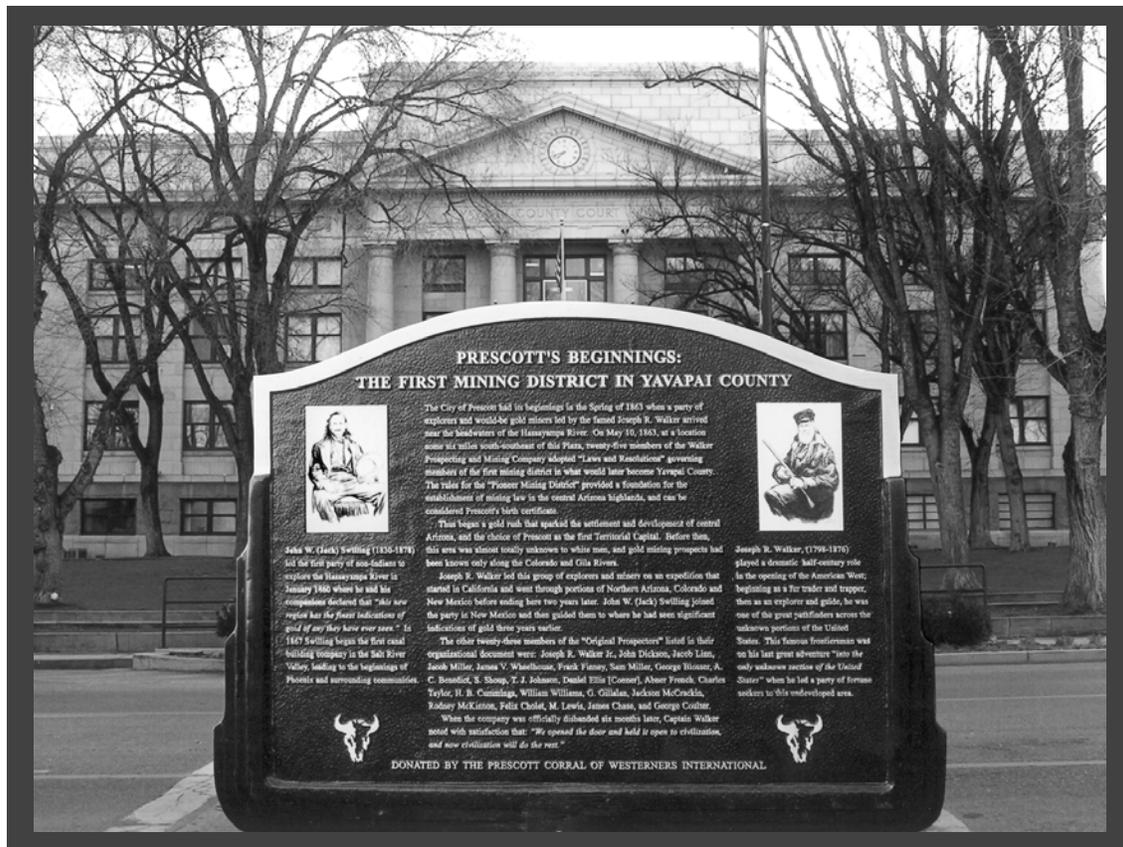


TERRITORIAL TIMES

Prescott Arizona Corral
of Westerners International



PRESCOTT'S BEGINNINGS: THE FIRST MINING DISTRICT IN YAVAPAI COUNTY



John W. (Jack) Swilling (1832-1876) led the first party of non-Spanish to explore the Hassayampa River in January 1863 when he said his "discovery" declared that "this new region has the finest indications of gold if any they have ever seen." In 1867 Swilling began the first canal building company in the Salt River Valley leading to the beginning of Phoenix and surrounding communities.



The City of Prescott had its beginnings in the Spring of 1863 when a party of explorers and would-be gold miners led by the famed Joseph R. Walker arrived near the headwaters of the Hassayampa River. On May 30, 1863, at a location near its upper Southwestern end this Party, twenty-five members of the Walker Prospecting and Mining Company adopted "Laws and Regulations" governing members of the first mining district in what would later become Yavapai County.

The rules for the "Pioneer Mining District" provided a foundation for the establishment of mining law in the central Arizona highlands, and can be considered Prescott's birth certificate.

This began a gold rush that sparked the settlement and development of central Arizona, and the choice of Prescott as the first Territorial Capital. Before then, this area was almost totally unknown to white men, and gold mining prospects had been known only along the Colorado and Gila Rivers.

Joseph R. Walker led this group of explorers and miners on an expedition that started in California and went through portions of Northern Arizona, Colorado and New Mexico before ending here two years later. John W. (Jack) Swilling joined the party in New Mexico and then guided them to where he had seen significant indications of gold three years earlier.

The other twenty-three members of the "Original Prospectors" listed in their organizational document were: Joseph R. Walker Jr., John Dickson, Jacob Lane, Jacob Miller, James V. Whitehouse, Frank Yancy, Sam Miller, George Houser, A. C. Bonfield, S. Shoup, T. J. Johnson, Daniel Ellis [Conner], Abner French, Charles Taylor, H. B. Cummings, William Williams, G. Gilliam, Jackson McCrackin, Reddy McKinnon, Felix Chollet, M. Lewis, James Chas, and George Coulter.

When the company was officially disbanded six months later, Captain Walker stated with satisfaction that "We opened the door and held it open to civilization, and now civilization will do the rest."

DONATED BY THE PRESCOTT CORRAL OF WESTERNERS INTERNATIONAL



Joseph R. Walker (1798-1876) played a dramatic half-century role in the opening of the American West, beginning as a fur trader and trapper, then as an explorer and guide; he was one of the great pathfinders across the unknown portions of the United States. This famous frontiersman was on his last great adventure "into the only unknown section of the United States" when he led a party of former seekers to this undeveloped area.



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of Westerners International

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John Huff Designs, front cover layout; Bruce Fee sketch, page 21; Gary Melvin sketches, page 23 and back cover; Brett Blevins sketches, pages 14 & 15; Melinda Watson, map page 24.

Cover Photo: Downtown Prescott has a new memorial recognizing the group of explorers who founded the "Pioneer Mining District," in 1863. This event led directly to the founding of Prescott less than a year later. The memorial plaque was provided by the Prescott Corral of Westerners International and is located at the mid-block pedestrian crosswalk on Montezuma Street on the west side of the courthouse plaza. Bruce Fee and Gary Melvin designed the composite photograph. Text of the plaque begins at page 14.

WHO WERE THE FIRST HASSAYAMPERS?

By Robert L. Spude

Thirty-five years ago, while preparing an article on the Walker Diggings, I began writing the phrase “Captain Walker with his [insert number here] men . . .”¹ Anyone who has researched the Walker Party soon finds there is much conflict on the details, not the least of which is the number of prospectors that made up the band of trail-weary men led by the old mountain man Joseph Rutherford Walker in 1863. Later settlers called these pioneers the “Hassayampers,” the first wave of the gold rush to central Arizona.

For beginning any discussion of the Walker party, there is no more useful document than the journal of the “Pioneer” mining district well discussed by Andrew Wallace in a previous issue of *Territorial Times*. It is the “birth certificate” of the region, giving legitimacy to the Hassayampa diggings’ discoverers, whose names, twenty-five in all, are listed on the first page of the journal.² The Pioneer District journal’s list of names, as well as the minutes of the miners’ meetings held on May 10, 1863, and afterward, suggest who the leaders of the party were, and one would think the logical answer to the numerical question is, “Captain Walker with his twenty-four men.”

Conner’s Lists of Walker Party

When looking at other sources in order to flesh out the story of these prospectors, we run into problems with that number twenty-five. One member of the party, Daniel Ellis Conner, left an extensive reminiscence published as *Joseph Reddeford Walker and the Arizona Adventure*, doubtless the best-known source of information about the Walker Party.³ Conner published a list of 34 names that made up the party, not 25. When you look at his two original lists in manuscript, however, the first (a copy in the state archives) gives 33 names and the second agrees with the published list of 34 (Sharlot Hall

Museum copy)—Hyrum Mealman is omitted in the state archives list. Conner further confuses the matter by stating in the book that after finding gold on the head of the Hassayampa River “the next move was the holding of a miners’ meeting . . . [by the] twenty-six of us” (p. 100), in direct conflict with the 25 names in the Pioneer District journal list of May 10, 1863. To further muddy the scene Felix Cholet, listed in the Pioneer District journal, is missing from Conner’s list of 34 members of the party. Conner makes more confusion by stating, “Thirty was our number at the first arrival” (p. 103). How many discovered gold that May of 1863: 25, or 26, or 30, or 34 prospectors? If only 25, where were the missing nine prospectors that Conner lists?

Other Primary Source Materials

Primary documents confuse the matter further. A letter from Captain Joseph R. Walker, leader of the group, to mountaineer John Moss, dated April 29, 1863, states there were 28 men with him prospecting north of the Pima Villages (assuming they were up on the Hassayampa). A letter by Albert C. Benedict, May 21, 1863, eleven days after the discovery party’s May 10 meeting, states that when the party first left the Pima Villages “we consisted of twenty-five men with the well-known Captain Walker as our chief and

guide.” This agrees with the Pioneer District journal’s 25, unless Benedict meant 25 plus 1 (Walker) for 26. George Lount in an interview with the San Francisco *Alta California* newspaper the following August, states he was with the party in the high country and there were 26 in the party. Still later, the obituary of Jacob Lynn, a Forty-niner friend of Lount, in the *Arizona Miner* of September 29, 1876, states there were 26 in the party, both of which agree with Conner’s “twenty-six of us” at the May 10 meeting.⁴ Again, how many prospectors were there on the Hassayampa on May 10: 25, 26, or 28?

An appendix with four lists of members—Conner’s, the Pioneer District journal, an 1862 list from the National Archives, and an 1861 list based on the memory of several of the party members—follows this essay. Using these lists and contemporary sources we may be able to identify and determine the whereabouts of Walker Party members not listed in the Pioneer District journal.

We know that John J. Miller, party member from near the time of its inception in California and father of two of the prospectors listed in the Pioneer District journal, Sam and Jacob, was not there at the head of the Hassayampa and not listed in the May 10 Pioneer District journal minutes. According to son Sam, his father had decided at the last minute to return to Tucson for supplies. When news reached Tucson of the strike, learned probably from Jack Swilling who wrote a letter from there on May 20, Miller rejoined the group to head back north.

The Second Wave of Miners

Close on their heels was another group of eager Arizonans, some of whom would later claim they were with the Walker Party—which is correct—but as part of a “second wave” that arrived at the diggings on June 7: Col. Marcus A. Dobbins, late of the

California Volunteers; ex-wagon master James Sheldon; King S. Woolsey, friend of Walker party member Albert Benedict; and many others.⁵

The “second wave” of people joining Captain Walker also included some who had been with the party in New Mexico, but who delayed departing the upper Gila.⁶ Conner’s book states “some of the above [34 listed individuals] deserted us and left with the soldiers, but they came amongst the first immigration to the country.” (p, 108) Charles Noble, Alford Shupp, Vincent Young, Henry Miller, and William Murray were among the arrivals on June 7 and after. They started staking the adjacent ground along the Hassayampa River on June 13, after the original Walker Party claims were staked, and recorded their claims in the Pioneer District journal. These five were also with the Walker party the previous November in Santa Fe, when twenty-seven members of the party signed an oath of allegiance under orders of Gen. James H. Carleton.⁷ They then went with Walker to Pinos Altos and prospected what is now the Clifton-Morenci region. They may have remained at the head of the Gila after the majority of the Walker party left around April 1, 1863, and, as Conner states, “went with the soldiers” of Fort West (near the head of the Gila), who were allowed a twenty-day furlough to prospect. They had returned by the end of April. Letters announcing the Walker party’s route to the Hassayampa (if not their gold strike), and a rendezvous date of June 1 at Pima Villages set by Walker probably brought the members now who “went with the soldiers” to the central Arizona gold fields.⁸ During 1863, William Murray would mine on Lynx Creek before hitting a bonanza on Rich Hill; Henry Miller and Charles Noble would briefly work Lynx Creek; and Vincent Young’s cabin became a landmark on the upper Hassayampa diggings. For years afterward, especially as members

remaining in the Prescott area died off, Alford Shupp was always recalled as part of the Walker party that came into the country in 1863, although his name (like Miller, Noble, Young, and Murray) is absent from the Pioneer journal's list of 25.⁹

The Role of George Lount

George Lount was actually the instigator of the Walker Party's first organization, and he left the San Francisco Bay area with Walker on June 14, 1861. He was with the prospecting party for nearly two years before the gold discovery. Inexplicably, his name does not appear in the Pioneer District journal May 10 list. Lount says in one of his reminiscences that the party left the headwaters of the Gila and was headed to La Paz on the Colorado River when, "after getting underway, Swilling induced them to go to Hassayampa creek." At this time, 1862–early 1863, Lount's brother Daniel was in La Paz, a new gold camp. From information in an 1863 interview in a San Francisco newspaper, it is evident Lount was with the party when they decided to head for the Hassayampa but left the party before the major gold discovery. It mentions him mining near the junction of the Gila and Colorado, the site of Gila City, which suggests that he broke away, probably at the Pima Villages, going west when the party headed north.¹⁰

Puzzling is an entry in the Pioneer District journal of June 9, which, according to the record, is the date Lount located the Black Lode with party member Albert Benedict, newcomer King Woolsey, and others. Woolsey operated a stage station on the lower Gila, and we know he was in the second wave to the Walker diggings. He came to Arizona in 1860 with a party that included Benedict. Did Lount and Woolsey, when news of the discovery reached outside after May 18, retrace their steps and head to the high country, thus being part of the second wave to the diggings?

The 1864 interview in the *Alta California* also states that Lount left Captain Walker at La Paz (Walker had left the Hassayampa diggings June 20 for a visit to La Paz). Lount may have been with Walker on the journey out to La Paz and, as the *Alta California* interview states, then returned to California to raise a party to rejoin Walker in order to further explore the country—which he did, back during September, going directly to a location on Granite Creek nearest the Black Lode.¹¹

Mohave Indian Presence

One other group mentioned by Conner, some Mohave Indians, helped guide the discovery party to the Hassayampa. Yara tav, a headman of the Mohaves (called by Conner and other Anglos "Iratava") and three or four members of his tribe aided the group across the desert and up the Hassayampa drainage. Benedict in his May 21 letter also refers to the "five Mohave" who joined the party at the Pima Villages and went to the Hassayampa with them. Along the way they gave Benedict the names of the streams—up the Haca-hampe (c as in façade) to its junction with the Oolke-si-pave, what we now know as the upper Hassayampa River. More importantly, Benedict relates, Yara tav had just been to a treaty signing that brought peace among the Yuma, Yavapai, Maricopa, Pima, and Mohave peoples. The military at Fort Yuma with the assistance of mountain man Paulino Weaver had gathered the tribes together with the goal of making peace, according to the press, "thereby making it safe for prospectors to go through their country." The treaty, signed April 11, stated the tribes "Severally agreed to protect Americans against any and all of the Above tribes." This peace unknowingly helped the Walker party, guided by Mohaves, to enter the homelands of other tribes, especially the Yavapai. As one prospector told the press that fall, at the height of the rush, "if it had not been for this treaty the miners could not have gone into that country

as they have done.” This critical period of peace allowed the party to discover placer gold on the upper Hassayampa, then to expand their search to the surrounding streams, proving that they had indeed found a new major goldfield. Yara tav, however, left before the discovery.¹²

Carleton Loyalty Oath List

Again, two primary documents give us lists of members in the party, 1862–1863. First, the reorganized party, including the Coloradoans (but without some of the original Californians who scattered), is the oath of allegiance to the United States sworn at Santa Fe on November 22, 1862. This document gives the names and ages of the Walker Party members as they prepared to move into southern New Mexico and Arizona. Gen. James H. Carleton had declared martial law, and all parties passing through the territory needed a pass. Twenty-nine names are listed in this record—27 of the Walker party and two latecomers. Santa Fe newspapers stated that Albert Benedict and Hiram Cummings joined the group late, but planned to prospect the Pinos Altos area, a goldfield in the southwest corner of New Mexico Territory. They signed the oath December 5, 1862. Benedict and Cummings were visiting Benedict’s kinsman, Kirby Benedict, chief justice of the territorial Supreme Court. Because of this connection to high officials in Santa Fe, he was later accused of being a spy for General Carleton, which is doubtful though he later was given a power of attorney by Carleton to locate mines for him. Rather than dig for gold, Benedict would speculate in mining claims at the head of the Hassayampa. He would also make sure his claims, although in newly formed Arizona Territory, would be legally protected through the assistance of the chief justice and the general.¹³

This list, what I call the Carleton list of 29, includes eleven of the original eighteen mem-

bers from California, sixteen new members that joined from Colorado, and the two in New Mexico. Contrasting the Carleton list with the Pioneer District list of 25 “discoverers,” suggests who was missing from Conner’s “34” (see appendix). The May 10 list also includes the names of the five new members: Southwesterners Thomas Johnson, Jack Swilling, Jackson McCracken, Felix Cholet and James Chase. Thus, the ten individuals on the Conner and Carleton lists, missing from the “discoverers” list, can be summarized from the above: George Lount was on his way to California; John Miller was in Tucson; and Henry Miller, Charles Noble, Alford Shupp, William Murray, and Vincent Young, after prospecting with the soldiers at the headwaters of the Gila, were on their way to catch up with the Walker party. The whereabouts of Philip Snyder and Samuel Wells is unknown. A name or two should be dropped from Conner’s list. Felix Burton left Colorado for Montana, not New Mexico or Arizona, and I do not believe that Hyrum Mealman (on Conner’s list of 34, but not on any other list including Conner’s own earlier list of 33) was part of the Walker party. He arrived in Prescott much later. Like King Woolsey, Thomas Hodge, William “Uncle Billy” Pointer, Follett G. Christie, Van C. Smith, and others who claimed to be or were later thought to have been part of the Walker group, he was not with the favored few of May 10, 1863.¹⁴

Pinning Down the Original Hassayampers

But who were the original Hassayampers, and can we confirm, by other than the Pioneer District journal, that they were at the Oolkesi-pave diggings on May 10, 1863? There can be no doubt—based on letters, memoirs, a host of accounts—that Joe Walker was there, but he wasn’t a miner. And Benedict’s letters suggest the old mountaineer wanted to continue on to the Rio San Francisco (today’s Verde River). Walker continued in his belief

that richer diggings lay at the headwaters of that river. In March 1864, with newly arrived Governor Goodwin's party, he finally reached it but was disappointed. He said "that he should not recognize it as the same river he passed up some years ago." After a trip to California, he returned with a new desire to prospect the river all the way to the south slopes of the San Francisco Mountains. Conner went along and writes of the fiasco, where in August 1865 Walker led nineteen men into an Apache trap and four of his party were wounded. He returned to his cabin on Lynx Creek, but his age and failing eyesight—and the changed society and mode of operations on the creek—convinced him to move. Mining was rapidly becoming a business, not an adventure. By 1867 he was back in Contra Costa County, California, where he died October 27, 1876, at age 78.¹⁵

Newcomers to the Party

Then there were the Southwesterners, the newest group to join the Walker party. Captain Walker's mild mannered temperament contrasted sharply with John W. "Jack" Swilling, remembered more for his role in the founding of Phoenix than his mining adventures, and who wrote letters and even sent gold nuggets to officials. Al Bates has covered his career in a previous issue of the *Territorial Times*, which shows that Swilling was not only there, but served as guide to the Walker Party.¹⁶ The thirty-five year old Thomas J. Johnson had been in the territory since 1857, was a leader on the Overland Mail stagecoach line until it closed during the Civil War. Swilling, Johnson, James Chase, William Murray, and Felix Cholet were listed by either Conner or Carleton and all but Murray appear in the Pioneer District journal. Henry Bigelow's reminiscence also has them as the fortunate co-claimants of the dumb-luck Rich Hill find, and they were, by the end of July, no longer part of the Walker Party. Chase would stay the longest in the southern hills of

Yavapai County, continuing until his death in 1904 looking for one more "Swilling-like butcher knife diggings." His obituary also noted his place in the Walker party.¹⁷

United States decennial census records, contemporary newspapers, and other sources help describe the California Forty-niners in the Walker Party. Experienced miners such as Jacob Linn of the Mariposa diggings, Dr. George Coulter of Calaveras County, Martram (Martin) Lewis, and George Blosser joined Walker early in 1861. Their imprint of the California style of mining, including the miners' meeting, claim size and ownership, manner of staking claims, etc., is reflected in the Pioneer District journal. This is a code of regulations right out of the California gold rush experience. They would educate the younger members—who would continue mining the hills and gulches long after most of the others had left.¹⁸

Coulter would hit the biggest bonanza of the group on Lynx Creek, where he got from one pan \$350 worth of glittering gold and within a month, from a 12 by 20 pit to bedrock, got \$700, more than twice what a laborer of that day made in a year. Coulter would bring the first quartz mill into the Lynx Creek district, to work the ores of its hard rock mines. Blosser left in 1866 for the Elizabethtown, New Mexico goldfields and Coulter went to White Pine, Nevada, in 1868 and nearby Pioche, where he remained. By contrast, John Dickson and the Miller brothers, Jake and Sam, had been farmers and returned to farms, after making their stakes, becoming the longest-lived of the party in the Prescott area.

Novice Miners from Colorado

The Coloradoans were novice miners all. James Wheelhouse, a Brooklyn merchant, was at California Gulch on the upper Arkansas before joining Walker. Daniel E. Conner and Francis Gilliland were on the Greenhorn

tributary by 1861, scheming to join the Confederacy. A number of young men in their twenties—Frank Finney, Adnah French, Charles Noble, Rod McKinnon, and Bill Williams—signed up, as did the old sailor Charles Taylor (they are on Conner’s and Carleton’s lists, besides the Pioneer District journal). Sixty-two year old Solomon Shoup, an Illinois merchant who came to the high country after the Colorado “Fifty-niners” had staked the creeks, was easily lured to join the Walker Party. When the party reached the Hassayampa, Shoup would rise to leadership roles within the mining district as much because of his seniority and his staunch Democrat party affiliation (Civil War passions though subdued were real within the group) as his business sense. Wheelhouse too served as secretary and recorder, but his abilities with the pen and books were more a factor than his mining knowledge.¹⁹

Do we have an answer to the question, Who were the first Hassayampers? The safest answer is that it was the 25 men whose names appear on the first page of the Pioneer District Journal. But Conner makes me uncomfortable about this conclusion. In a 1915 newspaper article, he states the party returned to the Pima Villages where they bought paper and a calendar.²⁰ (Did someone then acquire the handsome bound ledger we see today in the Yavapai County recorder’s office?) We might speculate whether the notes of the miners’ meeting of May 10 were jotted on scraps of paper or in someone’s commonplace book until early in June. On June 10, at the second miners’ meeting, a host of newcomers would have been looking over the shoulders of the Walker Party. I believe it possible that one or two prospectors among the Walker Party, who had been on the Hassayampa May 10, may not have returned for the June 10 meeting, and because of their absence their names went unrecorded among the list of “Original Prospectors.”

I’ll take the liberty of adding three names Walker may have considered among his 28 on April 29—George Lount, John Miller, and one of the Southwesterners, possibly William Murray, who had been at Gila City in 1860, Pinos Altos in 1861, and with Walker since Santa Fe in November 1862. If there was a 26th man on May 10, the one who vanished when it came time to compile the names for the Pioneer District journal, that honor probably should go to George Lount who, with Walker, started the expedition two years earlier. But in hindsight, the party’s gratitude and membership should also include Mohave chief Yara tav.



ENDNOTES

¹ Robert L. Spude, “The Walker-Weaver Diggings and the Mexican Placero, 1863– 1864,” *Journal of the West* (October 1975), 64-74.

² Andrew Wallace, “Prescott’s Birth Certificate: Records of the First Miners’ Meeting Held on the Hassayampa in 1863,” *Territorial Times, Prescott Arizona Corral of Westerners International* (May 2008) 1-12; original journal is in the Recorder’s Office, Yavapai County, Prescott, and hereafter referred to as the Pioneer District journal.

³ Daniel E. Conner, *Joseph Reddeford Walker and the Arizona Adventure*, eds. Donald J. Berthrong & Odessa Davenport (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956). It is now generally conceded that Joe Walker’s rarely used middle name was actually “Rutherford.” Bil Gilbert, *Westering Man, the Life of Joseph Walker* (New York: Atheneum, 1983), 7.

⁴ Lynn obit in Hayes Scrapbooks, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkley (copy used is bound photocopy of the scrapbooks at Arizona State University Library). San Francisco *Alta California*, August 13, 1864. A. C. Benedict to Kirby T. Benedict, Pima Villages, May 21, 1863, National Archives Record Group 393, U. S. Army Continental Commands, Department of New Mexico (hereafter RG 393, New Mexico), Letters Sent, Vol. XIII, p. 599. Walker letter in *San Francisco Bulletin*, June 17, 1863.

⁵ Jack W. Swilling to Bronson, Tucson, May 20, 1863, National Archives, RG 108, Hq. of the Army, Letters

Received, 1863, Box 72, 320-C; Rachel Redden Koontz, "The Miller Story," *Echoes of the Past, Tales of Old Yavapai*, vol. 2, ed. Robert C. Stevens (Prescott: The Yavapai Cowbells, 1964) 11-40; Wallace W. Elliott, ed, *History of Arizona Territory* (San Francisco: Wallace W. Elliott & Co., 1884) 207, 301-2; John Miller and N. L. Griffin biographical files, Carl Hayden Collection, Arizona State University, accessed online.

⁶ Elliott, ed, *History of Arizona*, 207.

⁷ Pioneer District journal entries June 13-November 8, 1863; San Francisco *Bulletin*, May 18, 1863; San Francisco *Alta California*, December 2, 1863; William Murray and Alford Shupp, Hayden biographical files; Murray is included here because he is on Carleton's list, but not Conner's.

⁸ Elliott, ed, *History of Arizona*, 207.

⁹ *Ibid*; Pioneer District journal, September 4, 1863 entry; Albert Benedict, Marcus Dobbins, George Lount and Daniel Lount biographical files, Carl Hayden Collection, Arizona State University; Thomas Edwin Farish, *History of Arizona*, vol. 2 (Phoenix: Filmer Brothers, 1915) 217-8.

¹⁰ San Francisco *Alta California*, August 13, 1864.

¹¹ *Ibid*; As an aside, Benedict staked the Black Lode claim on June 9, and also staked claims along the lode for Santa Fe's leading businessmen, politicians, and military officers. This staking of a claim for absent parties may have been the reason the Pioneer District miners at their June 10 meeting resolved that "no person [be] allowed to take up claims for others." This could explain Benedict's and Lount's departure, one to California and the other to write Santa Fe seeking advice on (and financial support for) working their expensive hard rock claims.

¹² Albert C. Benedict to Kirby T. Benedict, Pima Villages, May 21, 1863, National Archives RG 393; Los Angeles *Star*, March 7, 1863; Weber quote in *Bulletin*, September 29, 1863; Farish, *History of Arizona*, vol. 4, 314; Clifton B. Kroeber and Bernard L. Fontana, *Masacre on the Gila, an Account of the Last Major Battle Between American Indians, with Reflections on the Origin of War* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1986) 144-5, 197, partial copy of treaty on 175-6.

¹³ James H. Carleton, Hqs. Department of New Mexico, November 23, 1862, with December 5 attachment, National Archives, RG 393, New Mexico, Letters Sent, vol 13, September 1862-August 1863, p. 185; Albert Benedict, Hayden biographical files; Aurora Hunt, *Kirby Benedict, Frontier Federal Judge* (Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark, 1961) 84-8.

¹⁴ Felix Burton, Hayden biographical files. Pioneer District journal, November 9, 1863. For King Woolsey

see Farish, *History of Arizona*, vol. 2, p. 217; for Hodge, his obituary in the Prescott *Weekly Arizona Journal Miner*, January 13, 1892; for Pointer, Orrick Jackson, *The White Conquest of Arizona* (Los Angeles: Crafton Co., 1908), 14; (One of the first publications to retell the "Arizona Adventure" is this book by Orrick Jackson who heard the pioneer stories growing up in Prescott in the 1870s. He listed 29 believed members, and added four whose names had been lost. Jackson's book may have spurred on Conner's attempts to publish his reminiscences.) "A Short Historical Sketch of Arizona's Oldest Paper," *Weekly Arizona-Journal Miner*, June 10, 1891; Griffin, Hayden biographical file. For Christie, his Hayden biographical file. For a corrective on Smith, see Frederick Nolan, "Van C. Smith; 'A Very Companionable Gentleman,'" *New Mexico Historical Review* (April 1997) 153-170.

¹⁵ J. R. Walker file, Hayden biographical files; Conner, *Arizona Adventure*, 145, 201; *Bulletin* September 26, October 3, November 27, 1865; Joseph Pratt Allyn, *The Arizona of Joseph Pratt Allyn, Letters from a Pioneer Judge*, ed. John Nicolson (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1974) 71-73, 81.

¹⁶ Al Bates, "Jack Swilling and the Walker Exploratory Party," *Territorial Times*, (May 2008) 13-17; Albert R. Bates, *Jack Swilling, Arizona's Most Lied About Pioneer* (Tucson: Wheatmark, 2008).

¹⁷ *Ibid*; Henry Bigelow, William Murray and James Chase, Hayden biographical files.

¹⁸ Jacob Linn, Samuel Miller, Jacob Miller, and John Dickson, Hayden biographical files; on Blosser, see the *Weekly Arizona Miner*, May 1, 1869; on Coulter in later years, *Weekly Arizona Miner*, June 12, 1869, September 14, 1872. He is not the same as George Coulter of Coulterville, California.

¹⁹ Charles Taylor, Adnah French, Solomon Shoup, and Rod McKinnon, Hayden biographical files. Wheelhouse is in the 1860 census enumeration sheet, California Gulch, Arapahoe County, Kansas, and the 1850 census enumeration sheets, Brooklyn, New York, and the 1870 census Woodman Township, Bradford County, New York; accessed online at ancestry.com. See also Conner, *Arizona Adventure*, 101-2. Edmund Wells, *Argonaut Tales* (New York: Grafton, 1927), has a chapter on French that is fairly accurate, except that French died in Santa Fe, not as Wells relates of thirst in the desert.

²⁰ *Tucson Daily Citizen*, April 17, 1915.

Appendix: Walker Party Lists Comparison

Conner's List 34 names	1861 List 19 names	1862 List 29 names	1863 List 25 names
Albert Case Benedict*		X	X
George Blosser*	X	X	X
Johnny Bull*			
Felix Burton*	X		
James Chase*			X
George Coulter*	X	X	X
Daniel E. Conner*		X	X
Hyrum Cummings*		X	X
John Dixon*	X	X	X
Frank Finney*		X	X
Adnah French*		X	X
Francis G. Gilliland*		X	X
Thomas Johnson*			X
Martin Lewis*	X	X	X
George Lount*	X	X	
Jacob Lynn*	X	X	X
Jackson McCracken*			X
Rhoderic McKinnon*		X	X
Hyrum Mealman*			
Henry Miller*		X	
John J. Miller*	X	X	
Jacob L. Miller*	X	X	X
Samuel C. Miller*	X	X	X
Charles Noble*		X	
Jacob Schneider [Sneider]*		X	
Solomon Shoup*		X	X
Alford Shupp*		X	
John W. Swilling*			X
Charles Taylor*		X	X
Vincent Young*		X	
Capt. Joseph R. Walker*	X	X	X
Joseph R. Walker, Jr*	X	X	X
James Wheelhouse*		X	X
Bill Williams*		X	X
	Forsyth*		
	Clothier*		
	Hallett		
	Hardin[g]*		
	Al Dunn		
	Luther Paine*		
	John Walker*		
		Wm Murray	
		Samuel Wells	
			Felix Cholet

* Names with (*) appear also on James H. McClintock's published list of 40 names, vol 1, p. 107 based on Conner, but with spelling variations

Juan Chivaria—Forgotten Friend of Arizona Pioneers

By Al Bates

In the early dawn of September 1, 1857, a sneak attack by invaders from the west threatened to wipe out the small Maricopa Indian villages of south central Arizona. Homes at the western edge of the villages were put to the torch and their occupants—men, women and children—were killed before there could be any effective resistance.

When word of the attack spread, it was sub-chief Juan Chivaria who led the hastily assembled Maricopa warriors, some on horseback, some on foot, in a whirlwind counterattack.¹ Wielding war clubs and lances to brutal effect, the Maricopas—joined by the more numerous Pimas—routed the invaders, killing almost all of them; leaving but a few to straggle back to their Colorado River source.

It was a war party of some 100 Quechans (Yumas) and a few Mojave and Tonto Apache allies that carried out the 1857 dawn attack that proved to be the final major episode in an extended history of intertribal warfare, and the last major battle in the

American Southwest fought exclusively between Native Americans.²

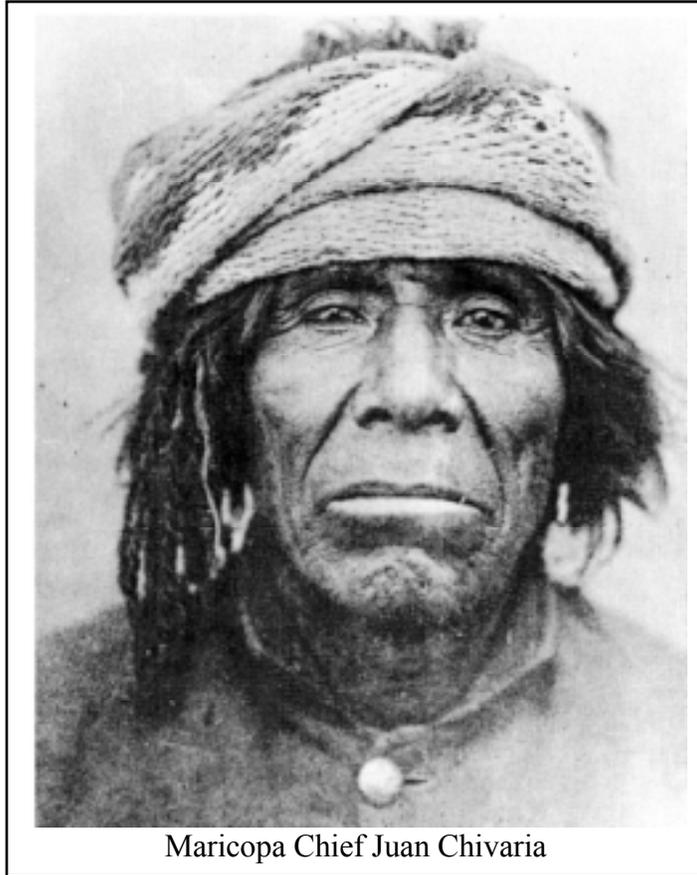
For the first time, the name of Chief Juan Chivaria appeared in the written records of

Arizona history, but it would not be the last. In the years that followed he would win the admiration and respect of the early white settlers for his unwavering support of them against Apache marauders, at times fighting side by side with the pioneers. Along the

way he formed strong friendships with two of Arizona Territory's most influential early pioneers, King S. Woolsey and John W. (Jack) Swilling.

The Maricopas were farmers who lived in peace with the neighboring Pimas in villages on the Gila River near its intersection with the Salt River. However these peaceable farmers were not passive and their warriors were quick to retaliate when raided by

other tribes. Over the years they had developed a deep hatred for the marauding Tonto Apache raiders who swept down from the northeast to obtain booty and prisoners from the Maricopas and their Pima neighbors.



Maricopa Chief Juan Chivaria

The Maricopas also had an ongoing feud with the Yuma area tribes who had pushed the Maricopas eastward from their traditional homes along the Colorado early in the 19th century.³ The accommodating Pimas made room for them, and the Maricopas resettled along the Gila River at a spot commonly called the Pima Villages where both tribes raised crops of wheat, melons and corn. This was a very important stopping place for early immigrants, both would-be prospectors and homesteaders, heading for California along the southern route. This was one of few places where they could trade for agricultural products with the friendly Maricopas and Pimas and for other goods at Ami White's flourmill and store.⁴

There was one white eyewitness to the 1857 battle. Isaiah C. Woods was camped on a nearby hillside. He wrote, "Besides warriors on foot, every Indian that could get a horse was in the fight, many of them going a half dozen miles to reach the battle ground." Woods wisely stayed well away from the battle so had no further details.⁵ Juan Chivaria's vital role in leading the mounted Maricopa warriors to the battle and their deadly use of their primitive weapons was documented in later interviews with participants.

The end result of this final battle was peace talks between the Maricopas, led by Chief Chivaria, and the Quechens that ended that long-standing tribal enmity. But problems with the Tonto Apaches persisted.

From the time the first American soldiers took control of the newly acquired Gadsden Purchase area in 1856, the Maricopas had tried to obtain guns from the soldiers to help stop depredations by the often better-armed Apaches.⁶ However it wasn't until the summer of 1862 when the Union Army's "Column from California" arrived to drive the Con-

federates from Southern Arizona and New Mexico that their wish was fulfilled. The Column's leader, General James H. Carleton, met Chief Chivaria at Maricopa Wells and immediately began arrangements to have 100 single-shot caplock muskets and ammunition supplied to the Maricopas and their Pima allies.⁷

The American army was not the only ones to recognize the value of these friendly Indians as allies. Governor Pesqueira of Sonora, Mexico, sent envoys with gifts to the Maricopas and Pimas in July of 1862 in an attempt to enlist 50 warriors from the two tribes, presumably to assist with his own Apache problem. The envoys were politely sent home empty handed.⁸

Chief Chivaria's participation in combined raids with whites against the Apaches may well have started in 1860. In early January of that year the Overland Stage Line sponsored the formation of a white militia company they called the Gila Rangers and sent them on an expedition to punish Apache raiders who had been stealing stock from the company and the miners at Gila City.

The Gila Rangers were joined on their expedition by a group of Maricopa warriors. The expedition headed north from Maricopa Wells, discovering the previously unrecognized Hassayampa River along the way. The Maricopas participated in one sharp skirmish with Tonto Apaches before turning back because of the wintry cold at higher altitudes (as they approached the Prescott Basin) and a shortage of rations.

The only published account of the expedition failed to note just who led the warriors, but most logically it was Juan Chivaria. The chief is known to have had a strong friendship with the Gila Ranger captain, John W. Swilling, who, just over three years later, guided the

Joseph R. Walker prospecting party to the Prescott Basin marking the beginning of the first gold rush in the central Arizona highlands.

That event set the stage for another anti-Apache expedition almost exactly four years after the Gila Ranger's incursion into the unknown area above the Gila. In January 1864 Chief Chivaria headed the band of 16 Maricopa warriors who joined with 30 miners led by King S. Woolsey on a mission to "chastise" the Tonto Apache horse thieves who had just raided the Prescott area. When members of the Woolsey party appeared at the Maricopa/Pima villages to gather supplies and to recruit Indian help, Chivaria was quick to seize the new opportunity to fight Apaches. When the miners and Maricopas encountered a larger than expected band of Apaches at Bloody Basin, a sharp battle occurred in which an estimated 23 Apache warriors and a Yavapai ally were killed with only one white killed and one Maricopa wounded.

Details of the Bloody Basin incident have been argued and embellished ever since, but one certainty is that Chief Chivaria and his Maricopa warriors fought side by side with the miners. Their success was only momentary for they were still outnumbered and a much larger force of Apaches, led by a chief named Wah-poo-eta—more commonly called Big Rump—was believed to be on its way. Early settlers learned to fear Big Rump, so named for his most recognizable feature, as the fiercest of the Tonto Apache raiders and he was blamed for more than his share of depredations, including some incidents that happened after his death.

Chief Chivaria is credited with leading the expedition's withdrawal on a night march to safety, while using false campfires to mislead any following Apaches. The Maricopas returned to their villages on the Gila with griz-

zly mementos of the encounter, while the miners returned to the Prescott area happy to have survived and with a determination never again to go deep into Apache territory in such small numbers.⁹

Back at the Pima Villages the returning warriors and a few of the white miners who had fought at Bloody Tanks encountered Territorial Indian Agent Charles Debrille Poston and his traveling companion J. Ross Browne. The white participants, including Abraham Peeples, related details of the affair—and Chief Juan's important role—which Browne recorded in shorthand and later published.¹⁰

Two months later, Chief Chivaria and warriors from both the Maricopa and Pima tribes provided an escort for Poston, and his traveling companion, Territorial Justice Joseph Pratt Allyn, on their way from Maricopa Wells to Prescott. On their way they encountered an express messenger bound for the Pima Villages with a letter begging the assistance of those friendly Indians in a campaign against the Tonto Apaches in retaliation for raids against isolated settlements in the central Arizona highlands.¹¹

In Judge Allyn's words, "Half the [civilian] population had left for the Colorado [River] to avoid starvation and death; a hundred men under Woolsey [by then Lieutenant Colonel of the voluntary territorial militia] were to start at once on a fresh campaign; Fort Whipple was thronged with fugitives; there wasn't an animal fit to use left in the country . . ."

Shortly thereafter, Governor John N. Goodwin arrived at their location. He announced that the state of things was deplorable, and stated that he had little hope of doing anything because of the shortage of provisions. Poston offered to lead the Pima and Maricopa Indians of his escort to join Woolsey if they could have provisions for the trip.

The Poston party continued on to Weaverville (between Wickenburg and Prescott) where grateful residents of the tiny mining community donated supplies from their meager holdings. Judge Allyn and one companion continued to Prescott while Poston and the Indians left to join Woolsey's expedition. Apparently they failed to make contact with the expedition, for a first-person account of the Woolsey second expedition mentions disappointment "at not meeting a party of the Maricopas that were to join us in this vicinity" [near Squaw Canyon].¹²

Chief Chivaria next appears in Territorial history on September 2, 1865, as Captain of the newly mustered Company B of the Arizona Volunteers, a military force established by Governor Goodwin with Federal authorization. Company B of the Volunteers was recruited from the Maricopas; the other companies also were formed along racial lines some Indian, some white, and some ethnic Mexicans. During his time as Senior Captain of the Arizona Volunteers, Chief Chivaria, in full US Army uniform, was honored with a tour of military installations in the San Francisco Bay area. Accompanied by a military escort, he traveled overland to Fort Yuma in March 1866 and then by ship to San Francisco where they were ceremoniously entertained.¹³

After the Territorial Militia was disbanded at the end of 1866—with the promised \$100 per man enlistment bonus still unpaid—a number of Maricopa warriors continued for a time to serve as scouts for the Army and they continued to track and fight the Apaches on their own hook.

When Anglo-American farmers moved into the Salt River Valley, beginning with the first canal dug by the Swilling Ditch Company in 1867, they did so with the certain knowledge that they had the support of the neighboring

Maricopa and Pima tribes to help keep the Apaches at bay.

In August 1869 a brother of Chief Chivaria led a group of Maricopa warriors that surprised a war party of Apaches at Castle Creek in a skirmish that finally ended the bloody career of Big Rump. Because there had been a very recent Indian ambush of a mail party near Date Creek, and the Maricopas had returned to Maricopa Wells with greenbacks and several pieces of mail, it was necessary to confirm their story that it was Big Rump's band that had robbed the mail.

First Lieutenant William McCleave was assigned to investigate, and led ten troopers from Camp McDowell, accompanied by 22 Maricopa warriors—led by Chief Chivaria—and an equal number of Pimas, to visit the site. The soldiers and Indians met in East Phoenix where, at the chief's request, a civilian friend of both McCleave and Chivaria, Salt River Valley canal developer John W. Swilling, joined them.

McCleave's written report confirmed that evidence at the site supported the Maricopa's story, and settlers in the central Arizona highlands breathed a collective sigh of relief at the news of Big Rump's death.¹⁴

By the 1870's, times were changing, and the US Army had less need for help from the Maricopas. Central Arizona's Apaches were mostly pacified and the only serious outbreaks came in the southeastern portions of the territory. Thus the army came to depend almost exclusively on Apache scouts willing to help control off-reservation renegades such as Geronimo.

There still were incidents where the friendly Maricopas and Pimas aided their white friends. U. S. Army First Lieutenant Charles Veil noted Chief Chivaria's help in an unusual

incident near Maricopa Wells in October 1870.¹⁵

Desertion from Camp McDowell was a continuing problem and Lieutenant Veil had been dispatched from Camp McDowell to bring back two armed deserters. When Veil tracked the deserters to Morgan's Ranch near Maricopa Wells, he encountered Chief Chivaria who reported seeing two men with carbines a short distance down the river. The Chief then accompanied the officer in his continued tracking of the fugitives, running easily ahead of the mounted Lieutenant.

When the deserters refused to lay down their arms and one took aim at Veil, the lieutenant snapped off a single pistol shot that killed one deserter and then continued on to mortally wound the second man as well. The Court of Inquiry found that Veil's prompt action saved his life since the carbine aimed at him was loaded and at full cock.

Chief Juan's elected term as chief of the Maricopas ended at the request of tribal members. The Weekly Arizona Miner told it this way in their July 26, 1873 edition: "Juan-Chivari [sic] is no longer chief of the Maricopa Indians. A delegation of warriors visited the old chief's campoodia [sic], some three weeks ago . . . and forced him to abdicate in favor of Jose, who now wields the big bow."

The old guard of pioneer settlers was beginning to fade away. Prominent pioneer King S. Woolsey died of an apparent heart attack or stroke at his Phoenix ranch in June 1879, at age 47. His was a large funeral and the local newspaper mentioned the presence among the mourners of his old friend Chief Juan Chivaria and a large group of Maricopa warriors. The Phoenix newspaper noted tears running down the cheeks of old Chief Juan.

Some of the Maricopas were employed in ditch construction and had an encampment near a ditch head in Phoenix at the time when Chief Chivaria died May 20, 1880. That ditch at times was known as the Juan Chivri [sic] ditch in his honor.

Few people today know the role of the Arizona Volunteers, but the Maricopas remember, and for many decades the tribe held a celebration on the muster date. In 1966 the tribe invited all residents of the Salt River Valley to join them in their celebration of the one-hundredth [sic] anniversary of the Volunteers, during which some of Chief Chivaria's descendents were featured in traditional tribal dances.



ENDNOTES

¹ Chivaria apparently was elected head chief shortly thereafter. See Clifton B. Kroeber and Bernard L. Fontana, *Massacre on the Gila*, The University of Arizona Press, Tucson, 1986, P 60

² *Ibid* P 11

³ *Ibid*, P 8-9

⁴ James E. Turner, *The Pima and Maricopa Villages, Oasis at a Cultural Crossroads, 1846-1873*, Journal of Arizona History, Vol. 39, No. 4, P 345-377

⁵ *Massacre*, P vii

⁶ *Ibid*, P 185 (N 122)

⁷ Andrew E. Masich, *The Civil War in Arizona*, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 2006, P 184,185

⁸ *Ibid*, P 213-214

⁹ Clara T. Woody, *The Woolsey Expeditions of 1864, Arizona and the West*, Vol. 4, No. 2, P 159-164

¹⁰ J. Ross Browne, *Adventures in the Apache Country*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1871, P 120-124.

¹¹ John Nicolson, Ed., *The Arizona of Joseph Pratt Allyn, Letters From a Pioneer Judge, 1863-1866*, University of Arizona Press, Tucson, 1974, P 115-121

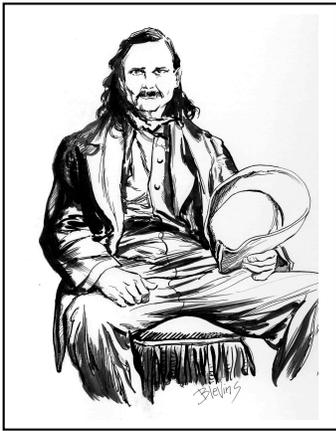
¹² Woody, P 166

¹³ Constance Wynn Altshuler, *Men and Brothers*, Journal of Arizona history, Tucson, Vol. 19, I. 3, P 315-322

¹⁴ William McCleve report, United States Archives

¹⁵ Proceedings of Court of Inquiry convened at Camp McDowell, AT October 22, 1870, National Archives, V67, CB 1870

Prescott's Beginnings: The First Mining District in Yavapai County



John W. (Jack) Swilling (1830-1878) led the first party of non-Indians to explore the Hassayampa River in January 1860 where he and his companions declared that *“this new region has the finest indications of gold of any they have ever seen.”* In 1867 Swilling began the first canal building company in the Salt River Valley, leading to the beginnings of Phoenix and surrounding communities.

The City of Prescott had its beginnings in the Spring of 1863 when a party of explorers and would-be gold miners led by the famed Joseph R. Walker arrived near the headwaters of the Hassayampa River. On May 10, 1863, at a location some six miles south-southeast of this plaza, twenty-five members of the Walker Prospecting and Mining Company adopted “Laws and Resolutions” governing members of the first mining district in what would later become Yavapai County. The rules for the “Pioneer Mining District” provided a foundation for the establishment of mining law in the central Arizona highlands, and can be considered Prescott’s birth certificate.

Thus began a gold rush that sparked the settlement and development of central Arizona, and the choice of Prescott as the first Territorial Capital. Before then, this area was almost totally unknown to white men, and gold mining prospects had been known only along the Colorado and Gila Rivers.

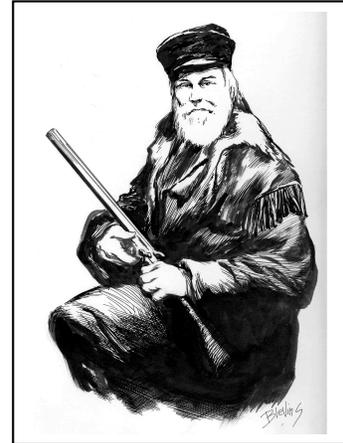
Joseph R. Walker led this group of explorers and miners on an expedition that started in California and went through portions of Northern Arizona, Colorado and New Mexico before ending here two years later. John W. (Jack) Swilling joined the party in New

Mexico and then guided them to where he had seen significant indications of gold three years earlier.

The other twenty-three members of the “Original Prospectors” listed in their organizational document were: Joseph R. Walker Jr., John Dickson, Jacob Linn, Jacob Miller, James V. Wheelhouse, Frank Finney, Sam Miller, George Blosser, A. C. Benedict, S. Shoup, T. J. Johnson, Daniel Ellis [Conner], Abner French, Charles Taylor, H. B. Cummings, William Williams, G. Gillalan, Jackson McCrackin, Rodney McKinnon, Felix Cholet, M. Lewis, James Chase, and George Coulter.

When the company was officially disbanded six months later, Captain Walker noted with satisfaction that: *“We opened the door and held it open to civilization, and now civilization will do the rest.”*

The above is the complete text of a commemorative plaque recently donated to the City of Prescott by the Prescott Corral of Westerners International. The plaque is located on Prescott’s historic “Whiskey Row.”



Joseph R. Walker, (1798-1876) played a dramatic, half-century role, in the opening of the American West; beginning as a fur trader and trapper, then as an explorer and guide, he was one of the great pathfinders across the unknown portions of the United States. This famous frontiersman was on his last great adventure *“into the only unknown section of the United States”* when he led a party of fortune seekers to this undeveloped area.

J.C. Worthington: Fort Whipple's Lovelorn Doctor

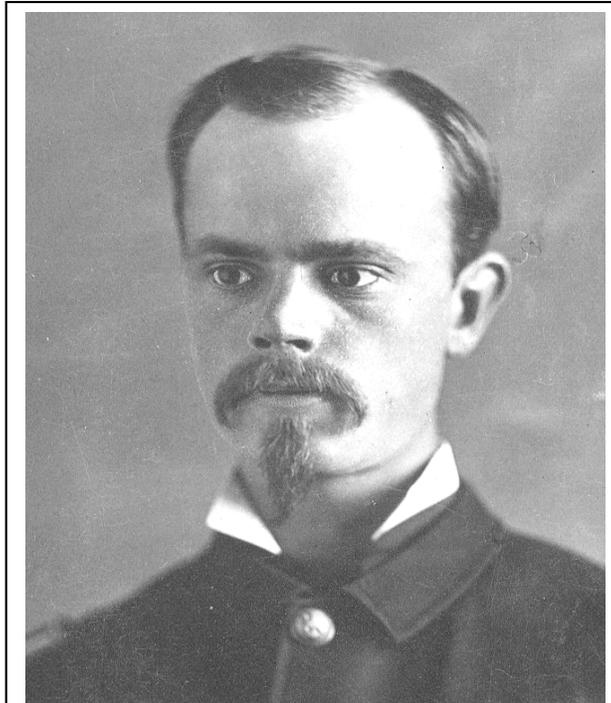
By Thomas P. Collins

Arizona Territory's Fort Whipple by 1876-77 had undergone a marvelous transformation from its humble beginnings in 1864. General George Crook, commander in residence since 1872, had torn down the old stockade and replaced it with Victorian-style buildings, including Club Rooms which served as the nucleus of Prescott's social life, the settings for minstrel shows, hops, and plays. Civil War hero General August V. Kautz assumed command of the Arizona Military Department in November 1874 and, with his talented young wife Fannie, instituted what one of the officers' wives, Ellen Biddle, termed "the days of the Empire."¹

As the queen bee of Whipple's social life, Fannie created a virtual medieval court with a rigid caste system and a whirlwind of musical and theatrical events.² Into this firmly established "court" came a young and inexperienced doctor who, for the brief period of thirteen months, suffered unrequited love, alienated fellow officers, and, through willful pride, disrupted the harmony of the Post's life.

James Cheston Worthington was born in Maryland, January 19, 1853. He graduated third in his class from West Point in 1875 and was stationed at Fort McHenry, Maryland. From September 1876 to September 1877 he served at Fort Whipple as Assistant Post Surgeon to the Director of medicine, Dr. James C. McKee. Then, from 1878 to 1880, he served at Camp Grant, Fort Huachuca, and

Fort McDowell, all in the Arizona Territory. We know a great deal about this lovelorn young doctor since his numerous letters to his friend Edward Shriver were donated to Arizona State University.³ (These letters, scrawled in apparent haste, abound in misspellings—some accidental and some intentionally witty—and, occasionally, in coined words. Quotations from the letters are reproduced in this article precisely as written by Worthington.)⁴



Worthington: The Ardent Swain

Worthington was only 24 years old when he arrived at Fort Whipple. It was a relatively peaceful time, so the young doctor found himself the physician to military families as well as the people of Prescott. He dealt primarily with pregnancies and childbirth and with scarlet fever and small pox outbreaks. A gaunt, sensitive, anguished young man, he

was one of seven bachelors on the Post, where there were only three ladies of marriageable age: Julia Lion, the Paymaster's adopted daughter; Carrie Wilkins, the daughter of Lt. Col. John D. and Caroline Wilkins; and Miss Emma Titus, a friend of the General's wife from Ohio who had ventured out West to find a husband.⁵ It was the coquettish Carrie Wilkins who became the object of the doctor's hopeless passion.

Carrie Wilkins was a year older than Worthington, and were it not for her choosiness and her ladylike, cool reserve, she might well have been married already. What made her especially desirable as a mate was not only her charm but also the fact that she was an officer's daughter, reared in New Mexico and Arizona, so she would not be put off by the prospect of life at a Frontier army post. As for her maternal instincts, she was already playing the role of mother to her little nephew Howard and her infant niece Ella. Carrie's sister, Mrs. Lieutenant Charles M. Baily, had died in October 1875, just four days after giving birth to her daughter.

Worthington filled some of his leisure hours by taking German lessons from Fannie Kautz, a native Austrian. He referred to her humorously as "Her Majesty." A lively young woman with a husband old enough to be her father, Fannie engaged in a ritual of harmless flirtations with the Post's unmarried officers.

She expected a bevy of bachelors to dance attendance on her at all social functions. She also recruited many of them to act in the plays she directed (and starred in) for the new Fort

Whipple Dramatic Association, which she organized in 1875 with the officers' wives and with Colonel James Porter Martin, the talented Adjutant General. Among her "court favorites" were Lieut. Charles Anderson, Lieut. Henry P. Kingsbury, Captain Charles Porter, and the doctor himself. If these young men crossed Fannie by flirting overtly in her presence with other young ladies, they stood in danger of being transferred to another post—or



Miss Carrie: The Object of Desire

so the gossip ran.⁶

Having been physician for the Kautz family, Worthington felt close to Fannie and sought her advice about his on-again, off-again relationship with Carrie. He was particularly anxious about his erstwhile roommate and "contemptable toady" Lieut. Kingsbury, a rakish bachelor who dubbed his new quarters "The Devil's Roost," apparently to signify his wildness and his way with women. Kingsbury wooed Carrie, vying with Worthington to be her partner in the almost daily games of croquet at the Fort.

As for his medical practice, Worthington had relatively few soldiers to care for at Fort Whipple, since the worst days of the Indian Wars had passed. The few clashes with in-

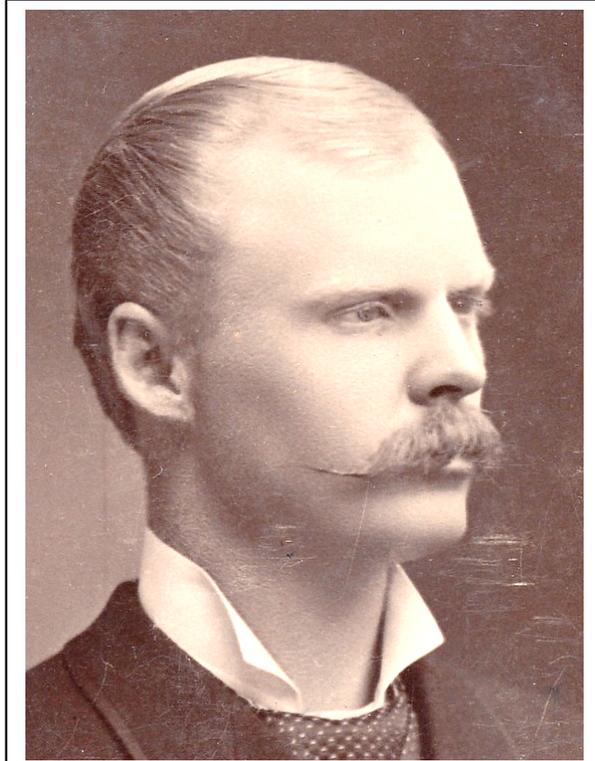
surgents produced few casualties, so Dr. Worthington found himself treating the military families for various illnesses and providing prenatal care for mothers and delivering their babies. Worthington admitted to his friend Shriver that he lacked experience. On March 5, 1877, he wrote, *"I'm treating little Nettie Lynch with scarlet fever – my first case: but don't tell her [parents?] so – and so I have put myself in quarantine as I think it a physicians duty to do in such cases, and I have lots of time to read and reflect on my life here."*

Indeed, the month of March saw an outbreak of both scarlet fever and small pox in Prescott. Murat and Florence Masterson of Prescott lost two of their young children, a boy and a girl, to scarlet fever. They died within a day of each other.⁷ So the families at Fort Whipple were terrified. On March 18 Worthington reported, *"I've lots to do now with four cases of scarlet fever on hand and more on foot—as it were—for it certainly will spread as it has attacked the reservation on three sides."* Worthington supplemented his meager income by developing a private practice in town, catering especially to the social elite of Nob Hill, the area rising steeply from the town square East up Liberty Street.

By this time Worthington was madly in love with Carrie Wilkins. *"As for Miss C.W. you know that in every system of mythology there are separate divinities for every country.*

Now she is the divinity of Arizona and I much worship her here" (Mar. 18, 1877). But Lt. Kingsbury was plying her hard.

An amusing confrontation occurred at a Friday night hop, when Kingsbury was in his cups. *"Mrs Biddle gave a fine hop on Friday night and it was pretty lively. Some of them got it up their snoots--as it were. Kingsbury did too, and thought yesterday he had scarlet fever. While punch-inspired he came up to Mr. Thomas the Q.M.'s clerk who was dancing with Miss Carrie ... and said very earnestly in hearing of both of them--"Now young man, taze my advise and jusht keep out of this. You're only*



Kingsbury: The Rival

getting insnaired lige the resht of them!" Thomas ... said he was a little puzled for a moment what to say; then he said to Miss Carrie "Have you the slightest idea what he's talking about?" She said she had not, so every body was happy. Thomas isn't getting insnaired any more than I am. He knows its better policy to make up to Miss Titus and so he does." (Mar. 5, 1877)

Miss Carrie had clearly "insnaired" Lieutenant Kingsbury, although, like Worthington, he feigned indifference. The doctor reported on April 18 that Carrie went out buggy riding with Kingsbury, *"which same is in itself equal to charging an Apache village."* His bronco team bolted, ran over a log, and threw both occupants out on their heads in the road.

“Kingsbury didn’t knock his brains worth a cent, but poor Miss C.W. was terribly stunned and did not recover consciousness for twenty minutes.”

This incident only aggravated the doctor’s love sickness, although he denied it. *“Every day I thank my stars that ‘I am not as other men are’, for so many have deceived themselves by supposing they were worthy of her regard only to have their hopes dashed to the ground. She is not a flirt, but so cold and dignified that I have heard it said that she has no heart. I don’t believe that, but I do believe that she is waiting sensibly and deliberately for a ‘good match’ which has not yet appeared ... I am proud to consider her my friend, and shall never be foolish enough to presume on any nearer relationship.”*

Worthington had the honor of escorting Carrie to the General Kautz Reception given by the people of Prescott. There he met Mrs. Henry B. Murray M.D. of Prescott and had a long talk with her. His condescending attitude towards a woman practicing his own profession is evident: *“she can talk medicine ‘like a little man’”* (May 7, 1877). Dr. Murray and her husband arrived in Prescott in early March 1877 to make the town their permanent home.

The *Arizona Weekly Miner* of March 16 touted her credentials but clarified that she did not intend to set up practice: *“We are informed that the accomplished wife of H. B. Murray, besides being a lady of more than ordinary literary talent, is also a graduate of the Women’s Medical College of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia. The lady having also attended medical lectures at some of the most learned institutions in London and Paris, we are assured that her medical education is of the very highest order. She, however, does not expect to practice here ...”* Despite this announcement, Dr. Murray would eventually provide care for two officers’ wives of Fort

Whipple, a move that would precipitate a professional schism culminating in Dr. Worthington’s transfer to Camp Grant.

May 1877 proved to be a difficult month for Dr. Worthington. He lost a popular fellow officer—Lieutenant Bishop Aldrich, the Post Quartermaster—to heart disease, with which, the *Miner* reported, he had been afflicted “for sometime past.” He was only forty-two years of age and left behind a young widow and two boys.⁸ Worthington took Aldrich’s death hard, according to General Kautz. *“Dr. Worthington feels self reproach that he did not more fully realize Lieut Aldrichs condition.”*⁹

In early June one of Worthington’s worst fears was realized when he learned that Lieutenant Charles M. Baily, widower of Carrie’s sister Ella, was on his way to Fort Whipple. He wrote anxiously to Ed Shriver on June 3: *“... there is a terrible widower brother-in-law expected here today and many people seem to think that its a foregone conclusion that the Arizoteopetli [Miss Carrie] who has conquered all of the “Blooded Eighth” and “Dashing Sixth” and staff Officers innumerable will be herself conquered by this new (ar)rival even may be already. And he is coming to live with me! Well, Captain Porter has said if any one else wins her he will go to his distruction. There are four-hundred blood-thirsty apaches on the war-path in Arizona. Cap. P. is going out on a scout in the latter part of the summer. I am going with him! I think if we could get off from the rest with about three soldiers instead of three hundred we might persuade the 400 cowardly Apaches to Custerfy us. So if the worse comes to the worse we have this grand hope in prospect. Isn’t it comforting?”* Much to Worthington’s relief, it turned out that the rumors were false. Lieut. Baily’s regard for Carrie was brotherly, not romantic.

More urgent matters occupied Dr. Worthington in May and June. He was seeing Fannie Kautz and Mrs. Biddle through the final months of difficult pregnancies. Fannie delivered on June 17, Ellen Biddle on June 21. "*Jim Biddle Jr. is flourishing--he arrived yesterday morning*" (June 22, 1877). Unfortunately, Fannie delivered a stillborn baby girl. It was a sad day for everyone at the Fort. General Kautz recorded that Worthington was "very faithful in his attendance. He can assign no reason for the death of the child" (June 17, 1877). The Kautzes christened their child "Lillie" and buried her at the Whipple Cemetery. To compound this tragic loss, the Biddle baby died on July 11. That evening General Kautz wrote, "It was a feeble imperfect child and the sooner its sufferings were ended the better."

Four other medical emergencies occurred in June. The daughter of E. J. Cook, Mayor of Prescott, became seriously ill with brain fever. Worthington joined Dr. Goodfellow of Prescott in treating her condition. Luckily, they succeeded. Worthington also treated Dr. Murray for a severe attack of jaundice. The third case concerned the infant child of Lieut. O'Connell, reported dramatically in the *Miner*: "We are happy to be able to state that the infant child of Lieut. O'Connell, so dangerously ill for the past three weeks, has entirely recovered. It is but just to say that [to] Dr. Worthington's close attention added to his marked skill, together with the kind attention and Christian acts of the ladies of the Post, is due entirely the rescue of this little child from the verge of the grave." (June 8, 1877) But the *Miner* had rejoiced prematurely. The infant died on July 27. Finally, Worthington assisted Dr. Warren E. Day in the removal of the lower tibia and portions of the ankle joint from P. Matteus, who had been wounded by a gunshot some months previously.

That July, things came to a crisis point with Carrie Wilkins. Worthington poured out his misery to Fannie, who listened sympathetically. He confessed that he was "a little bit in love" with Carrie himself, and that Kingsbury was too. Fannie replied, "Oh he's too much in love with himself to love anybody else." Worthington then remarked, "I rather think he'll soon have some of the conceit taken out of him, for he is about enough conceited to think Miss Carrie cares for him!" Fannie was "*kind enough*" to tell the doctor he had no chance. He thanked her and said he had no intention of making a fool of himself. "*I didn't care enough for the young lady to do that*" (July 22, 1877).

Yet by mid-August, Worthington was devoting more time to Miss Carrie and became so infatuated that he determined to propose to her. Her friendliness towards him had grown during a fatal epidemic of dysentery that raged among the young children in Prescott and at the Post. Worthington wrote on August 9: *Six have died in town and two at the Post. One of the two was little Ella Baily; Miss Carrie's niece, Miss Carrie has helped to take care of her ever since her birth and also of her little brother Howard, aged 3 years who is now very ill with the same terrible disease; but is now improving a little. I am in consequence of this illness constantly at Col. W.'s [Wilkins] and see a great deal of Miss C. and the more I see of her the more I admire and esteem her. But my pride is sufficiently gratified by the knowledge that I now possess her sincere and confiding friendship as proof of the gratitude she feels for my care of the children.*

In the same letter, Worthington reported his friendly conversation with Fannie Kautz, who asked him directly if he was in love with Carrie. When he answered, "A little," she reminded him that he "had not the ghost of a

chance,” that Miss Carrie was “an icicle.” But this failed to discourage him.

One day Mrs. Simpson informed him that Carrie was coming over to spend the day with her. He declared his intention of dropping in at 10:30 a.m. and did so. Carrie had not yet arrived. *Mrs. Simpson asks me if I have not come because I thought Miss Carrie would be there? I do not deny it. “Dr. I want to give you some good advice – but first – are you very much interested in Miss Carrie or are you only in fun?” “I am getting more and more in earnest. It was only fun at first.” “Then Dr. I must tell you as a friend in the strictest confidence that Miss Carrie is engaged to Captain Porter.”* While Porter had spoken openly of this to Mrs. Simpson, Carrie had sworn her to secrecy. Worthington went to town to see some of his patients and

brought home two bottles of champagne “for Miss Carrie being a soldier’s child rather likes champagne.”

“We had this for lunch at Mrs. Simpson’s and I took sort of malicious pleasure in drinking to Miss Carrie to the toast - “Here’s to your good health and your family may they all live long, and prosper!” There was something about my look and tone that made her suspect something for she betrayed her feelings by a sudden startled curious glance but said nothing.” Bitterly disappointed, Worthington fantasized about proposing to Carrie “just to see how flat a fellow must feel when he is put off with a blunt refusal or to see if she would torture me or try to do so – by putting me off.” (Aug. 21, 1877)

In the meantime, Worthington’s relations with



Fort Whipple, Prescott, Arizona. Today the Home of a VA Hospital.

his Post patients soured. The wives of Colonel James Porter Martin and Lieutenant Earl Denison Thomas—Alice and Clara—who had been suffering from difficult pregnancies and miscarriages, sought care from Mrs. Murray, the physician with whom Worthington had enjoyed a polite collegiality. The ladies did so while under his care and without his knowledge: “*a breach of professional etiquette that I would not stand, and I do not regret the stand I took*” (Sept. 9, 1877). His “stand” was to bar their families from his office. Dr. Murray attended Clara Thomas at her sick bed alone.

General Kautz recorded that “both the Med. Director Dr. McKee & Dr. Worthington decline to be associated with her [Clara Thomas]. They are both acting very absurdly.” (July 18). Col. Martin retaliated with a warning that Worthington “should not stay here three months” and, in the doctor’s opinion, got the General and Dr. McKee to carry out his threat. Worthington grew more obstinate and, in General Kautz’ words, “stirred up quite a little a breeze in the social circle” by crossing the Thomases off the invitation list to a hop he sponsored. Kautz reluctantly decided to transfer Worthington to Camp Grant. Fannie was not there to protect him. Suffering from postpartum depression, she had inveigled her husband to allow her to travel to Ohio to visit her family. She departed from Prescott in late August and did not return until January 1878.

Stewing in paranoia, Worthington speculated that Fannie failed to intervene on his behalf because she was miffed about his passion for Carrie Wilkins and because she felt that he neglected his duties at the garrison in favor of his patients on the Hill. But Fannie was too preoccupied with the loss of her child, the play she was rehearsing, and her preparations for her journey East to worry about the doctor’s troubles, and once she had left she had

no way of knowing how the hostilities had escalated at Fort Whipple.

Worthington also blamed Dr. McKee, for not defending him and made the *faux pas* of venting to Carrie Wilkins. On September 24 he wrote to Shriver, “*She undertook yesterday to sensure me for speaking harshly of Dr. McKee for sending me away and for showing partiality in other cases. Dr. McKee is an old friend of her family and an admirer of hers. I got very angry at this and as she is as fiery as yrs truly we had it hot and heavy. We have hardly spoken to each other on the two or three occasions that we have met since.*” He still admired her, “*but not enough to take advice and sensure from her given in the taunting unsympathizing kind of way that her cold heart naturally leads her to adopt even to her friends. If she has any friend – that is any whom she is attached to. She treats Captain Porter with greater indifference than any one else and always has.*”

When Dr. Worthington left Prescott on September 29, he failed to bid farewell to Dr. McKee and the others whom he regarded as his enemies. General Kautz wrote, “I do not think he will be much missed except by a few” (Sept. 28, 1877). Worthington actually looked forward to Camp Grant. “*A change of scene and of associates will make me better able to bear my exile and I shall be more of a student there and waste less time in croquet and hops than I have wasted here*” (Sept. 24, 1877). The amiable Dr. Frederick C. Ainsworth replaced Worthington as Post Surgeon, and peace was restored to Fort Whipple.

In April 1879 Carrie Wilkins at last married Captain Charles Porter, who had wooed her patiently for seven years. Dr. Worthington presumably found happiness in his 1881 marriage to Minnie Osborne of Louisville, Kentucky. The couple had two daughters: Hallie and Mary. One cannot help but wonder if

when Major Worthington died of rheumatic fever (in Louisville August 1896) his mind wandered back to his tormented relationship with Carrie Wilkins and to the bitter conclusion of his disappointing year in Prescott.

James Cheston Worthington's first-hand accounts of Fort Whipple's social life transform dry history into a colorful drama with a cast

of complex, fascinating characters. He seems to have viewed himself as the tragic hero in that drama: a lovelorn mortal rejected by a callous goddess, a talented and ethical doctor victimized by antagonistic fellow officers and – though he would have declined to admit it – his own unbending pride.

Portions of this article were adapted from the author's book, "Stage-Struck Settlers in the Sun-Kissed Land," Wheatmark, Tucson.



ENDNOTES

¹ Ellen McGowan Biddle, *Reminiscences of a Soldier's Wife* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1907), 166-67.

² This social structure and behavior was typical at Frontier posts. See Oliver Knight, *Life and Manners in the Frontier Army* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978), 3-5.

³ James Cheston Worthington Collection, 1870-1877. Arizona Collection. Arizona State University Libraries Archives. Collection Number MSS-143

⁴ Where multiple passages from a single letter are quoted, the citation appears after the final quotation.

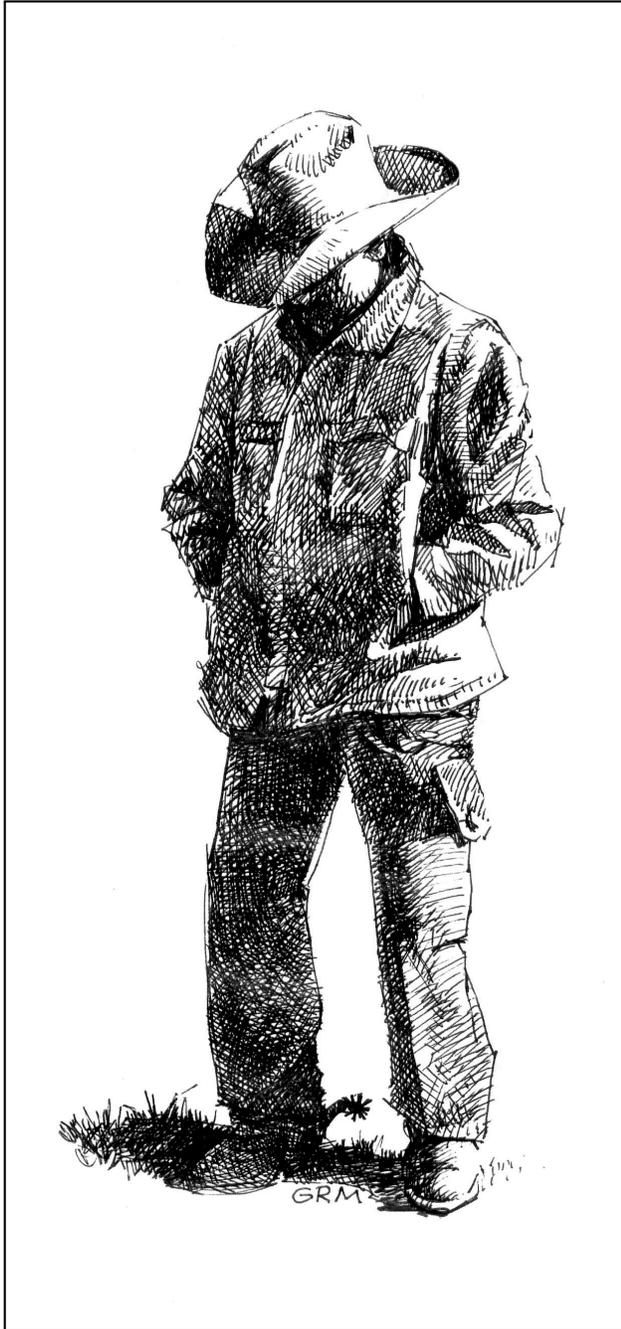
⁵ Emma Titus is not mentioned in the "Scope and Content Note" of the James Cheston Worthington Collection. She enjoyed popularity as an amateur actress with the Fort Whipple Dramatic Association.

⁶ For an in-depth examination of Fort Whipple's social life during the command of General Kautz, see Andrew Wallace, "Fort Whipple in the Days of the Empire," *The Smoke Signal* 26 (Fall, 1972).

⁷ March 19 and 20, 1877, as reported in the *Arizona Weekly Miner* (March 23, 1877). Masterson was a prominent lawyer and mining investor who in 1878 co-founded the Prescott Dramatic Association.

⁸ *Arizona Weekly Miner* (May 18, 1877).

⁹ Diary of General August V. Kautz (May 16, 1877), The August Valentine Kautz papers, U.S. Army Military History Institute, accessed through the Sharlot Hall Museum Archives, Prescott, Arizona. Quotations from the diary hereafter are cited within the text.



A Tragic Tale of Southern Utah: The Mountain Meadows Massacre

By Roland P. Michaelis

In September 1857, 120 men, women and children in a wagon train of emigrants from Arkansas, were massacred at Mountain Meadows, Utah. This tragic event has been investigated and studied by historians for 150 years and continues to be the subject of study to this day because it was a major act of religious terrorism in the United States.

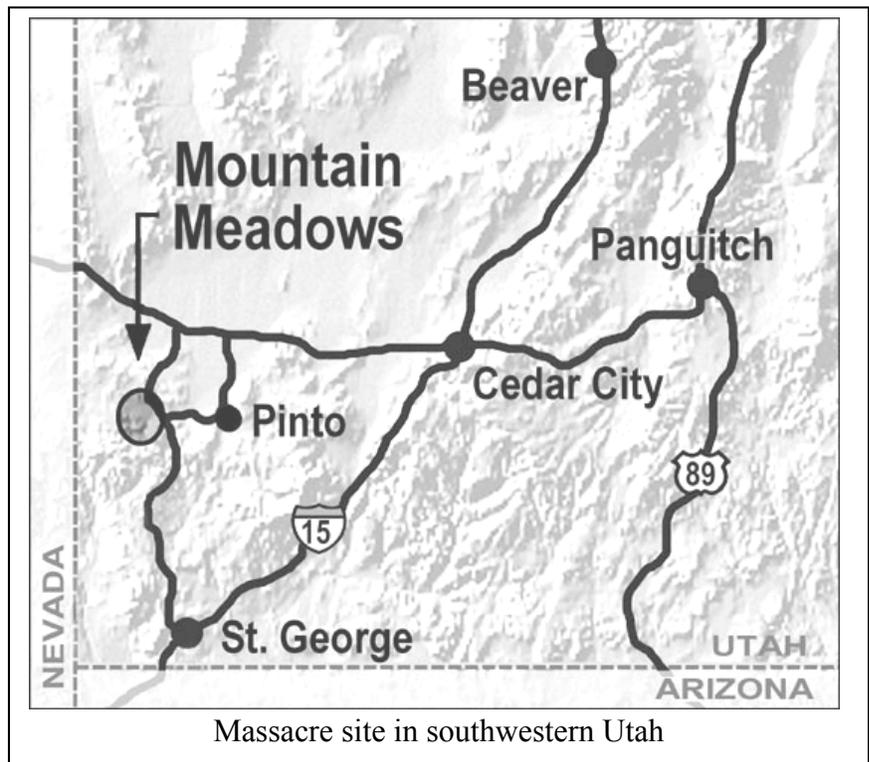
The migration of people westward was fraught with many difficulties and hazards. Most people were inexperienced in the daily travel over rough ground and where water and supplies were often unavailable. Progress was slow, averaging about ten miles per day. Often the hired guides were not familiar with the territory. Maps might be inaccurate or not even available. Indians were often a great source of trouble or danger.

Many of the old trails generally followed routes established earlier by the Indians. Gradually an important trail was established over time, eventually to be called "The Old Spanish Trail." The trail covered 1200 arduous miles between Santa Fe and El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora La Reina de Los Angeles—or Los Angeles as it is called today. A portion of the trail passed through southwestern Utah.

Discharged members of the Mormon Battalion drove the first wheeled wagons over a branch of the trail from San Diego to Salt Lake in 1848. This opened a new emigrant trail known as the California Road.

Travel on these early trails or

roads was difficult, often dangerous, and hostility by Indians was always a concern. In 1853 Capt. John W. Gunnison led an expedition to survey a route for the Pacific Railroad between the 38th and 39th parallels. Upon reaching Lake Sevier, Utah, he and eleven of his men were attacked by Paiutes. Gunnison and seven of his men were killed. When the bodies were recovered it was found that they had been mutilated. There were some who believed that the Mormons had encouraged the Paiutes to attack the expedition to prevent the railroad bringing in outsiders. The Mormons however, denied any involvement in the massacre.



The Fancher-Baker Party

In 1857 Alexander Fancher formed a wagon train of solid citizens and families wanting to develop the West and California. Although it was known that Indians had attacked other emigrant parties or expeditions, he had previously made two safe trips to California. This new party of emigrants consisted of about 120 to 150 men, women and children. Second in authority was John T. Baker. The Fancher-Baker party left Arkansas from Crooked Creek or Carrollton, as it was later called. The train was well equipped with 40 some wagons and several carriages, just under a thousand head of cattle and several hundred horses. Total wealth of the train was estimated at about \$70,000. Today the value is estimated at 1.4 million dollars.

The party followed the Cherokee Trail to where it joined the Oregon Trail, traveling northward through Kansas Territory and at South Pass turned toward Fort Bridger and into Utah territory and to Salt Lake City.

As the Fancher party entered Utah, Eli B. Kelsey who was returning from a Mormon mission joined them. He recalled "they were people from the country districts, sober, hardworking, plain folks, but well-to-do and, taken all-in-all, about as respectable a band of emigrants as ever passed through Salt Lake City."¹

The party reached Salt Lake in August 1857. However, upon their arrival they met much hostility. This had been the case for wagon trains reaching Salt Lake since mid July. For reasons to be explained later, federal troops were on their way to Utah to take over the government and the Mormons were determined to fight the U.S. Army. Hostility increased with the news that a dearly beloved Mormon named Parley Pratt had been killed in Arkansas shortly before the arrival of the Fancher party.

Upon leaving Salt Lake, the party followed the southern road as marked today by Interstate 15, and then joined the Old Spanish Trail. Along the way they were becoming more and more desperate for grain because Brigham Young, President of the Church of Latter-day Saints and Governor of Utah Territory, had ordered the Mormons not to sell grain to the emigrants. Historian Bagley states that emigrant P.M. Warn believed the party's obvious wealth excited the greed of the poverty-stricken people of southern Utah. "An element of gain," Warn observed, "enters largely into all Mormon calculations."²

At Corn Creek, a few miles south of Fillmore, the Fancher party met Jacob Hamblin, President of the Southern Indian Mission who was returning from a meeting with Brigham Young in Salt Lake. Hamblin recommended that the party should rest the animals before entering the desert at a spring at Mountain Meadows four miles south of his ranch. As the party continued southward rumors began to spread about the emigrants poisoning the meat of a dead ox at Corn Creek in order to kill Indians. As word of this act reached the Mormons they became outraged. This story and others contributed to the events that were to follow at Mountain Meadows.

The stories grew and varied and became more elaborate and multiplied over the years. One version referred to a wild bunch of ruffians in the party who called themselves "The Missouri Wildcats." Careful examination of these stories shows that they don't hold up. Bagley states "Something was killing the cattle at Corn Creek, and Indian Agent Jacob Forney gave a likely explanation in 1859: "The ox died unquestionably from eating a poisonous weed that grows in most valleys in this Territory."³

Forney believed that one or two Indians died from eating the dead ox. It is known that a young boy, Proctor Robison died, supposedly

because of handling the dead ox. However, the boy actually died at Fillmore almost a month after the Fancher party had camped at Corn Creek. Historian Juanita Brooks concluded that the boy died of an infection, probably anthrax.⁴

The Fancher party reached the Old Spanish Trail near Pinto and traveled to Hamblin's ranch at the Northern edge of Mountain Meadows and continued about four miles farther to a large spring. The weary party arrived at the Meadows at dusk on Sunday, September 6, 1857.

The Initial Attack

They had by now traveled approximately 1200 miles in just over four months. Here at last was a luxuriant alpine valley with tall green grass for the cattle and horses and water from a large spring. It was a place for the emigrants to recuperate and gather their strength before crossing the deserts of the Great Basin. That night the weary travelers rested. Then, just before dawn as breakfast was being prepared, there was firing of guns.

Several of the men were wounded. Returning fire, the emigrants defended themselves successfully enough that the initial attack was over in about a half hour. In the intervening time the emigrants were able to make a fort by circling the wagons and shoveling dirt underneath. One Indian had been killed and two Paiute chiefs were badly wounded despite assurances the Mormons had given the Indians "that they could kill the emigrants without danger to themselves."⁵

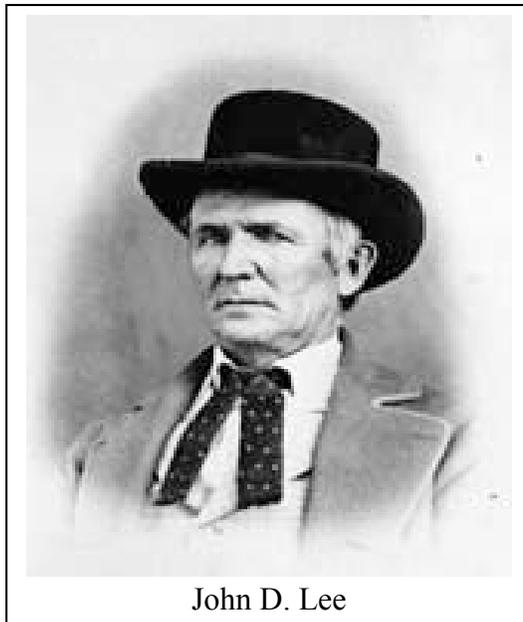
Over the next few days the Indians became more and more upset due to the superior weapons and gunfire of the emigrants. As a consequence many of the Indians left. Mormon leader Major John D. Lee, the adopted son of Brigham young and presiding elder of the new community of Harmony, led the battalion of the Iron Militia in the attack. Lee had hoped that the Paiutes would carry out the

major part of the attack, but found that they could not in the face of the emigrant's strong retaliation. Lee now realized that the situation had become a siege. His men rounded up the cattle and kept the emigrants from getting to them or from obtaining much needed water from the spring. Thirst had by now become a very serious problem for the emigrants.

By Monday afternoon Lee sought reinforcements from officials at Cedar City.

However even with reinforcements the attacks were not successful. More of the Indians left. On Wednesday night the emigrants sent young William Aden out through enemy lines to seek help from wagon trains that they knew were following behind them. Aden however, was killed when he unknowingly approached a Mormon campfire. Mormon officials now became concerned that word of the attack would get out.

On Thursday evening Lee received orders that everyone must be killed except those under six years old as they were too young to tell. This was a matter of "Blood Atonement." Bagley quotes Mormon Major John M. Higbee, who gave the order that everyone except very young children should be killed, "Have not these people threatened to murder our leaders and Prophet, and have they not



John D. Lee

boasted of murdering our Patriarchs and Prophets, Joseph and Hyrum? ... Why there is not a drop of innocent blood in that entire camp of Gentile outlaws; they are a set of cutthroats, robbers, and assassins...”⁶

The fateful day of Friday, September 11, arrived. Then, apparently, a miracle! A man with a white flag appeared. It was Lee. He stated that if the emigrants would surrender their arms they would be safely escorted out and the Indians would leave them alone. After much debate they decided to surrender their arms. They had not much choice because they were running low on ammunition and in dire thirst. Some women and children were put into wagons, while others walked. Some distance behind the group of men followed—each man marching along side an armed Mormon soldier. After about an hour had passed, an order was given and each guard turned and shot the man next to him while women and children were overtaken and slain by Paiutes and painted Mormons.

Years later Nancy Huff recalled that as a four-year-old “[Capt. Jack Baker] had me in his arms when he was shot down, and fell dead. I saw my mother shot in the forehead and fall dead. The women and children screamed and clung together. Some of the young women begged the assassins after they had run out on us not to kill them, but they had no mercy on them, clubbing their guns and beating out their brains.”⁷

Altogether 120 men, women, and children were murdered that day.

Carleton’s Report

In 1859 Brevet Major James Henry Carleton, Captain in the First Dragoons, United States Army, received orders to leave Fort Tejon, California and travel to Southern Utah to investigate the circumstances of the massacre. His investigation and findings are detailed in a report dated May 23, 1859. Carleton was

shocked at what he observed: “Nearly every skull I saw had been shot through with rifle or revolver bullets. I did not see one that had been broken in with stones . . . The scene of the massacre, even at this late day, was horrible to look upon . . . Around and above this grave, I caused to be built of loose granite stones, hauled from the neighboring hills, a rude monument, conical in form and 50 feet in circumference at the base and 12 feet in height. A cross, hewn from red cedar wood, surmounts this; from the ground to the top of the cross is twenty-four feet. On the transverse part of the cross, facing towards the North, is an inscription carved deeply in the wood: “VENGEANCE IS MINE: I WILL REPAY SAITH THE LORD.”⁸

Upon visiting the site in 1861, Brigham Young read the biblical quotation on the cross and was provoked to destroy the monument.⁹ Over the next few years it was raised again and then torn down again, except the cross was never included. The monument was last raised in 1932 and has remained. A replica of Carleton’s rock cairn with cross exists in Carrollton, Arkansas.

Among those interviewed by Carleton was Jacob Hamblin who he described as “a man of considerable importance, and noted among the Mormons in this southern part of the Territory. He is about 50 years of age, and although with but little education, is a shrewd, intelligent, thinking man...[He] is, and has for a long time been Indian subagent for the Pah-Utes [sic]. He speaks their language well and has great influence with them.”¹⁰

Carleton accepted Hamblin’s statement that he had been on a trip to Salt Lake during the time of the massacre and on his return home he found three unhappy young survivors under the care of his wife. This was the first knowledge he had of the massacre.

Only seventeen children, all under the age of

six had survived and had been taken to Cedar City and distributed among homes of Mormons. These children were gathered and taken to Salt Lake and placed under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Army. They then were returned to Carrollton, Arkansas.

When out of the hands of the Mormons, some of the children began to tell of the horrors inflicted on members of the wagon train. The children told of how a group of white men disguised themselves as Indians and washed the war paint off their faces in the creek. The children were witnesses and would not forget how their mothers, fathers, brothers and sisters were slain.¹¹

In his report, Carleton records various inconsistencies in the Mormon accounts of events to protect themselves. In his final comments he spares no words to vent his outrage at the Mormons for their cruel acts perpetrated on the emigrants.

Factors Contributing to the Massacre

Several factors contributed to the tragic event at Mountain Meadows and its aftermath.

1. When the Mormons arrived at Salt Lake in July 1847 they were outside jurisdiction of the United States. Shortly thereafter the Mexican War resulted in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in February 1848, ceding a half million square miles to the United States including Utah. Suddenly the Mormons found themselves again to be subjects of the United States and its laws. The Mormons, however, declared they would decide which Federal laws to obey.

2. At this time two federal judges from Utah territory returned to Washington and reported "The Mormons look up to him (Brigham Young) and to him alone, for the laws by which they are to be governed; therefore no

law of Congress is by them considered binding in any manner."¹²

3. In May 1857, when the slavery issue was beginning to divide the country, President James Buchanan took this as an opportunity to divert public attention by sending the U.S. Army to Utah to remove Brigham Young from office and impose Federal law. This became known as The Utah War.

4. On July 23 word reached Brigham Young that the U.S. government had cancelled the mail contract, and a new Governor, judges, and 2500 troops would come to Utah.

5. By August 5 Young issued a proclamation declaring, in part: "We are invaded by a hostile force who are evidently assailing our overthrow and destruction. . . . Martial law is hereby declared to exist in this territory, from and after this Proclamation; and no person shall be allowed to pass or repass into or through or from this territory, without a permit from the proper officer..."¹³

6. Throughout the country there was great animosity against the Mormons over the practice of polygamy as evidenced by political cartoons of the times.

7. The *Deseret News* reported the assassination of Parley Pratt in Arkansas on July 1. Pratt was an original Apostle of the LDS Church, Prophet, Seer, and Revelator, who was shot and stabbed by Hector McLean. Eleanor Pratt McLean had left her abusive husband and gone off with Pratt. In the eyes of the Mormons, this was one more black deed that needed retribution.

8. Conditions in Southern Utah were severe. Floods, drought, crop failures and sickness due to malnutrition were all present. These were in contrast to glowing reports of conditions in California and Nevada. As a consequence Brigham Young was concerned as

many of the saints were starting to fall away.

The Aftermath

The Utah War was settled peaceably. No shots had been fired. Neither Brigham Young nor the Federal government desired a shooting war. The Federal Commissioners however, made it clear they had come to Utah to report the president's policy not to negotiate. Young had to accept the terms of the government and was replaced as governor. He did, however, remain as head of the church.

In 1870, after Federal Judge John Cradlebaugh's investigation brought to light facts of John D. Lee's involvement in the massacre, Young excommunicated Lee, his adopted son. A year later, Young sent Lee to establish a ferry crossing near the confluence of the Paria and Colorado River.

John and Emma Lee, one of his nineteen wives, established the ferry crossing in this lonely, remote place, a place she would call "Lonely Dell" (now known as Lee's Ferry). In 1873, Lee went into hiding after being informed that federal officers were looking for him. Emma was left to manage the ferry. U.S. Marshall William Stokes finally captured Lee at his home in Panguitch in 1874. This was where another of his wives, Rachel Lee and his children lived.

Lee was taken to the town of Beaver for his trial that ultimately resulted in a hung jury. There was a national uproar over this result when Lee was let out of jail on bail. In September of 1876 a second trial of Lee was held.

In Lee's second trial the prosecutors were careful to ask only questions concerning Lee therefore not incriminating anyone else. Jacob Hamblin was one of several who testified against Lee. The all-Mormon jury was unanimous for conviction. Following his conviction, Lee was promised life and freedom if only he would tell all he knew or death

if he did not. Lee refused. Eight hundred citizens of Beaver and Panguitch petitioned the court on behalf of Lee but to no avail.

While in jail in Beaver, Lee began his autobiography "Mormonism Unveiled." Bagley comments that Lee "denounced the men who had testified against him . . . [but] exonerated Brigham Young from ordering the Massacre."¹⁴

Bagley also quotes Lee's family recalling his last prophecy: "If I am guilty of the crime for which I am convicted, I will go down and out and never be heard of again. If I am not guilty, Brigham Young will die within one year! Yes, within six months." (It can be noted here that Brigham Young died within the six months of Lee's prophecy almost to the day.)

Lee's execution took place at Mountain Meadows on March 23rd, 1877, almost twenty years after the massacre. He was the only person ever tried, convicted and executed for the Massacre. Lee was buried in the cemetery in Panguitch. His membership and temple blessings were reinstated in the LDS church on April 20, 1961. Subsequently, the Lee descendants placed a marble "Blanket" over his grave and carved into it were the words: "YE SHALL KNOW THE TRUTH AND THE TRUTH SHALL MAKE YOU FREE."

In 1990 a granite memorial was erected by the Mormons on a hill overlooking the site of the massacre. Carved into the large granite slab, are the names of the 120 men, women, and children who died here in 1857. In 1998 after having visited the site, LDS President Gordon B. Hinckley pledged a quarter of a million dollars to restore the site of the battle and to restore the 1932 monument. Over time the monument had deteriorated due to the Magotsu Creek undercutting the foundation.

Mormon men, women, and children carefully removed and laid aside the stones from the monument during the reconstruction.

Ground penetrating radar was used to check the area for any residual bones. Despite finding none, a backhoe uncovered hundreds of fragments of bones and skulls from twenty-eight men, women and children. In 1999 during a solemn memorial ceremony, these bones were carefully placed in four wooden boxes, each covered with a folded American flag, which were in turn placed in a vault in the ground along side the base of the reconstructed monument.

An important part of the memorial ceremony was the reconciliation and healing efforts attempted by many of the emigrant and Mormon descendants. In some instances however, some resentment still lingers on. For a century and a half the descendants of the emigrants from Arkansas have mourned the tragic loss of their relatives. There has been resentment among some in that the LDS church has not accepted responsibility for this violent act. Historian Juanita Brooks summarized things as follows: "It [the massacre] was tragic for those who were killed and for the children left orphans, but it was also tragic for the men who became murderers, and for their children who for four generations now have lived under that shadow."¹⁵

"Many of them moved away. Not that they feared the law but that they could not face their neighbors. They wanted their children to grow up so far away that they would not hear of this or become connected with it. Within a year, the population of Cedar City had decreased almost half."¹⁶ Mormon historian Richard Turley has stated "Two facts make the case even more difficult to fathom. First, nothing that any of the emigrants purportedly did or said, even if all of it were true, came close to justifying their deaths. Second, the large majority of perpetrators led decent,

nonviolent lives before and after the massacre."¹⁷



ENDNOTES

¹ Will Bagley *Blood of the Prophets*, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Page 96

² Bagley, Page 102

³ Bagley, Page 109

⁴ Miss Brooks was a Mormon English professor and historian who spent over fifty years studying the Mountain Meadows Massacre and wrote the first book on the subject. As a devout Mormon she felt it necessary to reveal the truth about the subject whatever that truth might be. Will Bagley paid tribute to Brooks describing her as "one of the West's best and bravest historians. No one could equal the insight, dedication, and courage Juanita Brooks brought to the story..."

⁵ Bagley, Page 125

⁶ Bagley, Page 141

⁷ Bagley, Page 147

⁸ James H. Carleton, USA, *Mountain Meadows Massacre, House of Representatives, 57th Congress, Document No. 605 Page 15*, (1971 Reprint, The Press of the Charterhouse of Parma)

⁹ Bagley, Page 372. According to Frank Kirkman this is attributable to the diary of church historian and later LDS President, Wilford Woodruff.
http://1857massacre.com/MMM/brigham_young_descrated.htm

¹⁰ Carleton Report, Page 4

¹¹ Bagley, Page 154, 160

¹² Edward W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake and its Founders, Resignation of Judge Drummond, March 30, 1857*.

¹³ <http://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/u/?NCMP1847-1877,165>

¹⁴ Bagley, Page 318

¹⁵ Rea, Ralph R. *The Mountain Meadows Massacre and Its Completion as a Historic Episode*. (Boone County Historical & Railroad Society.)
<http://asms.k12.ar.us/armem/brondel/archive/rea.htm>

¹⁶ Bagley notes that in 1857 there were 857 families living in Cedar City but two years later only about 20 families remained.

¹⁷ Turley, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Newsroom Website,
<http://newsroom.lds.org/ldsnewsroom/eng/news-releases-stories/the-mountain-meadows-massacre>

ABOUT US

The Prescott Corral was founded in 1962 as an affiliate of Westerners International, an organization dedicated to the preservation of the real history of the American West. Its original membership list, which included such well-known residents as Budge Ruffner, Gail Gardner, Danny Freeman, Bruce Fee and George Phippen, comprised a virtual "Who's Who" of local historians, a tradition that is continued today by the 200 members of the 2008 Prescott Corral.

The Prescott Corral has a well-earned reputation for excellence with respect to the Western history programs it presents to its members and guests during its monthly dinner meetings at the historic St. Michael Hotel and for the annual Western History Symposium it co-sponsors in the fall of each year with the Sharlot Hall Museum.

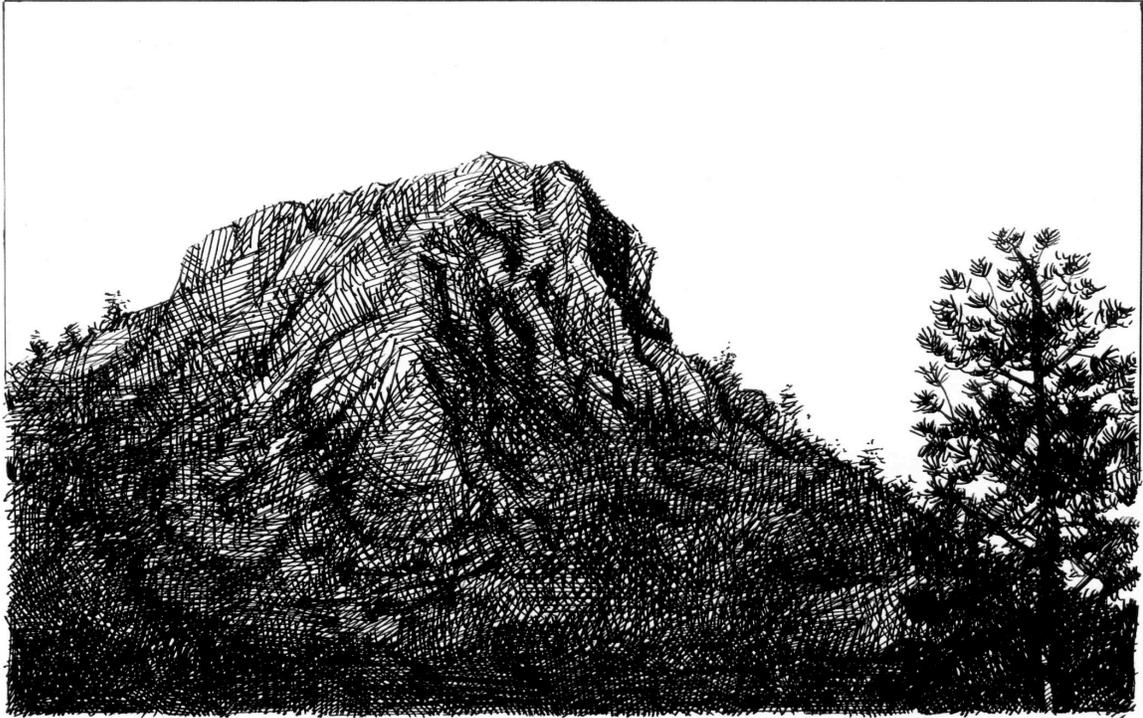
ABOUT THE AUTHORS

A professor emeritus of theatre, **Tom Collins** lives with his wife in Prescott, Arizona, where he works as a volunteer with the Sharlot Hall Museum and conducts research on the theatre in the Arizona Territory. He has published five articles in the "Days Past" series of the Prescott Courier and a book entitled *Stage-Struck Settlers in the Sun-Kissed Land: The Amateur Theatre in Territorial Prescott, 1868-1903*. Collins taught at the University of Wisconsin-Platteville for 31 years and co-founded the Wisconsin Shakespeare Festival.

Roland Michaelis retired to Prescott in 2001 following a career in the physical sciences. A graduate of UCLA, with a degree in astronomy, he worked in a variety of increasingly important technical positions at several observatories and laboratories including Lick Observatory, Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory, California Academy of Sciences, and NASA. Since his retirement he has pursued his interests in lapidary, gems and minerals, astronomy, and his life-long enthusiasm for the desert southwest and history of the old west.

Robert L. Spude, Ph.D., gave his first talk to the Prescott Westerners in 1975. In the 1980s helped organize the Anchorage, Alaska, Corral, was sheriff of the Colorado Corral, Denver, 1992-3, and now is active with the Santa Fe posse. Bob is History Program Manager for the National Park Service regional office based in Santa Fe. He co-authored a history of New Mexico forthcoming from the University of Oklahoma Press, and continues his interest in the history of old Yavapai with his essay on the Walker party.

Al Bates served as the Prescott Corral Sheriff in 1998, and is a frequent speaker on a variety of subjects on Arizona territorial history. His book *Jack Swilling; Arizona's Most Lied about Pioneer* was published in 2008.



"THUMB BUTTE"

Gary Mehin