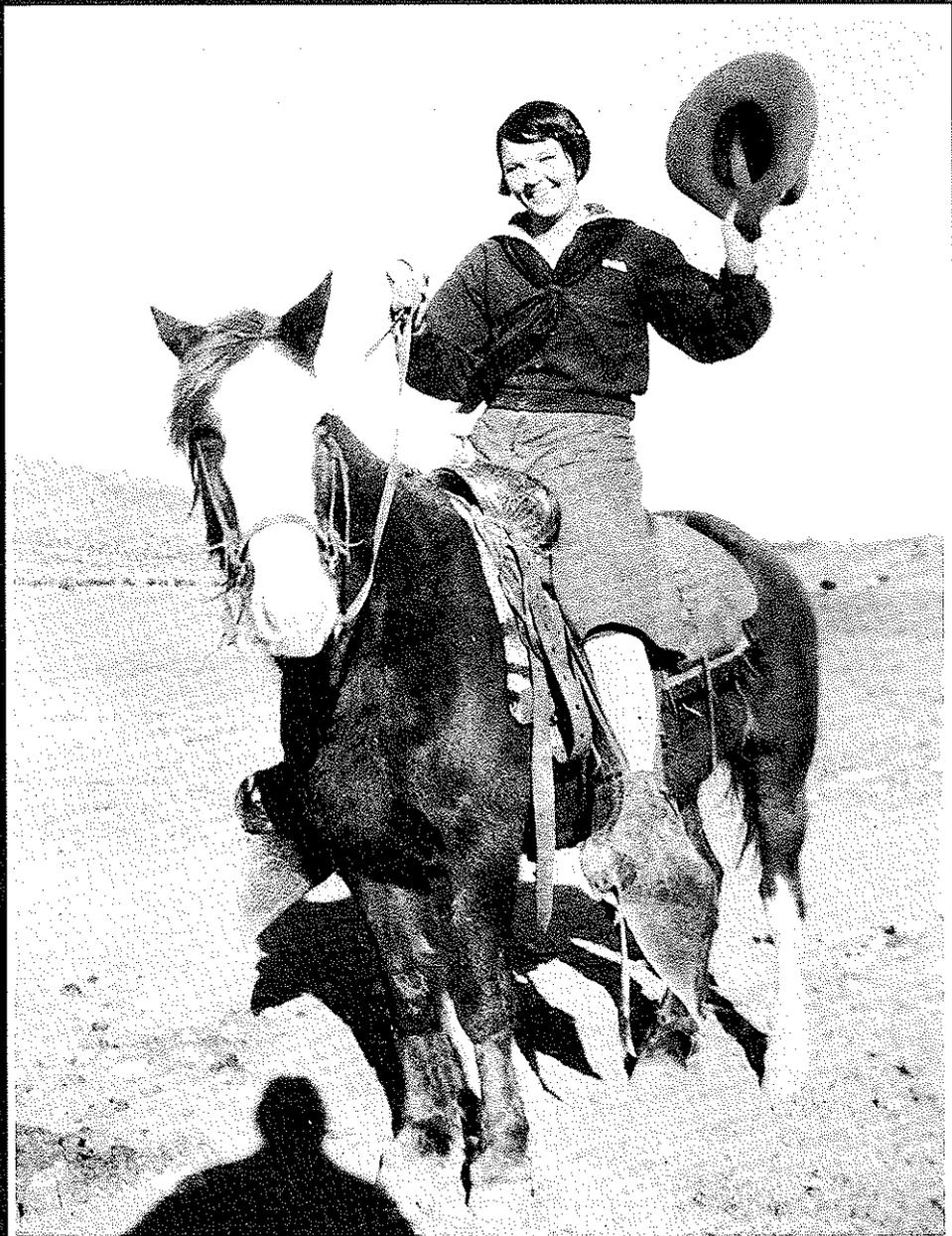


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BORN A CAVALRYMAN

Camillo C. C. Carr in Arizona

by
Jim Schreier

One must be born a light cavalryman. No other position requires so much natural aptitude, such innate genius for war as that as an officer of that arm.

—Antonie de Brack, 1831.

THE TROOPERS FROM FORT McDOWELL adjusted to the backs of their saddles and tightened rein. It was 3:30 in the afternoon of October 3, 1866, and below them was a busy Apache rancheria. They had been riding since five that morning. At about two o'clock, they had discovered a fresh trail and followed it to the Indian encampment in the Sierra Anchas of central Arizona. Captain George B. Sanford shouted orders. With whoops and hollers the cavalrymen dug spurs to their mounts and galloped down the brush-covered mountainside, edging near boulders and trees. The surprised Apaches scattered amid a hail of carbine fire. After a running fight that lasted over an hour, the victorious soldiers gathered up the abandoned food, supplies, and equipment and burned them along with the Indian camp. Twenty-four-year-old Camillo C. C. Carr turned in his saddle to watch the fire. He had just experienced his first Indian fight.¹

Camillo Casatti Cadmus Carr was born in Harrisburg, Virginia, on March 3, 1842, the sixth of eleven children of Wattson and Maria G. Carr. In 1857 the family moved to Chicago, where his

Jim Schreier of Phoenix is an avid researcher in Arizona military history. He is particularly interested in Fort McDowell and its role in the development of the Salt River Valley.

physician father established the most respected medical practice on the West Side.² Camillo completed three years at the "old" University of Chicago. On August 15, 1862, just weeks before the beginning of his senior year, he enlisted as a private in the First U.S. Cavalry, where his older brother, Milton, was a captain.³ He rose from corporal to sergeant major and was commissioned a second lieutenant with the help of a petition to President Lincoln from some of Chicago's leading citizens. Camillo's mother, Maria, wrote an even more convincing letter:

I have had four sons in this war the youngest of whom is Camillo C. Carr who I am informed has been recommended by the officers of his Regiment . . . to a 2d Lieutenancy. . . . If you would be so very good as to give Camillo a commission you may rest assured that he will never disgrace it.⁴

Two months later, near Culpeper, Virginia, Camillo requested ten days' leave "for the purpose of procuring an outfit suitable for an officer in the U[nited] S[tates] A[rmy]." Brigadier General John Buford, commanding the division, granted him five days.⁵

Carr was twice wounded, most seriously in May of 1864 at Todd's Tavern, Virginia, where his legs were injured. This may be the reason that he was given a staff appointment a few months after rejoining his regiment. The assignment effectively removed him from action. "I was compelled as Regimental Quartermaster, and much to my regret, to remain behind," he later wrote, "so that my field services in the Civil War ended with the close of the campaign in the Shenandoah Valley in 1864."⁶

After Appomattox, Carr accompanied his regiment to New Orleans, San Francisco, and finally to Drum Barracks, near Wilmington, California, the staging point for its move into Arizona. Carr disliked quartermastering, and when Captain Sanford's E Company was ready to march east, Camillo made an impromptu decision. He had served with Sanford at Todd's Tavern, and Sanford now had an opening for a first lieutenant. Although it meant a ten-dollar cut in his monthly pay, he resigned as regimental quartermaster and prepared for the trip to Arizona. Carr later looked back at his decision with wonder, accusing himself of excessive youthful optimism.



Camillo C. C. Carr, around 1869.

Carr was introduced to Arizona by the seat of his pants. He described the scene when the company mounted horses that had formerly belonged to the Second California Volunteer Cavalry:

The only objection to them was their irresistible propensity for bucking when first mounted, and this they displayed to such an extent that the troop was seldom ordered to mount without the air being filled for a few minutes with flying men, carbines and sabers in inextricable confusion. However, we had no one seriously injured and soon grew accustomed to this exhibition of the "high school" of riding, although not provided for in our drill book.⁷

Plagued by lack of water, intense heat and sandstorms, the march from Drum Barracks to Fort McDowell, via Fort Yuma and the overland route paralleling the Gila River, took the troopers fifty days. Carr was impressed by the vast plain north of the Gila that today is the site of Chandler, Tempe, and Mesa. Yellow and black pottery shards, stone tools, and skeletons of prehistoric irrigation canals—remnants of the vanished Hohokam civilization—littered the ground. A military trail led to the Salt River (the water was brisk and fresh and not at all salty), into McDowell Canyon, then four miles up the Verde River to Fort McDowell.

On May 30 the column approached its destination. From a distance, the post resembled a collection of dirt mounds. Although McDowell was only nine months old, many of its buildings already were in poor shape, having been constructed from insufficiently cured adobe and lacking roofs. Before long they collapsed under desert rains and windstorms. The officers' quarters had roofs, but lacked wood and glass to fill the rough openings for doors and windows. Tents lined the perimeter of the parade ground, which was covered with white granite that blazed so hot in the summer sunlight that it hurt the eyes.⁸

Carr recalled that dogfights erupted nightly outside his doorless quarters and within moments spilled into the middle of his living room. Chew-happy puppies often carried off boots and stockings. Soldiers who entered their quarters after dark lit matches to verify that rattlesnakes had not repossessed the

area, and in the morning they gingerly plucked scorpions from wool uniforms.

The ceilings at McDowell were hard to forget because they leaked. A layer of horse manure sealed the roofs, which had then been covered with mud. "The water that poured through . . . was at first of a dark-brown color," Carr discovered, "then shaded off into a light yellow as the mud of the roof dissolved and made its way through the lower stratum. On such occasions the occupants of the quarters covered their bedding and other perishable articles with rubber blankets and passed their time outdoors, where if there was more moisture, it was at least cleaner and less fragrant."⁹

The infantry and cavalry at McDowell were chiefly occupied during the summer of 1866 with the construction of a government farm north of the post, following an ancient Hohokam canal. Because of McDowell's remote location, freight was expensive and delivery undependable. It was hoped that the farm would provide forage and grain and stabilize prices.

Carr described clearing the ground:

A piece of bottom land lying on the [Verde] river, near the post, containing about half a section, was selected, an irrigating ditch several miles in length, and, in places, ten or twelve feet in depth, was dug; the land cleared of its dense growth of mesquite trees, bull brush and cactus—mainly by the labor of the three companies of the Fourteenth U.S. Infantry, and one troop of the First U.S. Cavalry, constituting the garrison.¹⁰

Post commander Lieutenant Colonel Clarence E. Bennett of the California Volunteers gave the farm his highest priority. Many overworked soldiers became sick in the intense desert heat. Others contracted scurvy, a vitamin deficiency disorder, caused no doubt when the company gardens, which should have been in production by early summer, were neglected.

Apaches roamed the post at night looking for metal and broken glass to manufacture into arrowheads. Captain Sanford recalled that the soldiers "repell[ed] constant raids not only on our communications with our supply depots, but on our very houses. No man's life was safe five hundred yards from the

garrison by day or five feet from his door at night, and many a poor fellow I can remember who received his final discharge from the service and life by the deadly arrow of the Apache." The reason that the post was not properly defended, Carr maintained, was that the extra diversion of energy would hinder development of the farm.¹¹ What had started out as a cost-control measure was threatening the well-being of the garrison.

As the new post quartermaster and subsistence officer, Carr was responsible for obtaining food and supplies from hundreds of miles away. Fresh produce was scarce and prices were steep:

For the first half bushel of potatoes I was able to buy in Arizona I gladly paid sixteen dollars, and would have given sixty had it been demanded. For once, money seemed to have lost its power. It could neither be eaten nor exchanged for that which the human system craved. When, at last, scurvy attacked the garrison, and the post surgeon demanded the purchase of anti-scorbutics [lime juice], wagons were sent two hundred and fifty miles and loaded with onions at forty-five dollars per bushel, and potatoes and cucumber pickles at corresponding prices. The remedy was expensive, but it was the natural result of the so-called economical measures originated by those in authority.¹²

While the soldiers performed forced labor, the territorial legislature grumbled that action against the hostile Indians was long past due. The Joint Committee on Military and Indian Affairs of the Third Territorial Assembly complained that the military was "inadequate properly to garrison the different posts and to defend the roads and mails, not to speak of waging an aggressive war upon a barbarous enemy, which war is positively necessary to the successful opening of the country." The Prescott *Arizona Miner* pointed out that it was the army's responsibility to defend civilians, and yet "our citizens are almost daily massacred, our property stolen, and in consequence our business enterprises are at a stand still [*sic*], and all for want of that protection which is due to us from our government, and which is our right to *demand*."¹³

Amid the uproar, the cavalry finally achieved success. The October 3 attack on the Apache rancheria in the Sierra Anchas

demonstrated that, even with pressing supply problems, angry territorial politicians could be appeased.

Word of the victory exploded in the media, as newspapers throughout the country, including the *New York Times* and *Herald*, ran the text of the official report. "Such an officer . . . is worth his weight in gold," the ever-vocal *Miner* observed about Sanford, "and must have a warm place in the affections of the people." More importantly, some of the Apaches, under Chief Delchay, approached Fort McDowell requesting peace. As a compliment to the soldiers, the warriors offered to join them in an attack on Fort Grant.¹⁴ Naturally, the post commander declined their generous offer.

Six weeks later Sanford led a second attack on an occupied rancharia, this time east of the Mazatzal Mountains. His Civil War-hardened troops were becoming accustomed to the new techniques of fighting in Arizona, and Sanford was quick to commend Lieutenant Carr in particular:

To Lieut. *Carr* and the enlisted men . . . I am exceedingly indebted for the activity and energy they displayed. The conduct of one and all was gallant in the extreme. Their success in the previous expedition had given them confidence in themselves, and every man exerted himself to the utmost, to make the campaign a success. The long preserved reputation of the First Cavalry will never suffer in the hands of these men.¹⁵

In 1867 the Verde River flooded, damaging the intake canal that irrigated the McDowell farm. The summer harvest fell below expectations, and the price of hay skyrocketed to \$65.00 per ton.¹⁶ Carr, Sanford, post surgeon Charles Smart, and T. J. Barnes, a post employee, saw the potential for profit and on June 8 took out water rights on the north side of the Salt River. Two weeks later, they incorporated the Salinas Milling, Mining and Irrigation Ditch Company to reactivate an extensive Hohokam canal system for agricultural purposes—the first modern irrigation venture planned for the Salt River.¹⁷ The project apparently never got underway, although in July the fort established a hay and grain camp in the immediate vicinity, suggesting that the enterprise was feasible.¹⁸

In January of 1868, Carr set out to establish a wagon road

connecting McDowell with Camp Lincoln to the north and returning by way of the site for Camp Reno in the Tonto Basin.¹⁹ The route along the Verde River covered some of the most rugged landscape in the territory. The heavy winter rains had turned central Arizona into a mud bog, and the river showed signs of rising forty feet above its normal level. Freezing rain and snow fell almost daily throughout the exploration. The expedition twice narrowly avoided disaster.

The soldiers encountered their first obstacle as they attempted to cross the flooded Verde. At the time, Carr reported the episode in unemotional language:

. . . the Command proceeded to construct a Raft, a Corporal and six Men swam the River to assist in the Management of it[.] One was made of logs obtained on the bank of the stream and five (5) pack cords were placed upon it, the Raft was carried too far down the stream, . . . struck a Rock, capsized, threw the Raftsmen and Cargo overboard, the Raftsmen was [*sic*] recovered but the Cargo was lost.²⁰

Twenty years later, he recalled the incident differently:

The water was as smooth as glass, not a ripple disturbing its surface, and the current apparently sluggish. When about the middle of the stream there was a cry from the men, an opening in the surface of the water, and the raft went down bow foremost, never to be seen again. The men swam to shore, but neither the freight nor a stick of the raft ever came to the surface, or was seen again, although the stream was carefully examined for some distance below the scene of the wreck. The disappearance of that raft is a mystery for which no rational explanation has ever been offered.²¹

The second phase of the trip was equally harrowing. At Camp Lincoln, Carr rendezvoused with Captain David Krause of the Fourteenth Infantry, and the combined command turned southeast toward Camp Reno. Two guides employed at Lincoln suggested a shortcut, but instead the soldiers became engulfed in steep-walled canyons. As animals wore out and rations neared exhaustion, Carr decided to return to Lincoln. Then it began to rain. The creek rose, and horses sank up to their knees in mud. Pack mules lost their footing on slippery

boulders and fell into the turbid water. Rain continued to fall, and the stream grew increasingly treacherous.

Recognizing that the situation was critical, Carr camped on a mesa above the angry creek. Miraculously, during the night the mud froze, and early in the morning the explorers followed the now-solid canyon floor to safety. The expedition had been costly. In addition to washed-away equipment, Carr lost eleven horses and four mules, nearly 25 percent of his livestock.²²

Carr was overjoyed when he received orders in December to report for recruiting duty at Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. His first tour of duty in Arizona had been arduous. Communication and cooperation between posts were almost nonexistent. Far from direct supervision, some of Camp McDowell's commanders had been difficult to serve. His assignments had been hard and the results meager. Major Roger Jones summarized the situation in his report of his 1867 inspection of Camp McDowell. The troops, he wrote, "have been more in the field than any I visited south of the Gila." But, he added, "their efforts . . . have not been crowned with any success of late."²³

Without coordination between far-flung garrisons, the army in Arizona accomplished little. "With our one troop of cavalry," Carr noted, "we overran and routed the Apaches, temporarily, at least, from nearly every part of the country bounded by the Mogollon, the Verde, Salt River and the East Fork."²⁴ Because the War Department did not have an Indian policy, responsibility for various bands of Apaches shifted constantly from one post to another. Military activity in the territory, it seemed, had been in vain.

On April 8, 1869, Carr was promoted to captain of I Troop, First Cavalry, and ordered to Camp Winfield Scott, Nevada, as the post's last commanding officer. After thirteen months, Carr and his troop were sent to Camp McDermitt, Nevada, until November of 1871, when they were ordered to Camp Verde, Arizona, the new name for Camp Lincoln.

In 1870 two companies of Third Cavalry had been assigned to the post. The facilities, however, were too small, and a "cavalry camp" was established on the other side of the river, dividing the post in half. By 1871 a full-time construction program was underway at the cavalry camp, which was to become the

new Camp Verde.²⁵ Carr reported for duty as commanding officer on December 3, 1871.

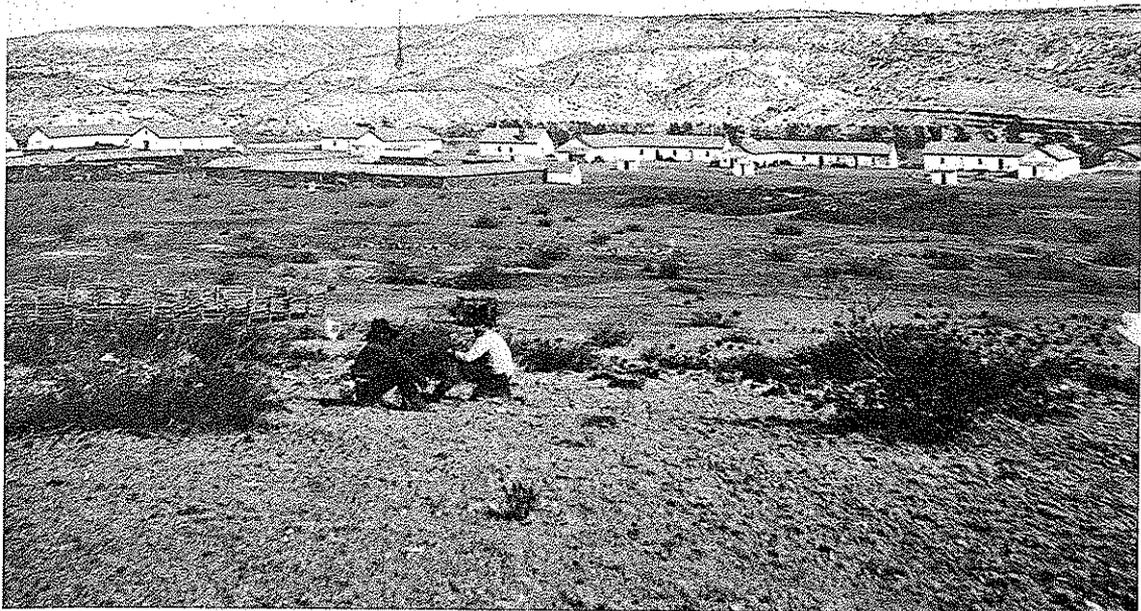
A week later, Lieutenant Colonel George Crook of the Twenty-third Infantry, commanding the Department of Arizona, ordered that all roving bands of Indians would be placed on reservations, one of them located at Camp Verde. The Verde reservation extended along a ten-mile-wide strip on each side of the river for forty-five miles, "to the point where the old wagon road to New Mexico crosses the Verde." If the Apaches did not settle on the authorized reservations by February of 1873, they would be treated as hostile. Carr was responsible for the operation and administration of both the reservation and the post of Camp Verde. As post commander, he was instructed to "prevent as far as possible collision between the troops and Indians." And, Crook added, "it is also your duty to protect as far as possible the settlers in your vicinity."²⁶

Carr maintained cordial relations with the settlers. He authorized them to route a canal through the post, and when salt deposits were discovered in Copper Canyon, he permitted work on portions of the claim that overlapped the military reservation.²⁷

A number of local contractors supplied Camp Verde, and Carr promoted good relations with his vendors as well. He accepted—over previous refusals by the post quartermaster—hay and firewood of questionable quality. The materials, he explained, were the best the local contractors were able to provide at that time of the year.²⁸

The post trader's store served both the military and settlers, and was the commercial center of the Verde Valley. Although built and managed by civilians, the store operated under army regulations. Carr, however, was flexible in administering the rules. When Reverend David White, the post chaplain, complained to General Crook that Carr violated section 29 of the Articles of War by allowing the post trader to remain open on Sunday, Carr responded:

To keep the trader's store at this post closed to the citizens of the vicinity as requested would only be received by them in the light of an unnecessary and arbitrary exercise of authority, and would not result



Camp Verde circa 1875.

in any benefit to the troops. The post store is the only one within 50 miles of this place at which citizens can make purchases of any kind, and they visit it principally on Sunday, not in order to show their contempt for the observance of that day, but because hostile Indians render travelling unsafe to small parties, and large ones can only be collected when farm labor is suspended.²⁹

Crook agreed and the store remained open on Sundays.

When White also objected to Carr's manner of handling troops, Carr labeled the charges "disrespectful and malicious," and suggested that if another post had need of a chaplain, there were officers at Verde who certainly could make use of Reverend White's quarters.³⁰

Carr by all accounts was strict but more than fair. For example, about a week after his arrival at Verde he approved excessive rations of flour for the men of the Third Cavalry. Of course, this caught the attention of department headquarters, which requested an explanation. Carr replied that because the garrison was divided by the river, troops were unable to maintain company gardens or build up a company fund. "The flour which has been purchased was considered actually necessary to prevent constant complaints of insufficient food," Carr explained. In addition, he noted that the troops had not been paid in over six months.³¹

Construction at the cavalry camp site progressed sufficiently so that the move to the new location started in March of 1872. Because the garrison was allowed only one horse, eighteen mules, two army wagons, and two carts to relocate 275 tons of equipment and supplies, much of the hauling had to be contracted out.³² The army, however, refused permission to move 270 tons of hay stored at the old site, so operation of the post continued to be divided. "The necessity for speedily concentrating the stores and men at one post is becoming daily more urgent," Carr warned, "as the garrison is diminishing from sickness and other causes to such an extent, that it is a matter of some difficulty to furnish the necessary guard for public property."³³

The relocation was anything but smooth. Materials for a new hospital and jail, for example, had been overlooked. The soldiers spent much of the first half of 1872 jockeying back and

forth across the river. Camp Verde's resources were tested, but according to Prescott's newspaper, all in all it was "a good move."³⁴

At first the Apaches tried to tolerate life on the Camp Verde reservation, but at the end of March, 1872, they began tampering with livestock and attacking settlers. This set off a cycle of depredations that lasted for thirteen months. "You will have to do the best you can with the force you have for the present," Crook's aide A. H. Nickerson instructed Carr, and "you must use your discretion should any emergency arise."³⁵

Carr did not have to wait long for trouble to begin. The Indians complained that their tribesmen at the Date Creek reservation received flour, but Verde doled out only corn. Carr finally responded that they either "take corn and beef as rations or nothing."³⁶

The situation on the reservation remained fluid. Some Apaches stayed, others left, and still others wished to return. Carr's response to those desiring to return followed Crook's terse instructions: "If they return, they will be treated and fed, but . . . they will be considered prisoners of war, and remain at [Camp Verde] as such for the present."³⁷

Friction mounted as random raids continued. "Captain Carr [and] some other officers, and quite a party of enlisted men," the *Miner* reported tongue-in-cheek, "were out, trying to induce the Apaches to lay down their arms and take quarters on the reserve." Military action, however, had little impact. By August of 1872, all but six Indians had left the reservation. The day prior to skipping, the Apaches requested that their confiscated weapons be returned.³⁸ This time Carr's response was not recorded.

To settle the Indian problem, Crook planned to send out cavalry guided by Apache scouts in a great arc stretching from south of Prescott, past Bill Williams Mountain, through the Black Hills and Red Rock country, and north to the San Francisco Peaks, driving the Indians toward the southeast. Simultaneously, troops from other forts would launch a similar movement in a generally northwest direction. Eventually, the combined troop movements would herd the Indians into the Tonto Basin where, under the pressure of winter, they would be compelled to surrender.³⁹



Reuben F. Bernard.

Crook personally directed the southern operation, while Nickerson oversaw the broad northern movements. Carr participated in two campaigns during December of 1872 and one eastern sweep in February of 1873. After most of the Apaches surrendered in April, Crook commended a number of men from Carr's I Troop for their important contributions to the success of the campaign. Carr himself was singled out for his "conspicuous services."⁴⁰

In early May of 1873, troops of the First Cavalry were withdrawn from Arizona for possible action in the Modoc War. Taking only their personal effects, Carr and his troop left Camp Verde on May 13, rendezvoused with Company A at Fort Whipple, and then proceeded to Camp Mohave via Camp Beale Springs. The troopers surrendered their mounts and equipment at the Colorado River and boarded a riverboat for the trip downstream to Yuma. At the mouth of the Colorado, they embarked on a steamer for the ocean voyage to northern California.⁴¹

Commenting on Carr's departure, the *Miner* noted that he had "a good record of over four years in our territory."⁴² The

evaluation was as accurate as it was kind. Carr left Arizona knowing that military operations against a guerrilla enemy could not only be waged, but won. Success hinged on planning and cooperation.

Carr and I Troop spent the next eight years at Camp Halleck, Nevada. By August of 1881, however, the Apaches in Arizona had once again become troublesome. Colonel Eugene A. Carr (unrelated to Camillo) of the Sixth Cavalry moved in to arrest the medicine man Noch-ay-del-Klinne near Cibicu Creek, northwest of Camp Apache. In the process, some of Carr's Apache scouts reportedly turned on the soldiers, killing an officer and seven enlisted men. The press turned the initial Cibicu telegraphic reports into another Little Bighorn. Within weeks, troops flooded into southern Arizona over the new Southern Pacific Railroad.

On September 6, George Sanford (now a major) was ordered from Camp Halleck to Willcox station, the staging area for the military buildup in Arizona. Accompanying him were Camillo Carr's I Troop and G Troop under Captain Reuben F. Bernard. The trip, complete with arms, ammunition, mounts, and horse equipment, involved six commissioned officers and 122 enlisted men. The cavalrymen detrained at Willcox on September 10 and proceeded at once to San Carlos, then on toward Camp Apache. Near Black River on the nineteenth, they attacked and defeated a small body of White Mountain Apaches who appeared to have escaped from the San Carlos reservation. Afterward, the troopers returned to San Carlos.

During the night of September 30, Juh, Nachez, and seventy-four Chiricahua men, women, and children fled the reservation, killing the chief of Indian police. The next morning, Carr and Bernard set out with Major Sanford for Willcox. With them were forty-seven Apache scouts accused of participating in the Cibicu attack. North of Cedar Springs, a messenger from Colonel Orlando B. Willcox, the department commander, notified the soldiers that the fleeing Chiricahuas had attacked a wagon train, killing the owner and all the teamsters.

While Sanford halted, Lieutenants Gilbert Overton and John Glass happened along with a detachment of Sixth Cavalry and reported that the Indians had also massacred a military-

telegraph repair party. Even though Sanford was ill (probably from recurring malaria), Willcox directed that he and Bernard proceed together with the Sixth Cavalry troops against the Chiricahuas. Carr and I Troop, meanwhile, would promptly conduct the Cibicu prisoners to Fort Grant. Taking an alternate route, Carr also was fired upon by the renegade Apaches.⁴³

Once they had delivered their captives safely to Fort Grant, Carr had twenty men of I Troop ride out to reinforce Sanford. They caught up with him at about nine o'clock in the evening, just as Sanford emerged from a skirmish with the Chiricahuas. One sergeant had been killed, three privates wounded, and fifteen head of horses lost in the engagement. Stymied for the moment, the Indians pressed on south toward the Mexican border.⁴⁴

News of the Chiricahuas' escape turned southeastern Arizona into a camp of tense soldiers and civilians. Tombstone prepared for the worst while the army quartermaster provided arms to Willcox residents. Southern Pacific Railroad section hands were warned to head into towns for safety. On October 3, Carr transferred the Cibicu prisoners to the Willcox depot without incident.⁴⁵

At ten o'clock the next morning, Captains Carr and Bernard, along with Lieutenants Overton and Glass, loaded men, horses, and pack mules onto an empty Southern Pacific freight train and moved eastward until they spotted the Chiricahuas. Unloading their mounts from the boxcars, the troopers, with additional support from men of the Ninth Cavalry, commenced the chase in earnest.⁴⁶

Carr and Bernard caught up with the Indians and chased them into the Dragoon Mountains. A telegram from Tombstone described the action:

An attack was made at once, and while the Indians engaged the troops the women and children drove the stock over the other side of the mountains after which the Indians followed them. The troops pursued them to the south pass, but darkness made it impossible to go further.⁴⁷

On October 5, two mountain howitzers arrived at Willcox, but they were too little, too late. Carr and Bernard closed to within



Camillo Carr, middle of front row, and First Cavalry officers at Helena, Montana, June of 1884.

five miles of the Indians when fatigue and thirst forced them to stop at Soldier's Hole and unsaddle their horses for the first time in twenty-four hours.

Tombstone mayor John Clum and two of the Earp brothers packed a wagon with supplies and, like a number of other Tombstonites, took off to "help" the cavalry. Their assistance, however, consisted only of that which "was given around their camp fires and coffee pots," punctuated by boastful conversations about capturing and scalping one of the Chiricahuas.⁴⁸

While the cavalry rested, the Apaches pushed forward, gaining a full day's lead over the troops and passing within eight miles of Tombstone. After two nights and one day, the troopers resumed their pursuit in the rugged mountains along the border. Horses became disabled after losing shoes or falling among the rocks. Mexican authorities objected when Carr and Bernard crossed the international boundary, and Sanford was given the job of coming up with an official explanation and apology. By October 11 the Chiricahuas were safe in Mexico, and the campaign was terminated.⁴⁹

The First Cavalry troops lingered in Arizona for the next two months, while General Willcox argued for their retention to guard against renewed Indian troubles in the spring. His requests, however, were denied, and on December 20, 1881, Carr and I Troop left Fort Bowie to return to Camp Halleck. It was Carr's last tour of duty in the territory.

Camillo C. C. Carr was one of the few army officers who served in Arizona during all phases of the Apache wars. He observed firsthand the limitations of cavalry, as well as what it was capable of achieving. The lessons he learned served him well in his subsequent career in the field, and as a writer and educator.

In May of 1885, Carr commenced teaching cavalry tactics, hippology (the study of the horse), and equitation (riding) at the School of Infantry and Cavalry Application at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. He was instrumental in founding the United States Cavalry Association, the army's first professional organization, and both wrote for and later edited its *Journal*. In 1893 Carr published his translation from the French of Antonie de



Brigadier General Carr in 1903.

Brack's *Cavalry Outpost Duties*, a handbook written by one of Napoleon's generals, which considered, as did Carr, the cavalry as an assertive, pragmatic military force.

In the meantime, Carr experienced happiness and tragedy in his personal life. On November 27, 1878, he had married Mrs. Marie C. Camp, a well-known Washington, D.C., socialite. Marie died suddenly at Fort Leavenworth in April of 1893. The couple had no children, and Camillo never remarried. He remained active in the cavalry, participating in the late Sioux campaigns, the Puerto Rican occupation, and the Philippine insurrection. Carr was promoted to brigadier general in 1903 and retired three years later. He died in Chicago on July 24, 1914.

Captain John G. Bourke listed Carr prominently among nearly 100 army officers, Indian scouts, and civilians who made exemplary contributions to the pacification and development of Arizona Territory.⁵⁰ Like Bourke, Carr made valuable use of his Arizona experiences. Bourke saw his service as a means to advance scholarship; Carr employed the lessons he learned in Arizona to improve technical proficiency of the cavalry. For over two decades he had helped sustain the tenuous existence of early Arizona, and the vivid experiences never left him.

NOTES

¹"Report of Scouts," pp. 1-6, manuscript, in Folder 1, Box 1, George B. Sanford Papers, Arizona Collection, Hayden Library, Arizona State University, Tempe. Sanford counted fifteen dead Indians. The Apaches later admitted that they lost some forty men in the fight.

²The family does not agree on the number of children born to Wattson and Maria Carr. Camillo maintains that there were twelve children but provides only eight names. See "Proof of Heirships for the Estate of Wattson Carr," December 13, 1889, Cook County Probate Court, Chicago, Illinois. His younger sister, Venitia, testified that there were eleven children. See "Proof of Heirships for the Estate of Maria G. Carr," December 16, 1896; and "Proof of Heirships for the Estate of Camillo C. C. Carr," July 31, 1914, both in *ibid.* Venitia Carr supplies the most detailed information. See also *Chicago Tribune*, December 2, 1889.

³The "old" University of Chicago existed from 1859 to 1886 and was unrelated to the current University of Chicago, founded in 1890. Milton Carr preceded Camillo to Arizona, having been stationed at Fort Buchanan in 1856-57. He must have influenced his younger brother to join the regular cavalry rather than the volunteers, as Camillo held the rank of lieutenant in both the Thirteenth Illinois Volunteer Cavalry (Bell's Division) and the Fifty-first Illinois Volunteer Infantry in 1861. Camillo maintained the highest regard for Milton throughout his life. See the Carr Collection, Chicago Historical Society; and Administrative Files on Civil War Companies and Regiments, R. S. 301-18, field and staff papers, Illinois State Archives, Springfield.

Born a Cavalryman

⁴Maria G. Carr to Abraham Lincoln, June 16, 1863, in Camillo C. C. Carr Appointment, Commission and Personal (ACP) File 2468/1871, Records of the Adjutant General's Office (RAGO), Record Group (RG) 94, National Archives (NA). Another brother, John D. M. Carr, served as assistant surgeon for the First West Virginia Infantry in 1861. *Official Register of the Volunteer Force of the U.S. Army* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1865), vol. 4, p. 1123. The fourth son has yet to be identified as an officer or enlisted man in the Union army.

⁵Camillo C. C. Carr to Assistant Adjutant General (AAG), November 14, 1863, Carr Collection.

⁶Carr's injuries, which he never mentions, are identified in [I. R. Dunkenberger?], "History of the First United States Cavalry," *Wilmington (California) Journal*, March 10, 1866; and Carr to Adjutant General (AG), January 16, 1903, Carr ACP File.

⁷C. C. Carr, "The Days of the Empire—Arizona, 1866-1869," *Journal of the United States Cavalry Association*, vol. 2 (March, 1889), p. 5. This trip was also used to escort Maricopa chief Juan Chivaria back home after a tour of San Francisco. See Constance Wynn Altshuler, "Men and Brothers," *Journal of Arizona History*, vol. 19 (Autumn, 1978), pp. 315-22.

⁸Carr, "Days of the Empire," p. 9.

⁹Ibid., p. 10.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 12.

¹¹George B. Sanford, *Fighting Rebels and Redskins: Experiences in the Army Life of Colonel George B. Sanford, 1861-1892*, edited by E. R. Hagemann (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969), p. 11; Carr, "Days of the Empire," p. 12.

¹²Carr, "Days of the Empire," pp. 13-14.

¹³*Arizona Miner* (Prescott), November 10, 1866; September 21, 1867.

¹⁴*New York Times*, December 10, 1866; *New York Herald*, December 13, 1866; *Connecticut Herald and Weekly Journal* (New Haven), January 18, 1867; and the *Arizona Miner*, November 30, 1866. Carr, "Days of the Empire," p. 18.

¹⁵"Report of Scouts," p. 9, Sanford Papers.

¹⁶Roger Jones, "Inspection Report of Fort McDowell," June 8, 1867, p. 7, in Records of the Inspector General, RG 159, NA.

¹⁷Yavapai County Promiscuous Records; and Arizona Dead Corporation Commission Files, Arizona Department of Library, Archives and Public Records, Phoenix.

¹⁸Post Returns, Camp McDowell, Arizona, July, 1867, Returns from U.S. Military Posts, 1800-1916 (RMP), M-617, Roll 668, RAGO.

¹⁹Special Orders 1, 2, and 3, January, 1868, in "Troops Operating in Northern and Central Arizona," Records of the U.S. Army Continental Commands, RG 393, NA.

²⁰Carr to _____, District of Arizona, January 28, 1868, in Records of U.S. Army Commands (RUSAC), RG 98, NA.

²¹Carr, "Days of the Empire," p. 21.

²²For a detailed study of the expedition, see Jim Schreier, "One Vast Jumble of Mountains," *Periodical: The Journal of the Council on America's Military Past*, vol. 15 (October, 1987), pp. 15-24.

²³Jones, "Inspection Report," p. 5.

²⁴Carr, "Days of the Empire," p. 18.

²⁵Constance Wynn Altshuler, *Starting with Defiance: Nineteenth-Century Arizona Military Posts* (Tucson: Arizona Historical Society, 1983), pp. 59-62.

²⁶A. H. Nickerson endorsement of Carr's report of March 24, 1872, Letters Sent, Department of Arizona (LSDA), RUSAC.

²⁷Carr to AAG, February 9, 1872, *ibid.*

²⁸Carr endorsements, March 3 and 15, 1872, *ibid.*

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- ²⁹Crook and Carr endorsements to Reverend White's letter, April 25, 1872, *ibid.*
- ³⁰White was relieved as chaplain at Camp Verde on April 10, 1873, and transferred to the Department of the Platte. Post Returns, Camp Verde, Arizona, April, 1873, RMP, Roll 1325.
- ³¹Carr endorsement, February 18, 1872, LSDA.
- ³²*Arizona Miner*, March 2, 1872.
- ³³Alexander Grant endorsement to Quartermaster General's letter, March 13, 1872; and Carr's second endorsement to *ibid.*, both in LSDA.
- ³⁴*Arizona Miner*, March 2, 1872.
- ³⁵Nickerson to Commanding Officer, Camp Verde, December 29, 1871, LSDA.
- ³⁶*Arizona Miner*, February 10, 1872.
- ³⁷Nickerson to Carr, February 20, 1872, LSDA.
- ³⁸*Arizona Miner*, July 27, August 17, 1872.
- ³⁹For more information on Crook's 1872-73 operations, see Constance Wynn Altshuler, *Chains of Command: Arizona and the Army, 1856-1875* (Tucson: Arizona Historical Society, 1981), pp. 197-226; and Dan L. Thrapp, *The Conquest of Apacheria* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), chapters 8 through 11.
- ⁴⁰General Order 13, Department of Arizona, April 8, 1873, LSDA.
- ⁴¹Post Returns, Camp Verde, May, 1873. *Arizona Miner*, May 17, 1873.
- ⁴²*Arizona Miner*, April 12, 1873.
- ⁴³Tucson *Weekly Citizen*, September 25, October 9, 1881. Sanford report, in *Secretary of War Annual Report, 1881-1882* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1882), pp. 146-47. John Bigelow, Jr., *On the Bloody Trail of Geronimo* (reprint, Tucson: Westernlore Press, 1986), pp. 18-19.
- ⁴⁴Sanford report, in *Secretary of War Annual Report, 1881-1882*, pp. 146-47.
- ⁴⁵*Weekly Citizen*, October 9, 1881.
- ⁴⁶Don Russell, *One Hundred and Three Fights and Scrimmages: The Story of General Reuben F. Bernard* (Washington, D.C.: United States Cavalry Association, 1936), p. 163. Contemporary newspaper accounts refer to the train at Willcox, but do not verify the unusual (but ingenious) method of chasing the Chiricahuas by rail.
- ⁴⁷*Weekly Citizen*, October 9, 1881.
- ⁴⁸*Ibid.*, and October 30, 1881.
- ⁴⁹Telegram, Orlando Willcox to AG, Division of the Pacific, December 12, 1881, LSDA.
- ⁵⁰John G. Bourke, *On the Border with Crook* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1891), pp. 209-11.

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