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Sketch of the Military History of Arizona Since its Acquisition by the United States.

The treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo—which terminated the war between Mexico and the United States, by which California and New Mexico were acquired by the latter—contained a provision which bound the United States to protect the northern frontier of Mexico, Sonora and Chihuahua, from the incursion of hostile Indians. The mixed Spanish and Indian civilization, introduced and fostered by the Franciscan and Jesuit Fathers in these northern provinces of Mexico, had steadily receded before the unappeasable hostility of the Apache Indians, and the deserted missions, abandoned mines, once flourishing haciendas and ranchos, abounding in horses, cattle and sheep, marked the decadence of Mexican rule. Some expeditions in force were sent against the Apaches—one under Colonel Bonneville in person, with many efficient officers. The Apaches steadily retired before the invading troops, and without forcing the Indians from their haunts, the expedition was abandoned without result. On and near the Rio Grande and Miembres some effective scouting was done, and some gallant blows were struck by officers like Alfred Gibbs of the Rifles, and Hazen of the Infantry, who have since gained a wider fame.

The Apache country, north of the Gila, was scarcely penetrated, and the repeated scouts sent out of infantry and cavalry never found the Indians, either from bad management, lack of enterprise, or the skillful strategy of the wily foe. Both north and south of the boundary line Apache raids were generally successful. If they made peace with the Americans, they depredated in Mexico. When it became hot for them in Mexico, they made peace with the Mexicans, and began depredating on American soil. As the United States troops could not pursue them into Mexico, nor the Mexican troops into Arizona, for years the Apaches had it, alternately north and south of the line, almost their own way. In 1856 several companies of the First Dragoons made a march from the Rio Grande through Arizona to California, but beyond its success as a well conducted march, nothing was gained against the Indians. They kept clear of the route pursued by the column, and no encounter with them took place. During these early years of American occupation the Apache was far less dangerous and blood thirsty than he has since become. Never attacking, except in the hope of considerable gain, scarcely ever for the sake of massacre, he was generally content to secure his booty in safety, without seeming to care for the spilling of blood.

Trains were stopped and robbed—even the overland stages—but the travellers were permitted to go on their way without further molestation. All this has been changed, and a ruthless war to the knife, with all the savage arts of torture adding to its fury, is now relentlessly prosecuted.

By an Act of Congress, the "Gadsden Purchase," as Arizona was first called, was "attached to New Mexico for judicial purposes," and became part of the Military Department of New Mexico. The headquarters of the Department were at Santa Fe, separated by a long distance and the terrible "Jornada del Muerto," from the nearest portion of the Territory.

The judicial officers never came to any part of the Territory west of the Rio Grande, and hence there was not even the pretence of civil government or law.

The Commanding Generals of the Department were generally old and distinguished officers, who, from age and long service, should have been retired. In fact, many of the posts were commanded by officers whose day of usefulness had long passed. Thus Arizona was in its condition, but one remove better off than if it had continued under the Mexican rule (if they are indeed worthy of so distinguished an appellation), and for the first time in the history of North America appeared the renewed progress of barbarism, and the retrogression of what at least represented, even if in an incomplete manner, modern civilization, in its essentials of industry, thrift, and the outward forms of religion.

The "Gadsden Treaty," by which Arizona became a portion of the domain of the United States, released in consideration of a large sum, the latter from the onerous obligation of protecting the Mexican frontier, imposed by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. In fact, no effort had been made to carry out in either good or bad faith, that unfortunate stipulation, if we except the establishment of posts on the Rio Grande, and in the newly acquired Territory of New Mexico. Even here, the handful of soldiers spared from the small regular army had sufficient work to make a faint showing of protecting our own soil. The post of Fort Yuma, on the Colorado, was also established, first as a camp, to protect the emigrants who came by thousands across the Southern route, in crossing the river, against the powerful and hostile tribe of the Yumas. The destruction of the ferry by these Indians, and the forced abandonment of the camp, caused an effective detachment of Infantry, with bowitzers and dragoons, to be sent against them, under Major (now General) Heintzelman, who soon conquered a peace, which has never been disturbed, notwithstanding the powerful machinations of the other river tribes.

A large post has been built at Fort Yuma, which has served as a point d'appui, and depot of supplies for various expeditions, temporary and permanent, against the Indians on the Colorado and Gila rivers, and for all Arizona nearer the Colorado River than the Rio Grande.

After the ratification of the Gadsden treaty, military posts were established on the Rio Grande to protect the growing settlement in the Mesilla Valley, and at the copper mines near the Rio Miembres. A detachment of

dragoons, under Major E. Steen, took post at Calabazas, near the Sonora line, in Southern Arizona, which was soon afterward removed to the head of the Sonoita Valley, some miles north, where Fort Buchanan was built and garrisoned.

For some time the Apaches, either appalled by their new neighbors, or finding their depredations in Sonora and Chihuahua unmolested by United States troops, gave little sign of hostility. Farms were laid out, crops gathered, mines were opened, and travel in small parties was quite secure.

The overland mail from San Antonio to San Diego was put in successful operation, stations built at convenient distances, and the new Territory seemed to be entering on a path of progress and development more secure and encouraging than had heretofore been the fortune of frontier settlements. The daily overland mail from St. Louis to San Francisco succeeded the weekly from San Antonio to San Diego. Capital from the East was attracted by the report of the vast mineral wealth of Arizona in gold, silver and copper. An enterprising publisher and editor brought the first printing press to the Territory, and the *Arizonian*, published at Tucson, soon told to the outside world the grotesque and tragic story of border life. The military post of Fort Breckenridge, near the junction of the Arivipa and San Pedro, was established, and a mixed command of Infantry and Dragoons garrisoned the post. Captain Ewell, (late General C. S. A.) the most efficient and popular subordinate commander ever stationed in Arizona, by his tact, energy and skill, obtained the respect and fear of the Apaches, and with an active force, never exceeding sixty men, succeeded in keeping them in tolerable subjugation, generally recovering stolen stock, and extorting a promise of good behavior, kept much longer than usual with Indian faith.

The Indian agent for the Apaches, a clever and well meaning man—who had sufficient sense to understand that peace with his Indians was money in his pocket—made an annual pilgrimage to some convenient point, where the different bands of the Apaches, or their representatives, could gather, and there distributed to them such a portion of the Indian Fund placed at his disposal as met the exigency of the case. With his corn to make "terzo," (Indian whiskey), his blankets, his calico and manta (cotton cloth) for his squaw, a few fire arms, with powder and shot, given at stated periods, the Apache began to discover that he was a man,—and more than that,—a man of whom the white man was afraid. With no evidence of the power of the white race, evidently to his plain counting outnumbering them vastly, secure in the logic of all Indian tribes—that he who gives gives only through fear, the Apache began robbing on a more extensive scale, and treating the American as he had for generations treated the Mexican, inaugurated the same system of rapine and murder upon the former that he had so successfully waged upon the latter. The roads became unsafe for small parties. The immediate neighborhood of small and large settlements were the scene of nightly robbery and murder. Ranches were stripped of their stock in a single night, the overland stages were stopped, stations attacked, and the whole Territory, from the Rio Grande to the Colorado, became almost in a day "the dark and bloody ground."

Most unfortunately, at the very crisis of this outbreak, the overland mail was transferred from the southern to the northern route. The stages were withdrawn, stations abandoned, and the Indians, sure that this was due to their unaided prowess, attacked successfully the last of the employees of the mail company, killing them almost to the last man. In these continued raids upon stations, stages and traveling parties, they became possessed of arms and ammunition, and in some instances large amounts of specie; for the cattle and for the horses and mules they did not keep or eat, they obtained, principally at Frontiers, in Sonora, and from traders (too often degraded whites), in Arizona, further supplies of deadly weapons, to which their most skillful warriors soon became accustomed. The only allies the United States troops had against the Apaches were the friendly tribes of the Pimas and the Papagos. Through the exertions of Sylvester Mowry, delegate to Congress from Arizona, an appropriation of \$10,000 was obtained from Congress in 1858 for the Pimas. Their villages and fields were enclosed in a reservation surveyed and bounded by Colonel A. B. Gray, under Mr. Mowry's direction, and a large quantity of implements and presents distributed among them. This slight recognition of their peaceful character and their protecting care of the emigrants, who had in great numbers passed through their lands, has borne good fruit, and they have been not only the staunch friends of the whites ever since, but the hereditary and unrelenting foe of the Apache, the Ishmael of profane history.

Following closely upon the withdrawal of the overland mail, and before any effective blow had been struck against the Apaches, or any punishment for their infraction of treaties—made over and over again, to be broken as soon as opportunity offered—came the rebellion. The invasion of New Mexico by the Confederate forces, and the defeat of Bull Run, gave Arizona a blow from which it would require years for her recovery. By an order from General Canby, then commanding in New Mexico—of whose command Arizona formed a part—the troops were withdrawn, leaving the country and its inhabitants to their fate. The command of Colonel Reeve surrendered to the Texas forces before reaching San Antonio, while that of Captain Moore (First Dragoons) by a disgraceful flight and retreat, abandoning his artillery wagons and stores, escaped to New Mexico, leaving to an inferior force of unorganized, half armed volunteers, the glory of having frightened away as compact and well

disciplined a force of infantry, cavalry and artillery, as an officer envious of fame or appreciative of duty, would desire to lead in any encounter or against any foe. The evacuation of the Territory was marked by the grossest disorder and wanton disregard of the fate of the people. Supplies were destroyed, which were needed by the inhabitants in danger of starvation, who offered large prices in gold for them, when there was not the least danger of their falling into the hands of the enemy; and the Apaches, following closely upon the track of the retreating soldiery, massacring, almost in sight of the commanding officer, the farmers and station keepers, who had no warning to remove, were left unchecked in their atrocities. It is said, on good authority, that arms and ammunition were given to the Indians, but we may hope that this is a fabrication.

The Apaches were now thoroughly exultant. As they had, in their own belief, driven away the Overland Mail, they now believed they had expelled the army. From the Rio Grande to the Colorado, except the town of Tucson and the Mowry Silver Mines, there was not a settlement nor a white man. Those of the settlers who were able to leave, relying upon the promised support of the withdrawing troops, collected their flocks and their herds, and, with their wives and children, followed closely in the protecting shadow of the representatives of their Government.

Basely deserted in the most dangerous part of their journey, the Indians fell upon them, and, although they made a sturdy defense, losing many of their bravest men, they reached the Rio Grande, stripped of the little wealth they had brought from their frontier homes.

The Confederates had already occupied the posts of Fort Bliss and Fillmore, on the Rio Grande, and were pushing up the river to invade New Mexico. Colonel Baylor (late General Baylor, C. S. A.) commanding the Texas troops, issued a proclamation declaring Arizona a Territory of the Confederate States, and announcing himself Military Governor. It is not, perhaps, generally known that this movement upon Arizona by Texas Volunteers did not emanate from Richmond. The shameful surrender of Major Lynde, commanding Fort Fillmore, and Baylor's success, together with his dispatches to the Confederate Government, induced one of those fatal military mistakes which materially crippled the Confederate army in men and means. An idea was hastily suggested and foolishly entertained that California could be conquered through Arizona, and the disaffected of the Southern population of the State, and a large force was sent forward to the Rio Grande, with the double object of conquering California and New Mexico. It is no part of our task to dilate upon this subject, but it must be plain to any military scholar that the blunder once committed of sending Confederate troops to the Rio Grande—the obvious plan to secure results corresponding to the enterprise—was to push, after the success of Val Verde, immediately on Fort Union, capture it—as might easily have been done, with its immense stores, and then, by a rapid march, unite the New Mexican column with Price and McCulloch's Army in Southwestern Missouri. Had this been done—a task for which General Sibley (Colonel C. S. A.) showed himself utterly incompetent to either plan or carry out—the face of the war in Missouri would have been changed, and St. Louis would have been occupied by the Confederate forces.

Arizona was declared a Confederate Territory by the Richmond Government, with a Governor, Judges, and full staff of officials. Small parties sent out towards Tucson from the Rio Grande, by the Confederates, were cut off by the Indians, in one instance, at least, after a splendid fight, seven men killing and wounding more than ten times their number of the Apaches. In 1862 a Confederate detachment, of about one hundred men, under a Captain, were ordered to garrison Tucson and scout towards Fort Yuma, to be followed by a force of fifteen hundred, to capture the latter post, and invade California.

The supporting column never came. The imbecility of General Sibley in New Mexico left the solitary Captain at his pleasant quarters at Tucson forgotten, and the California troops, under Colonel Carleton (now General Carleton, U. S. A.), striking the Confederate pickets thrown out in front of Tucson, admonished him it was time to retreat.

The first blood between the Confederates and United States forces, in which a picket of eight men sent two companies of United States Cavalry whirling back an hundred and forty miles, losing a Lieutenant, a Sergeant and one or more men, was a significant opening for the career of the California column under such a commander.

The march of General James H. Carleton through Arizona, with a large force of cavalry and infantry, (California Volunteers) and one battery of United States Artillery, was distinguished by nothing except gross mismanagement, causing great unnecessary suffering to the troops, a lack of all the evidences of the soldier or the General in the commanding officer, a brutal demeanor towards the defenceless inhabitants of the country, and a reckless seizure, appropriation and destruction of their property, worthy of any vulgar marauder of the middle ages.

If, instead of delaying week after week on the Lower Gila, Carleton had pushed rapidly forward and turned Tucson by the left, as he could have done without serious resistance, the whole advance of the Confederates would have been captured. A moderately rapid movement to the Rio Grande would have interposed his command between the retreating columns of the Confederates under Sibley, driven by Canby from New Mexico, and their retreat into Texas. Their inevitable surrender would have been the result. From lack of ability or cowardice, or both, Carleton delayed his advance until he knew from reli-

able authority that no enemy was in his front, and then he crossed leisurely over the country, established his headquarters at Santa Fe, New Mexico, and in bombastic orders, which were most absurdly endorsed by General Halleck, claimed the credit of a great march, and, with a meanness worthy of his well known infamous reputation in the old army, endeavored to deprive General Canby, who had done all the fighting, and had driven the Confederates back into Eastern Texas, of his well earned laurels.

The orders issued by Carleton in reference to the Apaches, were like the rest of his conduct, injurious to the country and demoralizing to his troops. His express instructions not to fire upon the Apaches, his ridiculous attempts to "talk" with them, and his ill-timed presents when they were reeking with the blood of victims scarcely cold in death, excited the contempt of the Indians, and brought on a sharp conflict, in which a larger body of troops were attacked by them at Apache Pass than was ever before known in the history of these Indians, where the troops were repulsed and nearly sacrificed.

The officers, in disgust with such a commander, threw down their swords and cursed him for the blood of the brave men sacrificed to his cowardice or imbecility. Beyond the establishment of military posts at Tucson, Apache Pass, and one of two other points, there is nothing to note of good that Carleton did in Arizona. Some of the subordinate officers of the column of California did excellent service against the Apaches, not only as well managed and well followed up scouts, in which the Apaches were several times punished with severe loss, but they also explored a considerable portion of the country hitherto unknown, a service of value to their successors.

General Carleton's tyrannical conduct in the arrest and imprisonment of well known citizens of character and influence, through malice, or a puerile desire to show that he was "doing something," received the emphatic rebuke of the Legislature of the Territory. His prisoners were all released by direction of his superiors, and what remained of their property not stolen and divided between Carleton and his associates, was returned to the legitimate owners, with the statement from the Attorney-General and the Secretary of War that the "acts of General Carleton were *ab initio* a nullity, done in the name and without the authority of the United States."

In 1863 the Governor and other Territorial officers arrived in Arizona, escorted by a detachment of cavalry. The first military post north of the Gila was established—Fort Whipple—near the site of the point selected for the Capital, named Prescott. The Territory which had been under the command of that valiant soldier and true gentleman, General George Wright, in whose death the army lost one of those links to the past days so much regretted, had by an impudent assumption of authority, been claimed as belonging to the Department of New Mexico, by General Carleton. By direction of the Secretary of War, it was restored to the Department of California, and came under the military control of Major-General McDowell, who relieved General Wright in 1864.

It was not until after the surrender of Lee that attention or troops could be given to Arizona and the Apache War. Even then the administration of General McDowell and his District Commanders was not fortunate.

Various excuses have been urged—ravenousness of the troops, inexperience of regimental officers, lack of stores and transportation. We are not disposed to criticize too harshly. To McDowell it was a new field. However accomplished and meritorious a General may be in civilized warfare, Indian fighting is a science by itself, and requires not only a genius peculiar for the work, but also long and severe training in the field. The false sentiment for the Indian character which officers sometimes bring to the frontier, and of which too much has been seen in Arizona, bore its natural fruit. To-day the Apaches are better armed, more formidable, in every way than ever before.

It is gratifying to close this brief sketch, with the assurance that the days of a timid and mistaken policy in reference to the Apaches has passed.

The appointment of Major-General Ord to the command of the Department of California was a guarantee of efficiency, and already his firm hand has been laid on the Apaches, with, to them, an effect as startling as it is new.

Thirty-six companies of troops, one-half cavalry, are now in, or en route for the Territory. Officers are directed and expected, under penalty of disgrace, to find and punish the Indians when sent in pursuit. They are promised praise and promotion in proportion to their success.

The system of feeding these Indians who choose to live near a military post, only to get means to supply their war parties in the field, is at an end. The troops are directed to push their way into the fastnesses of the country north of the Gila, establish themselves, and exterminate this worst of all Indian tribes.

Already many new posts are established. The geography of the country is being rapidly developed. The Indians have been repeatedly and severely punished with heavy loss in their own remote haunts, where they have heretofore considered themselves safe. Another year of General Ord's command will give a fairer day for Arizona than she has yet seen. Her wonderful resources once secure from the Apache assassin and robber, will naturally draw a large and enterprising population, and the Southern Pacific Railroad through her wide borders, will soon make her one of the most thriving of the frontier States.

The French have discovered that the white of an egg given in sweetened water is a sure cure for the croup. The remedy is to be repeated till the cure is effected.