Indians in the Territory of Arizona until they were "severely punished and made to fear the troops . . . . the extent of the country is so great and the number of Indians comparatively so small that they can evade the troops. While we are scouting in one section they are depradating in another. . . ."[30]

Mason's evaluation of the difficult situation confronting the limited troops of the military in the vast Arizona area was common to all future commanders of the period. Not until

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[29]Scott, op. cit., Ser. I, L, Pt. II, pp. 1268-72.

[30]Ibid., pp. 1282-83.

General George Crook arrived in 1871 would the qualities of an experienced Indian fighter exist in the command that knew how to deploy his troops for the effective conquest of the evasive Apache.

In 1867 Captain J. M. Williams led Company I, 8th U. S. Cavalry, in an attack against the Apaches. Captain Williams set out from Fort Whipple, April 14, 1867, "to chastise a band of hostile Apaches" and in two different attacks his gallant troops killed a total of fifty with a loss of one soldier killed and one Private Dollinger wounded. Halleck stated: "It seems to have been well conducted, and is in every way creditable to Captain Williams, who is warmly commended for it by his district commander."[31]

These moderate successes against the Apache were not enough in the eyes of citizens of the Arizona Territory. Major General E. O. C. Ord, commanding the Department of California in 1868, reported that he had twenty-nine companies of a total forty companies in Arizona alone and still "the 8,000 inhabitants of that Territory are far from being satisfied with that number." J. M. Schofield, Secretary of War, recommended on the strength of Halleck's plea, that Arizona be made into a separate military department with an

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[31] House Exec. Doc., 40 Congress, 2 Sess., No. 1, pt. 1, p. 114.

increased number of troops so that "more energetic operations" could be conducted against the "worst of all Indians."[32]

Halleck made it clear to his superior in Washington that the military in Arizona were not responsible for the failure of the mining interests to pay dividends to its stockholders, as was commonly alleged.

> Arizona has been greatly misrepresented, even by its own people. It has been described as a wonderfully rich mineral country, abounding in lodes and mines of gold and silver, of such surpassing wealth, that any man who would work them could, in a few months, accumulate a fortune of millions. . . . the products of these mines have never equalled the sanquine anticipations and representations of their owners, and that the failure of expected dividends to anxious stockholders has not been entirely due to the want of military protection, as is so commonly alleged.[33]

While Halleck was writing his superior in defense of the military under his command in Arizona, Editor J. H. Marion, of the Weekly Arizona Miner, Prescott, wrote an editorial that is representative of the citizen point of view relative to the military efforts of the period.

> Arizonians! All of you are aware that it is the duty of the Government to which your allegiance is due to protect your lives and property, and you also know that it has failed to do so. . . . Perhaps after hundreds more of our citizens lose their lives in the unequal combat, and after thousands of dollar's worth of property is stolen and destroyed, Government may send a few more companies of soldiers to help the few already here to carry on a miserable, abortive war -- a war in which victory cannot be achieved, nor honor

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[32] House Exec. Doc., 40 Cong., 3 Sess., No. 1, pt. 1, p. xii.

[33] Ibid., p. 47.

> gained by the soldiers engaged in it, for the simple reason that they are and will, for some time to come, be too few in numbers to hunt down and whip the thousands of nomads scattered over the vast extent of the country that comprises Arizona. . . . The fact is, ten thousand soldiers, principally cavalry, are wanted in Arizona, for about two years, to kill Indians, then, after that time, the work of the Peace Commissions and sleek Indian Agents may commence. Until then, he who prates about reservations and treaties is either a knave or a fool.[34]

In the same issue appear "Advice to Arizonians -- keep your powder dry and whenever you see an Indian that says, 'Americano mucho bueno, Mexicano mucho bueno,' kill him; he don't mean it." Pleas were made for citizen armies under such captions as "Awake, Arise!" Even the Governor of Arizona was attack by such uncomplimentary remarks as: "Had we a Governor that was worth a cent, he would long since have done something for us at Washington."

In the midst of all these citizen pressures, Lt. Col. Thomas C. Devin was in command of Fort Whipple with Companies B and L of the 8th Cavalry and doing the best he could to repress the Apaches. Devin reported in June, 1868, that a forty-five day scout into the Apache country east of Fort Whipple with a force of one hundred cavalry, fifty infantry and four guides, had been made in April. The success of the mission was hardly commendable since they found only deserted rancherias. The expedition was memorable, however, in the

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[34] The Weekly Arizona Miner, Prescott, Arizona, October 31, 1868.

sense of the harships that confronted the men and animals. Two sets of shoes had been prepared for the animals and the infantry were issued three pairs and yet, before their return, the infantrymen had worn theirs out and "the feet of a number of the horses had to be encased in leather in order to enable them to return the last sixty miles. . . ."[35]

The years from 1869 to 1871 did not produce any campaigns of any significance although the garrisons at Fort Whipple remained actively engaged in this continuous war against the Apache. A consolidation of the official War Department statistics for Fort Whipple in the year 1869 tells the story best.

A total of sixteen missions were sent out from Fort Whipple that year and the total distance travelled was approximately 3,000 miles. The troops killed thirty-five Apaches, wounded forty-one Indians and took one male Indian prisoner. Captured property totaled fifty-eight bows, twelve knives, one rifle, four horses, two saddles and five axes. The troops destroyed enemy property amounting to one rancheria, twenty weckups, twenty lodges, a "large amount

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[35] House Exec. Doc., 40 Cong., 3 Sess., No. 1, pt. 1, pp. 65-66. . . . . The Fort Whipple commander had more than hostile Indians and citizens with which to be concerned. The problems relative to the health of his limited number of troops were present to further trouble Devin. A laconic statement in his report of August 28, 1868 tells the pathetic truth: "About ten syphilitic cases and diseases of the heart will have to be discharged as incurable."

of flour" and winter stores. All this without any losses to the Fort Whipple troops.[36]

Again the Prescott newspaper of this year did not report news items regarding the military with any favorable point of view. The November 20, 1869, issue carried a brief account of Colonel Redwood Price's "large force of cavalry" that went out to "hunt up hostile savages." The climatic line of the account relates that the colonel and his command returned to Fort Whipple after having "captured all the Indians they saw, two squaws."[37]

This spirit of intolerance on the part of the citizens did not start and stop with the military in the Prescott area. The first signs of a racial intolerance were to be noted in an editorial comment regarding the appearance of "a real live Chinaman, with tail and other appendages. . . ." The article ended with the bitter comment: "For our part, we have seen as many of them as we care to see."[38]

The troops of Fort Whipple, while not pleasing the citizens of the Prescott area with victorious Apache campaigns, were actively engaged in entertaining them with the efforts of their Fort Whipple Dramatic Association. An advertisement in the January 30, 1869, Miner, told of the "thrilling drama

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[36] House Exec. Doc., 41 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, Pt. 2, p. 127.

[37] Weekly Miner, Nov. 20, 1869.

[38] Ibid., Oct. 2, 1869.

in two acts" that was to be performed on Wednesday evening. The performance was entitled, "Robert Macaire; or The Two Murderers," and following this the program would conclude with the "screaming farce, The Double-Bedded Room." The admission was one dollar and "seats reserved for ladies."[39]

A review of the performance in the February Miner was complimentary to the Fort Whipple Dramatic Association whose "principle actors did well" before a "respectable audience of ladies and gentlemen in the Prescott theatre . . . the after-piece was rich, rare and spicy."[40]

Fort Whipple public relations did not stop with the efforts of the Dramatic Association. The troops gave the citizens of Prescott another occasion on which to further the spirit of good feelings between themselves and the poorly protected citizens. The occasion was a military ball held at Fort Whipple and only by reading the original text of the Miner's society editor can the reader picture the thrill of this highly successful social function.

> The sight filled our soul Wednesday evening last, at Fort Whipple, while watching lovely women and brave men moving gracefully in the stately quadrille, or whirling dexterously in the 'giddy mazes' of Mazourkes, Schottisches, Waltzes, Polkas, etc., in a hall carpeted with the whitest of canvas, brilliantly illuminated, and superbly decorated with evergreens, flags, clusters of sabers and bayonets, stacks of bright shinning muskets and pictures of great warriors. It was hard to decide

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[39] Weekly Miner, Jan. 30, 1869.

[40] Ibid., Feb. 6, 1869.

> which was the most beautiful -- the dresses of the ladies, or the decorations on the walls of the hall. Both were dazzingly beautiful. . . . The music was delicious, and the supper, that necessary adjunct to all parties, was really excellent.[41]

While the Fort Whipple garrison was dividing its time between military campaigns and social functions, the Military Division of the Pacific, under Major General John M. Schofield, had made the Territory of Arizona into a separate military department known as the Department of Arizona. This change was made with a view to more concentrated operations against the Apaches and with a view to the more efficient coordination of increased numbers of troops to be presently stationed in the Arizona area. This new Department of Arizona, in 1870, was under the command of Colonel George Stoneman with his headquarters at Fort Whipple. General W. T. Sherman, U. S. Chief of Staff, in his official report of November 10, 1870, to William W. Belknap, Secretary of War, made clear the isolated nature of Stoneman's command: "I enclose herewith the annual reports of all these commands . . . except that of Col. Stoneman, who is in that remote Territory, Arizona, with which our communication is difficult. . . ."[42]

On June 4, 1871, Lt. Col. George Crook relieved Col. Stoneman by a Presidential order of May 2, 1871. With Crook

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[41] Weekly Miner, Jan. 23, 1869.

[42] House Exec. Doc., 41 Cong., 3 Sess., No. 1, pt. 2, p. 3.

in command of the Department of Arizona, the military strategy of the Apache campaigns was to under go a change for the better. It will be the purpose of the following chapter to describe the nature of these successful military efforts against the hostile Apache as directed by Crook from his Fort Whipple Headquarters.[43]

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[43] House Exec. Doc., ibid., pp. 66-7.

CHAPTER V

GENERAL CROOK'S CAMPAIGNS

Many a colorful personality served in the military history of Fort Whipple but none with so brilliant a career as that of General George Crook. Unlike most military leaders on the Indian frontier, Crook saw the Indian as a human being to be studied and, once his problems were understood, to be guided. On this basic human approach, Crook built himself into the acknowledged master of Indian administration and the greatest of Indian fighters. His success was based on his sincere interest in making the Indian frontier his life work where he represented not only military force but a humanitarian understanding as well. It has been aptly said that Crook "burned powder only when it served the longer aim of peace and understanding."[1]

Crook's Indian policy and success against the Apache can best be studied in the light of his military background previous to June, 1871, when he assumed command of the Department of Arizona with Headquarters at Fort Whipple.

Crook graduated from West Point in 1852 and was assigned to duty as a Brevet Second Lieutenant in the Fourth Infantry

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[1]Martin F. Schmitt, General George Crook - His Autobiography, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1946), p. xiv.

serving in the Pacific Coast area. His trip from New York to San Francisco was made by ship across the Isthmus. This journey was not without its memorable events since Crook relates that one night while on the Nicaragra River, "the steamer in advance of ours ran into the branches of an overhanging tree, which carried away their smokestack, killing the captain, and so disabling the boat that it had to be left. In transferring its passengers to the two other boats, an old lady slipped off the gang plank, and was seen no more."[2]

Upon his safe arrival on the Pacific Coast, Crook was stationed at Benicia Barracks. His first impressions of army life at this post were not favorable. This can be understood readily when informed of the nature of his first duty assignment: that of a file closer to the funeral escort of one departed Major Miller, "who had just died from the effects of strong drink." A Major Day was in charge of the escort "and when all of us officers had assembled in the room where the corpse was lying, he said, 'Well, fellows, Old Miller is dead and he can't drink, so let us all take a drink.' I was never more horrified in my life."[3]

Crook's first experience in Indian fighting was in the Rogue River War of 1856 as a member of Company "E" stationed

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[2]Schmitt, ibid., p. 4.

[3]Ibid., p. 7.

at Fort Lane, Oregon. It was during one of these campaigns that Crook was warned too late to, "Look out for arrows." Crook tells how he "looked up, and saw the air apparently full of them. Almost simultaneously one hit me in the right hip. When I jerked it out the head remained in my leg, where it remains still."[4]

The Indian fighting here was interrupted by orders that returned him to the East in August, 1861, to take part in the Civil War. Here he further perfected the tactics of Indian warfare by training his Ohio Regiment of Infantry Volunteers in the art of capturing the cowardly bushwhackers who were shooting and robbing the unsuspecting traveler. At the termination of the Civil War, he returned to the Pacific Coast as a Lieutenant Colonel of the twenty-third Infantry.

Crook was active from 1867 to 1869 in the regions of Idaho and Nevada fighting more Indians and successfully so. From this northwest area Crook in 1870 was ordered to San Francisco where he sat as a member of the "Benzine Board" so named because the Army Appropriations Bill of 1869 made it necessary to "clean out" certain field and junior officers from the various army departments.[5]

It was at this time that Crook was first approached on the subject of his taking over the Command of the Department

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[4]Schmitt, ibid., p. 40.

[5]Ibid., p. 160.

of Arizona. Crook replied to General George H. Thomas that he was tired of Indian work and: "Besides, the climate of Arizona had such a bad reputation that I feared for my health."[6]

Irrespective of Crook's wishes, Governor A. P. K. Safford knew the citizens of his Territory of Arizona were in desperate need of his military leadership so Safford went over the head of the Secretary of War and persuaded President Grant to appoint Crook to the Arizona Command for a temporary period. This was done and on June 3, 1871, Crook boarded a steamer for San Diego and then by stage coach to Yuma, Tucson and eventually arrived at Department Headquarters at Fort Whipple, Prescott.

Crook discovered upon his arrival that hostilities against the Apaches were temporarily suspended while Vincent Colyer, representing the Washington "Indian Ring" and the Permanent Board of Peace Commissioners, made his attempts to "promote peace and civilization" among the Apaches with the aid of "the Grace of God."[7] Crook countermanded all military orders and gave Colyer all possible assistance even though Crook knew it was due to fail. Colyer, while visiting with Crook at Fort Whipple, soon received word that outrages were being committed by tribes with whom he had just completed

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[6]Schmitt, ibid.

[7]Ibid., p. 167.

terms of peace. Popular opinion cried out against such peace policies that made for a continuation of Apache destruction of life and property.

But Colyer was not to be the only peace envoy that delayed Crook's first Apache campaign. Orders were withheld again when General Oliver O. Howard arrived with his religious mission of peace to the troubled Apaches of Arizona. Crook gave Howard his full cooperation and arranged for a general council with the Indians at Camp Grant as requested.

The faith held by Crook in Howard's efforts at peace were no more enthusiastic than those he had held for Colyer's abortive attempts. Crook's estimation of Howard is well stated in his records:

> I was very much amused at the General's opinion of himself. He told me that he thought the Creator had placed him on earth to be the Moses to the Negro. Having accomplished that mission, he felt satisfied his next mission was with the Indian. This struck me as particularly funny, as the 'Freedmen's Bureau Denouncement' was still on the mouths of everybody, and things certainly looked very bad for those connected with it, especially for General Howard. I was at loss to make out whether it was his vanity or his cheek that enabled him to hold up his head in this lofty manner.[8]

The grand council of peace was held but since the depradations continued, Crook by September, 1872, proceeded with all-out military operations against the Indians.

Crook's report to his Commander, Major General Schofield, on September 21, 1872, stated that he had had time to correct

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[8]Schmitt, ibid., pp. 169-170.

administrative abuses in the Department of Arizona during the period of peace commissioners and it was his hope that "in the future Arizona, instead of being a place where all the irregularities known to the service exist" would now "present as fair a record for economical and effective administration as can be found elsewhere in the Army."[9]

Now that the government's search for a peaceful solution to the Indian problem had been tried and failed, Crook was eager to proceed with force against those who had committed a long list of outrages while under the protection of the separate peace treaties. Crook presented a "recapitulation" of the depradations for this period and the report listed one officer and two enlisted men killed; forty-one citizens killed and sixteen wounded; and 489 head of citizens cattle stolen.[10]

Crook had made a study of the problems at hand and expressed a confidence to his commander previous to his starting the delayed campaign.

> I am satisfied that a sharp, active campaign against him [Apaches] would not only make him one of the best Indians in the country, but it would save millions of dollars to the Treasury, and the lives of many innocent whites and Indians.[11]

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[9] House Exec. Doc., 42 Cong., 3 Sess., No. 1, pt. 2, p. 73.

[10] Ibid., p. 80.

[11] House Exec. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, pt. 2, p. 78.

Seven months after beginning the campaign, Crook, by April 7, 1873, had forced the last of the Apaches to surrender and had moved them onto the Verde and San Carlos Reservations. One Indian chief, who was famed for his villanny and evil reputation, fled with forty of his braves shortly after being brought to the reservation. This chief was the famed Deltchay whom Woolsey had called "Big Rump" (because of the width across his hips) and whose name in pure Apache was Wa-poo-i-ta. The troops followed Deltchay and his band and, after a few skirmishes, all surrendered except Deltchay. Those who surrendered were shown Crook's mercy and allowed to live on the reservation provided that they would bring in the head of their chief. Several days later Crook was confronted with the questionable fact that Deltchay had "two heads" since both the Verde and the San Carlos Indians produced one head each. Crook remarked that: "Being satisfied that both parties were earnest in their beliefs, and the bringing of the extra head was not amiss, I paid both parties."[12]

With peace restored to the Territory of Arizona, the War Department gave over the reservation to the Indian agents under the direction of the Interior Department. Crook describes this transfer of control with no small amount of

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[12]Schmitt, op. cit., p. 182.

skepticism as can be seen in his following statement: "As soon as the Indians became settled on the different reservations, gave up the warpath, and became harmless, the Indian agents, who had sought cover before, now came out as brave as sheep, and took charge of the agencies, and commenced their game of plundering."[13]

The control of reservation Indians by Indian agents was of real concern to Crook. He felt strongly about the tendencies of Indian agents to mismanage the Indian problems on the reservations. After he had successfully gathered up 1500 Apaches and placed them on the Verde reservation he expressed a hope that this could be their "home for all time" and that if the government kept its promise there would be no "difficulty in keeping them at peace and engaged in peaceful pursuits." Crook knew there were already efforts in the wind to deprive the Apaches of the fertile Verde area and warned that if those interests of the Indian ring succeed, "the responsibility of turning these 1500 Apaches loose upon the settlers of Arizona should rest where it belongs."[14]

Crook on March 22, 1875, after being commended highly by Major General Schofield for his operations "characterized by consummate skill . . . gallantry and untiring energy,"

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[13]Schmitt, ibid., p. 184.

[14]House Exec. Doc., 43 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, pt. 2, p. 63.

was relieved of his command and replaced by Brevet Major General August V. Kautz. Crook was promoted from Lt. Colonel to Brigadier General as a result of his Apache successes and took over the Indian campaigns then in progress against the Sioux.[15]

Seven years later Crook's superior generalship was again required by the Department of Arizona to subdue once more the Warm Springs and Chiricahua Apaches who had been forced by the Department of Interior to give up the Verde reservation for the hot and dry flats of the San Carlos reservation. On September 4, 1882, Crook was back at Whipple Barracks[16] and after investigating the situation stated that the Apaches "had not only the best of reasons for complaining, but had displayed remarkable forbearance in remaining at peace." Crook enlarged on this by adding that the Apaches "had been openly plundered of the supplies provided for them by the government, and they spoke with bitterness of nearly everyone of their agents."[17]

The report of the Federal Grand Jury of Arizona as it appeared in the newspaper Star, of Tucson, on October 24,

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[15] House Exec. Doc., 43 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 1, pt. 2, p. 51.

[16] Fort Whipple was changed in name to "Whipple Barracks" April 5, 1879, when Department Headquarters, Prescott Barracks, and Fort Whipple were consolidated.

[17] House Exec. Doc., 48 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 1, pt. 2, p. 160.

1882, shows clearly the disgraceful relations that existed on the San Carlos reservation and the strong faith held in the military efficiency of General Crook.

> The investigations of the Grand Jury have brought to light a course of procedure at the San Carlos reservation, under the government of Agent Tiffany, which is a disgrace to the civilization of the age and a foul blot upon the national escutcheon . . . we feel it our duty, as honest American citizens, to express our utter abhorrance of the conduct of Agent Tiffany and that class of reverand speculators who have cursed Arizona as Indian officials, and who have caused more misery and loss of life than all other causes combined. We feel assured, however, that under the judicious and just management of General Crook, these evils will be abated, and we sincerely trust that he may be permitted to render the official existence of such men as Agent Tiffany, in the future, unnecessary.[18]

The Grand Jury's report further explains certain of the transactions that were found to exist.

> Government contractors, in collusion with Agent Tiffany, get receipts for large amounts of supplies never furnished, and the profit is divided mutually. . . . while six hundred Indians are off on passes, their rations are counted and turned into the mutual aid association, consisting of Tiffany and his associates. Every Indian child born receives rations from the moment of its advent into this vale of tears, and thus adds its mite to the Tiffany pile. In the meantime, the Indians are neglected, half-fed, discontented, and turbulent, until at last, with the vigilant eye peculiar to the savage, the Indians observe the manner in which the Government, through its agent, complies with its sacred obligations.[19]

This report summarized the troubled relationships between Indians on reservations and the treatment accorded them by the white man and explains why they left the reservation and

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[18] Arizona Daily Star, Tucson, Arizona, October 24, 1882.

[19] Ibid.

took once more to the warpath. General Crook, after his prompt investigation of the situation existing in Arizona upon his arrival, reported in General Order (Number 43) issued from his headquarters at Whipple Barracks October 5, 1882, the following:

> The Commanding general, after making a thorough and exhaustive examination among the Indians of the eastern and southern part of this Territory, regrets to say that he finds among them a general feeling of distrust and want of confidence in the whites, especially the soldiery: and also that much dissatisfaction, dangerous to the peace of the country, exists among them.[20]

General Crook advised all persons dealing with the Indians to observe the strictest of fidelity and to promise them nothing except that which was in their power to carry out. Crook further warned that outbreaks from the reservation could only be curtailed by settling grievances on the spot rather than leave them to accumulate and boil over within the sensitive nature of the Indian.

Knowing such strained conditions to exist between the white man and the Indian, General Crook took steps to "clean house" when he arrived at San Carlos. He insisted upon the expulsion of all unauthorized squatters and miners who were on the reservation in the guise of friends of the late agents. He also saw that the Apaches were given work to do and that

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[20] House Exec. Doc., 48 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 1, pt. 2, p. 170.

they were paid for their efforts in currency without the interposition of any middlemen or contractors.

The conditions were ripe for trouble and General Crook waited at his Whipple Barracks headquarters for the inevitable eruption of the disgruntled Apache who had previously fled from the reservation into the Sierra Madre Mountains of Mexico. Large detachments of Indian scouts, with Army officers in command, were constantly patrolling the American-Mexican boundary on the lookout for their inevitable raids.

In March of 1883 the Chirichua Apaches broke north across the boundary back into Arizona with a raiding party of twenty-six under the command of "Chato." One of this band named "Peaches," surrendered to the authorities at San Carlos and offered his services to the Army as a guide against the runaway Chirichuas in Mexico.

The offer made by "Peaches" was accepted by Crook and resulted in one of the boldest and most successful campaigns ever achieved. With the permission of the Mexican authorities, Crook and his force went into the unexplored fastness of the Sierre Madre Mountains and routed out every man, woman, and child of the Chirichuas who had fled and on June 24, 1883, had them back on the San Carlos reservation. The infamous "Geronimo" and "Chato" were among those returned with this group.

After these wild Apaches were back at San Carlos, the Territory of Arizona was for two years once again free from

raids and bloodshed. However, the "Indian Ring," made up of the contractors and displaced friends of dishonest agents, had roots in Washington and were not ready to let good enough alone. The disharmony between the military and the civil administrators appeared strongest after the issuance of a War Department memorandum published July 7, 1883, placed police powers of San Carlos Indians definitely in the hands of the War Department.[21]

The case for strong military control free from Indian agent interference is summarized in the following paragraph:

> Lack of cooperation between the agent and the military meant nothing but divided control, and to the Indians it meant an opportunity to break the laws which irked them most, playing one department against the other for support. . . . tizwin drunks, wife mutilation, brawls, and general disaffection were sure to follow if that strong control was removed.[22]

In May of 1885 the turmoil and unrest within the San Carlos Reservation, due to this divided control, came to a head with the departure of Geronimo and his band of 120 Apache. The immediate cause of the outbreak was a "tizwin" party held on the reservation which exemplifies still further the consequences of the divided control between the military and civil administrations.

The escaping Geronimo party left death and destruction in their path as they made their way into the strongholds

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[21]Schmitt, op. cit., p. 249.

[22]Ibid., p. 252.

of Mexico's Sierra Madre range. Their lack of fear for the army border patrols can best be shown by relating that in September of 1885, three months after their escape from the reservation, Geronimo and a small band of warriors slipped back into San Carlos and left again taking with them two Indian squaws.

It was this apparent freedom of action on the part of reservation Indians that created an uproar from Arizona citizens in respect to the inefficiency of the military in the area. The citizens spoke of Indian reservations as a place of refuge whereon "hostile Indians are maintained in idleness, are fed, clothed, armed and given opportunity to commit inhuman outrages as a tribal amusement, whilst on an annual or bienniel picnic, going to and from their favorite mountain homes in Sonora."[23]

With Geronimo and his band free once more of the dubious control exercised by the San Carlos Reservation, General Crook organized a second campaign into Mexico to bring him back. Captain Crawford, in November of 1885, with 200 Indian scouts, pursued Geronimo deep into the Sierra Madres and the campaign was in full swing. The unfortunate death of Captain Crawford, killed by mistake by Mexican troops, did not stop the force under Lieutenant Maus, from contacting Geronimo

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[23]James H. McClintock, Arizona the Youngest State, (Chicago: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1916), I, p. 251.

in January of 1886 and bringing him to a "conditional surrender." The conditions were those of Geronimo's making and they amounted to a conference with no one less than Crook, unattended, on the border at the "full March moon."

The pressure from Washington at this time for a speedy settlement of this campaign can be seen by the account of a wire from General Sheridan on December 29, 1885, to Crook stating that President Cleveland was disturbed over the slow progress of events thus far and asked "whether some good news might not soon be expected."[24] This query infuriated Crook since he was not one to be told how to run any Apache campaign by Eastern officers who knew nothing about Indian warfare.

Irrespective of pressures from Washington, Crook complied with Geronimo's instructions and met him in March. Crook was stern when Geronimo attempted to further dictate terms of surrender. The conference resulted in Geronimo's surrender to Crook knowing that his life would be spared and that he was to be imprisoned for but two years some place other than in Arizona.

The apparent success of this surrender looked like the happy ending to Crook's long and arduous second campaign against the barbarians, but the crowning blow was yet to

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[24]Schmitt, op. cit., p. 259.

come. While Lieutenant Maus was escorting Geronimo and his band back to San Carlos, a white man named Tribollet sold a keg of whiskey to the surrendered Indians without the army escorts' knowledge of the sale. The ensuing wild drunk on that night of March 29, 1886, resulted in Geronimo fleeing south once more back to his stronghold in Mexico and out of Crook's captivity.

As could be expected, Washington Army officials could not further tolerate Crook's handling of this Geronimo situation when news reached them that once again the "prize" was lost. Crook discovered too late that the "honor system" was not binding upon an Apache such as Geronimo after quantities of whiskey.

Neither President Cleveland nor General Sheridan "could know, without the experience of a campaign against hostile Apaches in the mountains of Mexico, the insurmountable difficulties of the situation. Crook explained that he could not break faith even with a renegade Indian. His action being repudiated by Cleveland and General Sheridan, there was nothing for him to do but ask to be relieved."[25]

On April 12, 1886, Crook was replaced by General Nelson A. Miles. Lieutenant General P. H. Sheridan in his October 10, 1886, report to Secretary of War, William C. Endicott,

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[25]Frank C. Lockwood, Pioneer Days in Arizona, (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1932), p. 189.

explains why Crook's request to be relieved was granted. Sheridan disliked Crook's use of Indian scouts instead of regular troops.

> General Crook seemed, however, wedded to the policy of operating almost exclusively with Indian scouts, and as his experience was of great weight his policy could not well be changed without his removal to another field. To relieve the embarrassment he at once requested such a course . . . and General Miles, on my recommendation, was assigned to the Dept. of Arizona. . . .[26]

The same report instructed Miles to make active and prominent use of the regular troops in the continued campaign against Geronimo.

Crook had long before learned that regular troops were useless against the Apaches who knew every inch of their rugged country. To catch them was to dispense with the burden and difficulties of supply that were necessary for infantry and cavalry troops. In Crooks sound opinion: "The only effective solution was the one which had brought victory in three campaigns -- the use of Indian scouts and pack trains."[27]

Miles continued the search for Geronimo with regular troops under Captain Lawton who penetrated approximately two-hundred miles into the Sierra Madre Mountains of Mexico. Lawton and his men searched for four months without success.

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[26] House Exec. Doc., 49 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, pt. 2, p. 72.

[27] Schmitt, op. cit., p. 264.

Lawton related in one particular chase the intense suffering experienced by his command.

> The country was indescribably rough and the weather swelteringly hot, with heavy rains day and night. The endurance of the men was tried to the utmost limit. Disabilities resulting from excessive fatigue reduced the infantry to fourteen men, and they were worn out and without shoes.[28]

Lawton was determined and courageous but without Apache scouts, as prohibited by Miles, he could not follow the evasive trails of Geronimo and his band. Davis remarked that one might just as well "match Londoners against the Alpine Swiss."

Miles, seeing the futility of the search, resorted eventually to the Crook policy of using Indian scouts and sent Lieutenant Gatewood to the aid of Lawton. Gatewood had been schooled under Crook's earlier command and was well versed in Indian tactics. With an interpreter named George Wratten and a courier named Whaley, Gatewood joined Lawton's command in Mexico where he set out with his two Indian scouts, Kieta and Martine, and contacted Geronimo. A "talk" was held and terms of surrender were agreed upon, thus climaxing the final surrender of Geronimo and his followers who gave themselves over to Miles as "prisoners of war."[29]

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[28]Britton Davis, The Truth About Geronimo, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929), p. 221.

[29]Report of Lieut. Charles B. Gatewood, 6th Cavalry, 1886. (On file in Arizona Pioneer Historical Society, Tucson.)

Although the final day of victory of the military over the Apache was under the command of Miles, one cannot fail to see it as a logical continuation of a victorious Crook campaign. It was, in its final analysis, a continuation of the military policy perfected through the superior generalship of the Army's greatest of all Indian fighters and Fort Whipple's most illustrious resident.

CHAPTER VI

THE LATTER YEARS

After the successful completion of the Apache campaigns in the Arizona Territory, many of the military posts on this Indian frontier were due for abandonment. Whipple Barracks, as its early history has shown, was founded originally for reasons of purely a local nature: protection of the territorial officials, protection of the miners and their property, and the general war of extinction against the hostile Apaches. When, after the summer of 1886, peace with the Apaches was firmly established and a feeling of confidence and security prevailed throughout Arizona, the immediate abandonment of many a frontier military post was to receive the consideration of the War Department.

On December 16, 1886, General Order No. 92, moved the Headquarters of the Department of Arizona from Whipple Barracks to Los Angeles, California. From this new headquarters, General Miles reported September 8, 1888, that "there has been no disturbance of the peace worthy of mention in this department within the past year." Further description of the peace that prevailed can be read into Miles'

remark that "persons may travel in any section unarmed and without fear of molestation by Indians."[1]

Brig. General Alexander McCook took over command of the Department of Arizona September 16, 1890, and set to work reducing the number of military posts. McCook by September 1, 1891, had ordered the abandonment of Forts Mojave, McDowell, Verde, Thomas, Selden, Lowell, Marcy and Union. McCook had inspected Whipple Barracks with respect to this abandonment policy but the five companies of the Ninth Infantry and the headquarters band stationed there at the time impressed him favorably even though he did find the quarters of the enlisted men in "wretched condition." The real case for Whipple Barracks was in the contemplated railroad from Ash Fork to the north, on the Atlantic and Pacific, that was to be run through Prescott to Phoenix, Arizona, thereby establishing transportation for troops at Whipple with all parts of the Territory.[2]

By November, 1892, the Ash Fork rail connection was a reality and its continuation on to Phoenix in the south was assured. McCook declared himself most favorably toward Whipple Barracks by earnestly recommending that "Whipple Barracks be retained as a military post and that new barracks

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[1] House Exec. Doc., 50 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, pt. 2, p. 127.

[2] House Exec. Doc., 52 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 1, pt. 2, pp. 254-7.

be built" so that the four companies of troops garrisoned there be made "reasonably comfortable." McCook expressed his belief that here was "one of the most desirable locations for a military station in the Department."[3]

With the diminished number of military posts in Arizona, it was quite natural for the Department of Arizona on July 1, 1893, to be abolished and the remaining posts to be placed under the Department of Colorado with headquarters in Denver. This consolidation of departments placed thirteen posts within its command; Whipple Barracks being one of these. Under the command of General Frank Wheaton, the number of posts was further lessened so that by September, 1896, there were but nine posts remaining.

Wheaton reported favorably toward Whipple Barracks during his inspection tour in 1896. The two companies garrisoned there at the time were commanded by Colonel I. D. DeRussey who had drilled his men especially well. Wheaton reported: "I never saw a more beautiful military exercise than the gymnastic drill with rifles, accompanied by the regimental band. . . ." Wheaton further explained the purpose of the garrison at Whipple Barracks with the following remarks:

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[3]House Exec. Doc., 52 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, pt. 2, p. 127.

> Although the troops of the Whipple Garrison are rarely called out by Indian alarms, the presence of a garrison at this point is a matter of serious importance and prevents depredations by Apaches or other tribes in the Verde and Date Creek Valleys, where there are not only farming interests entitled to protection, but where there are some of the most valuable and extensive copper and gold mines in the country.[4]

Whipple Barracks lost a staunch supporter when General Wheaton left the Department of Colorado for a command in the Philippines. General Elwell E. Otis replaced Wheaton and after looking Whipple Barracks over, he reported that "Whipple Barracks should either have increased garrisons or be abandoned." Otis went further by throwing doubt on the need for troops in the Arizona area by stating that "nothing has transpired during the past year to demand the service of troops. . . ."[5]

In April, 1898, the United States and Spain were at war and this was a factor in the War Department's not following through with the Otis recommendation of abandoning Whipple Barracks. Secretary of War, R. A. Alger, oxplained the action taken in his report of November 29, 1898.

> In March 1898, an order was issued for the abandonment of Whipple Barracks, Arizona, but upon

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[4] House Exec. Doc., 54 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 2, Vol. I, p. 152.

[5] House Exec. Doc., 55 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 2, Vol. I, p. 170.

> further consideration it was decided to withhold the order, since which time a detachment of troops has been kept at the post guarding public property. The necessity for the continuance of Whipple Barracks as a military post is, in the opinion of the Department, imperative, and it is recommended that an appropriation of $75,000 be made for the reconstruction of the buildings and other appurtenances at the post, which are very much needed.[6]

The demand for troops in Cuba and the Philippines was such that Whipple Barracks held no troops from 1898 to 1901, but then in 1902, Captain E. E. Hatch, with Company "L" of the 18th Infantry, took over the post. This regarrisoning of Whipple was the result of a visit to Prescott of Major General Arthur McArthur, former military governor of the Philippines, and in 1902 the commander of the Department of Colorado.

McArthur and his staff visited Prescott on February 19, 1902, to inspect Whipple Barracks with the possibility that it be rehabilitated as a military post. The Prescott paper announced that "upon his recommendation depends, undoubtedly, the fate of Whipple." Prominent citizens escorted the party during its tour of inspection and showed McArthur the 160 acres "which the city purposes to give the government for a target range if the post is re-established." Following the tour, a public reception was held in honor of the military party at Mr. and Mrs. F. M. Murphy's residence, "and

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[6]House Exec. Doc., 55 Cong., 3 Sess., No. 2, pt. 1, pp. 174-5.

all citizens of Prescott who are interested in this matter and certainly all are, should attend and give these gentlemen a warm, hearty reception."[7]

Two weeks later the townspeople of Prescott had reason to think McArthur's report to Washington was favorable. The local paper reported hopefully: "The matter now looks as though the familiar sound of the bugle would be heard at the fort before many moons."[8]

By April 16, 1902, the headlines reported triumphantly that "Whipple Barracks will become a real military post, garrisoned with live soldiers." Secretary of War, Elihu Root, had issued orders to re-establish the post "at once" so that it could "accommodate some of the troops returning from the Philippine Islands. . . ."[9]

By July it was learned that $120,000 had been appropriated by the War Department to build the necessary quarters for four companies. The paper was quick to add that a post of this size "would locate a band at Whipple." This fact was especially pleasing to the citizens of Prescott who enjoyed above all else the free concerts afforded their community by a Whipple band.[10]

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[7] Arizona Weekly Journal-Miner, Prescott, Feb. 19, 1902.

[8] Ibid., Apr. 2, 1902.

[9] Ibid., Apr. 16, 1902.

[10] Ibid., July 16, 1902.

The commander of the Department of Colorado, General Frank D. Baldwin, held a similar fondness for regimental bands such as was stationed at Whipple. In Baldwin's report of August 13, 1903, he expressed his belief that "good military music" did much for the "contentment and efficiency of the soldier" and that "patriotic airs" furnished "inspiration which nothing else can impart, and contribute in a marked degree to the esprit de corps of a command." The citizens of Prescott and Baldwin were in complete agreement on this point.[11]

For the next ten years Whipple Barracks enjoyed a perpetual life of constant expansion. By July, 1907, a modern post telephone system had been installed at Whipple and arrangements were made so that the construction going on was adaptable to the installation of electric lights with a view to "economy, convenience, and safety against fire."[12]

The expense involved in this building program at Whipple from June 30, 1901 to June 30, 1911, amounted to $568,130.60, and this was authorized by Act of Congress approved February 21, 1901, for the purpose of increased Army strength.[13]

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[11] House Exec. Doc., 58 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 2, Vol. III, p. 29.

[12] War Department Annual Reports, 1907, Vol. III, p. 178.

[13] War Department Annual Reports, 1912, Vol. I, p. 307.

A new attempt at the creation of a Mobile Army was to take place in 1912 under the direction of Secretary of War, Henry L. Stimson. The House of Representatives passed resolution No. 343 which asked Stimson to make a study of Army Posts which had been founded in their present locations for reasons which were in 1912 totally obsolete. On December 2, 1912, Stimson presented his report to the House and under the list of Army posts that should no longer exist because of the "obsolete" situations such as "Indian troubles," Whipple Barracks was listed. The report summarized how Secretary of War, Root, in 1901 had favored a more "concentrated garrisoning system" so as to achieve greater economy and efficiency but that his program had failed mainly because of three reasons. First, the Army itself failed to appreciate the concentration plan. Second, the necessity for housing returning Philippine troops worked against the proposed abandonment program. Third, was the factor of local and political influences which wanted to hang on to the post in its vicinity for one reason or another. All three of these factors were at work in the perpetuating of Whipple's life.[14]

Stimson in his report makes specific mention of Root's desire to abandon Whipple in 1901.

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[14] Annual Report, ibid., p. 308.

> It is known that he [Root] urgently fought the re-establishment of Whipple Barracks, Arizona, and asked that the appropriation be striken from the sundry civil bill, as it would compel him 'to throw away $50,000 against his official judgement.' Nevertheless, the post was re-established and over half a million expended in rebuilding it.[15]

The Stimson report explained that the initial distribution of these posts was determined by the "requirements of Indian warfare" and would have been given up as proposed by Root's plan in 1901 had not the Spanish-American War come along and necessitated the expanding of facilities for a greater number of troops. But now in 1912 the way was clear and Stimson listed in his report seventeen military posts that he reasoned should be abandoned in order to put his "concentration policy" into effect. Whipple Barracks was one of those seventeen.[16]

Action to this end came when the War Department in February, 1913, re-alocated the geographical limits of the military departments and placed Arizona in the Southern Department with headquarters at Fort Sam Houston, Texas. General Tasker H. Bliss was in command and his immediate problem was to shift his cavalry troops to the Mexican border for the purpose of patrol along the international boundary. Bliss left only a caretaker at Whipple Barracks and explained this removal of troops from Whipple as a result

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[15] Annual Report, ibid., p. 309.

[16] Ibid.

of "instructions from the War Department, dated February 25, 1913."[17]

This abandonment of Whipple came as a surprise to the citizens of Prescott. Under the caption, "War Department Orders Whipple Abandoned," the Weekly Journal Miner ran the following account:

> The news of the post being abandoned comes as a surprise, Captain Thomason of the medical corps ... received a letter yesterday from official sources which stated that not only was the post not to be abandoned, but it was to be regarrisoned in a short time....At present there is on duty but one commissioned officer, the post quartermaster sergeant, and the hospital corps, a force of not over 20 men.[18]

The final curtain was to close forever on Whipple Barracks as a military post shortly after the Congressional Act of August 9, 1921, established the United States Veteran's Bureau. This Bureau was created so as to provide a unified hospitalization program to meet the needs of increased numbers of wounded soldiers following the World War. Whipple Barracks had undergone improvements at a cost of $577,000 and was now a hospital for T. B. patients with a capacity of 422 beds. President Warren G. Harding by Executive Order, April 29, 1922, officially transferred Whipple Barracks from the United States Public Health Service to the Veteran's Bureau.[19]

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[17] War Department Annual Reports, 1913, Vol. III, p. 58.

[18] Weekly Journal-Miner, Prescott, February 19, 1913.

[19] Annual Reports of the Secretary of Treasury, 1922, pp. 325-8.

Thus Fort Whipple ended its eventful life of some fifty-seven years as an active military post on one of America's most hostile Indian frontiers. No page of history can boast of more courageous men than those Whipple troops who fought and died to help win the West so that America could grow and prosper to those proportions that Destiny has foreordained.

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MAP
OF THE
MILITARY DEPARTMENT
OF
NEW MEXICO.

Drawn under the direction of

Brig. Gen. JAMES H. CARLETON

BY

Capt. ALLEN ANDERSON, 5th U.S. Infantry,

Acting Engineer Officer.

1864.

PRINCIPAL LATITUDES AND LONGITUDES ASTRONOMICALLY DETERMINED.

	LATITUDE.	LONGITUDE.	AUTHORITY.
Albuquerque	35° 05′ 51″	106° 37′ 32″	Capt. A. W. Whipple
Santa Fe	35° 41′ 06″	... .	Maj. W. H. Emory.
Doña Ana	32° 23′ 14″	106° 48′ 33″	" " "
El Paso del Norte	31° 44′ 16″	106° 29′ 00″	" " "
Anton Chico	35° 12′ 11″	105° 09′ 45″	Capt. A. W. Whipple.
Peralta	34° 50′ 57″	... .	Maj. W. H. Emory.
Fort Stanton	33° 29′ 37″	105° 38′ 19″	Capt. J. N. Macomb.
Isleta	34° 54′ 27″	106° 39′ 59″	Capt. A. W. Whipple.
Fort Craig	33° 38′ 11″	... .	Capt. J. N. Macomb.
Mouth of Seminas River	33° 22′ 57″	112° 15′ 46″	Maj. W. H. Emory.
Copper Mines of Santa Rita	32° 47′ 53″	108° 04′ 40″	" " "
Junct. of Gila and Colorado	32° 43′ 32″	114° 36′ 09″	Capt. A. W. Whipple.
Tucson	32° 12′ 55″	110° 52′ 55″	Maj. W. H. Emory.
Initial Point of Boundary on Parallel 32° 42′	31° 47′ 00″	106° 31′ 21″	" " "
Pueblo de Zuñi	35° 04′ 03″	108° 42′ 44″	Capt. A. W. Whipple.
Cuvero (on San Jose River)	35° 05′ 22″	109° 26′ 14″	" " "
Mouth of Williams' Fork	34° 17′ 47″	114° 00′ 00″	" " "
Initial Point on Colorado, 20 Miles below the Mouth of the Gila River	32° 29′ 44″	114° 48′ 45″	Maj. W. H. Emory.

EXPLANATION OF SIGNS.

- *Wagon Roads*
- *Trails and routes of reconnoitring parties*
- *Route recommended for Wagon road*
- *Route of Party exploring for same*
- *Route recommended for examination*
- *Supposed or approximate position of streams*
- *Beds of streams sometime dry*
- *Military Posts occupied*
- *Military Posts abandoned*

Scale.

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