Duty in the District of New Mexico: A Military Memoir

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IT was four hundred and two miles by railroad from Fort Leavenworth, headquarters of the Department of the Missouri, to Fort Wallace, Kansas, but from there the only public conveyance to the District of New Mexico was the stagecoach that followed the Santa Fe Trail. It was nearly four hundred more miles to Santa Fe, and it required eighty hours of continuous travel for men or mail. At about ten o’clock in the morning of June 15, 1869, Lieutenant Colonel August V. Kautz departed from Fort Wallace by stage. The weather was dry, bright, and clear, and the colonel was fortunate to find only two other passengers in the big westbound Concord coach. It was more fortunate for us that Kautz, for the next thirty-four months, kept a diary of his experiences in the land of poco tiempo, an unexcelled memoir of one high-ranking officer on the frontier. These personal writings, as well as contemporary official correspondence and reports, provide insights into several aspects of army life in the post-Civil War Southwest, and furnish the material for a case study.

Born in Germany in 1828, but reared in Ohio, Kautz graduated from West Point in 1852 and was sent to the Pacific Northwest where he served until the outbreak of the Civil War. His wartime experience included cavalry duty in McClellan’s Peninsula campaign and command of the cavalry division in the Army of the James. He was brevetted to major general. After the war he served on General Sheridan’s staff in New Orleans, and was on Reconstruction duty with the 34th U.S. Infantry in Mississippi. There
his wife died in 1868. After a six-month leave, and the disbandment of the 34th Infantry, he was appointed lieutenant colonel of the 15th Infantry and ordered to the District of New Mexico. Kautz had been keeping a diary since cadet days at West Point, though his entries during the war are disappointingly sparse. Doubtless the loneliness of his tour in New Mexico encouraged extensive recording of daily events, no matter how insignificant at the time.

There is remarkably little understanding of army life, aside from Indian campaigns, in the post-Civil War Southwest. As military historians conclude that we have no functional heritage from the “old army,” and that there was no important influence on civilian society, social historians apparently have assumed there is little worth investigating. Popular writers have focused on the dramatic events and unusual characters, not without accuracy, but with the effect of diverting attention from the real nature of army life. As for the television tube and movie screen, they have consistently misrepresented the army as a giant blue monolith, single-mindedly pursuing Indians from horseback and dwelling in neat little stockaded forts ruled by bumbling Colonel Blimps. While some writers have begun to dispel that illusion, it is hoped that this study will help illuminate the New Mexican scene.

The stage that carried Kautz from Fort Wallace passed into Colorado Territory over a treeless, cheerless prairie. A passenger got out at Cheyenne Wells. Once south of the Arkansas River it entered higher, hillier country with snow-crowned mountains in view. The town of Trinidad, where the coach boarded two more passengers whose presence would make the journey through Raton Pass uncomfortable, was reached at midnight of the second day.

Near dawn of Thursday they reached the station and hotel kept by “Uncle Dick” Wootton at the foot of the pass. It was too early for breakfast, so after boarding another passenger, they began the slow trip through the 7,800-foot defile. The descent was “rapid and rough, and at half past six we reached Red River where we obtained a miserable breakfast.” From the Red to Cimarron Creek was a rich agricultural district, especially Maxwell’s ranch. They
had lunch at Rayado⁹ and drove on to Fort Union where Kautz left the stage at dusk.

He was reluctant to report immediately at district headquarters in Santa Fe. His regiment was marching slowly across Texas, not scheduled to arrive in the territory until the end of August.⁷ Besides, he was beginning to feel bad with a sore throat and head cold. Fort Union, largest military post in the district, was commanded by a wartime acquaintance, William N. Grier, colonel of the 3rd Cavalry.⁸ Kautz decided to accept Colonel Grier's hospitality and to stay the weekend. Next day, after touring the post and gargling Mrs. Grier's concoction of vinegar, salt and chili piquins, Kautz left with Grier and John C. Dent, the post trader, for Las Vegas, twenty-five miles south.⁹

Kautz and his companions spent Saturday and Sunday at the Exchange Hotel. In addition to the usual diversions of an army town, Las Vegas had some hot springs in nearby Gallinas Canyon, famous for "their efficacy in relieving rheumatism and chronic syphilitic complaints."¹⁰ Kautz visited the baths on Saturday and found them "very extensive and some of the pools are not in use at all, and some fine ones are used only by the poor and unfortunate, have no improvements, the water being collected in holes, dug out of the earth. . . . The springs are very badly kept at present by a crazy kind of Frenchman." That evening he felt so much improved that he accompanied Grier to a baile in town. Next day he "found the bath much more agreeable" and on Sunday evening the three pleasure seekers "met several young ladies of Spanish descent." Kautz noted that, "The gentlemen sat up and had music in the hotel until after one o'clock," but before dawn of Monday, June 21, he quietly left his sleeping friends to board the stage for Santa Fe. Late in the afternoon he walked up to Fort Marcy on the outskirts of the city to call on the commander of the Military District of New Mexico, Colonel (Brevet Major General) George Washington Getty. Next morning, well and refreshed, he returned for his orders.

In 1869 it was necessary to maintain ten military posts in New Mexico and southeastern Colorado, with more than two regiments
of regular army troops, at times as many as 1,800 officers and men.\textsuperscript{11} This command was officially termed a “district” of the Department of the Missouri, but it always required a commander of considerable rank and experience.\textsuperscript{12} General Getty informed Kautz that he was to take command of Fort Craig on the Rio Grande until the 15th Infantry arrived in the district, when he would probably be assigned to Fort Stanton. The present commander at Craig, so Kautz learned, was Cuvier Grover, lieutenant colonel of the 38th Infantry,\textsuperscript{13} a Black regiment soon to be consolidated with the 24th in Texas pursuant to the army reorganization act of March 1869.

Kautz quickly prepared for the five-day journey he would make with the district paymaster, Major Frank Bridgeman. First he drew his own pay on Thursday, which happened to be St. John’s Day. He observed that it was celebrated by the Santa Fe citizenry who “rushed about town on their horses at full speed flourishing a dead chiken or two, in a manner that became drunken men better than people in their full senses.”\textsuperscript{14} The paymaster’s party included Bridgeman’s clerk, two wagon drivers, a Mexican servant, and an escort of five infantrymen. They had a six-mule light wagon for the troops and a four-mule ambulance for themselves. The escort was very important, for Bridgeman carried one hundred thousand dollars to pay the garrisons in southern New Mexico.

The escort wagon departed Santa Fe at nine A.M. on June 25, and the ambulance with Kautz and the others got underway about a half hour later on the road to Albuquerque. They reached Algodones the first day, and the second evening they camped at the “fine farm” of Santiago L. Hubbell, south of Albuquerque and six miles north of Isleta Indian pueblo.\textsuperscript{15} Hubbell’s farm was, so Kautz noted, “the first civilized looking place since we left Santa Fe.” Don Santiago “entertained us hospitably and insisted on our going into the house.” On the evening of the 27th, they stayed at the government forage agency at Sabinal, and the next night found quarters with the forage agent at Socorro.\textsuperscript{16} Forage agencies were the nineteenth-century equivalent of automotive service stations, maintained by government contract to assure continuous supplies of hay, wood and grain.\textsuperscript{17}
Kautz and the paymaster's party approached Fort Craig about four P.M. on Tuesday, June 29. The first distant view they had of the military post was from the northwest across parched brown rolling hills. The fort had been constructed in 1854 on a gentle slope that led eastward to the Rio Grande, a mile away. Beyond rose the dark profile of Contadera Mesa. A low adobe wall or earthen rampart three hundred yards long nearly hid the squat, one-story buildings. In the north side was a gate that led through the elongated guardhouse, opening onto the parade ground. In 1869 the post was garrisoned by one company each of the 3rd Cavalry and the Negro 38th Infantry.

As Colonel Kautz dismounted from his ambulance by the post adjutant's office, which stood just inside the gate to his left, he could look across the parade to the stables. Along the walls on either side stood rows of buildings predominantly of adobe with white porticos. Facing him were two sets of officers' quarters and, at the far end by the foul-smelling stables, two hospital buildings. On his right across the parade were two barracks, one for white troopers and another for colored soldiers, with a lofty flagstaff between. Kautz was to learn that each barrack was really a complex of rooms: two dormitories, a kitchen, a mess hall, non-commissioned officers' quarters, laundress' room and storerooms, all arranged around a placita. Directly to Kautz' right in the west corner of the walled fort was a third set of officers' quarters reserved for the post commander.

Major Bridgeman and his clerk hurried their strongbox into the adjutant's office while Kautz was received by Colonel Grover. After directing the servant to remove his baggage to Grover's quarters, Kautz walked out of the fort with the colonel to the store of the civilian post trader, William Wardwell. At most western outposts the sutler's establishment was the general store, post office, delicatessen, recreation hall, and officers' club combined under one roof. Kautz and Grover on that warm afternoon took a glass of wine with Mr. Wardwell, a former officer in the 1st California Volunteer Cavalry, who had taken his discharge in New Mexico in 1865.

The post commander's house, unlike the other quarters, was of
stone, plastered inside and out, with a gypsum floor. A portico whitewashed and supported by wooden columns extended the entire length of the east side. Basically the building consisted only of two large bedrooms separated by a wide entry hallway. There were in addition a small servant’s room, a dining room, and a spacious kitchen. Each room had a fireplace and large windows shaded by the portico. The Grovers had no children and were scheduled to depart soon, so the colonel gave Kautz one of the bedrooms instead of crowding him into the other officers’ quarters. Kautz still hoped for a reprieve even from this. “General G. cannot leave for two weeks yet,” he confided to his diary that night, “and in the meantime I can amuse myself as best I can, which at such a post as this is no great privilege.” Grover remained four weeks, and Kautz lived in that house over three months.

By the time Kautz took charge of Fort Craig on July 19, he had set a pattern of daily routine interrupted only by special visitors and frequent dust storms. The Grovers departed on July 27. Thereafter Kautz’ only companion was Captain Charles N. W. Cunningham, a bachelor who commanded Company D, 38th Infantry, and apparently shared the C. O.’s house with Kautz. The other officers were married but occasionally invited Kautz to their quarters. Each morning Kautz stood reveille, signed the morning reports, and retired to his quarters for breakfast. He studied a program of Spanish language lessons for an hour, then read until lunch time. In the afternoon he played billiards in the sutler’s store with some of the officers, usually Captain Cunningham. For exercise he tried always to ride out on horseback in the evening, perhaps down the river to the ford where Confederate General Sibley’s army of Texans had crossed in 1862, or sometimes north to the village of San Marcial. After supper he retired to read and write. An indefatigable correspondent, he might continue letter writing through the next morning. Some nights he visited the married officers; there were whist and chess games at least once a week, and Mr. Wardwell sometimes had the officers in for cards. Kautz usually retired about nine, first always taking a few minutes to record the tedious day in his diary. He thus summed up the ennui of life at Fort
Craig: “The same reveille sounded as usual, the same calls, and the [retreat] gun. Went through the same course of [Spanish] study and reading and billiards and ride in the afternoon.” The days wore into September.

On September 1, several visitors stopped at the fort, including Lieutenant Charles E. Drew, “formerly of the 34th Infty. who turned up as the Agent of the Gila Apaches.” September 4 was a payday and the occasion for merrymaking among the bachelor officers. While Kautz had supper with the post quartermaster, Cunningham and his friends had a “jovial time.” They threw a baile at San Marcial and Kautz went to see it. “The young gentlemen from the post were soon beyond discretion,” Kautz lamented, and he returned at midnight. The next day was routine for Kautz, but as he retired for the night, he noted that “Capt. C. & his guests are still enjoying themselves in what they consider no doubt is a very rational way. They have been drunk for two days now.”

Drew departed on the 20th for Fort McRae, a small post downriver near Cañada Alamosa where the Apaches who had chosen peace were being concentrated. On the 28th Drew was back again and drinking hard, and Kautz recorded that he missed “the society of a better class which seems to have departed from the Army.” The following day, however, an unusually intelligent and sober young man arrived by stagecoach. He was Lieutenant John Gregory Bourke of the 3rd Cavalry, destined for duty with Company E. The new officer, Kautz discovered, could converse for hours about the Indians, the late war, Mexico, history, and literature. Shortly Bourke obtained for Kautz the second volume of William Prescott’s History of Mexico which the post library lacked.

Kautz expected his regiment every day after the first of October. Meantime he received from General Getty the order that detailed the imminent troop changes, specifying Kautz to take command of Fort Stanton whenever he was relieved at Craig. At last on October 4, “The arrival of Gen. Shepherd with his command about ten o’clock interrupted my usual routine. The command went into camp, just outside southwest of the fort. The Genl. took up his quarters in my house and dined with us.” “Gen. Shepherd” was
Oliver L. Shepherd, colonel of the 15th Infantry and a veteran of the Mexican War, who was approaching retirement. His general's star was a brevet for gallantry in the Civil War battle at Stone River, Tennessee. Colonel Shepherd described the regiment’s adventures in Texas and told his second-in-command that they had had “a very successful march” from Austin to Fort Bliss and up the Rio Grande. On October 5, the Black soldiers of the 38th Infantry moved out of the fort to camp in the open, so the 15th’s headquarters and Company K could occupy their new permanent quarters. Captain (Brevet Major) Frederick W. Coleman, who commanded Company K, invited Kautz to share his quarters, as Shepherd was moving into the post commander’s house.

The crisp, sunny morning of October 7, 1869, was hazed with dust and enlivened by martial noises as three companies of the 15th Infantry broke camp and fell in, to march northward to Albuquerque. There, two companies would take the road west to Fort Wingate, and the third faced a still longer march through Santa Fe and on to Fort Garland. The bulk of the regiment, eight companies, had been distributed to posts during the march into New Mexico. The remaining one hundred and thirteen officers and men of the 38th Infantry prepared to begin their march to Texas in the afternoon. Each company had its baggage wagons handled by teamsters, most officers were mounted, and additional animals followed the columns. In all, there were nearly four hundred departing troops with civilian employees and the families of non-commissioned officers. The fort’s new garrison and civilians from San Marcial watched them go. It was probably the largest crowd to assemble at Fort Craig since the Battle of Val Verde was fought nearby in 1862.

On October 12, Colonel Kautz, with a small escort and two light wagons to carry water kegs and his baggage, proceeded south from Fort Craig across the Rio Grande through the village of Paraje. The first day out he was accompanied by Lieutenant Thomas Blair, the regimental quartermaster, who returned to the fort next morning. Kautz and his escort took a little-used trail through the San Andres
Mountains to Tularosa. Four days later, tired and gritty with alkali dirt, Kautz reached Fort Stanton. Like Craig, it was a two-company post but more important in the scheme of frontier defense. It was on the Rio Bonito, a creek that rises on Sierra Blanca Mountain fifteen miles west of the fort and runs generally northeast to join the Rio Hondo twenty miles away. Although the site is 6,235 feet above sea level, Capitan Mountain to the northeast towers over ten thousand feet and is only fifteen miles distant. The post had been established in 1855, abandoned on the outbreak of the Civil War, and then continuously garrisoned—first by volunteers, then by regulars—since October of 1862.26

The country surrounding Fort Stanton was sparsely settled by a few Anglo and Mexican families who sought a precarious livelihood in stock raising and mining. The mountains were well timbered, the woods full of game, and the creeks teeming with trout. "The country . . . reminded me of southern Oregon," observed Kautz.27 The official description noted that, "The region is known as Apache country, which tribe is in open hostility."28

In 1863 more than four hundred Mescalero Apaches had surrendered and been confined to the Bosque Redondo with the Navajos. The two tribes were incompatible and the Mescaleros had drifted from the Bosque reserve in 1864 and 1865, as much because of antagonism of the Navajos as the poverty of the land. During the three years that followed the Civil War, while volunteer soldiers were sent home or discharged, the impoverished Mescalero Apache bands had kept up continual depredations. The garrison at Fort Stanton was maintained to curb them.29

Complete protection could ultimately be afforded when the Indians were permanently settled on definite reservations. The task of selecting, organizing, and administering reserves had been assigned to the Office of Indian Affairs, an arm of the Department of the Interior. But the Indian Office was moving slowly in 1869; few reservations had been selected and fewer organized. Scarcely any civilians could be induced to accept agencies, and army officers were frequently detailed to look after them.

Mounted scouting expeditions were an indispensable means of
The map is based on a topographic sketch of the Ft. Stanton military reservation with a plat of the post made sometime between 1870 and 1872. On February 27, 1872, a copy was signed at Ft. Leavenworth by Lt. Edward H. Ruffner, Chief Engineer of the Department of the Missouri. Another copy, used by the author, was made in 1877 for the Judge Advocate General (“Mil. Reservation of Fort STANTON, N.M., Surveyed by order of Major General George W. Getty, Commanding District of New Mexico,” RG 153, National Archives). The anonymous surveyor apparently did not record the building uses noted here. This information had to be derived from documents cited in notes 26 and 50, and from a report on buildings filed by the post quartermaster just before Col. Kautz took command (Lt. Royal E. Whitman to Deputy Quartermaster-General, Dept. of the Missouri, July 24, 1869, RG 92, National Archives). The course of Bonito Creek and the trace of the bluff above was copied from a map of the present day Ft. Stanton dated 1961. At the time of the author’s visit in 1965 the head of the then tuberculosis sanitorium stated that one of the original barracks survived as an administration building. It is numbered “4” on the map. The structure labeled “sutler” on the 1872 map is presumably the original store of L. G. Murphy & Co.
obtaining timely information about Indians, as there were not enough soldiers to man a line of picket posts and the forts were isolated. Fort Stanton was over two hundred miles from Fort Selden to the southwest, and it was two hundred and fifty miles from Fort Davis, Texas; there was no telegraph line to either point. Only alert, inquisitive patrols could keep a post commander informed of the disposition and whereabouts of the Indians.

To accomplish its purpose, Fort Stanton was garrisoned by Company I, 15th Infantry, and Company F, 3rd Cavalry. The mean strength, month to month, was only one hundred and eleven officers and men; but owing to the healthy climate, most of them could be counted as effective at any time. The cavalry company, obviously, was the principal force available for scouting, but the infantrymen might be included in an expedition if riding mules were available or if replacements for horse soldiers were required.

The officers of Colonel Kautz' little command were an assorted lot. Three of them, including Lieutenant Howard B. Cushing, in command of Company F, were former enlisted men from the Union Army. Second Lieutenant Franklin Yeaton of Company F was the only West Point officer at the fort other than Kautz, and Yeaton, who had graduated from the Academy in June, had had no prior service. Lieutenant Casper H. Conrad held command of Company I pending arrival of Captain Chambers McKibbin, who was on leave in Indiana. They came from Wisconsin, New York, and Pennsylvania. They were, in Kautz’ private estimation, “opinionated,” “self-confident,” “ignorant,” and “indiscrete.” Kautz’ closest friend at the fort was soon the post doctor, or “assistant surgeon” with captain’s grade, as he was carried on returns. He was Dr. Joseph R. Gibson who held the brevet of lieutenant colonel.

The non-commissioned officers must remain regrettably unknown and nearly anonymous. There must have been, however, several capable leaders in their ranks, such as Company F’s first sergeant, John Mott, and the post sergeant major, J. C. A. Warfield. They formed the muscle and sinew of the fighting troops, yet today they are mostly names on muster rolls. Kautz preserved the notion
that gentlemen were found only under shoulder straps and scarcely mentioned enlisted men in his diary.

The society at Stanton was more male than usual at army posts, for Kautz was a widower and none of the officers had families except Lieutenant Charles E. Slade, post adjutant and quartermaster. He had married in Texas the previous spring,

on an acquaintance of twenty-four hours, and a month after started with his regiment for this territory. He is but a Second Lieut. and consequently short of means and liable to be greatly inconvenienced on account of his wife. He will probably discover that matrimony is not one of the wisest things a 2nd Lieut. can do.

In mid-November he was granted leave to fetch his wife.\textsuperscript{33} Nor were there any civilian settlements of importance near the fort. Placitas was a poor Mexican village of about one hundred souls, seven miles east of Stanton. It was destined for immortality a decade later after it was called Lincoln and attracted Billy the Kid to its jail.\textsuperscript{34} As he had at Fort Craig, Kautz found the center of social life was the post trader's store. It was operated in partnership by Colonel Emil Fritz, veteran of the war, and Judge Lawrence G. Murphy, an ambitious merchant.\textsuperscript{35}

The usual recreations for officers were billiards at Fritz and Murphy's, hunting and fishing, and drinking. The last Kautz generally eschewed, but champagne and the locally brewed beer, made by a fellow immigrant from Baden, were too easily obtained for Kautz to neglect them entirely. The art of the billiard table he assiduously pursued and when, in December, he visited Fort Craig he found that he could beat all the gentlemen at Mr. Wardwell's. The greatest pleasure for Kautz, however, was trout fishing in Bonito Creek. Several days of that first November he spent angling with Dr. Gibson in the beautiful autumn-tinted mountains. It was not unusual to catch forty or fifty native browns in an afternoon.
Colonel Kautz had less than a month to adjust to the spartan life of Fort Stanton before there were Indian troubles. He had discussed the Mescalero Apache problem with the newly appointed agent, Lieutenant Argalus G. Hennisee, but he had made no study of the situation or planned any scouting expeditions when, on November 14, 1869, a rancher named Robert Casey came to the fort to report the theft of one hundred and fifteen cattle. Casey, who lived on the Rio Hondo below the junction of Bonito Creek and the Ruidoso River, said that he had followed a clear trail for a mile down the Hondo and presumed the thieves were Mescalero Apaches.

Kautz ordered Company F to saddle up without delay. There were only thirty-two cavalrymen for duty, and no time to prepare any men of the 15th Infantry for an expedition. Led by Lieutenant Cushing, with Lieutenant Yeaton as second-in-command, they hit the trail to the Ruidoso before sunset. Four days later, two hundred miles southwest in the Guadalupe Mountains, Cushing struck a Mescalero ranchería which held the stolen stock. The troopers killed a few Indians and recovered most of Casey's cattle, as well as some mules and horses. Two men were wounded. On the 23rd, the expedition returned bringing a captive Indian child and having marched altogether an amazing three hundred and seventy miles.

In December, Kautz was called to Fort Craig to preside over a court-martial at regimental headquarters. While there, he discussed the Mescalero problem with Lieutenant Bourke who itched for active field duty, and Bourke obtained permission to return with Kautz to Fort Stanton. They made the journey in less than three days to discover that winter had come to the Capitan Mountains; snow was falling. How differently might history regard that remote corner of New Mexico if the frontier chronicler had accompanied Cushing's next scout. But Bourke departed a week before it set out.

Although Kautz laid much of Cushing's success in November to blind luck, he accepted his lieutenant's proposal to go out again and find the Mescaleros. Preparations began on December 10.
formation of the territorial governor had urged civilian action against the Indians, and Kautz was authorized to ration—but not to arm—as many volunteers as his discretion allowed. Nine days later, with a pack train carrying twenty days' rations and extra ammunition, Cushing, Yeaton, thirty-five men of Company F and twenty-eight volunteers, again took the Ruidoso trail. That evening Kautz noted in his diary that,

preparations for the scout . . . took up the entire day. About thirty citizens collected to accompany Mr. Cushing . . . . There was a great deal of delay but before night set in the post was clear of the crowd that had collected. There was a good deal of whiskey drinking, and some of the party were scarcely able to leave.

Christmas season was merry at Fort Stanton. The night before Christmas Kautz had champagne, and the next day he went to the sutler's store for lunch and billiards. Fritz and Murphy served up fresh oysters, "brought out from the States in cans." At four o'clock all the officers from the post, the traders, a brother of Fritz, and Paul Dowlin, owner of the post sawmill, sat down to a dinner of wild turkey. Kautz and Dowlin afterward retired to Dr. Gibson's quarters for a game of cribbage. Late Christmas night they returned to the store to gossip and enjoy one more convivial round before sleep.

The next day in the Guadalupe Mountains, just over the Texas line, Lieutenant Cushing attacked a village of nearly fifty Mescalero lodges. The attack dispersed the principal band of these Apaches and apparently crippled their war power. The only casualty in Cushing's command was Lieutenant Yeaton who suffered wounds in the breast and wrist. In a second attack four days later, more Indians were killed and twenty head of cattle retaken. Another twenty-five lodges were burned. At the second village, the great number of families in proportion to the number of lodges convinced Cushing that he had struck the refugees from the attack of December 26.

Kautz spent New Year's Day much as any other. "Fritz and Murphy," he wrote in his diary,
had made arrangements for a dance and had collected a few of the best women in the country. There were three poor fiddlers, still they made quite a noise and the dance passed off pleasantly and merrily. I left about three in the morning. . . . The supper transpired about midnight and was a very excellent one. Wine and liquors were abundant and freely used but no one was at all troublesome.

Howard Bass Cushing spent the same day in the saddle while Frank Yeaton groaned in an improvised litter between two mules. Their weary column reached the mouth of the Rio Peñasco on the Pecos on January 2, 1870. Four more grueling days and they were back at Fort Stanton. Cushing estimated the total distance marched in nineteen days to have been five hundred and thirty miles. 42

Lieutenant Cushing’s report of his scout was received at district headquarters on January 18. Along with it General Getty read the lengthy endorsement by Kautz, in which a brevet promotion of one grade for “each of these gallant young officers” was recommended. Kautz was convinced that “with two more companies of cavalry at this post, the Mescalero Apaches could in a few months be brought to sue for peace.” It developed that the headquarters of the Department of the Missouri, however, thought cavalry was more useful elsewhere. The Third Regiment was being transferred to Arizona. Kautz nevertheless penned another letter on the first of February in which he outlined a plan to send out another expedition in cooperation with troops from Fort Selden. To replace the wounded Yeaton, he asked for Lieutenant Bourke. 43 When that request was denied, Company F was ordered to change station and Cushing’s company soon marched for the Mimbres River. From February 17 to April 13, Fort Stanton was without any cavalry. 44

On April 13, Captain (Brevet Lieutenant Colonel) William McCleave arrived with Company B of the 8th Cavalry. McCleave was an Irishman of about Kautz’ own age and had been ten years a non-commissioned officer in the old Dragoons. Commissioned in the California Volunteers, he had come to New Mexico with General James H. Carleton and had been fighting Indians, especially Mescaleros, since 1863. Kautz thought him “jovial and kind but illiterate and lacks manners . . . and is too old to improve.” 45
McCleave's assistant was First Lieutenant Orsemus B. Boyd. He was a West Pointer, Class of 1867, but also had some prior enlisted experience. He doubtless was a man of high moral courage, but rather slow and very corpulent. Lieutenants Conrad and Slade of the 15th Infantry were still at Stanton, as well as Dr. Gibson. Boyd brought his wife with him. Kautz was thankful that she and Mrs. Slade were resourceful, adaptable ladies. "Mrs. S.," he noted, "is quite a pretty woman and much smarter than Mr. Slade." Mrs. Boyd had also brought a baby daughter, who was the delight of the garrison.

For one who appreciated the outdoors, life at Fort Stanton was satisfying enough. Mrs. Boyd went so far as to call New Mexico the "troopers' paradise." Certainly the climate was healthful, but perhaps she stretched truth a bit to describe the air as "so exquisitely pure as to lend a freshness and charm to each day's existence. To breathe was like drinking new wine." And she asserted that "the beauty of natural scenery" was compensation for the fort's isolation. Wild game was plentiful and amply filled the soldiers' otherwise poor diet of tough beef, bacon, and beans. On June 21, 1870, Kautz himself caught 123 trout in the afternoon on Bonito Creek.

Although the post had been reoccupied for eight years by 1870, its reconstruction began in earnest under Kautz' administration. Before then, the garrison was housed in the miserable remnants of the original buildings that had been burned at the onset of the Civil War to prevent their use by invading Confederates. In 1868 work had commenced on two new stone barracks, a new guardhouse, and two stone buildings with eight sets of quarters for officers. Only the guardhouse was completed before this work was suspended June 30, 1869. It was Kautz who completed the barracks and officers' quarters, and he constructed or rebuilt other facilities. Meantime, the stone walls of the original fort withstood the elements, and there was abundant wood for repair.

The daily duty of soldiers at Fort Stanton, as at most army posts of that day, went according to rigid schedule, regulated by almost hourly bugle calls. Unless engaged in fatigue duty or drill under a non-commissioned officer, the soldier answered every call and he
was "absent without leave" if he did not. In what little time re­
mained to him—after meals or after retreat, usually—he was free to
do as he pleased, but even then he was required to remain always
within sound of the bugle. After Kautz' experience with the rag­
tag 34th Infantry in Tennessee and Mississippi, he allowed very
little latitude in the conduct of enlisted men.

Commissioned officers were required to respond to some of the
duty calls, but most details were handled by non-coms. Although
Colonel Kautz attended few formations, he usually took the adju­
tant's report at reveille, stood retreat, and conducted the inspection
held each Sunday morning. The troops were paid on alternate
months, at which time the post commander supervised the muster.
Other officers and most enlisted men were liable for guard duty.
With only two understrength companies, that came almost daily;
and when the cavalry was away, the remaining men had little rest.

While fatigue duty was a major cause of discontent among the
troops, it was highly important. There was little skilled labor near
Fort Stanton. Much of each soldier's day was perforce devoted to
construction of some sort, the erection or repair of buildings, lum­
bering, road building, and quarrying stone. To supply the post with
water, a dam was constructed to divert Bonito Creek into the
acequia. This project Kautz personally supervised. He also drew
the plans for several new buildings. To supply the fort with wood
for both fuel and construction, a wood camp eight miles distant was
worked by rotated detachments. Other fatigues included stable
police, kitchen police, and cultivation of the post garden under
Lieutenant Conrad's care. The fort was also very fortunate to have
three milch cows, and these together with the ample produce of
Conrad's garden, provided the garrison with a better than usual
diet.

Army regulations prescribed a formal retreat ceremony to be held
every evening, accompanied by a parade in full dress uniform. And
it was held at Fort Stanton every day that weather permitted. Since
the regimental bands were at the respective headquarters, music
was supplied by bugles, cornets, trumpets, and perhaps fifes and
drums. Sunday morning inspections also were faithfully conducted
Courtesy Lincoln County Museum, Lincoln, N.M.
A form of pioneering that had interested Kautz since his days in Oregon was road building. At Fort Stanton he found an opportunity to improve communications with the outside world. When he had first come to the post in October 1869, he had refused the long normal route from the Rio Grande via Lemitar, Punta de Agua, and the Juames Mesa. He instead took the South Pass through the San Andres Mountains and went via Mal Pais Spring and Tularosa. Even that route, he learned, was rather circuitous. Inquiry of Colonel Fritz and other settlers evoked the opinion that the dry, volcanic malpais between the San Andres and Sierra Blanca ranges was impassible to a large herd of animals, because of its roughness as well as its lack of water holes. It was said that only Indians afoot dared go that way. Kautz, however, loathed even the five-day journey by Mal Pais Spring. When he traveled to Fort Craig again at the end of November, he rigged a pack-train and, with a small escort, successfully reached the Rio Grande on a direct course across the malpais in only three days. “I found the Mal Pais more formidable in appearance than in fact,” he reported to district headquarters. “It took me two hours to find my way through it the first time [but] I was able to cross it on my return in twenty minutes.”

Kautz’ project interested Major Coleman, who talked with him at Craig during a court-martial they were attending. In May of 1870, Coleman visited Stanton to investigate the burning of some government hay, and on Kautz’ suggestion, brought with him a wagon. When Coleman was ready to leave on May 12, Kautz accompanied him through the malpais along the new route. Kautz, Coleman, and Captain McCleave, with a work party, succeeded in passing the mule-drawn wagon over the cinder plain. They graded a road as they went, compacting jagged volcanic rock with hammers. They also found sufficient water for their animals, sweeter than the alkaline Mal Pais Spring.

In the main, though, life for Kautz at Stanton was rather dull, especially in the winter when he could not fish or ride horseback.
among the verdant hills. In December 1869, he “started a carpenter shop in the kitchen by way of taking exercise.” The post blacksmith made the metal parts for a lathe, and soon Kautz was turning out napkin rings, cribbage boards, picture frames, tables, and—the grand finale—his own bedstead.57

Depredations in the vicinity of Stanton continued, but there were no deaths until June of 1870, and there was some doubt that Mescaleros were responsible. There were indications to McCleave’s practiced eyes that the culprits were renegade Navajos.58 In fact, Emil Fritz learned through a Mexican friend on May 7 that the Mescalero Apaches were near starvation and camped in the Comanche country of West Texas, and that they wished to surrender.59

On the last day of 1869, Kautz had concluded his diary entry with the words, “my mind runs a great deal upon leaving the service.” By the spring of 1870 opportunities in the army were indeed few. The service had just undergone a drastic reduction, and an economy-minded Congress was honing the ax for further cuts. By contrast, on the outside energetic entrepreneurs were making money faster than the Treasury could coin it. Thus on May 12, the same morning he set out to pioneer a road across the malpais, Kautz mailed two letters: one to the Adjutant General requesting a sixty-day leave; another to Philip Sheridan, commanding general of the Missouri Division, asking his influence in securing the leave. One year to the day from the time he had boarded the stagecoach for New Mexico in Kansas, Kautz received in the mail at Fort Stanton a leave of absence for two months.60

That same mail on June 15 of 1870 brought news of the death of Lieutenant Charles E. Drew. And “Mr. Hennessey,” noted Kautz, “has been ordered to Craig in consequence.” When Hennessey departed for Fort Craig on June 17, to manage the Southern Apache Agency, he had never yet laid eyes on a Mescalero.61

At last on July 2, Captain Chambers McKibbin returned from leave accompanied by his family,62 and four days later Colonel Kautz departed for the States. He traveled by stagecoach to Denver where he took the cars for Cheyenne and Chicago. On July 30 he
was again at his father's farm near Ripley, Ohio. The government of
the nineteenth century regarded leaves of absence much more gen­
erously than today, and Kautz' sixty-day grant was normal for fron­
tier officers who had to travel great distances. As it developed,
Kautz' leave was officially extended, then overextended so that he
did not arrive back at Fort Stanton until November 18.

In the guardhouse Kautz found eight Mescalero women and
children, captured in expeditions launched by McKibbin in Kautz'
absence. Kautz persuaded one of the women to try to communicate
with her people, and on January 14, 1871, he sent her off alone.63
She found the majority of the tribe encamped on the Pecos River.
On February 6, the Indians were reported on the Ruidoso, and
Colonel Fritz volunteered to meet them with presents and escort
them into the fort. Within twenty-four hours Fritz was back with
José La Paz, a prominent chief whom the Anglo settlers called
Peaceful Joe, another warrior, five women, and several children, all
the rest of Joe's band to follow.

Kautz interviewed Peaceful Joe, promising him nothing ex­
cept protection from civilians and subsistence. It was apparent that
the Apaches were destitute. José said his entire tribe wanted peace,
that most of them had sought refuge among the Comanches on the
Llano Estacado. He agreed to go persuade them to surrender. Ne­
gotiations were protracted, but in May small groups of Mescaleros
began drifting into the military reservation. Kautz organized a
camp for them north of the fort near the dam on Bonito Creek.

On June 10, another chief called Pablo came in. Next day the
new civilian agent of the Indian Bureau, A. J. Curtis, arrived to
take charge. He arranged with Fritz and Murphy to supply the
Apaches temporarily with food. In mid-July the principal chief of
the Mescaleros, Cadete, appeared with close to seventy members of
his personal band. The rest were en route from the Pecos. They
continued to dribble into Stanton so that by September 18, when
Curtis wrote his annual report, there were three hundred and
twenty-five accounted for. In August, Vincent Colyer of the Board
of Indian Commissioners designated most of the military reserva­tion
as the Mescalero Indian Reservation, which was approved by
President Grant on November 9. A year later, virtually the whole tribe was present, and by and large these Indians caused no further trouble. Their reservation was exchanged for a larger area south of the Ruidoso in 1874. In later years, they raided into Texas, and some few joined the Chiricahua chief, Victorio, in his 1879 foray through southwestern New Mexico and Arizona.

Without Indian worries, Kautz found other outlets for his restless nature. He prodded the laboring troops and badgered the district headquarters for more construction funds. The immense pile of adobes and lumber that had lain on the ground when he arrived in 1869 were long since used up. He shingled the roofs, finished the living quarters, erected a commissary storehouse, repaired the hospital, moved the wood camp to within two miles, and raised a new flagstaff—which lightning dramatically knocked down. In April of 1871, he moved into his own new quarters, a stone building the walls of which had been erected before he arrived but whose interior and kitchen he designed himself. In July he was able to unpack and set up in the kitchen a wood-turning lathe shipped to him from Philadelphia by the N. H. Baldwin Company.

With Indian depredations around Stanton almost ended, boredom returned. Field and staff officers, however, enjoyed one advantage denied company officers that relieved the humdrum of life at remote posts. The senior officers were continually called upon to sit on courts, to investigate incidents that adversely affected government property or personnel, and to inspect critical activities. This meant travel and a welcome change of scenery. In 1871 alone, Kautz made seven extended official trips to army posts in New Mexico, as well as unofficial side trips to Las Vegas, El Paso, Silver City, and several mines. He was absent on temporary duty from Stanton the entire months of August and November. That year he was carried on post returns as “absent, detached service” for more than one half the days of the year.

To relate the details of all Kautz’ official duties on these trips would be repetitious, and to recount the journeys themselves would require a book. Of more than usual interest, however, was his in-
vestigation in September 1871 of the theft of $1,845.00 from the adjutant’s safe at Fort Bayard. Kautz left for Bayard on September 16 and arrived on the 22nd. He learned that Lieutenant Blair, the former regimental quartermaster, had received temporarily the commissary’s funds in August, and when Blair had gone to the safe to turn them back on August 29, the money was missing. The opinion was expressed by a board of officers that the money was “abstracted” by two privates of Company F, 15th Infantry, while they guarded the post headquarters on the night of August 18. The men had deserted the following day and were seen at the Rio Mimbres stage station that night with a plentiful supply of money, accompanied by two companions whose stagecoach fares they also paid. The post commander, Captain Edward W. Whittmore, observed that the suspects were sailors and that the four men were “believed to be en route for the Gulf coast via San Antonio” with the probable intention of shipping from Galveston or Indianola. Kautz examined the safe and saw that it had been opened with a key, an inner drawer alone having been forced. Blair, however, claimed that he had had both known keys in his possession at all times. Kautz, in his report, regretted to suggest that the erstwhile guards had found the safe unlocked.

While Kautz was at Fort Union in October, he learned of a vacancy soon to be open in the recruiting service. He lost no time in applying to General Sheridan and to the Commanding General of the Army, William T. Sherman, for the job. En route to Fort Craig in December, Kautz was pleased to receive two letters at Albuquerque from Sheridan. They conveyed an indirect promise that Sheridan would “try hard to get Newport Barracks” for Kautz.

Company-grade officers with little opportunity for travel were hard put to fill their time usefully. The imaginative McKibbin produced at least one issue of a newspaper at Fort Stanton in May of 1871. What was really needed for morale was some useful field duty, but an Apache campaign proposed in June by General Gordon Granger, the new district commander, failed to materialize. Yet some exercise was afforded that month when Captain
McCleave took his company to the Pecos River to intercept some Texas horse thieves and rustlers being pursued from Fort Bascom. In August, Lieutenant Boyd had his first taste of scouting when he was sent in pursuit of Indians, possibly Warm Springs Chiricahua, who had murdered a man at the Nogal Mine.\textsuperscript{72} Predictably, however, when the winter of 1871-1872 turned extraordinarily severe, the bachelor officers at Stanton passed several days more or less drunk, and the nights playing “freezeout” poker. The intemperance at the post traders’ saloon finally moved Kautz to seek the removal of L. G. Murphy & Co. He left in the spring of 1872 before he could induce the government to displace Murphy.\textsuperscript{73}

The remainder of Kautz’ tour in New Mexico passed pleasantly. Certain changes in personnel had been agreeable. In November 1871 an 8th Cavalry officer, Lieutenant Richard A. Williams, had come to Fort Stanton and taken the job of adjutant from Slade, who had done little but quarrel with the other officers since Kautz’ return the previous November. Dr. Gibson had suffered a mental breakdown in May 1871, but his replacement as post surgeon, Dr. H. G. Tiedemann, proved as congenial a companion and fisherman. And when the latter married and was transferred to Fort Union, Dr. Charles Styer filled his place just as well.\textsuperscript{74}

On April 10, 1872, the mail at last brought orders for the recruiting duty that Kautz had requested the previous October. He was instructed to report to Newport Barracks, Kentucky, and assume command of the recruit depot. Although such assignments were usually only for a year or two, after which the officer returned to his regiment, Kautz knew that his chance of afterward getting a better assignment than Fort Stanton was very good. Therefore, he carefully packed everything and ordered his goods shipped east. On the 17th, he bade farewell to the District of New Mexico.\textsuperscript{75}
NOTES


3. A brief version of this paper was read at a session chaired by Dr. Billy Mac Jones in the history section of the Southwest Social Science Assn. annual meeting, March 22, 1973, at Dallas, Texas.


5. *Kautz Diary*, 1869. A stage station near Red River Peak, 4 miles south of Raton. This Red River is a tributary of the Canadian, not the better known Texas stream.

6. At one time the home of Kit Carson, Rayado was not on the main Santa Fe Trail but on a cut-off of the stage company. It was part of the land grant of Lucien Maxwell from whom the army rented buildings for a telegraph and forage station. William A. Keleher, *Maxwell Land Grant: A New Mexico Item* (New York, 1964), p. 29.

7. In June, the 15th Infantry had assembled at Austin, Texas, to march on Fort Concho, but heavy rains made streams impassable and delayed departure until mid-July. The regiment would not reach the rendezvous with the 35th Infantry until early August. On August 18 the consolidation was effected and the 35th, like Kautz' postwar unit, the 34th, disappeared. Not until August 19 did the reorganized command start for New Mexico. Apparently, Kautz was never informed of the delay. See Henry R. Brinkerhoff, "The Fifteenth Regiment of Infantry," in T. F. Rodenbough and W. L. Haskin, eds., *The Army of the United States* (New York, 1896), pp. 625-27.

9. "Colonel" Dent operated the government licensed store at Fort Union in partnership with W. D. W. Barnard. He was a brother of Julia Dent Grant, the President's wife. The two men had a common interest as Kautz had grown up in Georgetown, Ohio, with Ulysses S. Grant and had attended the President's inauguration in March 1869. Emmett, p. 345; Kautz Diary, 1869.

10. Ibid. These became nationally famous as Montezuma Hot Springs after the Santa Fe Railroad purchased the property in 1880. Interestingly, the army had a hospital here from 1846 to 1862, and Kautz evidently visited the crude adobe house that stood on the site until it was acquired by the railroad. Some account of the springs may be found in Milton W. Callon, Las Vegas, New Mexico: The Town That Wouldn't Gamble (Las Vegas, 1962), pp. 127-38.


12. On Getty, see William H. Powell, comp., Records of Living Officers of the United States Army (Philadelphia, 1890), pp. 233f. He returned to his regiment, the 3rd Artillery, and was succeeded in command of the district by Col. Gordon Granger, 15th Infantry, in February 1871.

13. Grover, from Maine, was an 1850 graduate of the Military Academy who served on the frontier before the Civil War and fought in all the important battles of the Army of the Potomac until sent into the Department of the Gulf to command an infantry division. His brevets from lieutenant colonel to major general were all for "gallantry" but, like Kautz, a lieutenant colonelcy was all he could obtain in the reorganization of 1866. Later he was colonel of the 1st Cavalry. DAB, vol. 4, pt. 11, p. 28.


15. James "Santiago" Lawrence Hubbell from Connecticut settled at Pajarito, New Mexico, shortly after the Mexican War and married a Mexican woman. His son, Juan Lorenzo, later to be a famous trader to the Navajo Indians, was born there in 1853. Frank McNitt, The Indian Traders (Norman, 1962), p. 143.


17. Commodities were given to an officer who presented a "certificate of some other officer cognizant to the facts." The certificate served the forage agent as a voucher to account for expended government supplies or to secure payment from the Quartermaster Department. Each public horse was allowed 14 pounds of hay and 12 pounds of oats, corn, or barley per month; each mule, the same of hay and 9 pounds of grain. A. V. Kautz, The Company Clerk: Showing How and When to Make Out All the


19. Ibid., pp. 7ff; Report on Barracks and Hospitals, p. 245.

20. W. V. B. Wardwell was born in Massachusetts about 1838. I assume that his main place of business was outside the walls of Fort Craig, not only because Kautz mentions "walking out" but also because the space allotted to a store and post office on some plans of the fort was scarcely large enough for his extensive facilities and large family. Ninth Census of the U.S. (1870), Socorro County, New Mexico, in Records of the Bureau of the Census, RG 29, NA. Richard H. Orton, comp., Records of California Men in the War of the Rebellion (Sacramento, 1890), p. 117.

21. The next six paragraphs, and quotations therein, are based largely on the Kautz Diary, 1869.

22. 1st Lieutenant (Brevet Major) William E. Sweet, 38th Infantry, was post quartermaster. Captain Alexander Sutorius commanded Company E, 3rd Cavalry. Post Returns, Fort Craig.

23. Kautz had known Drew when their regiment was on Reconstruction duty at Holly Springs, Mississippi, in 1868. Drew had been left unassigned by the reorganization of March 1869. He became Southern Apache agent on August 23, replacing a civilian, John Ayers. Many such officers accepted appointments as interim Indian agents until the church sponsors of President Grant's "peace policy" could find civilians. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1869 (Washington, 1870), pp. 247f.

24. Bourke's impression of Craig was similar to Kautz'. His "quarters" consisted of a single room with packed earth floor and sagging earth roof. "There wasn't much to do; the post was a lonesome sort of a hole maintained at the north end of the 'Jornada del Muerto' for the protection of travellers against prowling Apaches." His description of neighboring villages is most interesting. Lansing B. Bloom, ed., "Bourke on the Southwest," NMHR, vol. 9 (1934), pp. 40-43.


27. Kautz Diary, 1869.
29. Besides the ethno­graphic literature, the only general historical treatment of these Indians is by C. L. Sonnichsen, The Mescalero Apaches (Norman, 1958).
30. Post Returns, Fort Stanton, 1869, RG 94, NA.
32. Ibid., p. 236.
33. Kautz Diary, 1869; Fort Stanton Post Returns, 1869.
34. For the early settlement of Lincoln County, carved out of Socorro the year Kautz arrived, see the foreword to William A. Keleher, Violence in Lincoln County, 1869-1881 (Albuquerque, N.M., 1957), pp. vii-xv.
36. Hennissee, formerly of the 19th U.S. Infantry, was an excess officer after the reorganization of March 1869. He became Mescalero agent on July 23, replacing Lorenzo Labadi, a civilian. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs . . . for the Year 1869, pp. 245-47; Powell, p. 175.
38. Ibid. Shinkle, relying on Indian claims testimony taken in 1898, apparently confuses some details of this expedition with the events next described. See also letter, General Getty (District Commanding General) to the A.A.G., Department of the Missouri, Dec. 3, 1869, in Letters Sent, Military District of New Mexico, 1869, RG 98, NA.
39. Kautz Diary, 1869. Bourke’s silence in this respect is curious. Search of his diaries revealed nothing on Stanton and no mention of Kautz until 1875.
41. Cushing’s report transmitted with endorsement of Kautz to the A.A.G., District of New Mexico, Jan. 8, 1870, in Letters Received, District of New Mexico, RG 98, NA. Later references to this correspon-
dence file cited as New Mexico Letters. For extended treatment of Cushing's scout in December 1869, see Wilson.

42. Ibid.


44. Fort Stanton Post Returns, 1870.

45. Kautz Diary, 1870. There is extensive information about McCleave in the McCleave File, Hayden Biographical Files, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson, and the Papers of Dr. Thomas McCleave, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, Calif. See also Powell, pp. 376f, and Aurora Hunt, Major General James Henry Carleton, 1814-1873 (Glendale, Calif., 1958), passim.

46. Kautz Diary, 1870. Kautz noted that he resembled "the fat man in Pickwick" by Dickens. While a cadet he was accused of stealing a sum of money. Although nothing was proven, his classmates ostracized him and, after graduation, spread the tale through the army. Boyd remained in the army, doggedly performed his duty, and looked for a way to clear himself. In 1871 another man, who had resigned from the academy, confessed to the crime. Boyd died a captain in 1885. Mrs. Orsemus B. Boyd, Cavalry Life in Tent and Field (New York, 1894), gives a good account of frontier army life and relates most of her husband's career.

47. Ibid., pp. 170f. A trooper in McCleave's company thought differently: "It would be hard . . . to realize," wrote George S. Roper, "the irksome sameness . . . of a soldier's life . . . at Fort Stanton in the early 70's." His reminiscence of "Soldiering on the Frontier" appeared in Frontier Times, Jan. 1926, and was reprinted in the second number of NMHR, vol. 1 (1926), pp. 224-26.

48. Kautz Diary, 1870.

49. The extent to which the fort was damaged, and hence how much rebuilding was required, is uncertain. The Union commander destroyed the "public stores" he could not cart away and set fire to the buildings, but a rainstorm put out the fire after he left on Aug. 2, 1861. Within a few days the post was occupied by Confederates who reported the salvage of a "valuable lot of quartermaster and commissary stores," as well as four pieces of artillery. They were not in time, however, to prevent "Mexicans and Indians in large numbers" from pillaging the fort; this probably involved removal of timberbeams, lumber, shingles, and other structural materials. New Mexico volunteers under Kit Carson reoccupied the fort in October 1862. Horn and Wallace, eds., Confederate Victories in the Southwest (Albuquerque, 1961), pp. 36, 39.

50. Report on Barracks and Hospitals, pp. 248f. Four days after his arrival, Kautz wrote to district headquarters concerning the fort's condition: "This Post is deficient in two important buildings, viz. a Hospital and Commissary store house; at present the ruins of the former Hospital are used.
... Commissary stores are ... stored in the Quarter Master store house.
... The bricks for the proposed hospital, 48,000 adobes, are largely un-
serviceable after exposure to the weather ... a building intended for the
Commanding Officer's Quarters is so far advanced that the walls of the
main building are up and the kitchen has a roof on it.” Kautz to A.A.G.,
Oct. 20, 1869, New Mexico Letters.

51. The schedule was frequently varied. See General Orders
No. 20, Dec. 3, 1869; No. 4, June 10, 1870; No. 8, Oct. 1, 1870; No. 5, April 1,
1871; No. 22, Nov. 14, 1871; and No. 2, April 1, 1872, in the Fort Stanton
Order Books, 1869-72, RG 98, NA. The strictness of compliance is attested
by occasional references in Kautz Diary, 1869-72, but see also Don Rickey,
Jr., Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay: The Enlisted Soldier Fighting
the Indian Wars (Norman, 1963), pp. 91-93.

52. Kautz Diary, 1869-72, passim.

53. Ibid. In addition to the regimental bands, infantry companies were
allotted two "musicians" each and cavalry companies two "trumpeters" each.
Their instruments for parade were possibly good quality trumpets or
cornets, purchased through the company funds. The assembled musicians
were called "field music" and played specially written compositions. Emory
Upton, Cavalry Tactics . . . Assimilated to the Tactics of Infantry and
Artillery (New York, 1874).

54. As shown on "Map of the Military Department of New Mexico
... 1864" accompanying General Carleton's report in the Official Records
of the War of the Rebellion, Series I, vol. 48, reprinted in Horn and
Wallace, eds., Union Army Operations in the Southwest (Albuquerque,
1961).

55. Kautz to A.A.G., May 26, 1870, transmitting description and map
of route from Fort Stanton to Fort Craig, New Mexico Letters.

56. Ibid. and Kautz Diary, 1870. The road they pioneered trends from
the narrowest point in the lava beds, about 17 miles southwest of Carrizozo,
west by northwest by Oscura Peak until it parallels U.S. Highway 380.
Although it still shows on recent maps, it has been closed by the Atomic
Energy Commission—it leads through the Trinity Site where the first atomic
bomb was detonated on July 16, 1945.

57. Ibid. He probably learned much about woodworking from his
father who was a cabinetmaker.

58. See Kautz to A.A.G., Feb. 24, March 17, and June 9, 1870, all in
New Mexico Letters. A Mexican herder was killed on June 7. McCleave's
opinion is recorded in Kautz Diary, 1870.

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid.

62. McKibbin, born in Pennsylvania in 1840, became a sutler with the 14th U.S. Infantry early in the Civil War. At the Battle of Gaines Mill, in September of 1862, he burned his goods and fought in the ranks as a civilian. He was severely wounded and recommended by the regimental officers for a commission, which was granted. Promoted captain of the 35th Infantry in 1867, he was transferred to the 15th in August 1869. Powell, p. 387.

63. Kautz Diary, 1870-71. The following account of the surrender of the Mescalero Apaches and the establishment of their reservation is based on the Diary and three letters of Kautz to the A.A.G., Feb. 9, March 9, and April 13, 1871, New Mexico Letters. Kautz' involvement has been overlooked by all previous writers. See Sonnichsen, pp. 143-56; C. C. Rister, The Southwestern Frontier (Cleveland, 1928), pp. 179-81; and F. Stanley, The Apaches of New Mexico, 1540-1940 (Pampa, Texas: Pampa Print Shop, 1962), pp. 312f.


66. Kautz Diary, 1870; Boyd, p. 173.

67. Kautz Diary, 1870-71. Historical Sketch of Fort Stanton in Post, Camp and Station Files, Records of the Quartermaster-General's Office RG 92, NA.

68. Fort Stanton Post Returns, 1871. Though an inveterate traveler, Kautz sometimes felt the demands unreasonable. E.g., in May, 1871, he received "two sets of inspection reports of property . . . at Fort Union and Fort Cummings, which I am appointed to inspect, involving an expenditure [for travel] of greater value than the property." He avoided the duty "by returning the . . . reports asking for an order for the journey and calling attention to the absurdity of my being appointed." By October he was "becoming very discontented again, in consequence of the endless amount of useless travel imposed upon me." Kautz Diary, 1871.

69. Report of Investigation by Lieutenant Colonel Kautz, Sept. 26,
1871, with copy of report by Captain E. W. Whittemore, 15th Infantry, to Acting A. A. G., Aug. 29, 1871, in New Mexico Letters. Blair was a Scot whose real name was Thomas Blair Nicholl. Heitman, vol. 1, p. 222.

70. Kautz Diary, 1871. Sheridan had already written to the Adjutant General on Nov. 22 requesting that Kautz be ordered to Newport Barracks, Kentucky. His recommendation included the sentence, “He is an officer peculiarly fitted for the position,” which may have been subtle humor. Recruit depots were eagerly sought assignments, well known as “soft duty” with plenty of leisure time near a big city and only a little paper work to perform. Newport was across the Ohio River from Cincinnati. Sheridan to General E. D. Townsend, Nov. 22, 1871, in the Papers of Philip H. Sheridan, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.


72. Acting A. A. G., District of New Mexico, to Kautz, June 6 and Sept. 5, 1871, Letters Received, Fort Stanton, RG 98, NA. Fort Stanton Post Returns, 1871.

73. Kautz Diary, 1872. Neither Fritz nor Murphy were legally appointed traders but, as their store antedated the reservation survey of 1870 and they had assisted in settling the Mescaleros, Kautz was at first reluctant to ask their removal. When in 1871, the official post tradership was assigned to one Frank Bliss, Kautz suggested that both parties operate stores in healthy competition. Then the old traders bought out Bliss. The ailing Fritz was absent on health-seeking eastern trips much of the time after April 1872, and the feisty Murphy became incorrigible. Kautz' successor, Major William R. Price, evicted Murphy in September 1873. Rasch, pp. 57-84.

74. Kautz Diary, 1871-72; Fort Stanton Post Returns, 1871-72.

75. Ibid. Kautz did return to the district next year to take command of Fort Garland, Colorado, accompanied by a new wife. In 1874 he was promoted colonel of the 8th Infantry and sent to the Military Department of Arizona where he replaced George Crook as commanding general.