

TERRITORIAL TIMES

Prescott Arizona Corral
of Westerners International



A publication of the Prescott Corral of Westerners International
Volume III, Number 2

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Cover Photo: A picture postcard view of Prescott's Courthouse Plaza in 1910.

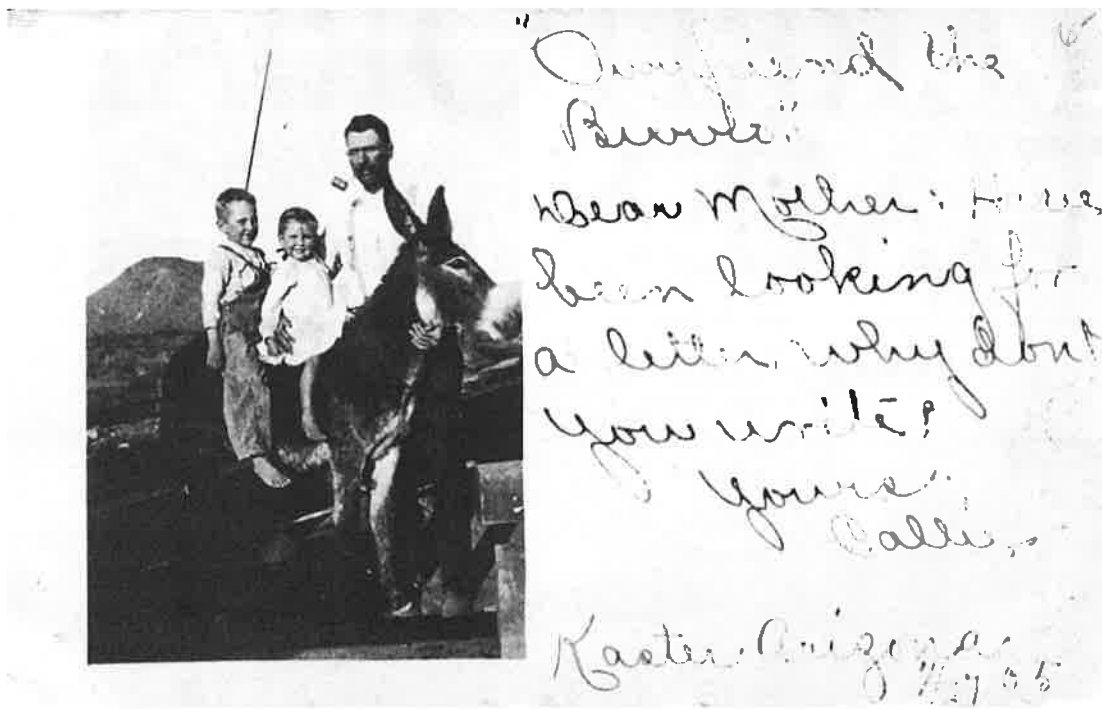
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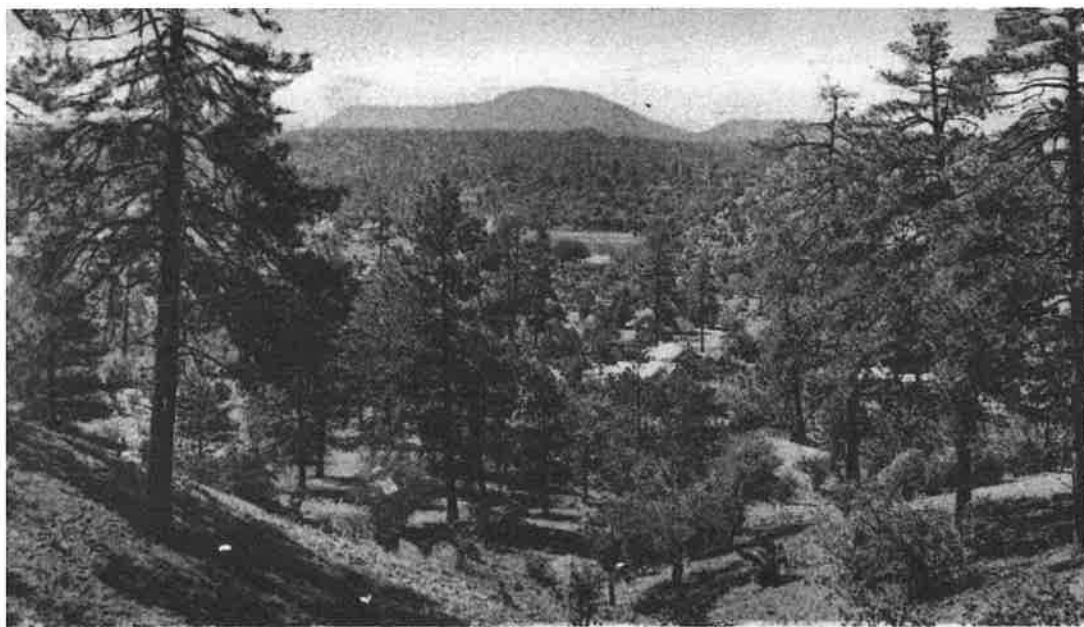
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Postcard Image 1—Burro and Kids, 1905



Arizona. "We love thy Vales and Pleasant Hills."

Postcard Image 2—Vales and Pleasant Hills, 1908

HISTORY IN POSTCARDS: "SMALL TOWN VIEWS"

By Nancy Burgess

The picture postcard, or "view card" is yesterday's version of today's "twitter." Officially authorized by Congress in 1898, the postcard became the major medium for people to communicate in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

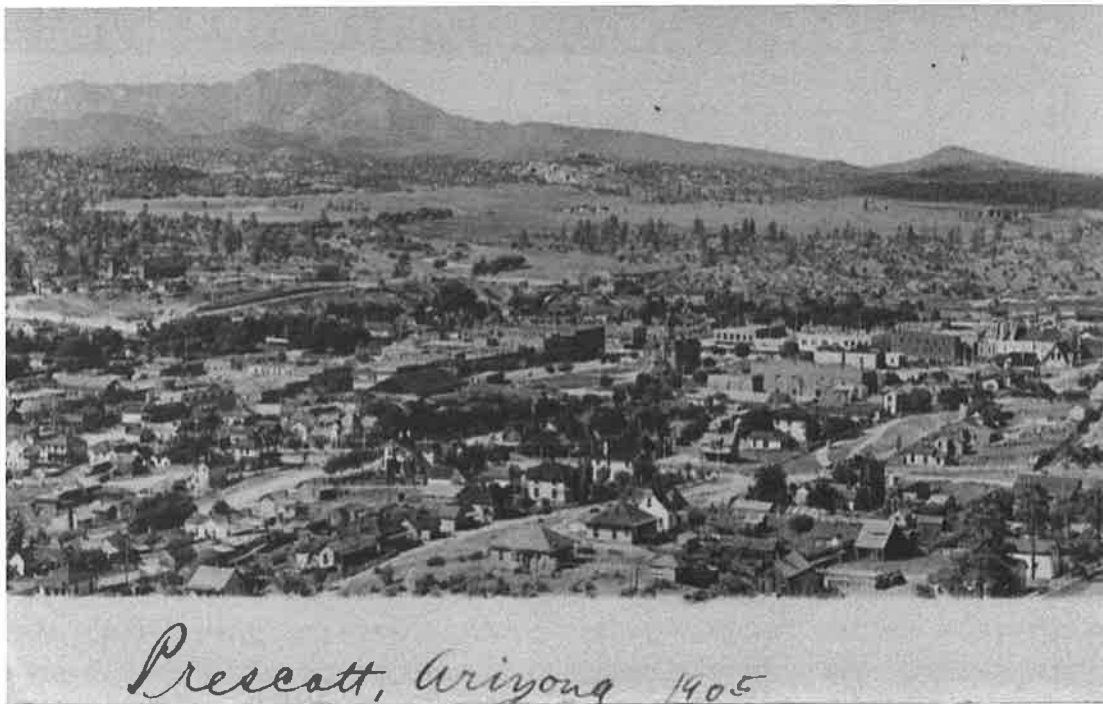
Around that time, mail was delivered twice a day in most cities, delivery of rural mail was relatively quick and reliable, trolleys were more prevalent than cars, and a telephone, if you had one, was only for emergencies. Postcards were an inexpensive and easy way to communicate, especially in the years before telegrams, telephones and e-mail. This article presents a brief history of the postcard and an overview of Prescott's history through postcard images commonly known as "small town views."

Today, the collection of postcards is the third most popular collecting hobby in the world, surpassed only by the collection of coins and stamps. Postcard collectors traditionally identify the age of the postcard by studying the details, or "identity points" and then determining the era of publication, such as the Pioneer Era, 1893-1898; the Private Mailing Card Era, 1898-1901 (referred to as PMCs); the Art Nouveau Era, 1898-1910; the Undivided Back Era, 1901-1907; the Divided Back Era, 1907-1915; the White Border Era, 1915-1930; the Art Deco Era, 1910-early 1930s; the Linen Era, 1930-1945 and the Photochrome Era ("Modern Chromes"), 1939 to the present.

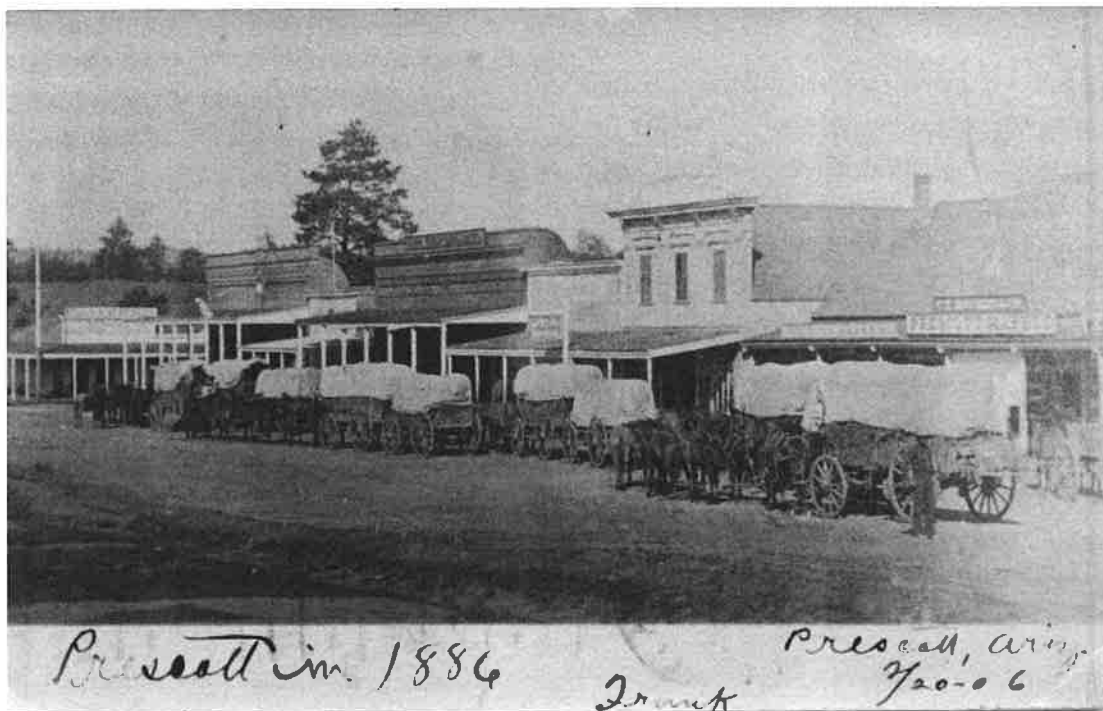
The Real Photo Postcard, known by collectors as an "RPPC" spans nearly all of these eras,

beginning in about 1900 up to the present. Real Photo Postcards usually show the manufacturer of the photo paper in the stamp box (the box in the upper right-hand corner where the stamp is placed for mailing) such as Agfa, AZO (no, that doesn't stand for Arizona), Kodak, and Velox, among others. This is one way to help identify RPPCs, although their appearance and finish are usually clear giveaways that they are "real" photographs printed from a negative in a darkroom. The advent of the internet and sites such as e-Bay have made the searching for, buying and selling of postcards much faster and simpler. Today, collectible postcards are again flying through the mail, although they are usually encased in a plastic sleeve and are sent in a "Priority Mail" envelope.

The postcard was adopted by the United States government in the 1860s as an open, non-personalized, non-letter format means of inexpensive communication. The first prepaid government issued postcards appeared in the U.S. in 1873 and were originally designed strictly for advertising use. It was not until May 1893 at Chicago's Columbian Exposition that the first souvenir postcards came upon the scene. These chromolithographed images were printed on



Postcard Image 3—Prescott Overview, 1905



Postcard Image 4—West Gurley Street, 1886

the backs of U. S. postal "penny" cards and could be mailed at the two cent letter rate. The government made a penny on the sale of each one. They were packaged in sets of 10 or 12 and were enormously popular, partly due to the fact that they were in color. Many were taken home and saved and were never mailed. These people were the first "postcard collectors". These Columbian Exposition postcards are relatively scarce and are often titled as a "Souvenir Card" or "Mail Card."

As the concept of the souvenir postcard caught on, photographers from all over the World sent their images to large companies that specialized in printing postcards. Postcards printed before World War I are, for the most part, the most collectible and were designed with illustrations, etchings and real photographs. Some were drawn or painted by hand or decorated with beading, glitter, silk thread, feathers, ribbons or other embellishments.

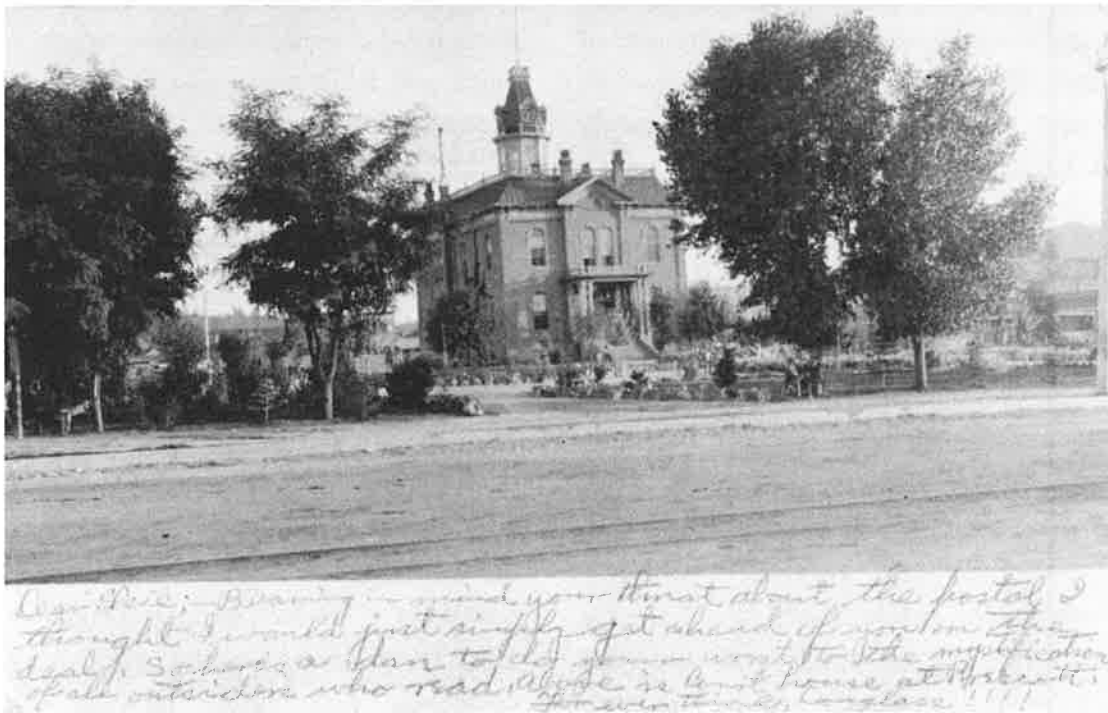
Prior to World War I, millions of color lithograph postcards were printed in Germany, which was the master of the art of postcard printing, sometimes using up to 40 colors in the printing process where the standard in the industry was 20 colors. These cards were manufactured during what is called the "golden age" of postcards. After World War I, most postcards distributed in the U. S. were printed in the U.S. and the quality of the printing and the paper was not nearly what it had been in Germany. These postcards fit into the "White Border Era," 1915-1930 and are often reprints of earlier German-produced cards.

At the same time, communities were realizing that postcards were a cheap and easy way to

advertise their attractions and scenery. Although many of these cards were printed from hand colored black and white images, black and white were also popular and were cheaper to produce.

Many small, local companies, such as Heil's, Timerhoff's, The Owl and Brisley's drug stores in Prescott, also had postcards printed with local or regional advertising or subjects, which they sold in their retail stores. A "spinner" style postcard rack on the counter in the J. S. Acker and Co. store in 1916 shows local views, including Washington School. Real photo postcards were usually printed in the photographer's own darkroom in limited quantities. Some photographers made a remarkable living taking photographs for postcards. Only rarely, however, does the photographer's name appear on early postcards.

The standard postal card, with the image on one side and perhaps a small blank strip at the bottom of the image for a message, and the address on the opposite side, was standard until 1907, when the divided back postcard became the standard. One exception to this is the official, U. S. Government postal card, which still today has undivided back, but since there is no image on the reverse of the card, the entire back is available for a message. The divided back allowed for much more room for the sender to enquire about the recipient's health, report on the sender's whereabouts or write about the weather, three of the most popular topics addressed on postcards. Other messages could be strictly for advertising, communicating a fact or making arrangements. In some cases, the messages on postcards are far more



Postcard Image 5—Yavapai County Courthouse, 1905

"FINEST CLIMATE ON EARTH"

PRESCOTT, YAVAPAI CO., ARIZONA

POPULATION 5,500	ALTITUDE 5,347 FEET
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<p><i>Four Banks. Total Deposits \$2,800,000.</i></p> <p><i>Modern Water, Gas, Electric, Telephone, Street Car and Sewerage Systems.</i></p> <p><i>Water analyzed by Smithsonian Institution and pronounced absolutely pure. Furnished to Whipple Barracks, U. S. Military Post adjoining Prescott.</i></p> <p><i>Nine Religious Denominations. Six excellent Church Buildings.</i></p>	<p><i>Twenty-two Fraternal Organizations. \$170,000 invested in three Fraternal Buildings.</i></p> <p><i>Unexcelled Public Schools. Buildings valued at over \$105,000. All Teachers University graduates. High School fully accredited in leading Universities.</i></p> <p><i>Ideal place for Homes and Health. Climate endorsed by Government.</i></p> <p><i>Rainfall per annum, average 15.6 inches.</i></p>
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For Further Particulars Address PRESCOTT CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Postcard Image 6—Chamber of Commerce promotion

interesting historically than the image on the other side. Official figures from the U. S. Post Office for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1908 calculated that 677,777,798 postcards were mailed in this country in that 12 month period. The postage required to send a postcard through the U. S. Mail varied from one cent (the "penny postcard") to two cents, then three cents. Privately printed postcards (non-government issued) required the two cent letter rate postage in the early days of the postcard. Today, it costs 28 cents to mail a postcard. Postcard packets and booklets, of course, required more postage.

To this day, the functional and desirable characteristics of the postcard as a souvenir have been its major attraction and selling point. Both the image on the postcard and the message, taken together, can increase the value of the information and the meaning of the postcard to the recipient or the collector. Today, the most popular and sought after images are of small town views and real photo postcards of all topics and eras. The message on an undated, early birds-eye-view of Prescott reads "If I have an opportunity to get any more of Prescott and vicinity I will send you one from time to time if you are making a collection".

An Overview of Prescott's Territorial History Through Postcard Images: Small Town Views

The photographic and physical history of small towns can often be reconstructed almost exclusively through postcards. Some time ago, the Town of Wickenburg's history museum lost most of its photograph collection to a fire. Since then, a volunteer has been recreating that collection through postcards.

Although not all of the local images were produced as postcards, many of the best photographs produced by professional or semi-professional photographers were printed as postcards, either through a major publishing company or locally. Postcards have provided a way for a small town to recapture its history through the postcards sent mainly by tourists to friends and relatives.

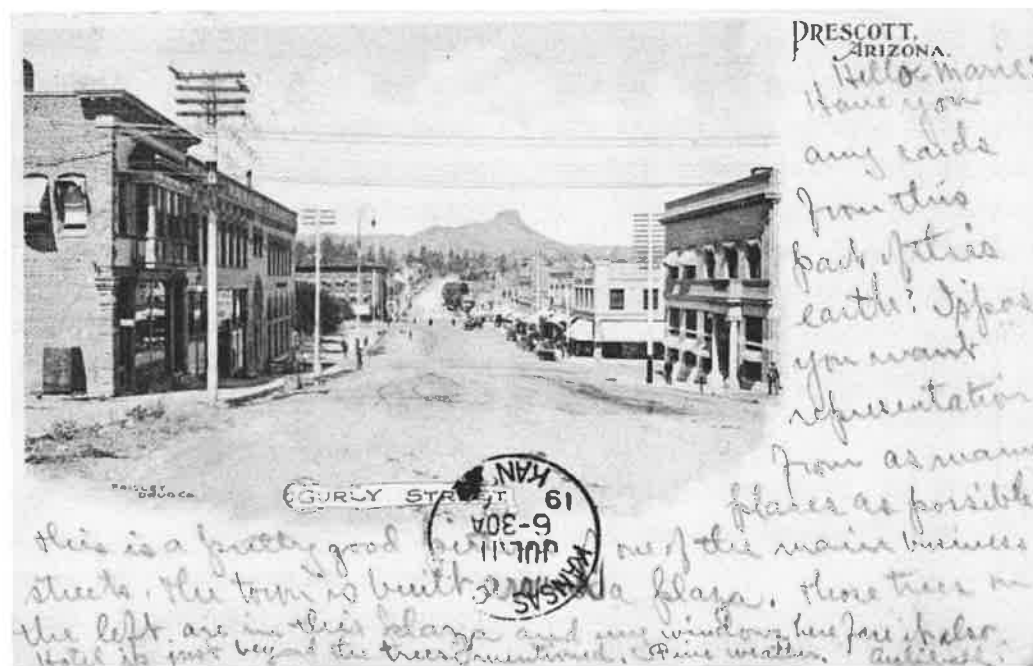
Since the turn of the 20th century, postcard collectors have sought out the beautiful scenes of Arizona, but only recently have collectors sought out postcards as a historic record offering a treasure trove of images and comments. The first scenic views of Arizona were published starting about 1900 by commercial publishers in the eastern United States. The cards were often lovely, hand colored views of the Grand Canyon and other now well-known scenes. Also, at about the same time, local photographers began producing more specialized postcards that focused on the important buildings, events and places of their communities.

Itinerant photographers would travel through communities and neighborhoods or set up an outdoor studio, taking portraits of the family on the front porch, the children in a wagon or on a pony or the cowboy on his horse. Many of these images were printed as real photo postcards and delivered to the subjects of the photograph on the same or the next day. Often, these images are one-of-a-kind and can be found in family photo albums and boxes of old photos. These postcards provide an uninterrupted history of Arizona from about 1900 to 1930, when interest waned, although



Head Hotel European Plan. Eighty Rooms, newly built and newly furnished.
Hot and cold water in all the rooms. Steam Heating.
Twenty Rooms with Private Baths. Post Office in Hotel Building. **Prescott,**
Bank and Express Office opposite Hotel **Arizona.**

Postcard Image 7—Head Hotel, circa 1906



Postcard Image 8—Gurley St., circa 1906

the real photo postcard continued to be produced for decades.

However, it is not only the image that is interesting to collectors and historians, it is also the message, the stamp box and the information printed by the publisher about the image and the printing technique used for the postcard. If the card was used and mailed, the stamp and the postmark and the name of the addressee and the writer, if present are also of interest. Taken together, all of these small pieces of information can tell a story about a time and a place. Here, the emphasis for this article is on Territorial (before 1912) images and messages.

Image 1—A real photo postcard mailed on July 27, 1905 with an Ashfork & Los Angeles RPO (Railroad Post Office) postmark shows a man standing behind a burro with two children seated on the burro. The message reads “Our Friend the Burro. Dear Mother: Have been looking for a letter. Why don’t you write? Yours, Callie, Kaster, Arizona 7/27/05.” Kaster was a station on the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad, 12 miles south of Kingman in Mohave County. The card was sent to Mrs. Pauline Groomer, Walnut, Kansas. This is an interesting postcard with a lot of collectability: a RPPC, a two cent George Washington stamp, a cute image, and an RPO postmark plus a “receiving” postmark for Walnut, Kansas showing the card was received on July 31, only four days after it was mailed. Obviously, from these details, it can be inferred that the writer, Callie, and, perhaps, her family, were traveling on the railroad.

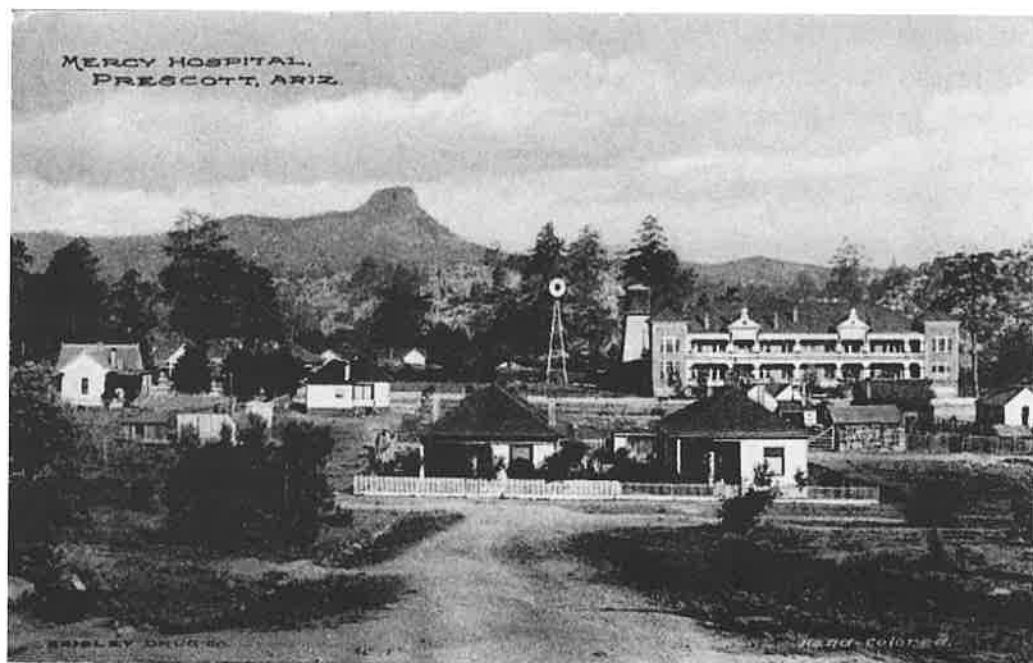
Image 2—On the reverse of this Brisley Drug Company card, mailed in Prescott in June

1908, the sender wrote “Dear Mama, Just a card to let you know how we all are. This a.m. rode about 6 miles – Madge and I. Just save up your nickels for I must have a riding pony. This afternoon we paid 8 calls. Isn’t that great after a ride? Tomorrow, Sat., we go on a 2 day horseback trip so I will write Sun. when I return. Got Pa’s, yours, Mr. Switzer’s and Mrs. Clark’s letters this a.m. Good Bye, Grace. P. S. You can’t imagine how well I look, that weight 120-1/2 is correct for it was on the scales at the store.” This woman managed to get a lot of message on approximately 1/3 of this divided back card, and provides quite a bit of information for those interested in what a day might be like in the life of a young woman in Prescott in 1908. Her comment about her weight brings up the possibility that she might be in Prescott for her health, perhaps as a respiratory patient.

Image 3—A typical RPPC “small town view” has been labeled and dated on the front by the sender. Since many RPPC do not have any information provided by the photographer, having a writer label and date the card is an invaluable part of the information the card provides. This image might never be identified as Prescott if someone who would be knowledgeable enough to recognize it never had the opportunity to see it. This card also has a great message to “Mom,” although it was apparently never mailed. “Prescott, Ariz. Dec. 13-05. Dear Mom, This is one of the cards I found this evening which I think [is] just a little better than anything of the kind I have found out here. The other two I will send along in a few days. Prescott don’t look so wild and wooly as you pictured it, I’ll wager. The pin hole [the writer has made a small hole through the card] is right on the



Postcard Image 9—Whipple Barracks, circa 1910



Postcard Image 10—Mercy Hospital, circa 1910

Linn Hotel. The Court house is just a little to left in the center of the park. Frank.” The message, combined with the label and the date, plus a careful examination of the image, gives a great deal of information. One of the important pieces of information is that, by December, 1905, almost all of the buildings around the Plaza were complete. Since completion dates for some of those buildings are difficult to pin down, this helps to narrow the window of construction time around the Plaza after the Fire of 1900.

Image 4—This RPPC of West Gurley Street is identified as “Prescott in 1886” and the date of the photograph appears to be accurate based on the buildings, signs and freight wagons on the street. However, it was not mailed until February 20, 1906, a full twenty years after the photograph was taken. It can be assumed that a photographer had access to older negatives and printed this card at a later date, as real photo postcards were not made before the turn of the century (1900). The writer of the card is the person who labeled and dated the card as the handwriting is the same as the message and the address on the reverse of the card. It was mailed from Prescott.

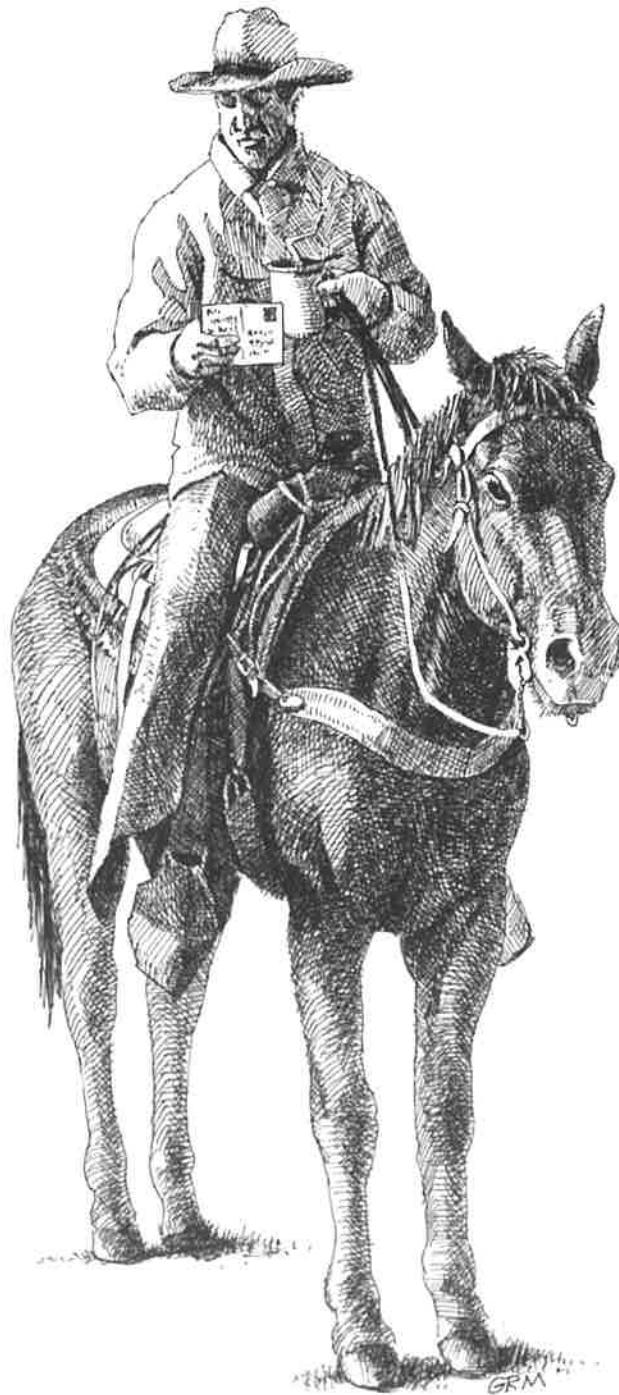


Image 5—The Yavapai County Courthouse long has been one of Prescott’s iconic images. This is a RPPC of the “pink brick” Courthouse on the Plaza, which was torn down in 1914 in order to build the current Courthouse. Only the small strip on the bottom of the card was available for a

message as the obverse was for the address only under the Postal rules of 1905, when this postcard was mailed from Prescott.

Image 6—This Prescott Chamber of Commerce postcard promotes the benefits of Prescott, with the “Finest Climate on Earth,” a



Postcard Image 11— “Pioneers’ Schoolhouse,” n.d.



Postcard Image 12—Park Avenue, 1911

population of 5,000, modern utilities, good water and 15.6 inches of rainfall per annum!

Image 7—This is a very nice unused, hand colored advertising postcard for the Head Hotel on North Cortez Street in Prescott. Although the hand coloring, which was literally painting on the surface of the black and white original photograph with artists' oils or watercolors, is often pretty accurate, if the photographer did not note the colors for the artist, the artist could use his or her "artistic license" and use any colors the artist desired. This card may have been free to guests at the hotel to send to their friends and families. Since it is a divided back card, it is post 1907 but the photograph would have been taken slightly earlier, as the advertisement states "newly built and newly furnished." The Head Hotel was built in 1906.

Image 8—A vignette image of Gurly (sic) Street mailed from Prescott on July 9, 1906. This is a Brisley Drug Company card. The message from Archibald reads in part, "Hello Marie, Have you any cards from this part of this earth? I s'pose you want representation from as many places as possible." The card was sent to Kansas City, Kansas. There are a couple of touring cars on the street, but otherwise things look pretty quiet.

Image 9—Both the presence of the military and health care were very important to the viability of Prescott in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This is a Heil Drug Company postcard, photo by Prescott photographer Erwin Baer, of "Whipple Barracks, Prescott, Ariz." about 1910. Several of these buildings are still standing and in use, although the buildings in the center left have been

demolished. There are many postcards throughout the various time periods of Ft. Whipple. The campus, now the Bob Stump Memorial Veterans Affairs Medical Center, is listed in the National Register of Historic Places at the National level of significance.

Image 10—This is an unusual hand colored view of Mercy Hospital on Grove Avenue taken from around what is now Summit Street and Western Avenue, with Thumb Butte in the background. Although it is postmarked 1916, this is an earlier image, probably about 1910.

Image 11—This shows Prescott's "First Pioneers' Schoolhouse", located on what is now the grounds of Prescott Mile High Middle School. The immense historic Fremont Cottonwood tree shown in the photograph is still there. This is a post-1907 Brisley Drug Company card. It was never mailed.

Image 12—This 1911 image of Park Avenue is uncommon for the time period as not many postcards were produced of residential neighborhoods. Notice the large pine tree in the middle of the street. The Amy Hill House, shown on the left, is still there and is listed in the National Register. This is a Corbin and Bork drugstore card.

Image 13—Is a small town view of Prescott's famous North Montezuma Street, "Whiskey Row", about 1902. Notice all of the canvas awnings. This is a well-known image, and the original photograph is at the Arizona State Archives.

About Your Postcards

Each postcard tells a part or all of a small story. If you are lucky enough to have a collection of postcards, especially those from the late 19th and early 20th centuries, treasure them. They should be stored in the same way as photographs – in archival sleeves and/or boxes. If they are in albums, leaves of acid-free paper between each set of pages will help to protect them. If they are not dated, perhaps you can use some of the clues in the beginning of this article to help you date and identify any other significant pieces of information your postcards may be able to impart (look for those railroad postmarks, Fred Harvey scenes, military images, Native American people and famous people).

If, at some point, you do not want to keep your postcards, be sure to offer them to a

museum or archive for their collection of Statewide, regional or local images. Those small town views are invaluable to archivists, historians and writers.



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Note: All postcards in this article are from the personal collection of the author and are copyright-free.



Postcard Image 13—Whiskey Row, Circa 1902

THE COURT-MARTIAL OF COLONEL KAUTZ

By Andrew Wallace

In May of 1876 an army court arraigned Colonel August V. Kautz, commander of the Eighth U.S. Infantry Regiment, for publicly criticizing William McKee Dunn, judge advocate general of the U.S. Army. Kautz at the time of the offense was in charge of the Military Department of Arizona, one of the army's twelve geographical commands, with headquarters at Prescott, Arizona.¹ The subsequent trial attracted wide interest and probably was the most important judicial proceeding by the army between the Civil War and 1900.

August Valentine Kautz was German-born but raised from childhood in Ohio. Fifty years old in 1878, he had spent thirty-two years in uniform. A veteran of the Mexican War and a graduate of West Point, Kautz served with distinction as a Union cavalry commander during the Civil War and Congress afterward awarded him a brevet promotion to major general. In 1867 he became a lieutenant colonel in the reorganized peacetime army. Nearly all of Kautz' postwar career was spent in the Far West. He was promoted colonel of the Eighth Infantry in 1874 and for three years commanded the Arizona department in his brevet general rank.

When he succeeded his old friend General George Crook in 1875, Kautz was already commanding the Eighth Infantry from department headquarters at Fort Whipple on the outskirts of Prescott. This was the principal town of northern Arizona with perhaps 1,500 residents. There he clashed with the Indian Office of the Interior Department about ad-

ministration of Arizona reservations. The quarrels grew more strident when the territorial capital returned to Prescott in 1877. By then Kautz was in personal contact with Governor Anson P. K. Safford and other politi-

cians. Some were friendly to him but Safford wanted Kautz removed to ease civilian takeover of Indian lands and to maintain the lucrative Indian trade on reservations, while others took the popular view that Kautz was soft on savages and was not killing enough Apaches.

Political squabbles soon became a source of tension between Kautz and the army's

commanding general, William Tecumseh Sherman. Although Sherman was sympathetic to Kautz, he regarded him as overly contentious and feared he would embarrass the War Department.

Both men—indeed, most Army officers who had dealings with reservation agents in the West—suspected there was a widespread conspiracy to line civilian pockets by fraud and theft at the expense of the Reservation Indi-



August V. Kautz

ans. They referred to it as the "Indian Ring," but its existence was never proven. But whereas Kautz persisted in fighting the illusory "ring," Sherman was more concerned to keep the army out of politics.²

A tangled web of events that culminated in the trial of Colonel Kautz commenced in 1877 when Captain Charles P. Eagan was assigned to Arizona as the "commissary of subsistence." He soon tried to foment a revolt within Kautz' headquarters. Eagan was not directly accountable to the department commander, as he represented a War Department bureau, the Subsistence Department, and his antipathy to Kautz is inexplicable. Most of the headquarters staff rejected him as a noisy troublemaker, and he seems to have sought notoriety, power, or perhaps revenge for some fancied wrong. Nevertheless he soon became the champion of a bankrupt captain against the "tyranny" of General Kautz.³

A company commander in the Sixth U.S. Cavalry, Captain Charles Harrod Campbell, was brought before a field court-martial in July 1877. Major Charles E. Compton, the Sixth Cavalry's senior officer present for duty, preferred charges against him for embezzlement of his company fund. The court found him guilty of "conduct unbecoming an officer" but the court's president ruled only that he be reprimanded. More serious charges, however, were brought in October 1877.⁴

He was charged again with pilfering a company fund and for misappropriation of government property, including nine Colt revolvers. Eagan volunteered to be his defense counsel. Soon after the trial began, Eagan subpoenaed Colonel Kautz as an expert witness for the defense. Kautz was the author of a book, *Customs of Service for Officers of the Army*, a kind of nineteenth century "Officers Guide," and Eagan's purpose was to incrimi-

nate the department commander for misuse of public property—the same crime with which Campbell was charged. Unsuccessful, Eagan dragged the trial out and Kautz left for the East on a leave of absence.

Kautz' wife Fannie and their children had preceded him to Cincinnati where at the end of October they were reunited. Leaving the children in the care of relatives, Fannie and August entrained for Washington on November 6 and for two weeks the colonel met with officers and federal officials, first with Sherman, then with Brigadier General Robert Macfeely, head of the Subsistence Department. Kautz also had interviews with the Secretary of War, George McCrary, the Secretary of the Interior, Carl Schurz, and with President Rutherford B. Hayes.⁵

From November 9 through the evening of November 11 Kautz met with "the Arizona delegation": former territorial governors Richard C. McCormick and John N. Goodwin, and the territorial delegate to Congress, Hiram Stevens. There are no records of these conversations. In his diary Kautz remarked only that McCormick (then in the Treasury Department) and Stevens met with him regarding "Indian troubles." McCormick, a severe critic, may even have applauded the aggressive Sixth Cavalry operations of the previous spring and summer. In September the regiment had played the major role in running down 310 renegade Chiricahua Apaches. By November Indian affairs seemed to be managed mostly to the satisfaction of all parties.⁶

The Kautzes went shopping in New York City, and then left for Cincinnati where on November 25 Colonel Kautz received by mail the record of Captain Campbell's trial, which had concluded on October 29. Kautz already knew the decision of the court as he had been in telegraphic contact with the trial judge advocate at Fort Whipple. The hapless Camp-

bell had dropped Eagan and secured another defender, but he had been found guilty and sentenced to be dismissed from the service. Two days later Kautz wrote a review of the trial, objecting to any clemency, and approved the sentence of the court. Then he mailed the papers to the War Department bureau of military justice in Washington.⁷

The ultimate fate of Charles Campbell was sadly ironic. A court-martial at Fort Grant, Arizona, in November 1880 convicted him of drunkenness and violating the Sixty-second Article of War. At the trial's conclusion he made a pledge "to totally abstain from the use of intoxicating liquors" and signed a letter promising unconditionally to resign if he broke the pledge—which he did two days later. Cashiered from the service, he settled in Washington but late in 1881 he persuaded senators friendly to his family to introduce a bill in the Senate to restore his commission. The military affairs committee, however, reported it unfavorably on May 31, 1882. Campbell later clerked for the State Department, married an admiral's daughter, and died in 1915.⁸

On their return trip to Arizona, Kautz and his family arrived in San Francisco on December 21 where he received in the mail the record of another court-martial. Kautz was surprised to learn that Eagan himself had been tried in November on charges brought by the inspector general of the Arizona department. The case mainly involved gambling. Eagan had

been convicted on just one count and the court had sentenced him to be reprimanded.⁹

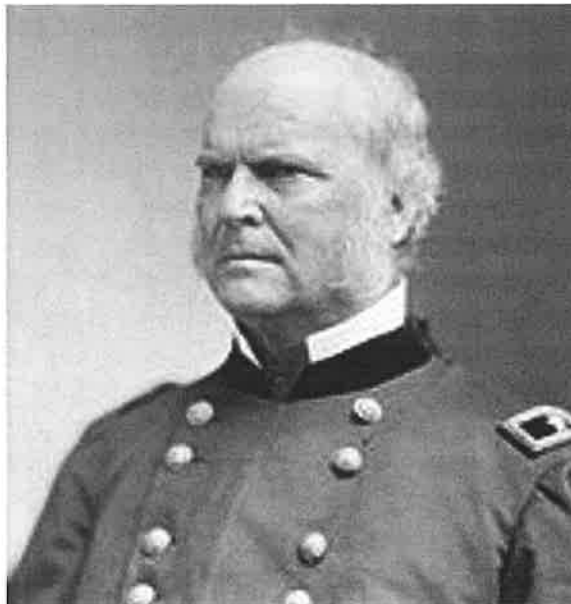
Meanwhile, wheels were turning on behalf of Captain Campbell. On November 13 General Andrew A. Humphreys, chief of engineers, had written to General William McKee Dunn, judge advocate general of the army. Humphreys had known Campbell's father for many years and had employed the son as an aide-de-camp during the war. He asserted that young Campbell had been tried "under a series of charges such as men influenced by personal considerations get up against one for

whom they have no friendliness." Humphreys in his letter admitted that the captain possessed "a certain recklessness" but said that he had "many fine traits" and "of late years he has become in all matters of business more careful than formerly."

A few days later David R. McKee, Washington correspondent for the Associated Press, visited the army judge advocate general, William Dunn. David

McKee was married to Dunn's daughter and was an old friend of Eagan. He offered to show his father-in-law a letter from Eagan that described the "persecution" by Kautz of dissident officers in his headquarters and sought to intercede on behalf of Captain Campbell.¹⁰

Eagan himself needed no intermediary to reach the judge advocate-general. He had been on close terms with Dunn at least since 1869 when he received a commission as an



William McKee Dunn

army paymaster on Dunn's recommendation, and in 1874 he had secured his position in the subsistence department largely with Dunn's help. Shortly after he arrived in Arizona, while still on good terms with Kautz, Eagan had been instrumental in having Major Thomas S. Dunn, post commander at Fort Yuma and General Dunn's brother, saved from being cashiered for drunkenness. Moreover, Dunn's father-in-law, Senator Lot M. Morrill of Maine, was a mutual friend of Eagan and of General Sherman.¹¹

On December 7, 1877, General Dunn, acting in his capacity as head of the military justice bureau and the army's chief legal advisor, recommended that the proceedings in the Campbell case be quashed because of irregularities by Colonel Kautz, the convening authority. The trial record next passed to General Sherman and Secretary of War McCrary, whose recommendations would go to President Hayes for final review. How much Sherman knew previously about the case is uncertain but Humphreys may already have spoken with him. It is also interesting that Sherman's wife was a friend of Captain Eagan, and it is possible that Eagan had attempted to sway Sherman's opinion in the Campbell case through Ellen Sherman.¹²

Sherman only partly agreed with Dunn, and he suggested to Secretary of War McCrary that the court be reconvened to give Campbell opportunity to cross-examine Kautz and "for the purpose of correcting any informality in the endorsement of the Department Commander." Sherman, however, was sharply skeptical of Dunn's legal reasoning and denied that Kautz' privileges of command ceased when he had left Arizona.¹³

The day after Christmas of 1877, President Hayes, on the advice of McCrary, disapproved the entire proceedings in the Campbell case and accepted General Dunn's opinion, in effect exonerating Campbell despite all the damning evidence in the record of trial. Possibly the friends of Campbell had been at work in the White House, too. The Adjutant General, Edward D. Townsend, mailed the President's decision and extracts of Dunn's opinion to Kautz in Arizona.¹⁴

Sometime between the President's disapproval of the Campbell proceedings and January 5, 1878, Dunn's son-in-law, McKee, put a story on the Associated Press wire that was printed in the San Francisco *Alta California* newspaper. Kautz and his family were en route to Fort Whipple on the day that the A.P. story was reprinted in the *Arizona Enterprise*, a Prescott newspaper. It inferred that the court-martial order and Dunn's opinion had been published to the army and asserted that the President's action "is universally regarded, and was doubtless intended, as a very pointed rebuke" of Kautz.¹⁵

Kautz' reaction was volcanic. He telegraphed The Adjutant General to learn whether the court-martial order was to be formally promulgated. "If it has not," he asked Townsend,



"can it be suspended until the receipt of my answer to the . . . opinion?" Townsend wired back that the opinion would not be published for the time-being and told Kautz he was mailing to him the full text of Dunn's endorsement of the Campbell record.¹⁶

Kautz sat down in his office at Fort Whipple and penned a highly critical rebuttal of Dunn in the form of a letter addressed to The Adjutant General. He took it to the print shop where an eight-page pamphlet was produced that he mailed to Washington on January 30. Over the next few days he mailed copies to his friends, and to every regimental commander in the army, and also to every department and division headquarters in the United States.

The pamphlet's flavor and Kautz' rationale for writing it may be seen in the handwritten postscript he appended to the copy he sent to General Townsend:

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

Kautz went on to review the relationship between Eagan and Dunn which he said explained "the appearance [of] the Associated Press dispatches in the Daily Alta California," published despite Townsend's contrary advice. "I . . . request that . . . my reply and the Judge Advocate General's opinion to be given to the press."

Sherman probably had not seen Kautz' criticism of Dunn when, on February 4, 1878, he received through the office of the army com-

missary general, MacFeely, a request from Kautz to have Eagan transferred away from the Arizona department. Sherman, at the end of his patience, instead recommended to the Secretary of War that Kautz be removed from Arizona and replaced with a less outspoken officer. Two days later an order was issued sending Colonel (Brevet Major General) Orlando Boliver Willcox and the Twelfth U.S. Infantry to Arizona, and sending Kautz to San Francisco where he and his regiment would serve directly under General Irvin McDowell who commanded both the California department and the Division of the Pacific.¹⁷

To the end of his life, Kautz believed he was removed from command because he had opposed the Indian Ring. On the other hand, many Arizonans, who thought Kautz was "soft on Indians," assumed he was replaced to allow a war of extermination against the hated Apaches. It is plain, however, that Sherman sacked Kautz because of the quarrel within his official family at Fort Whipple. To be sure, Sherman would have heard what certain people in Washington said about Kautz: General Humphreys, Senator Morrill, and his own wife. Kautz had to go.

The "pamphlet strictures," as General Townsend called the Kautz commentary on the Campbell case, was received in The Adjutant-General's office on February 13, 1878. Shortly afterward, regimental adjutants and the assistant adjutants-general of all the army's divisions and departments opened their mail to find the same pamphlet. Some were amused and others annoyed by the philippic. Next day Townsend passed the pamphlet to Sherman who coolly observed in his endorsement to the Secretary of War that the controversy was "purely official and the Public feels no interest in it."¹⁸

Sherman indulged in wishful thinking. The *New York Times* soon carried on its front page

a letter from "An Indignant Officer" that concerned not only Campbell's case but an even more notorious court-martial in Colorado. There, President Hayes had overruled a decision to dismiss from the army a lieutenant in the Nineteenth Infantry, convicted of theft and of abetting a murder. "The Question is," wrote Indignant Officer, "does not the law require such reasons for these actions to be given? If the law does not, custom does, and the conspicuous absence of such reasons in [Campbell's] case indicated that none exist."¹⁹

General Dunn could not have failed by this time to know of his son-in-law's January news story in the western papers. He certainly knew that Kautz had requested time to answer the opinion before publication of the Campbell court-martial order. Yet the sharpness, audacity, and length of Kautz' reply, which Dunn also found in his mail, surprised him. He drafted a request to the Secretary of War for redress. "Gen. Kautz," Dunn noted, "was . . . officially informed that the views expressed by me . . . had been approved and adopted by the President." Despite that, he told Secretary McCrary, the Judge Advocate-General's opinion had been criticized in print by Kautz who "has charged the author of the opinion, a superior officer, with dereliction of duty." Concluded Dunn, "the interests of the service require that this grossly unmilitary conduct should not be permitted to pass without punishment or rebuke."²⁰

Sherman was not unsympathetic to Kautz, and he had some reservations about Dunn's jurisdiction. He allowed that Kautz' criticism of Dunn had much real merit but it had passed the bounds of propriety when it had been so widely circulated. "Had General Kautz," he wrote, "addressed . . . a single copy [of his criticism] to be . . . considered on its merits alone I would be disposed to sustain some of the points he makes." In passing he noted,

"the Judge Advocate General is not his [Kautz'] superior officer . . . But as he [Kautz] had his letter printed with manifold copies, one of which reached the Judge Advocate General anonymously, he has made himself responsible for a positive wrong." Sherman characterized Kautz' imputation of ulterior motives as "wholly wrong and unjustifiable. His [Dunn's] Report was made not to General Kautz, but to his[,] General Dunn's[,] superior, and General Kautz had no right to impugn his motives."²¹

Secretary of War McCrary followed Sherman when he declared the publication by Kautz "a positive wrong" but he was undecided what to do about it. Kautz could not be reprimanded without the action of a court-martial, which Sherman was reluctant to order. Sherman had already ordered Kautz' relief from command and probably felt he had done all he could for his wife's friend Eagan. On March 6, the day after Willcox assumed command in Arizona, the Secretary of War revoked the order to publish Dunn's opinion and directed that the papers in the case be returned to the Judge Advocate-General, "who will determine for himself what . . . further action he will take."²²

The Kautz household, meanwhile, was en route to San Francisco. They reached Angel Island in the Bay on March 21 and next morning the colonel went to headquarters to assume command of Camp Reynolds and to look at his mail. He found many letters, but the "most important document was a copy of a telegram from . . . Sherman to General McDowell informing him that I am to be court martialed at Omaha about the first of May on charges preferred by Judge Advocate Genl. Dunn."²³

The charges didn't reach Kautz until April 2, and he didn't find them very serious. Dunn alleged that Kautz had violated the Sixty-

second Article of War by his "Conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline." A single specification alleged that the Secretary of War had sent Kautz an extract from the report of the Judge Advocate-General regarding the Campbell trial that would "not be published in orders" and Kautz had then published and circulated "a printed paper, consisting of the said extract and of a communication . . . by him . . . to the . . . Adjutant General, relating to said extract . . . which said publication was throughout wholly irregular and unmilitary." As the legal proceedings developed, another specification later alleged that Kautz in his pamphlet had accused the Judge Advocate General of rejecting the sentence of the Campbell court "for no other reason than that he [Dunn] desired to relieve said Campbell from the penalty for his offenses."²⁴

The *Army and Navy Journal*, published weekly in New York and circulated nationally, announced on March 30 the detail for the general court, and Kautz probably was more confident than ever that he would be vindicated. Not only did it include some of the most respected military names of the post-Civil War army but also some friends. The president of the court was to be Brigadier General Christopher C. Augur, a thirty-five year veteran who had distinguished himself as a division commander in the war and as commander of several army departments afterward. Kautz' closest military friend, Brigadier General George Crook, was to be a member. Kautz' friend of prewar days, Colonel Rufus Ingalls, was ordered to attend. And a comrade of the Mexican War Battle of Monterey, Colonel Charles L. Kilburn, was a member. Detailed as trial judge advocate was Major Horace B. Burnham of the Judge Advocate-General's department.²⁵

It is unnecessary here to give a detailed account of the Kautz trial, although it is replete

with irony. The Colonel prepared his case thoroughly with the help of John C. Kelton, adjutant-general at McDowell's headquarters. Their intention was to uphold Kautz' criticism as a proper rebuttal to a staff officer's erroneous opinion, and its publication justified by the prior newspaper story. He would plead guilty to the specifications except for the alleged unmilitary character of his pamphlet, hence not guilty of the charge. And he proposed to appeal to the civilian government of the army for substantiation of his right to free expression. On April 8, he asked General Sherman to summon President Hayes and Secretary of War McCrary as witnesses for his defense. He also requested the appearance of Dunn and of Sherman himself.²⁶

Sherman would not even broach the subject to his civilian chiefs. He excused himself and Dunn as well. The trial was already preempting the time of many of his highest officers. Especially irked was General Philip H. Sheridan, commander of the Military Division of the Missouri, who wrote to Sherman, "Old Kautz will worry that court for at least three or four months." Sheridan tried to have Ingalls relieved from the court because that officer had been assigned as chief quartermaster to the Missouri division and Sheridan did not want him absent so long.

Sherman's reply to Sheridan gives a hint of the commanding general's attitude. "I prefer Ingalls should remain on the court, because he has fame and knowledge and can keep the court down to its work." He continued:

"Kautz has already summoned the President, Secretary of War, . . . &c, and I suppose will next summon Congress & the Supreme Court. Of course we will not go. The court should confine its action to the simple question at issue - Had he the right to impute to the Judge Advocate General the motive of being influenced by the Campbells and had he a

right to publish & circulate his answer before it was received by the Adjut. General."

Sherman was not so pessimistic about Kautz' ability to drag out the proceedings. "I think," he told Sheridan, "Genl. Augur . . . will make short work of the court." Before moving to another subject in his letter, Sherman revealed something of his relationship to Kautz: "I wish Kautz well, but he would not take my hints or advice, and the more I tried to caution him the more stubborn he seemed to prove."²⁷

The Kautz court-martial convened at Omaha, Nebraska, headquarters of the Department of the Platte, on May 1, 1878. The court held its proceedings in Omaha's Grand Central Hotel. The defendant was permitted at the outset to read a lengthy plea "in bar of trial" which, if accepted, would have ended the matter with no further evidence. But, on insistence of General Augur, president of the court, the plea was denied and Major Burnham, the trial judge advocate, began the prosecution. This amounted to little more than testimony by two departmental adjutants that they considered the "pamphlet strictures" to have been at least irregular if not "unmilitary." To Kautz' amazement, General Dunn appeared in person to testify. He described the final action in the Campbell case as simply the culmination of a difference of opinion between himself and Sherman, in which his own view had finally been upheld by the President of the United States.²⁸

When Kautz, acting as his own counsel, asked the court for permission to introduce into the record the entire transcript of the Campbell trial, General Augur agreed. This move alone gave him a tremendous advantage because the evidence against Campbell was so incriminating. Burnham and Dunn strongly objected but they themselves had mentioned and quoted large parts of the documents. Now

either Dunn's judgment appeared faulty or his favoritism blatant.

Meanwhile, back in Washington, a correspondent for the *Army and Navy Journal* interviewed General Sherman who was asked what he thought would be the result of the extraordinary proceedings underway in Omaha. The commanding general dryly answered that "the Court would probably find the Judge-Advocate-General guilty."²⁹

On May 8 Kautz made his closing argument. "This," observed the *Army and Navy Journal*, "was a carefully prepared, dignified document—short but to the point—and it occupied but a few minutes for its delivery." The reporter thought Burnham's conduct had damaged the prosecution. When the court adjourned there was no question that Kautz had deeply impressed it.³⁰

The court met for the last time on May 9. Burnham took two hours to deliver his rejoinder, described as "a huge document containing a great many words and some personalities." Augur then pronounced the court closed, both the defendant and the trial judge advocate withdrew, and the eleven members began deliberation. After three hours the court was adjourned sine die. No verdict was immediately announced and Kautz would wait nearly a month before learning the trial's outcome. But on May 9 he had little doubt that he would be acquitted and that evening he wrote in his diary, "There was much disgust felt at the manner of Burnham's delivery," referring to the incoherent closing statement. "My cause has not suffered much at his hands. He had no idea of the case."³¹

The order of the court, received by Kautz on June 4, did indeed find him "not guilty" of violating the Sixty-second Article of War. In conclusion, read the order, "the Court does therefore "acquitt" him, Colonel August V. Kautz, 8th Infantry."³² Sherman, however,

added his own commentary that must have seemed a dilution of justice.

"The somewhat indefinite findings of the Court," Sherman began, "give a proper occasion . . . to announce certain great principles of military government which concern . . . the Army." A following paragraph speaks to all professional soldiers of democratic armies to this day. He continued:

"Obedience to . . . the lawful decisions of the constituted authorities, from the highest to the lowest, is not only a duty enforced by penalties, but should be the cause of pride to every officer and soldier in the Army. When such decisions are made . . . by the proper officials, a cheerful obedience is all that is left for the officer, and the higher his rank . . . the more important the example. This is not the obedience of the slave, but of the knight, true to his sovereign – in our case – the law."

Sherman concluded that the act of publishing by Kautz "was more than 'irregular;' it was improper." But he concurred with the court that had acquitted Kautz of unmilitary conduct, saying "while the course of the accused was in some respects improper, no criminality attaches thereto."

"Dutch" Kautz became resigned to Sherman's judgment and the trial did not prevent his promotion to brigadier general in 1892. General Dunn, however, hid the embarrassing acquittal behind Sherman's admonition printed with the court-martial proceedings. In 1880 Dunn approved for publication *A Digest of the Opinions of the Judge Advocate General of the Army* compiled by his assistant, William Winthrop. There the case of Colonel Kautz is cited in a discussion of the Sixty-second Article of War. According to Winthrop, the actions of Kautz were held by the court to be "gravely unmilitary conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline," imply-

ing a violation of the article. The words of the digest that follow echo Sherman's addendum, as if the court had found the defendant guilty. Winthrop's digest was periodically updated and reissued, successive editors retaining the erroneous gloss. It appeared for the last time in 1912.³³

The case of Colonel Kautz is now dismissed.



NOTES

¹ The Arizona department included the federal territory, much of southern California and the southern tip of Nevada, altogether about 175,000 sq. mi. A study of Kautz' postwar life is by Andrew Wallace, "Soldier in the Southwest: The Career of General A. V. Kautz, 1869–1886" (Univ. of Arizona Ph.D. thesis, 1968). See also Lawrence G. Kautz, *August Valentine Kautz, USA: Biography of a Civil War General* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2008), 213–15.

² Robert M. Utley, *Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indian, 1866–1890* (New York, 1973), 3–14, 20–22, 35, 357–59, 372. Thomas E. Sheridan, *Arizona, a History* (Tucson: Univ. of Arizona Press, 1995), 107–108.

³ Charles Patrick Eagan joined the Washington Territory volunteers in 1862. After the Civil War, he was commissioned in the regular army and participated in the Modoc Indian War but transferred to the Subsistence Department in 1874. He was Commissary General of the army in 1898. Constance W. Altshuler, *Cavalry Yellow & Infantry Blue* (Tucson: Arizona Historical Society, 1991) 115–16.

⁴ Hq., Dept. of Arizona, G. O. 18, Aug. 17, 1877, RG 393, Records of U. S. Army Continental Commands, National Archives (NA). Campbell resigned from West Point in 1864 to join the 1st N.Y. Artillery. He was appointed a 2d Lt. in the 6th Cavalry in 1866. Before his regiment left Texas in 1875, Campbell was court-martialed for insubordination (1871) but promoted to captain in 1874. His indebtedness was the subject of admonishment from The Adjutant General of the army (see AGO Files 1030 [1876] and 1368 [1877]), Record Group 94, Gen. Corresp. of the Adjutant-General's Office, National Archives [NA]. His court-martial at Prescott (July 25–August 7, 1877) is in

File QQ 327, RG 153, Records of the Office of the Judge Advocate General, NA. Altshuler, *Cavalry Yellow & Infantry Blue*, 55.

⁵ This and the next three paragraphs are based on ms. diaries in the Papers of General August V. Kautz (Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.), for the years 1877-78. Hereafter, Kautz Diary.

⁶ William H. Carter, *From Yorktown to Santiago with the Sixth U.S. Cavalry* (Orig. publ. 1900; reprint, Austin, TX: State House Press, 1989), 188-92, 194. Capt. Samuel W. Whitside and two companies of the 6th Cav. founded Ft. Huachuca on March 3, 1877. Altshuler, *Cavalry Yellow & Infantry Blue*, 367.

⁷ Complete proceedings of the Campbell court are included as Exhibit P in the 1878 court-martial record of Kautz, File QQ-628, RG 153, NA.

⁸ U.S. Senate, 47 Cong., 1 sess. Report No. 600 (to accompany bill S. 1736) May 31, 1882. Altshuler, *Cavalry Yellow & Infantry Blue*, 55.

⁹ General Order No. 2, Jan. 12, 1878, Dept. of Arizona, RG 393, NA. Altshuler, *Cavalry Yellow & Infantry Blue*, 115.

¹⁰ Letter, Humphreys to Dunn, Nov. 13, 1877, and Dunn's testimony in File QQ-628. The father of Capt. Campbell was Archibald Campbell, civil engineer for the Pacific railway surveys and the Northwest Boundary Survey before the Civil War.

¹¹ Information on Eagan and his relationship to the Sherman, McKee, and Dunn families comes mostly from fugitive documents from the National Archives in the author's possession. See also Oscar T. Shuck, *Bench and Bar in California* (San Francisco, 1888), 120-21 (for Eagan's early life); W. H. Powell, comp., *Records of Living Officers of the Army* (New York, 1890) 190; W. T. Sherman, *Memoirs* (New York, 1875); and William W. Woolen, *William McKee Dunn, Brigadier General, U.S.A.* (New York, n.d.).

¹² Dunn's endorsement to Campbell court-martial, Exhibit F, file QQ-628. Ellen Sherman had known Eagan since pre-Civil War days on the Pacific Coast when her husband was a banker in San Francisco and young Eagan was living with their friend John T. Doyle, a prominent lawyer. She had once written of Eagan that "a brighter braver boy never lived" when she tried to get him a brevet for his part in the quelling the Modoc Indian uprising. Letter, Mrs. Wm. T. Sherman to Secretary of War, July 1, 1873. Copy in author's possession. Anna McAllister, *Ellen Ewing, Wife of General Sherman* (New York, 1936), 120, 123, 127-31.

¹³ Sherman's endorsement to Campbell court-martial, Dec. 12, 1877, Exhibit F, File QQ-628.

¹⁴ Sherman believed that the President was very amenable to private entreaties from old army friends. Utley, *Frontier Regulars*, 366n.

¹⁵ Prescott *Arizona Enterprise*, Jan. 9, 1878.

¹⁶ File 237 AGO 1878.

¹⁷ File 881 AGO 1878. The 8th Infantry was scattered about the Arizona department but, over several months, would be concentrated at Benicia Barracks near San Francisco. Martha Summerhayes, *Vanished Arizona*, 4th ed. (Tucson: Arizona Silhouettes, 1960) 173-176.

¹⁸ File 1073, AGO 1878.

¹⁹ *New York Times*, Feb. 27, 1878.

²⁰ Letter, Dunn to Secretary of War, Feb. 15, 1878, enclosing two copies of Kautz' Pamphlet. File 1850 (1878), RG 107. Records of the Office of the Secretary of War.

²¹ Sherman's endorsement Feb. 15, to *ibid*.

²² Endorsements by Secretary of War McCrary, Feb. 19 *Ibid*.

²³ Kautz Diary, 1878.

²⁴ *Ibid*. File QQ-628.

²⁵ Entry in *The New Handbook of Texas*, Vol. 1 (6 vols., Austin: Texas State Historical Soc., 1996) s.v. "Augur" by Robert Wooster. Martin F. Schmitt, ed., *General George Crook, His Autobiography*, 2d ed. (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1960) 3, 6, 27, 29, 241-42. Powell, *Records of Living Officers*, 98f (Burnham), 305 (Ingalls), and 330 (Kilburn).

²⁶ Kautz Diary, 1878. Kelton, a year ahead of Kautz at West Point, had been assistant adjutant-general for the Div. of the Pacific since 1870 and would become Adjutant-general of the Army in 1889. Powell, *Records of Living Officers*, 324-25. Files 2465 and 2751 AGO 1878.

²⁷ Letter, Sheridan to Sherman, April 13, 1878 (letter-book copy) and letter, Sherman to Sheridan, April 20, 1878, in the Papers of Philip H. Sheridan (Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.).

²⁸ File QQ-628.

²⁹ *Army and Navy Journal*, May 18, 1878.

³⁰ *Ibid*.

³¹ *Ibid*. Kautz Diary, 1878.

³² General Court-Martial Order No. 26, Hq. of the Army, May 18, 1878.

³³ William Winthrop, *A Digest of the Opinions of the Judge Advocate General of the Army* (Washington, 1880) 44. [Charles R. Holland,] *A Digest of Opinions of the Judge Advocates General of the Army, 1912* (Washington, 1912) 144.

The Trees of Prescott's Courthouse Plaza

By Mike King

Through the foresight of Arizona Territorial officials and the original design of streets and lots by surveyor, Robert Groom, an entire city block (4.1 acres) was set aside for community needs. This City block, known as "the Plaza," has an illustrious history since those first territorial days.

The Plaza and its courthouse are included in the National Register of Historic Places. In 2008 the plaza was designated as one of the top ten public places in the United States by the American Planning Association. The trees, grass, walkways, Courthouse, and statues all come together to define the setting, character and "sense of place" of this nationally recognized public place.

Pictures from 1860-1877 of the Prescott town area show many open spaces covered by grass and scattered trees throughout what is now downtown. The Plaza location is for the most part, treeless. In fact, the open, almost treeless Plaza was the site of early Prescott baseball games. Pedestrian use, livestock grazing, including goats, would have resulted in compacted soil and closely nibbled vegetation.

The first courthouse to be built on this site was completed in 1878. Baseball was no longer a sight on the Plaza. A picket fence, painted by prisoners from the jail, was installed around the Plaza in 1879 to keep livestock off the courthouse grounds. With the elimination of livestock grazing, trees, cacti and grass were planted.

City Council minutes of May 15, 1880 indicate that bids were sought to supply 150 box elder or black locust trees on the Plaza. George Lount was awarded the contract and the Supervisors were to set out and keep the trees watered. A chapel, jail and hothouse along with a decorative mineral rock fountain and band stand (1895) were constructed. A

watermelon patch was established for refreshment during community activities. Gravel walkways were built to access the courthouse from the various adjacent streets. Trees were planted in the "islands" between these sidewalks and walkways.

Wells were established on the four corners of the plaza in late 1880. Their primary purpose was fire protection for the courthouse and nearby businesses. The Miller Creek dam, pump house and pipeline to the Mt. Vernon reservoir were completed in 1884. Hydrants were installed on the Plaza at this time. Most downtown residents used private wells but city water was available. From this information one can assume that from 1881 water was available for irrigating trees and other plantings on the Plaza.

Prescott folklore often credits Buckey O'Neill with the planting of the current trees on the Plaza.¹ He was elected Probate Judge in 1886 and served for 2 years. During this time he was also ex officio Superintendent of Schools. He was Sheriff from 1888-1890. He became Prescott's mayor in 1897 until he left in May of 1898 to fight in the Spanish-American War.

A Days Past article in the Prescott Courier of November 30, 1992 also states the above and goes on to say that these trees "keeled over" and were replaced by the civic minded ladies group, the Monday Club, established in 1895.²

Pictures in the archives of Sharlot Hall Museum show the Courthouse Plaza after the fire of 1900 having only a few scattered scrubby trees present. Tents, shacks, and other temporary buildings housing various stores, bars and other business are evident.

A citation in the Arizona Journal Miner in 1903 states that “the Plaza gardener quit.” His work was assailed as being “nothing more than a conglomerate of rock piles, a monument of useless, wasted money that disfigured the plaza.”

The Rough Rider monument was dedicated in 1907 and photos indicate numerous trees along the walkways surrounding the 1878 Courthouse. Obviously, numerous trees were planted on the Plaza between 1901 and 1907.

City Council minutes from March 1, 1909, and Journal Miner newspaper coverage the next day state “the Council closed the meeting with a debate as to the most desirable and or-

namental trees to be planted around the plaza inside the sidewalk curb.” Council members Belcher and Hughes were authorized to work with the County Board of Supervisors on the placing of trees around the plaza.

References in the Arizona Journal Miner in April 1909 state that “the gardener was planting trees, grass plots and flowers: installing sod around the jail and making changes in the walks.”

On July 4, 1910 Governor Sloan planted a Deodar cedar (*Cedrus deodara*) on the plaza. This was in celebration of the fact that the US Congress, through a vote in the House of Representatives, had finally come to agreement that New Mexico and Arizona territories should each be recommended for statehood on their own merits. Even with the 1910 vote, it took another year and a half to pass the bills admitting New Mexico and Arizona to the Union.



Prescott's Courthouse Plaza, circa 1930

Pictures of the Courthouse Plaza taken from 1900 to 1914 indicate that a variety of trees were planted in rows along the streets adjacent to the Plaza and in the "islands" around the walkways. The trees are a variety of sizes and species. Willow trees are evident in photos from this time. The largest trees look to be 15-20 feet tall. Most have a rounded crown rather than the vase shape of an elm tree.

On February 14, 1912, Arizona Admissions Day, "a hardy white oak tree, brought from the Stewart Ranch in Williamson Valley, was planted in front of the courthouse, on the north side, almost in the center where the wide cement walk is now and between the building and the Buckey O' Neill statue." (Arizona Journal Miner, February 15, 1912). A quote from an article in the Courier dated February 14, 1929 states "the oak tree, it is sad to relate, lived only one or two seasons and was eventually taken out."

Officials agreed that the deodar cedar planted in 1910 would be a good substitute and therefore it became the "statehood tree." Deodar cedar is native to the Himalaya Mountains. This species was brought to the US in the 1830s. The sign on the rock in front of the statehood tree identifies it as a White Mountain cedar. There is no tree species named White Mountain cedar but it may have been brought here from Arizona's White Mountains area. The sign also indicates it was planted on statehood day which is also incorrect as the above paragraphs indicate the correct story.

Population growth, governmental needs and outdated facilities were the factors for the effort to replace the 1878 Courthouse. It was razed in 1915-16 and in October 1916 the cornerstone for the new courthouse was laid. Construction was completed in 1918 and the existing Courthouse was dedicated in late

1918. Although records are nonexistent for substantiation, one can conjecture that a new plan was developed and trees sought to highlight the Courthouse and Plaza.

This author has heard an urban myth that the current trees on the plaza were the result of efforts by Pauline O'Neill, Buckey O'Neill's.³

Another folktale exists that these are Chinese elm trees either brought to Prescott by Chinese residents or that the trees are descendants of trees brought to Prescott by the Chinese people.⁴

The most popular urban tree in America at the time was the American elm. Its vase-shaped growth pattern and tall stature made this a good choice. Mature trees would often grow higher than the structures adjacent to them. This was a desirable attribute as they do not interfere with the view of the structure but softened and highlighted the buildings. The architect for the Courthouse was William Bowden, a firm from Denver where elm trees were popular along streets and in public places. The popularity of the species, similar weather, elevation and attributes of the tree were probably contributing factors in recommending the selection of American elm.

There are about 170 trees on the Plaza. They consist of several species. Some 75 percent of the trees are American elm, *Ulmus americana*. About one percent of the trees are Siberian elm (*Ulmus pumila*) and look nearly the same as the American elm. The age of the trees is generally in the range of 85-90 years as of 2009. American elm trees are known to live to be 175-300 years old in their native habitat. Trees in urban environs outside of their natural range usually do not live to this age, but can with proper care.

American elm is susceptible to numerous insect and disease agents that have various ef-

fects on the health of the tree: the most notable being the Dutch elm disease. This fungus reached the USA in a shipment of elm logs from Europe in 1930. The fungus is carried by the elm bark beetle which introduces it into the sap stream of twigs and small branches when feeding. It blocks nutrient flow with gradual wilting and yellowing of foliage. Eventually the branches and entire tree will die. There is no known cure other than developing trees with a resistance to this pathogen.

The reason that our Plaza trees have not succumbed to the Dutch elm disease is that these trees are outside of their natural range. Our small urban forest of American elm is west of their natural range and the disease has not traveled to our area. The range of American elm is generally east of a line from western North Dakota southerly to the eastern edge of the Texas panhandle. However, Dutch elm disease has migrated to California, Colorado, Montana and Washington states. The threat to our Plaza trees still exists, and thus a replacement plan is being implemented by Yavapai County.

The Liberty elm, *Ulmus americana libertas*, which is a disease resistant species, is being planted as a replacement tree. Ash trees are being planted as well.

The south side of the Courthouse has an Atlas cedar (*Cedrus atlantica*) near the steps. This tree is native to northern Africa and brought to the US in the 1840s. A taller conifer, the giant sequoia is also on the south side of the Courthouse behind the "Cowboy at Rest" statue. The reason and date of their planting are not known due to the lack of records of these actions.

Yavapai County, in concert with the City of Prescott and assistance of arborists and landscape architects, is committed to a plan to

monitor, trim, replace and otherwise maintain the trees of the Plaza. The objective is to maintain the setting, ambiance and character of this nationally renowned plaza.



NOTES

¹ An Article in the Daily Courier of 1889 states that shade trees were planted at the Courthouse "at the suggestion" of Sheriff O'Neill.

² The Monday Club may have helped with a project to plant trees on the plaza. However, the Monday Club meeting minutes from 1898-1918 make no mention of a project of this nature. They were known to do civic projects related to literacy, schools and childcare.

³ After Buckey's death, Pauline O'Neill married Buckey's brother, Eugene, in 1901 and moved to Phoenix. She was a state legislator representing the Maricopa County area for the years 1917-18. Although this is the time when the courthouse was built and follow up landscaping undertaken, her legislative authorities were limited. There is nothing to indicate any state funds were used to landscape the Plaza grounds of Prescott or that Pauline O'Neill played a role in these activities.

⁴ Although there was a Chinese presence in the Prescott area, there is no evidence to link them to the elm trees on the Plaza. The trees are Siberian elm and not Chinese elm. They are 2 different species with different growth patterns characteristics. The Siberian elm, also an ornamental tree like the American elm, were planted long after the Chinese population had essentially left the area and the trees are aged as being planted in the 1918 period. One cannot assert that these trees were planted by the Chinese or are they descendents of trees that may have brought by the Chinese.

ADDITIONAL SOURCES

Arbor Day Foundation, *Tree Guide* 2009.

Otwell Associates, Architects *Building Condition Assessment Report* October 2002

Wilson, Marjorie H. *National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination* July 1976

Yavapai County Facilities/Parks Department *Courthouse Plaza Tree Replacement Plan* January 8, 1996

Poor Food, Poor Equipment, Poor Housing, Impossible Task: The Arizona Volunteers in the Verde Valley, 1866

By Stan Brown

The first military presence in the Verde River Valley was sent there to support a small group of civilian settlers who in February of 1865 used material from an ancient Indian pueblo to build a 40 by 60 foot fort for common protection against Apache attack. The settlers also dug an irrigation ditch that brought water from West Clear Creek. It emptied into the Verde River and the ditch became so prominent it also came to be called "Clear Creek."

In that first settlement there were seventeen men, two women, and three children. From the beginning they were harassed by Indian raiders, although the Yavapai and Tonto Apache warriors were not so much interested in killing the settlers as they were in stealing livestock and seasonal crops. Out of fear the little community soon demanded military protection.

They were not alone in their concerns. Nearly all the army units in Arizona had gone to fight in the Civil War and settlers all across the Territory were left vulnerable to Indian raids. Soon after President Lincoln declared Arizona a Territory in February 1864, Governor John N. Goodwin appealed to the War Department for authority to raise companies of volunteer infantry to combat the Indians. That permission was granted in April, but because money was lacking no action was taken until June of 1865. A surveyor and mercantile businessman, Hiram Storrs Washburn, was given the rank of 2nd Lieutenant of Arizona Volunteers and assigned to recruit several units of volunteer infantry. Two months later he was commissioned a Captain.¹

Five Volunteer Companies Formed

Washburn attacked his assignment with enthusiasm, spending his own funds to recruit and maintain the newly forming companies of volunteers. Recruiting continued through the summer of 1865, resulting in formation of

Company A, stationed at Fort Whipple, and two companies stationed at Fort McDowell: Company B, made up of Maricopa Indians, and Company C, made up of Pima Indians. Companies E and F were all Mexican units, some recruited from the mines in Southern Arizona and most recruited from villages in Sonora, Mexico, where the Apaches had staged such devastating raids that the men were eager to fight them on the United States side of the border. Furthermore, a civil war raged in Mexico and many recruits were ready to escape from it.²

In November, after months of waiting, Companies E & F were mustered into Federal service at Ft. Mason, Calabasas, Arizona Territory, along with their leader Captain Hiram Washburn. The French had invaded Mexico, taking advantage of the civil war in Sonora, and were marching north toward the United States. Many in the U.S. feared that the French might try to invade, and Washburn wondered if the delay in ordering his volunteers to fight the Apaches might be to keep them on the Mexican border. In a letter to the governor in August Washburn stated that his Mexican recruits "are in my judgment equal if not superior to any others for Apache campaigning, and next they would be most desirable auxiliaries in checking French aspirations and intentions which have progressed as far as Hermosillo with nothing to obstruct their progress... It has long been

openly asserted among the Mexicans that the French intend as soon as they have put down all opposition in Sonora to cross the line and capture all the country ceded to the U.S. by Santa Ana... I do not think there are any enlisting with me who would refuse or be opposed to crossing the line and help restore Sonora to the Republic, but what we want first is to whip the Apaches and restore our own Arizona to that condition wherein emigrants and capitalists of all professions can come here and mine, manufacture, and cultivate the soil in security."³

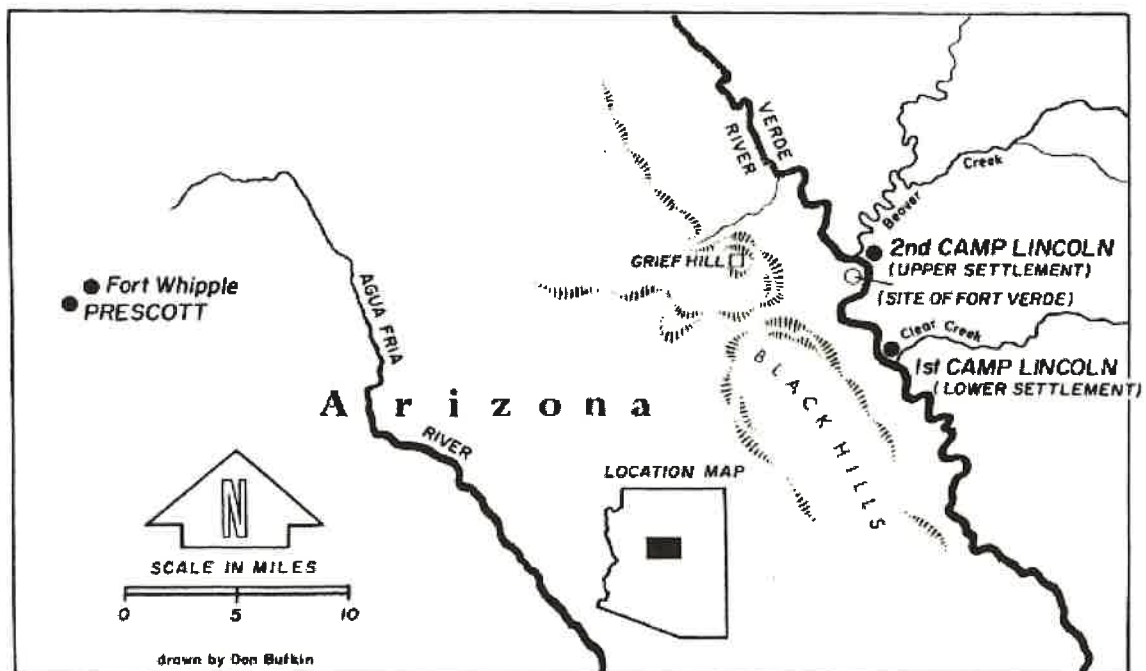
Companies E and F Move to Ft. Whipple

Throughout the fall of 1865 Captain Washburn wrote letter after letter to the governor pleading for shoes, clothing, blankets and guns for his units, and orders to put them into action against the Apaches. For the one hundred men he had only four axes, two spades, and six mess pans as the only cooking utensils. From the Territorial Capital in Prescott the governor seemed unable to do anything. At last, on December 4th they received orders to march north to Fort Whipple. It was a gruesome march in winter

weather, during which two men died and the rest suffered greatly. It took them the entire month to reach Fort Whipple, where they did not find much to comfort them. Washburn wrote in his report "the cold was extreme, no quarters for the men, whose condition was truly pitiable. They bore all patiently and manfully..."⁴

First Soldiers Reach the Verde Valley

Meanwhile, in August 1865, the Verde Valley settlers received the only military unit available, a detachment from Company K of the 1st New Mexico Cavalry, under the command of Antonio Abeytia. They were dispatched from Fort Whipple, and "upon reaching the mountain top overlooking the valley," Abeytia wrote in his report, "(we) had not descended it one hundred yards when the transportation wagon broke down scattering contents some 600 yards down into a canyon... Suddenly the Indians, about 300 warriors armed with rifles, bow and arrows, made their appearance immediately above where the wagon broke down... There were only three men near the wagon... Before the others could reach them the Indians had burnt



up everything except some muster rolls..."⁵

Grief Hill Earns its Name

After that this primitive descent into the Verde Valley came to be called "Grief Hill. The "grief" came not only from Indian attacks, but from the fact that wagons had to be unloaded and lowered by block and tackle, while the contents were packed by men and mule to the bottom.

The detachment set up a tent camp in the flat area near the stone "fort" the farmers had built for protection. No buildings were constructed by the army at this location, and references to the site would be simply "Rio Verde," or "the lower camp on the Clear Creek of the Rio Verde." By September the settler's corn crop was drawing Indian raids on the fields. In one report of the commanding officer Abeytia, he wrote that on September 11th "the Indians made another raid, taking some sixty bushels of corn and destroying a large quantity of it. There was [sic] at least 150 to 200 Indians in the cornfields that night. I most respectfully state that the Indians are quite numerous here and I look for them at any moment to get the herd and probably attack the camp..."⁶

The small unit of cavalry felt totally inadequate to protect the farmers. Abeytia reported in October, "Engaged the hostile Tonto Apaches in the valley of the Rio Verde. Five Indians were killed and the balance routed. We lost two company horses, killed, and two more wounded."⁷

In October the Rio Verde camp was bolstered by the arrival from Ft. Whipple of Company A, 1st Infantry Arizona Volunteers, under the command of Lt. Primitivo Cervantes. With them was Dr. Edward Palmer, the medical officer assigned to the post, and whose notes would become one of the most valuable records of life there.⁸ He described the

harrowing descent over Grief Hill, some one and a half miles. It was night and so some of his personal articles had to be left at the top until morning. "The Apaches had watched our movements... At an early hour a detachment was sent but found only ashes. My keg of whiskey and alcohol was one of my greatest anxieties... I had a five gallon keg of whiskey with two quarts of alcohol added for the preservation of specimens." Palmer would gather many specimens of flora and fauna during his time at Camp Lincoln, and send them back to Washington with his notes from this strange new land. "On moving (the whiskey and alcohol) into camp, I took two pounds of arsenic, and taking a position so that all could see, put it in the keg of whiskey. One anxious voice called out, 'Doctor, what's that you put in?' Arsenic, I replied. Then said he, 'My free drinks are ended; I had three yesterday.'" Then Palmer added, "The keg could now be left; science and specimens made (the whiskey) safe."

Camp Lincoln Gets its Name

In December a company of the 4th California Volunteer Infantry, commanded by Major Henry M. Benson, was temporarily in the field at Rio Verde, and their officers began calling the post Camp Lincoln. At their request General John Mason issued General Order #16 that "the camp on the Rio Verde, in honor of our late lamented Chief Magistrate, will hereafter be known as Camp Lincoln." In an aside to his officers General Mason said he wanted "the Copperheads among the local settlers to owe their protection to a post bearing a name they abused."⁹

In January 1866, Company E received good news. Their company muster rolls reads, "Received orders ... to move Company to Camp Lincoln, which was effected through much snow and rain ... distance 60 miles."¹⁰ It took them two weeks to complete the march from Fort Whipple because of the weather.

As reported in Dr. Palmer's notes, the entire first week of January was very wet, the nights filled with wind and heavy thunder storms. On the 10th of January it rained all day, and on the 15th there was a frost. When Company E did arrive at the camp on the 16th, "some had their feet tied up in rags... The condition of these men was wretched beyond description."

While Company E was on the way, the command at Camp Lincoln had moved the post six miles up the Verde River to the confluence of Beaver Creek. As I walked this site with Camp Verde Park Ranger Bob Munson, I asked why they had moved the camp. He responded, "My supposition is there were two civilian settlements in the valley, but that all records of one have been lost. They put this site where it is to be between the two settlements."¹¹ However, another reason also emerged while we walked the original site of the Rio Verde Camp at West Clear Creek; we encountered a government employee trapping mosquitoes. He said there was much malaria on the military posts of Arizona because they were usually established at the confluence of streams to assure adequate water. This also assured more mosquitoes. In the four months the detachments were camped at Clear Creek this menace became evident. The new location above Beaver Creek was high on a bluff overlooking the river.

During their early weeks in the camp Company E was busy "doing Garrison duty and building quarters for themselves."¹² Company E was not permitted to build permanent housing because Captain Washburn was eager for his men to get into the field and hunt Apaches. His plan was that they should never become comfortable in permanent buildings. He would keep them constantly on the move after the enemy, returning to the post only to refit their unit. The troops lived in brush shelters, or in

handmade caves dug out of the side of the steep bluff overlooking the river. Also living in these dugouts were the laundresses, who provided other services for the troops as well.

On January 31st the California Volunteers left, and Captain Washburn took command of Camp Lincoln with his two Companies of Arizona Volunteers. The two companies were mostly Mexicans, with a few whites and Indians. Dr. Palmer said that the Indians in Company A belonged "to tribes in Arizona and Mexico ... three Apaches among them. They had been taken prisoners by Mexicans when children and brought up away from their tribe, and were as fierce to hunt Apaches as any."¹³ These two companies of Arizona Volunteers engaged in electrifying encounters from January to August 1866. Their intense action against the Indians was directed primarily at the Tonto Apaches whose home territory lay just over the Mogollon Rim to the east. Several years earlier Territorial Judge Joseph Pratt Allyn had observed the effectiveness of Mexican soldiers and wrote "One of them is worth two American soldiers."¹⁴

Mexican Volunteers Earn Plaudits

The press, the Territorial Legislature, and the governor echoed this assessment of the Mexican volunteers when Company E reported victories against the Apaches. Journalists were quick to say they had earned a proud name, and that these Mexican volunteers did more to clear the way for settlement than all the regular army troops in the Territory.

After several fruitless scouting expeditions, the most famous victory for Company E came about the middle of February 1866. Beaver Creek is one of several major streams flowing west from the Black Mesa (as the Indians dubbed the Mogollon Rim), and each of these streams formed a canyon that became a

ladder-way between the Verde Valley and the rugged mountain hideouts of the Apaches. On February 11, second in command Lt. Manuel Gallegos led a party of 45 men, including the post surgeon Dr. Palmer, along Beaver Creek. They had rations for five days; each man carried a canteen of water and one blanket, which was his bed at night and knapsack by day. They followed the canyon into the mountains, exploring its side canyons for Apache camps and its divides for signal fires. During the day they hid in the ravines, and marched at night. On the evening of February 13, advance scouts returned with exciting news. They had found an Indian camp, and had gone close enough to see fires and plan for an attack. They rested throughout the next day, and the next night marched over the maze of canyons and rough volcanic rock, the Company's hand-made moccasins enabling them to move quietly.¹⁵ Palmer wrote, "Just before day dawned we arrived at the edge of what the moonlight showed to be a very steep and rough descent to a stream of water, and there were fires distinctly seen."

A Dawn Attack

The Tonto Apache families were living in five natural caves in the canyon walls. Lt. Gallegos divided the command to attack at dawn from different directions. At his command the air was filled with gunfire and arrows and shouting. The soldiers aimed their rifles into the caves so that the bullets would ricochet off ceilings and walls to strike the Indian families behind their fortifications. The soldiers could hear screams, yells and moaning coming from the caves as they continued their volleys. At one point Gallegos called out in Apache for them to surrender, but the Tontos yelled back that they would rather die, which they did.

The muster rolls of Company E reported the action simply, "At 6 o'clock in the morning of

the 13th, attacked an Apache Rancheria inhabiting five caves, hence called the battle of 'Cinco Cuevos.' Battle lasted three hours, result thirty Indians killed and twelve prisoners; wounded unknown. Loss sustained, none killed, six wounded and one badly bruised by stones from the enemy."

Dr. Palmer wrote that "the caves presented a horrible sight, as dead of all ages and sexes, with household goods and provisions, lay mixed with the dirt from the caves brought down by firing of the guns, while the blood of the dead freely mixed with all."

The soldiers, apparently not overwhelmed by the sight, plundered goods and buckskins. They marched back to Camp Lincoln with their prisoners, arriving on February 15. It was a gala moment for those who waited, and their monotony was broken by singing and joyful shouts. A procession of women went out to meet the returning heroes, carrying a picture of Mexico's patron saint, Our Lady of Guadalupe. Dr. Palmer relates that the women were "the soldier's mistresses and wives, mostly prostitutes living promiscuously among the soldiers." There were sixteen women among the one hundred twenty or more soldiers. That this ratio did not create conflict in the camp is probably attributable to the fact the men were seldom there.

The twelve Apache prisoners from the Battle of the Caves included two grown women and ten children. That afternoon one of the children died from a wound he had sustained and the rigors of the march. These Catholic women baptized the dead child along with the other captured children, and then held a funeral service as best they could remember their prayers. They covered the child's body with wildflowers, which were flourishing in the Verde Valley's early spring weather, and carried the body to a secret place, chanting

hymns of faith. The location had to be secret because the women learned that Dr. Palmer wanted the child's body for "a specimen." He was infuriated that they prevented him from taking the body, and he vented his frustration by writing sarcastically about the Catholic faith. Palmer exclaimed, "What a farce! If they understood the meaning it would be different, and those who prayed in habits were but little better than the Indians. They were mostly prostitutes living promiscuously among the soldiers." Somehow the attributes of faith and compassion escaped him.

The Battle of the Five Caves was heralded as a great victory for the settlers in Arizona's Indian war. Lt. Gallegos and his company were praised in the newspapers, by the governor, and by the Territorial Legislature. A letter in the *San Francisco Bulletin*, March 6, 1866, Gallegos and Company E drew plaudits, though the name of the lieutenant was apparently not known, "This truly meritorious officer, who in one scout, while his men were without shoes, and living on half rations, killed more Indians in three hours than all the other officers in the Territory have killed in the past year."

Sickness and Hunger at Camp Lincoln

The spring and summer of 1866 at Camp Lincoln found the rag-tag army of volunteers suffering from sickness, lack of decent food, a riot over inadequate rations, and the deaths of several men during Apache encroachments on the camp. Their spirits were lifted by a hilarious wedding between the widow of one of the soldiers killed and the highest bidder chosen from the suitors by Captain Washburn. However, the month of March was hand-to-mouth with small contingents of thirty men plying the trail to Ft. Whipple for provisions, as they were available.¹⁶ During this time Washburn and his troops punched a new road out of the Verde Valley up Copper Canyon, avoiding the incredibly difficult Grief Hill.

This helped speed the delivery of supplies.

More Raids into Apacheria

Of the many forays taken by the soldiers from Camp Lincoln, few yielded decisive results. However, in March, Cervantes and his Company A located a Rancheria somewhere on upper Tonto Creek. The battle lasted thirty minutes; 22 Apaches were killed, eight escaped, two children were taken prisoner, and the village was destroyed. Two soldiers received arrow wounds.¹⁷ Prescott's *Arizona Miner* couldn't say enough good things about this "glorious victory." The newspaper outlined the noble marches in search of Apache camps, praised the volunteer's humility for doing it with so little fanfare, and boldly suggested that the regular troops should take notice.

Lack of supplies and inclement weather kept the infantry out of action much of the spring. The March-April Muster Roll for Company E read, "Very little has been attempted these two months for want of provisions. No flour since the 20th of April. No coffee, sugar nor salt except brine salt for over a month."

Supply trains from Whipple were attacked by the Indians, and sometimes the wagons were burned and cattle were driven off. Day after day the company detachments went out hunting for Indians with only occasional success. The famous civilian scout Paulino Weaver was enlisted to lead on one occasion, and going up the Verde River they came upon "a rancheria of twenty six lodges, the occupants all fleeing into the mountain at the approach of my small party..."¹⁸

Discovery of Tonto Natural Bridge

On one scouting expedition in July, Gallegos and his company discovered a small family settlement of Tonto Apaches at the natural wonder known today as Tonto Natural Bridge.¹⁹ The Indians fled, but one old man

was taken prisoner and brought back to Camp Lincoln. Dr. Palmer recounts the fate of the old fellow. "For a long time the paymaster had been expected at Camp Lincoln, so as the scout returned they palmed off the prisoner as the paymaster that had been looked for, for so long a time. These troops had not been paid since they entered the army. Many had come to the conclusion they would get nothing for their service... As no paymaster came through, in spite of plenty of promises, the soldiers concluded that this poor dried up old Indian, without a tooth and almost naked, was as good a paymaster as they would see. By that name he was called as long as he was in Camp. He was allowed his freedom about the Camp by day, as he was quite lame, but at night he had to sleep in the guardhouse.

"One morning he was missing. Search was made. He was said to be found in a ravine. As he was nearly blind, as well as lame, he missed the footpath and as he reached the ravine fell in and so injured himself that he must soon die. They having no means to remove him to Camp... the discharge from a rifle was thought to be the best and most charitable way of ending his extreme sufferings."²⁰

As the summer monsoon pelted Camp Lincoln, Gallegos became sick and bedfast. The Indians were stealing grain from the Clear Creek settlement, and attempts to track down the raiders were without success. Morale was disintegrating daily, and the expiration of the volunteer's one-year enlistment was rapidly approaching. On August 1 Governor McCormick visited Camp Lincoln to express to the volunteers the appreciation of the Territory. His presence only underlined the empty promises of the government. On August 3 the term of service expired for 55 men in Company E, and they refused to continue their duty. The Company's Muster Roll reads, "There being

no force to compel further service, they and all the others as fast as their terms of service expired, were ordered into Ft. Whipple to be discharged and paid off." Actually this took some time.

Volunteer Enlistments End

Washburn went to Ft. Whipple to single-handedly fill out the necessary discharge papers, which he had printed at his own expense. Back at Camp Lincoln, Dr. Palmer had his hands full with soldiers claiming to be sick. Sixty men at a time were lined up outside his dispensary, reporting several types of fever that plagued the Camp from the beginning. The captain returned to Camp Lincoln on August 7, and ordered all enlisted men whose term of service had expired, or would before August 11, to report to Ft. Whipple. He then went ahead of his men and for two weeks worked to cut red tape, getting his men paid and on their way. By August 24 Washburn had seen to it that 84 men of Company E and 29 men of Company A were "mustered out of the service and paid off."²¹

The next day Washburn returned to an empty and bedraggled Camp Lincoln. Lt. Gallegos had gone to Ft. Whipple "for medical relief." Dr. Palmer was still on duty, along with guide Paulino Weaver. Four privates and a sergeant in Company A as well as three privates and one corporal of Company E were left because they had enlisted later than the others.

Indians Harvest Settlers' Corn

Washburn's warning to headquarters over the previous months had become reality. He wrote Col. W. H. Garvin on September 12, "The Indians are now harvesting the corn at this settlement at the rate of about 30 to 40 bushels nightly. There is but one soldier left who is able to shoulder a musket, and he has charge of the Commissary stores at this camp, what there are; no meat left. When the bearer of this leaves, there will be two citizens left

who call themselves well. I am hourly expecting an attempt to take the stock. I have to do guard duty day and night. If assistance does not come very soon, I shall have to abandon what government property I am trying to protect, and shall seek security for myself and animals.”²²

This plain talk seemed to work, and on September 23rd, Company C, 1st Battalion, 14th Infantry was ordered to Camp Lincoln. Washburn and Manuel Gallegos and the few enlisted men remaining were there to help orient the new company, and at the end of October were ordered to Ft. Whipple to be mustered out.

On November 23rd, 1866, an official order changed the post’s name from Camp Lincoln to Camp Verde. Action by the regular army against the elusive Apaches continued, but the saga of the Arizona Volunteers in the Verde Valley was over.



NOTES

¹ Washburn was a native of Virginia and had come to Arizona to become a partner in a Tucson business. Until this position was given him, he surveyed mine properties for developers such as the Poston brother, Rafael Pumpelly, Samuel Heintzelman, and Sylvester Mowry. See Washburn biographical file in Arizona Historical Society library, Tucson, and *Pumpelly’s Arizona* edited by Andrew Wallace (Palo Verde Press, Tucson, 1965), those chapters concerning America’s Southwest, taken from Pumpelly’s *Across America and Asia*.

² After the hue and cry from white settlers about the Indian menace, very few European-Americans were willing to sign up for the volunteer regiments. It was easier to use the natural enemies of the Apaches, who were Mexicans and the so-called “friendly Indians” of the Pima and Maricopa tribes.

³ Hayden Files, Arizona Historical Society Library, Tucson, “Hirum Washburn” collection.

⁴ Ibid

⁵ From the special collection of documents by Dr. B. Sacks, to be found in the Fort Verde Museum, Camp Verde Arizona. Hereafter called “Sacks Collection.”

⁶ Reports by Abeytia from the Sacks Collection. Muster Rolls came from the National Archives and Records Administration, General Reference Branch, Washington, D.C., and are in the author’s possession.

⁷ Ibid

⁸ Palmer’s handwritten notes at the University of Arizona, Tucson, main library, Special collections. Also *Dr. Palmer’s Experiences With the Arizona Volunteers*,” edited by Lonnie E. Underhill in “Arizona and the West,” Vol. 26, #1, Spring 1984.

⁹ Division of Library, Archives and Public Records, Arizona State Capital, Secretary of the Territory, Box 6.

¹⁰ By today’s roads the distance is ten or more miles shorter.

¹¹ Oral history recorded by Stan Brown, June 16, 1994.

¹² Box 6, letter dated January 25, 1866 from Washburn to acting Governor McCormick. Governor Goodwin had been elected delegate to the U.S. Congress from the Territory in March 1865. At the end of Goodwin’s term, McCormick was appointed governor in his own right.

¹³ *Palmer’s Experiences*, page 51

¹⁴ *The Arizona of Joseph Pratt Allyn: Letters From A Pioneer Judge*, edited by John Nicolson, University of Arizona Press, Tucson, 1974, page 53

¹⁵ The Volunteers had not been furnished shoes by the government and so they developed their own footwear, modeled after Apache moccasins.

¹⁶ The Colorado River water was unusually low, so the ships that delivered supplies to Ft. Yuma and Ft. Mohave were delayed. From there supplies had to go overland to the outposts like Ft. Whipple, and then on to Camp Lincoln.

¹⁷ Report of Cervantes to Washburn, March 26. Quoted by Underhill in *A History of The First Arizona Volunteer Infantry*, 1979, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson.

¹⁸ *The Story of Pauline [sic] Weaver* by Jim Byrkit and Bruce Hooper, Sierra Azul Productions, 1993, page 55. Weaver died at Camp Lincoln on June 21st, 1867, the victim of malaria. When the military dead were later removed from Camp Verde to the National Cemetery in San Francisco, Weaver’s body went with them. In the fall of 1928, by popular demand, his remains were returned to Prescott and are interred on the grounds of the Sharlot Hall Museum.

¹⁹ As for any documented discoveries of Tonto Natural Bridge, this is the first time anyone other than Apaches had seen it.

²⁰ *Palmer’s Experiences*, pg 13

²¹ Sacks collection, page 30f

²² Sacks collection, page 32

ABOUT US

The award-winning 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. Most recently the Prescott Corral has been honored as the top Corral for WI for 2008, among corrals chartered prior to 1973. This is the seventh time the Prescott Corral has won this honor.

ABOUT OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Stan Brown followed 40 years as a United Methodist pastor by beginning a second career in research and writing of regional history. Stan is a frequent contributor to the *Journal of Arizona History*, has three issues of the Tucson Corral's *Smoke Signal* to his credit, has won awards for his papers from the Arizona History convention and WI, continues to write a regional history column for *The Payson Roundup*, and periodic articles for Sharlot Hall Museum's *Days Past*.

Nancy Burgess is a native Arizonan and has lived in Prescott since 1984. She is a graduate of Prescott College with a Bachelor of Fine Arts Degree in Photography. Nancy has been writing for publication or work since high school. In 2000, *Ranch Dog, A Tribute to the Working Dog in the American West* was published and in 2005 *A Photographic Tour of 1916 Prescott, Arizona* was published. Now retired from the City of Prescott as the Historic Preservation Specialist, Nancy has started on her third non-fiction book.

Michael King, retired Prescott National Forest Supervisor is a researcher of local and regional history. He is a volunteer and tour guide at the Sharlot Hall Museum and Prescott Chamber of Commerce. He also participates in numerous community service organizations such as the Yavapai Cemetery Association, Prescott Sunup Rotary, National Wild Turkey Federation and Sacred Heart parish. He serves on the City of Prescott's Parks and Recreation Advisory Board.

Artist **Gary Melvin** planned a career in art after graduation from the University of North Dakota, but was sidetracked by the Vietnam War. After US Navy service as a hospital corpsman he graduated from medical school and went on to a 35-year career as a physician. He now is a full-time and prolific artist working from his studio in Prescott. To see more examples of his work please go to his web page: garymelvinart.com.

Andrew Wallace, a former Sheriff of the Prescott Corral, taught American history for 29 years at Northern Arizona University in Flagstaff, AZ. In 1977 he started the Flagstaff Corral of Westerners and served twice as its sheriff. He is a charter member of the Western History Association and also is active in the annual Arizona Historical Convention. His most recent book is *From Texas to San Diego in 1851*.



Geo. Meade del.