A Cheyenne Buck, by Frederic Remington
Theme XV
Westward Expansion and
Extension of the National Boundaries, 1830-1898

MILITARY AND INDIAN AFFAIRS
(sub-theme)

August 1959

National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings
We were sent to Arizona, for to fight the Indians there;
We were almost snatched bald-headed, but they didn't get our hair.
We lay among the cañons and the dirty yellow mud,
But we seldom saw an onion, or a turnip, or a spud,
Till we were taken prisoners and brought forminst the chief;
Says he, "We'll have an Irish stew"--the dirty Indian thief.
On Price's telegraphic wire we slid to Mexico,
And we blessed the day we skipped away from the Regular Army.

But 'twas out upon the Yellowstone we had the damndest time,
Faix, we made the trip wid Rosebud George, six months without a dime.
Some eighteen hundred miles we went through hunger, mud, and rain,
Wid backs all bare, and rations rare, no chance for grass or grain;
Wid bunks shatarvin' by our side, no rations was the rule;
Shure 'twas ate your boots and saddles, you brutes, but feed the packer and mule.
But you know full well that in your fights no soldier lad was slow,
And it wasn't the packer that won ye a star in the Regular Army.

There was Sergeant Mike McCafferty and Corporal Donohue
They made us march and toe the line
In gallant Company Q.
The drums they roll, upon my soul
And this is the way we go,
Forty miles a day, on beans and hay,
In the Regular Army.

--The Regular Army

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Kakoyan wicexka alina, kakoyan wicexka alina,
Koyan wowahin kte, koyan wowahin kte;
I wish to cook soon, I wish to cook soon;

Iglaka auwe, iglaka auwe
Tahena, tahena,
Ate heye lo, ate heye lo,

Tokeya micage, tokeya micage;
Inicagin kte, inicagin kte;
Ate heye lo, ate heye lo,

Raise the tepee, hurry, raise the tepee, hurry;
Drive the pins around the tepee,
Saith thy mother, saith thy mother.

The people are coming home,
The people are coming home,
Saith my father, saith my father,
Saith my father.

I have lived before, I have lived before;
Thou shalt grow, thou shalt grow;
Saith my father, saith my father,
Saith my father.

---Sioux Ghost Dance Song
PREFACE

As part of the MISSION 66 Program, the National Park Service in 1957 resumed the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, which Congress authorized in the Historic Sites Act of 1935 and which World War II interrupted. The objective of this program is to make a comprehensive nation-wide survey of historic sites that illustrate the major historical and aboriginal themes of American history. The Survey is conducted by the Branch of History of the National Park Service under the supervision of the Chief of Interpretation.

This report sets forth the results of an intensive investigation of sites that exemplify the conflict between the advancing military frontier and the receding Indian frontier in the Trans-Mississippi West between the years 1830 and 1890. It is one of a series of studies that will ultimately make up a multivolume report on the theme "Westward Expansion and Extension of the National Boundaries, 1830-1898." Other volumes in this theme, some already completed, treat with the great explorers, the fur trade, the Santa Fe Trail, the Texas Revolution and Mexican War, westward migrations, the mining frontier, the cattlemen's frontier, the farmer's frontier, and transportation and communication. Historic sites illustrating the white-Indian conflict east of the Mississippi are considered in the theme study on "The Advance of the Frontier, 1763-1830."

-1-
The study is divided into two parts. The first is a narrative treatment of the theme, intended not as a definitive history but as a brief summary from which the general reader may acquire the background knowledge necessary for understanding the evaluations of important sites. It was researched and written under contract by Mr. Lessing H. Nohl, graduate student in history at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque. Part II evaluates the historic sites considered to be of outstanding value in illustrating this phase of frontier history, and notes also other sites judged important but not of exceptional value. This section was prepared by historians in the Regional Offices of the National Park Service: Frank B. Sarles, Region One, Richmond, Virginia; Ray H. Mattison, Region Two, Omaha, Nebraska; Robert M. Utley, Region Three, Santa Fe, New Mexico; and William C. Everhart, Region Four, San Francisco, California.

Mr. Utley served as coordinating historian of the project, and John O. Littleton, Chief of the National Survey in Washington, D.C., as supervisory historian. Mr. Herbert E. Kahler, Chief Historian of the National Park Service, and Staff Historian Roy E. Appleman, both of the Washington Office, also participated in direction of the study. Lawrence Sando, draftsman in the Region Three Office, drew the maps and the cover.

Although this study deals primarily with historic sites that represent the conflict between the Indian and the soldiers, it includes also a number of sites that represent other phases of white-
Indian relations. Trading posts and missions in particular have posed a problem, for it is often difficult to decide in which historical theme they achieved their primary importance. Some trading posts, for example, were more important in the story of the fur trade, some missions in the story of overland migration or settlement. There will necessarily be an occasional duplication of treatment, therefore, with some sites included in more than one theme.

The assistance of the following persons outside the National Park Service is gratefully acknowledged:

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### TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PREFACE</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A SUMMARY OF THE THEME</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian Removal</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Plains Indian Barrier</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War on the Plains</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Plains During the Civil War</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Southwest During the Civil War</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The First Attempts at Reform</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Peace Policy</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Last of the Plains Wars</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War in the Southwest</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Collapse of the Indian Barrier</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part II</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SURVEY OF HISTORIC SITES AND BUILDINGS</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sites of Exceptional Value</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Snelling, Minnesota</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Atkinson, Nebraska</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Leavenworth, Kansas</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Smith, Arkansas</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Gibson, Oklahoma</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Larned, Kansas</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Sill, Oklahoma</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Belknap, Texas</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Davis, Texas</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Fort Union National Monument, New Mexico</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Bowie and Apache Pass, Arizona</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hubbell Trading Post, Arizona</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Fort Laramie National Monument, Wyoming</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Phil Kearny, Wyoming</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Captain Jack's Stronghold, California</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Areas administered by the National Park Service*
Whitman National Monument, Washington 125
Fort Robinson and Red Cloud Agency, Nebraska 126
*Custer Battlefield National Monument, Montana 130
*Big Hole Battlefield National Monument, Montana 131
Wounded Knee Battlefield, South Dakota 133
St. Ignatius Mission, Montana 135

Other Sites Considered 137

Fort C. F. Smith, Montana 137
Fort Euford, North Dakota 137
Fort Abercrombie, North Dakota 138
Fort Bridger, Wyoming 138
Fort Fred Steele, Wyoming 138
Fort Hartsuff, Nebraska 139
Fort Garland, Colorado 139
Beecher Island Battlefield, Colorado 140
Fort Riley, Kansas 140
Smoky Hill Forts, Kansas 140
   Fort Harker 141
   Fort Wallace 141
   Fort Hays 141
Fort Scott, Kansas 142
Medicine Lodge Treaty Site, Kansas 142
Shawnee Mission, Kansas 143
Highland Indian Mission, Kansas 143
Osage Catholic Mission, Kansas 143
Fort Towson, Oklahoma 143
Fort Washita, Oklahoma 144
Peace-on-the-Plains Site, Oklahoma 144
Cherokee National Capitol, Oklahoma 144
Creek National Capitol, Oklahoma 145
Washita Battlefield, Oklahoma 145
Fort Reno, Oklahoma 145
Darlington Agency, Oklahoma 146
Anadarko Agency, Oklahoma 146
Adobe Walls Battlefield, Texas 147
Fort Concho, Texas 147
Fort Griffin, Texas 148
Fort Clark, Texas 148
Fort McKavett, Texas 149
Palo Duro Canyon Battlefield, Texas 149
Fort Cummings, New Mexico 149
Fort Wingate, New Mexico 150
Fort Buchanan (Camp Crittenden), Arizona 150
APPENDIX: Criteria of Exceptional Value for Evaluating Historic Sites

MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

Maps following page 69

The Military and Indian Frontier, 1830-1890
The Indian Country, 1820-1840
The Permanent Indian Frontier, 1820-1840
The Northern Plains, 1820-1860
The Southwestern Frontier, 1846-1860
The Southern Plains, 1860-1880
The Sioux Wars, 1862-1864
The Sioux Wars, 1866-1868
The Northern Plains, 1870-1890
The Apache and Navajo Wars, 1850-1886
The Geronimo Campaign, Area of Operations, 1881-1886
The Indian Reservation System, 1885
Fort Gibson, Oklahoma, about 1835
Fort Sill, I.T., 1874
Fort Belknap, Texas, 1853
Fort Davis, Texas, c. 1870
Fort Bowie, Arizona, May 20, 1889
Hubbell Trading Post, Arizona, Building and Grounds
Illustrations

A Cheyenne Buck, by Frederic Remington frontpiece

The Sun Dance, by Frederic Remington following page 33
Fort Custer, Montana
A Cavalry Patrol
Leaders in the Sioux Wars, 1866-1880
    Red Cloud
    Sitting Bull
    Gall
    Crow King
Army Leaders
    George A. Custer
    George Crook
    John Gibbon
    Nelson A. Miles
The First Dragoons, 1851
Cavalry Uniforms, 1876
Custer's Last Stand, by Gayle Hoskins
Meeting Between the Lines, by Frederic Remington
Fighting Over the Captured Herd, by Remington
Surrender of Chief Joseph, by Remington
Pickets in the Lava Beds
Fort Yuma, California, in 1880
Lawton's Pursuit, by Remington
Geronimo and Natchez at Fort Bowie, 1886
Red Cloud and American Horse, 1891
Sioux Camp at Pine Ridge Agency, 1891

Fort Snelling, Minnesota, 1825 following page 76
Fort Snelling Today
Fort Leavenworth, Kansas
Fort Gibson Stockade, Oklahoma
Palisade and Bastion, Fort Gibson
Stone Barracks, Fort Gibson
Fort Larned, Kansas
Sherman House, Fort Sill, Oklahoma
Hamilton Hall, Fort Sill
Old Corral, Fort Sill
Arsenal, Fort Belknap, Texas
Barracks, Fort Belknap
Officers Row, Fort Davis, Texas
Barracks, Fort Davis
Chapel, Fort Davis
Panorama, Fort Davis
Commissary, Fort Smith, Arkansas
Barracks and Federal Court, Fort Smith
Fort Union National Monument, New Mexico
Fort Bowie, Arizona, in 1885
Fort Bowie Today
Barracks, Fort Bowie
Post Trader Store, Fort Bowie
Hubbell Trading Post, Arizona, c. 1900
Hubbell Trading Post Today
Fort Phil Kearny, Wyoming
Fetterman Battlefield, Wyoming
Wagon Box Battlefield, Wyoming
Fort Robinson, Nebraska
Wounded Knee Battlefield, South Dakota
Mass Grave at Wounded Knee

Creek National Capitol, Oklahoma following page 136
Cherokee National Capitol, Oklahoma
Agent’s House, Anadarko Agency, Oklahoma
Administration Building, Anadarko Agency
Fort Chadbourne, Texas
Fort McKavett, Texas
Fort Cummings, New Mexico
Fort Wingate, New Mexico
Fort Churchill, Nevada
Lolo Trail, Idaho
White Bird Canyon, Idaho
Mullan Road, Idaho
Fort Tejon, California
Fort Point, California
Fort Simcoe, Washington
Part I

A SUMMARY OF THE THEME

Throughout the course of North American history, the conflict between the white and red races is a recurring theme. Friction began in the earliest colonial years, and was ever present until the end of the 19th century. At times, it burst into open warfare that brought death and destruction to the frontier, and required arduous and costly campaigns of suppression. Although a wide cultural gulf separated the two races, the basic and continuing cause of conflict lay in the land requirements of a westward moving frontier. The Indian stood in the path of expansion, occupying land coveted by the whites. Inevitably, he had to yield.

During the 17th and 18th centuries, the Indian gradually retreated west from the Atlantic seaboard towards the Mississippi River. Sometimes he went peaceably, for habitable land seemed plentiful. At other times, he defended his homeland, only to be expelled by force of arms. Often he allied himself with one colonial power against another, but this never won him more than a temporary reprieve.

By the end of the American Revolution, the frontier confronted the Indian barrier in the Trans-Appalachian West. How
to remove the barrier became a major issue to the young nation, and provided a topic for much bitter debate in and out of Congress. Many Americans urged extermination as the only solution; others, more numerous, advocated a conciliatory approach. The latter prevailed, and for the next century the United States tried to solve the Indian problem by peaceful means. Hallmark of this policy was the treaty. At solemn gatherings, representatives of the Great White Father dispensed presents and concluded treaties with tribal leaders. Usually the treaties guaranteed the Indians new lands farther west in exchange for lands then occupied, and incorporated mutual pledges of lasting peace. But the lasting peace was normally little more than a brief suspension of hostilities. The peaceful approach consistently failed to avert war.

The causes were complex and the results probably inevitable. But largely at fault was the treaty system itself. It assumed that Indian tribes were sovereign nations, and that their chiefs could insure the observance of treaties. The power of the chiefs, however, was not that absolute, nor the system of tribal government that simple. Moreover, all factions of a tribe could rarely be assembled at one time and one place, and the absent factions did not consider the treaty binding on them. In short, loose tribal organization fostered political irresponsibility, something
the whites never understood. On the other hand, many treaties were foisted on the Indians by questionable methods, and disregarded by the whites when expedient. Despite these drawbacks, the treaty system was used for almost a century.¹

It first came into widespread use early in the 19th century, when the Government attempted to gain title to Indian lands in the Northwest Territory. A few tribes accepted the terms peacefully, but the majority resisted, and for over a decade the Ohio frontier was a scene of bloody warfare. Finally, the eastern tribes were subdued and, after ceding their lands by treaty, withdrew into the Trans-Mississippi Valley. This area, however, was already filling with white settlers who had no intention of sharing their land with Indians. Besides, such voluntary Indian removals failed to vacate eastern lands quickly enough to suit the white settlers. Many Americans therefore demanded the forcible removal of all tribes to the plains west of the 95th meridian. Early explorers had labeled this region the "Great American Desert," and had confidently predicted that it was unfit for white habitation. Here, a "Permanent Indian Frontier" might be established and the Indians deported, guaranteed land in perpetuity, and freed from

¹ For a complete discussion of the treaty system, see Loring B. Priest, Uncle Sam's Stepchildren: The Reformation of United States Indian Policy, 1865-1887 (New Brunswick, 1942).
the corruptive influence of white man. So thought Secretary of War John C. Calhoun, and his plan, laid before Congress in 1825, gained official sanction.

**Indian Removal**

Treaties with the eastern tribes secured assent to removal. These treaties guaranteed protection enroute to the Indian Country, resettlement aid, land ownership in perpetuity, a degree of self-government, and even representation in Congress. Few of these promises were kept. Inefficiently and often heartlessly, the United States escorted almost 80,000 Indians to the Indian Country between 1825 and 1842. To insure their isolation Congress in 1832 laid the foundation of the reservation system by creating, as an agency of the War Department, the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Two years later, it went a step further. A comprehensive regulatory code, the Indian Intercourse Act of 1834, set the limits of the Indian Country and barred all but licensed white men from the region.

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2. See John C. Ewers, *The Role of the Indian in National Expansion* (Washington: National Park Service, 1938), 97-98; Grant Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians* (Chicago, 1946). Originally, Indian Country included modern Oklahoma, Kansas, and Nebraska. After 1854, when Kansas and Nebraska Territories were organized, Indian Country meant modern Oklahoma and was usually known as Indian Territory.
Prominent among the dispossessed peoples were the Five Civilized Tribes: the Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Seminoles. For many years they had lived in the southern parts of the United States, and therefore shared a similar culture and history. Some had their own laws and constitutions, and the Cherokees even boasted an alphabet, invented a few years previously by Sequoya.

Despite their affinity, the Five Civilized Tribes, soon after their arrival in Indian Territory, found themselves at odds with one another and with their neighbors over land ownership. Conflicting treaty guarantees and errors in Government boundary surveys created intertribal friction that threatened, on many occasions, to explode into open warfare. To restore peace, the Government sent soldiers to Indian Territory. They built Forts Gibson and Towson in 1824, and Forts Leavenworth, Washita, and Arbruckle in succeeding years.

Although the troops prevented hostilities, a common threat from the west also tended to minimize dissension. The Kiowas, Comanches, and Wichitas, natives of the Indian Country, resented the newcomers, and in 1834 expressed their resentment in war upon their unwelcome neighbors. Unable to defend themselves against so formidable an aggressor, the immigrants called upon
the Great White Father for help. An expedition of dragoons marched west from Fort Gibson to find and make peace with the plains Indians. Fever took the lives of Brig. Gen. Henry Leavenworth and 150 men, but under Col. Henry Dodge the command continued its march. On the north fork of Red River, Dodge finally met several bands of Kiowas, Comanches, and Wichitas, and persuaded them to send delegates to Fort Gibson for peace talks. As a result, a treaty with the plains Indians was concluded the following summer at Camp Mason.

Notwithstanding its novelty, the treaty failed to pacify the plains Indians. As was so often to be proved in succeeding years, a few trinkets and promises could not cancel valid reasons for hostility. Nor could the weak garrisons of Fort Gibson and its sister posts bring harmony to Indian Territory. Treaties and soldiers both failing, it appeared as if the Five Civilized Tribes would have to work out their own salvation.

To accomplish this, they met in a series of inter-tribal councils during the early 1840's. At these gatherings the civilized

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3. Dragoons were mounted infantry. The First Regiment of United States Dragoons was raised in 1833, the Second Regiment in 1836. Until 1846 they remained the only two mounted regiments in the United States Army.

4. Grant Foreman, Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest (Cleveland, 1926), 161, 225, 233. This post was also called Camp Holmes.
Indians convinced delegates from the wild tribes that trade would profit them more than warfare. By means of these councils and the lucrative commerce that followed, the Five Civilized Tribes came to exert a profound influence on the nomads of the prairies, thereby hastening the civilization of the West and preparing it for white occupancy. The advent of whites was more imminent than the Indians realized.

The Plains Indian Barrier

Prior to 1840 the plains tribes were not an obstacle to the growth of the United States. They occupied the Great American Desert, and settlers were content to leave them there. The western military frontier, represented on the map by a line from Fort Snelling on the north to Fort Towson on the south, had moved to the edge of the plains. Expeditions from these forts had marched west to the plains to skirmish or make treaties with the nomads. A column of soldiers under Col. Henry Leavenworth in 1823 went up the Missouri River and brought on the first battle between United States troops and plains Indians. Another expedition in 1826 recommended against building forts on the Upper

5. Grant Foreman, Advancing the Frontier (Norman, 1933), Preface.
Missouri. The Dragoon Expedition of 1834 has already been noted. Trappers, traders, and missionaries had also long dealt with the plains Indians. But until the 1840's they were in no sense considered a barrier to westward expansion.

During this decade, however, the myth of the Great American Desert crumbled beneath the feet of thousands of pioneers tramping westward over the Oregon and Santa Fe Trails to fulfill America's "Manifest Destiny." The first immigrants headed for Oregon, soon to become part of the United States. Others were destined for California. The Mormons trekked west to found a kingdom in the Great Salt Lake Valley. Following the Mexican War and the discovery of gold in California, thousands more set forth to claim their share of the lands and wealth acquired from Mexico.

The plains Indians were appalled by the invasion of their hunting grounds. The white man desecrated the face of nature. His guns slaughtered the buffalo as indiscriminately as his cholera and other diseases decimated entire tribes. In desperation they struck back. On the northern Plains, the Sioux, Northern Cheyennes, and Arapahos, mounted on swift war-ponies and armed with arrow and lance, harassed the lumbering wagons that crossed the prairies on the Oregon Trail. On the southern plains other horsemen--Kiowas, Comanches, Arapahos, and Southern Cheyennes--vented their hatred against travelers on the Santa Fe Trail.
Along both of these vital arteries of commerce and travel, pioneers lived in constant dread of attacks that could wipe out entire wagon trains.

With four-fifths of its strength in the West, the army of the United States was still too small to give adequate protection to travelers, even after a regiment of Mounted Rifles was organized to police the Oregon Trail. Fort Kearny, Nebraska, was built in 1849 to help guard the Trail, and Forts Laramie and Hall were acquired shortly thereafter, but the garrisons were too small to be effective. To the south, where Forts Atkinson and Union stood watch on the Santa Fe Trail, the story was the same.

To clear the paths of expansion, the policy-makers resorted to diplomacy designed to open a corridor across the plains. All tribes in this region were to be moved either to the north or the south of the Oregon Trail and assembled in two large colonies. This project was assigned to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which was transferred from the War Department to the newly organized Department of the Interior. Officials of the Indian Bureau again placed their trust in the treaty system and set out to conclude a series of treaties that, through a policy of concentration, was expected to shove aside the Indian barrier forever.

The first compact was signed at Fort Laramie, mid-point of the Oregon Trail, on September 17, 1851. By threats and annuities,
government commissioners induced chiefs of several tribes of the northern plains to withdraw to clearly defined areas in Dakota, Montana, and eastern Colorado. To clear the Santa Fe Trail, emissaries of the United States on July 27, 1853, met at Fort Atkinson, Kansas, with Kiowas, Comanches, Arapahos, and Southern Cheyennes, and defined new boundaries in Texas and western Indian Territory. In 1854 the treaty agents turned to the small tribes of eastern Kansas and Nebraska. A series of treaties extinguished their title to these lands and removed them to Indian Territory. The way was now presumed open for the organization of Kansas and Nebraska Territories, and for the construction of transcontinental railroads.  

Despite their hopes, the treaty-makers were to be disappointed. More and more it became apparent that, by forming two concentrations of Indians, they had unwittingly created a two-headed monster, and not "the be-all and the end-all" they had anticipated. Making treaties with the Indians was one thing, enforcing them another.

**War on the Plains**

Many plains warriors, refusing to abide by treaties made either without their knowledge or without their consent, lingered

in the vicinity of white roads and settlements. Occasional forays against a rich wagon train or an isolated cabin would yield not only plunder but fame as well. Such coveted prerogatives were not to be relinquished without a struggle. Everywhere the story was essentially the same.

The Treaty of 1851 kept the northern tribes quiet for three years. Then in 1854 Lt. John L. Grattan and a small detachment of soldiers were sent from Fort Laramie to investigate the killing of a cow belonging to a Mormon immigrant. The young officer badly mismanaged his assignment, and all of his men were killed by indignant Sioux. Several raids on traffic along the Oregon Trail followed, and relations between Indians and whites steadily deteriorated. In 1855 Col. (Brevet Brigadier General) William S. Harney led a punitive expedition north of the Oregon Trail. At Ash Hollow, Nebraska, on September 2, he attacked and nearly annihilated a large camp of Brulé Sioux. The rest of the Sioux, and the Northern Cheyennes, managed to avoid his command.

By now the northern tribes had come to realize that the United States had no intention of abandoning the Oregon Trail, or

7. A brevet was an honorary rank given an officer for outstanding or meritorious service. Although his actual rank remained the same, he was entitled to be addressed by his brevet rank and enjoyed certain other prerogatives. Brevets were common in the days when few medals were awarded, but the practice led to such confusion that it was eventually discarded.
"Great Medicine Road" as they called it. Resigned to this fact, bands of Sioux and Northern Cheyennes began to withdraw from the areas adjacent to the Trail. An uneasy peace descended on the northern plains, but the specter of war still hovered in the background.

At the same time, hostilities had broken out to the south, on the Texas frontier. Raiding Texans had long been a favorite practice of the Kiowas and Comanches, who resided in Indian Territory but made periodic excursions to Texas. The Great Comanche War Trail, which the marauders usually followed, extended all the way from Indian Territory to the Mexican border. Between 1836 and 1846 the Republic of Texas had made progress in punishing the raiders and imbuing them with restraint. Following the admission of Texas to the Union in 1846, the United States fell heir to its Indian problem, and the Comanches and Kiowas began raiding with new vigor.

To protect settlers on the Texas frontier, the Government constructed a line of forts in 1848-49. Including Forts Graham, Worth, Gates, Croghan, and Mason, the chain extended over 1,300 miles. Such an enormous area could not be defended effectively with the meager forces assigned to protect it. It soon became necessary, moreover, to erect another line of posts, 200 miles to the west, in order to keep pace with the rapidly advancing
frontier. On this outer chain of posts, built between 1850 and 1852, Forts Belknap, Phantom Hill, Chadbourne, McKavett, Clark, and Camp Cooper stood guard. Both lines were occupied, and an attempt was made to coordinate one with the other in a sort of elastic defense system.

Despite the Texas defense system and the Fort Atkinson Treaty, Indian depredations steadily increased until the citizens of Texas again demanded action. Accordingly, in the spring of 1858, with a fervor reminiscent of the days of the Republic, Texans united with the Army in a determined campaign against the enemy. First blood was drawn on May 12, 1858, by a group of Texas Rangers. With a party of friendly Indian scouts, they destroyed a Comanche village and inflicted heavy losses on its inhabitants. Skirmishes continued throughout the summer, but the big victory came in the fall of 1858. Capt. (Bvt. Maj.) Earl Van Dorn, with 400 troopers of the Second Cavalry and 135 Indian scouts, received word of a large body of Comanches at a friendly Wichita village on Rush Creek, in Indian Territory. Unaware of the Comanches' peaceful disposition, Van Dorn and his command marched 100 miles in 36 hours,

8. In 1855, the First and Second Regiments of Cavalry were added to the mounted establishment. In the reorganization of 1861, they became the Fourth and Fifth respectively, while the two dragoon regiments and the Mounted Riflemen became the First, Second, and Third Regiments of Cavalry.
arriving at the unsuspecting camp on the night of October 1. In the ensuing battle of Rush Springs, many Comanches, as well as a few friendly Wichitas, were killed or captured.

Such aggressive tactics forced the Indians to divide into smaller bands for survival. Many fled to the safety of the Staked Plains,9 while those remaining near the more populated areas of Texas and Indian Territory curtailed their activities. Nonetheless, the Texans, now thoroughly incensed, demanded the ouster of all Indians, friendly or not. Yielding to their insistence, the Government in 1859 removed almost 1,500 Texas Indians to the Wichita Agency in the Leased District of western Indian Territory.10 With this move, the short-lived reservation system in Texas came to an end.

For the moment, at least, relentless pursuit and ruthless expulsion had overawed the raiders of the Texas frontier, but the guns of Fort Sumter had scarcely been silenced by Confederate batteries before war-cries again echoed across the plains.

9. The Staked Plains, or Llano Estacado, is that vast treeless expanse that forms most of the western border of Texas and extends into eastern New Mexico. It was a favorite refuge for fugitive Indians because its aridity and extreme temperatures made military operations exceedingly arduous.

10. In 1855, when the United States Government leased Choctaw and Chickasaw lands west of the 98th meridian, a few bands of Texas Indians voluntarily removed there. However, some Comanche bands, forcibly removed, used the Leased District as a base for raiding Texas.
The Plains During the Civil War

When the troops of the Regular Army marched away to eastern battlefields in 1861, they left the frontier virtually stripped of protection. Some tribes took almost immediate advantage of the absence of the "Long Knives." Others reacted only a little more slowly.

On the northern plains, although the Sioux and Cheyennes raided periodically, the big explosion did not come until 1862. In August of that year, the Santee Sioux of Minnesota went on the warpath. They sacked their agency, murdered over 700 settlers, burned the town of New Ulm, and almost succeeded in capturing Fort Ridgely. Brig. Gen. Henry H. Sibley hastily organized a volunteer army of 1,400 men and, at Birch Coulee, defeated the hostiles. He imprisoned 1,500 warriors at Fort Snelling and Mankato and tried them by military court. Of the 307 sentenced to death, President Lincoln pardoned all but 39, who were publicly hanged at Mankato in December. Although Little Crow escaped, he was killed by settlers the following year.

The Santees who had eluded Sibley's troops fled to Dakota and joined forces with the Teton Sioux. Sibley pursued the following spring and spent the entire summer campaigning. He fought battles at Big Mound, Buffalo Lake, and Stony Lake, then returned to Minnesota. Brig. Gen. Alfred Sully came up the Missouri and
maintained pressure on the Sioux throughout 1864. On July 28, at Killdeer Mountain, he routed a large force of Indians. Although his troops marched through the Badlands to the Yellowstone River, the quarry had scattered north to Canada and south to the Black Hills.

By now the northern tribes fully appreciated the uncertainty of their future, and began to pay closer attention to the exhortations of their more militant tribesmen. They had watched, with not a little trepidation, the startling growth of Virginia City, Bozeman, Helena, and other thriving communities of the Montana goldfields. Stories of Cheyenne and Arapaho heroism in southern plains battles, embroidered with vivid descriptions of white atrocities, added to mounting unrest. Their disquietude nurtured by the unhappy Santees among them, most Sioux, by 1865, were primed for war.

The Civil War over, the Government in the summer of that year sent a column of troops to the Powder River country to forestall the brewing conflict. Commanded by Maj. Gen. P. E. Connor, the Powder River expedition marched great distances but fought no decisive battles. Three thousand Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapaho warriors, however, united in an attack on the military outpost at Platte Bridge. They wiped out a wagon train and inflicted heavy losses on a detachment of cavalry. Connor gave up the campaign
in disgust. The Powder River expedition had served only to anger the northern tribes.

Unlike their northern brothers, the Southern Cheyennes and their allies, the Arapahos, had taken early advantage of the Civil War. Their hatred of the white man had fully matured in recent years, for by the late 1850's they had already begun to feel the pressure of American expansion. They had responded with sporadic raiding. But an aggressive campaign by Colonel E. V. Sumner during the summer of 1857 had brought about a restless peace. Soon, however, thousands of whites came tramping across their hunting grounds, hurrying to claim Colorado's newly-discovered gold. The Southern Cheyennes and Arapahos then realized that the advancing agricultural frontier of the East and the mining settlements of the West would soon crush them.

For this reason, many Cheyenne and Arapaho chiefs believed it futile to resist the inevitable. In 1861, they agreed to surrender the lands given them by the Fort Laramie Treaty 10 years earlier, and to remove to the area between the Arkansas River and Sand Creek in eastern Colorado. Nevertheless, many warriors refused to accept terms they considered dishonorable, and showed their contempt by devastating roads and settlements.

Nearly three years of rapine and murder followed. Yet by the fall of 1864 the hostiles had begun to tire of incessant
warfare. Besides, winter was approaching, and the prospect of fighting increasingly active volunteer troops in the biting cold of a plains winter was an unpleasant thought to say the least.

Consequently, a Southern Cheyenne chief, Black Kettle, approached the Governor of Colorado and requested peace terms. Reflecting public sentiment, the Governor not only refused but decided to mount an offensive against the Indians. Alarmed, Black Kettle next turned to the commanding officer of Fort Lyon, Colorado, who appears to have assured the Cheyenne chief that his troops would protect the Indians until peace could be arranged. Black Kettle thereupon led his band of 700 Southern Cheyennes and Arapahos to Sand Creek, in eastern Colorado. Infuriated, the Governor ordered Col. J. M. Chivington and his Colorado Volunteers to annihilate the Cheyenne village. Chivington held similar views on Indian extermination and lost no time in executing this order.

On the morning of November 29, 1864, Black Kettle saw the militia deploy for attack. He hurriedly raised a large American flag over his lodge, and as an added precaution displayed a white flag. It was useless—Chivington was not to be denied. Guns blazing, the Coloradoans charged into the sleeping camp, indiscriminately slaughtering the surprised Indians—men, women, and children—as they emerged from their lodges. Several hundred
Southern Cheyennes and Arapahos are reported to have fallen at Sand Creek. As evidence, the victorious troops returned with a hundred scalps, which were proudly displayed to the approving patrons of a Denver theater.\footnote{11}

Terrible consequences followed Sand Creek, for word of Chivington's deed spread swiftly among the plains Indians. By June 1865, every major tribe from Canada to the Red River was on the warpath. Ultimately, the Sand Creek affair cost the United States thirty million dollars and countless lives.

Hundreds of vengeful Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians disrupted mail delivery, cut communications, and at one time so isolated Denver that only six weeks supply of food remained in town. With increasing boldness, the warriors focused their depredations in the area between the North and South Platte Rivers. One of their more brazen attacks was made on the small settlement of Julesburg, on the Nebraska-Colorado border. On January 7, 1865, some thousand Southern Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Sioux braves sacked the town, taunting soldiers of the Seventh Iowa Cavalry who watched helplessly from nearby Fort Rankin (later Fort Sedgwick). Julesburg was pillaged again a month later, and this time burned. And again the soldiers dared not challenge the large war-party.

Perhaps it would have been some consolation for the Union garrison at Port Rankin to have known that, farther south, their

\footnote{11. George Bird Grinnell, \textit{By Cheyenne Campfires} (New Haven, 1926), 169-173.}
Confederate counterparts endured similar humiliation at the hands of Apaches, Kiowas, and Comanches. As early as 1861, Mescalero Apaches ravaged southwestern Texas, and the weak Texas Frontier Regiment was unable to stop them. With equal impunity Kiowas and Comanches burned and looted over much of western Texas. In desperation, the Texans tried to negotiate, but soon learned that most of the Indians would neither cooperate as allies against the Union nor remain neutral.

Texans watched with dread as large war-parties roamed the plains. The hostiles were so numerous, in fact, that they confidently attacked large bodies of troops. A band of 200 Kiowas and Comanches, for example, fell on a Confederate outpost near Fort Belknap in October 1864, and carried off seven women and children. Behind them the bodies of 16 soldiers and civilians littered the ground.

The marauders also raided along the eastern borders of New Mexico Territory. In retaliation, the Union commander at Santa Fe, Brig. Gen. James H. Carleton, dispatched a punitive expedition. Ironically, this force attempted to chastise the hostiles on Confederate soil. On November 25, 1864—four days before the Sand Creek Massacre—Col. Christopher ("Kit") Carson, fresh from victories over the Navajos and Mescaleros of New Mexico, led a volunteer force of 400 cavalry, infantry, and Ute and Jicarilla
Apache scouts into the Panhandle of Texas. Near the site of Bent's old adobe fort, Carson encountered about 1,000 Kiowa-Apaches. He pushed through to their village and burned it. But some 2,000 additional Kiowas and Comanches from nearby camps joined in the fight, and Carson, covered by howitzer fire, withdrew from the battlefield. The command returned to its base at Fort Bascom, New Mexico.

Once there, he returned to the task of bringing peace to that country. His task was formidable, for some 47,000 wild Indians roamed the 300,000 square miles that made up the Territory. Many had a long tradition of hostility towards the white man.

The Southwest During the Civil War

Since Spanish times residents of the Southwest had suffered from Apache and Navajo raids. Particularly troublesome were the Apaches, those "tigers of the human species," as Gen. George Crook

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12. The Kiowa-Apaches were usually allied with Comanche bands that lived north of the Wichita Mountains of Oklahoma. They were not related to the Apaches of New Mexico and Arizona. See Frederick W. Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of the American Indians North of Mexico* (Washington, 1912), I, 701.

later described them.\textsuperscript{14} Their attacks on ranches, settlements, and travel routes, perhaps unequaled in cunning, cruelty, and skillful execution, continued to terrorize the Southwest even after the "Army of the West" conquered New Mexico and added it to the United States in 1846. To combat the hostiles, the Government built a network of military outposts during the 1850's. Including Forts Massachusetts, Union, Marcy, Defiance, Craig, Stanton, Selden, Fillmore, and Cummings, they extended from Colorado to the Mexican border. Forts Buchanan and Breckinridge, established in 1857, policed the area acquired from Mexico by the Gadsden Purchase in 1853. The number of soldiers allotted to defense of the Southwest, however, proved inadequate, and Apache warfare characterized the entire decade.

The 1860's were even worse. In January 1861, an incident in Apache Pass, the strategic passage through the Chiricahua Mountains of southern Arizona, insured further violence. Lt. George N. Bascom attempted to arrest Cochise, the able chief of the Chiricahua Apaches, for a crime that he probably did not commit. The attempt failed, and the enraged Cochise launched a war on the Americans that was to last for more than a decade.

\textsuperscript{14} John K. Herr and E. A. Wallace, The Story of the U.S. Cavalry (Boston, 1953), 201.
The alienation of the Chiricahua was untimely indeed, for a few months after the Bascom affair regular troops departed for the East. Southern Arizona and New Mexico thus lay open not only to Indian attacks but to Confederate invasion from Texas as well. When the Texan invaders arrived, in the summer of 1861, they learned that Apaches did not discriminate between blue and gray. All "white eyes" were fair game. Apaches harassed the Confederates until volunteer troops from Colorado and California drove the Texans out of New Mexico in the summer of 1862.

Engaged in recapturing Arizona and New Mexico, the California Column, led by Brig. Gen. James H. Carleton, soon received its introduction to Apache warfare. One of the first lessons in Apache tactics came on July 15, 1862, when some 500 Chiricahua and Mimbreno warriors ambushed a detachment of Californians in Apache Pass. Only by using howitzers were the troops able to rout the hostiles from their stone breastworks. To meet such threats to his line of communication through the vital pass, General Carleton ordered Fort Bowie built at its entrance. For two decades thereafter this post was the center of operations against hostile Chiricahuas.

Two months later, having assumed command of the Department of New Mexico, Carleton initiated a war of extermination against the hostiles. He sent Col. Kit Carson and the New Mexico Volunteers
to subdue the Mescaleros of southeastern New Mexico. By early 1863, Carson had succeeded. He then placed his captives on the newly-created reservation at Bosque Redondo, on the Pecos River in eastern New Mexico, and built Fort Sumner to guard it. Meanwhile, another column, under Brig. Gen. Joseph R. West, captured Mangas Coloradas in southwestern New Mexico. Soon after his arrest the giant Mimbreno was killed—allegedly attempting to escape. Although West subsequently destroyed several Apache rancherias, Apache and Navajo depredations increased.

The outlook, however, was not entirely bleak. Kit Carson once again took the field, this time against the Navajos. He harried them throughout the summer and winter of 1863 until, reduced to near-starvation, they took refuge in their favorite stronghold—Canyon de Chelly. On January 6, 1864, Carson sent his troops into the supposedly impregnable fortress, but they had little difficulty in capturing nearly 7,000 half-starved Navajos. Shortly thereafter, the prisoners began their pathetic "Long Walk" which ended, much to the chagrin of the Mescaleros, at Bosque Redondo.

By the decision to concentrate the two tribes on a single reservation, General Carleton aggravated the troubles which already beset the Territory. The Mescaleros refused to tolerate the arrogance of the more numerous Navajos and fled the reservation.
in 1865. The Navajos stayed until 1868 when, after much suffering, they were finally allowed to return to their ancestral homes. So thoroughly had Carson humbled them that they never again regained their former power. The Mescaleros, after an interlude of raiding, were persuaded to settle at the Fort Stanton agency, in central New Mexico. Before long, however, they grew dissatisfied. And for the next 10 years they alternately fled and returned, until Fort Stanton became virtually a replacement depot for hostile Apaches.

Although the aggressive policy followed by Carleton decreased hostilities in New Mexico, it did not intimidate the Apaches of Arizona. By the close of the Civil War, most of the ranches in the Tucson area were abandoned, the town of Tubac was deserted, and everywhere the followers of Cochise and other Apache leaders lurked in ambush. Yet Arizona's affliction was not unique. Most of the western frontier also endured Indian attacks, and hence was ripe for the military and political reforms of the post-Civil War period.

The First Attempts at Reform

Before Indian policy could be reformed, however, it was imperative to re-garrison, as quickly as possible, the 72 forts scattered along the frontier. This entire western military
establishment was put under command of Lt. Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman. Some 11,000 men—Union veterans, ex-Confederates (called "Galvanized Yankees"), and soldiers-of-fortune—composed his tough little army. Even with the addition of four new regiments of cavalry in 1866, however, it was inadequate to protect the huge expanse of territory assigned it. A parsimonious Congress added to Sherman's problems, for he was expected to exhaust Civil War surpluses before ordering new material. Thus forced to use obsolete weapons and equipment, Sherman's understrength command found it impossible to protect the mounting tide of post-war migrants.

It therefore became necessary for all westward-bound wagon trains to provide for their own defense. By so doing, they released many troops to protect construction parties of the Union Pacific Railroad, then pushing west into Kansas and Nebraska. Sherman was convinced that the Union Pacific was the future life-line of his army—a vital artery along which troops could be rushed in a fraction of the time previously required. Such tactical considerations, however, were but a few of the vexing

15. These regiments were the Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, and Tenth. The latter two units were composed of Negroes, whom the Indians called "buffalo soldiers" because of the texture of their hair. Each of the regiments contained 12 companies, or "troops" as they were often called during the 1860's and 70's. In 1880, "troop" became the official designation for cavalry companies.
problems that the General faced. Other forces were also at work to curtail the influence of the Army in Indian affairs.

During the Civil War the Army had been in complete charge of hostile Indians. After the war, the precise definition of "hostile Indians" came under close scrutiny. Critical examination stimulated disagreements over exactly where and when military control of the red man should begin and end. On the one hand, the War Department, contemptuous of lax and often corrupt civilian management, demanded a restoration of its former primacy in Indian affairs. On the other, the Interior Department defended its supremacy in Indian management and cited the military's failure to bring peace by means of the "mailed fist." Humanitarians entered the fray, and with their support the Interior Department staved off the Army's bid for control until the debate died a natural death a decade later. Notwithstanding its importance, the problem of authority was only one of several issues debated in the post-war period.

The treaty system and the policy of trying to concentrate Indians in large areas also came under fire from legislators and humanitarians, who offered no end of suggestions for reform of Indian policy. Among them was a system of small reservations for each tribe. Another was individual land allotments for each Indian. These and many other ideas were in harmony with a growing
belief that the red man could only be conquered by kindness. But even as such debates raged in and out of Congress, Sioux and Northern Cheyenne scalping knives were already shaping future Indian policy.

In 1865 some of the Sioux chiefs had signed the Harney-Sanborne Treaty, which gave the United States permission to establish a road through Sioux lands in Wyoming and Montana and to build forts to guard it. This road, the Bozeman Trail, connected the Flatte River with the newly opened gold fields of Montana and Idaho, and promised to carry hundreds of miners to the new bonanzas. But the Ogalala chief Red Cloud had not signed the Harney-Sanborne Treaty, and he foresaw that the Bozeman Trail meant the end of the Sioux hunting grounds. More commissioners were sent in the spring of 1866 to persuade him not to molest traffic on the Trail and to conclude a new treaty with the northern tribes. Before agreement could be reached, however, Col. Henry B. Carrington led a regiment of infantry into the Powder River country to found Ports Reno, Phil Kearny, and C. F. Smith along the Bozeman Trail. Charging that Carrington's activities showed bad faith, Red Cloud angrily withdrew from the conference at Fort Laramie.

During the summer and winter of 1866 the Sioux and Northern Cheyennes attacked almost every wagon train hauling wood for the
new forts. They were especially active around Fort Phil Kearny, where the garrison lived under constant siege. Because the Indians were so numerous, and because his little command was inadequately armed, Colonel Carrington remained on the defensive. Several of his younger and more impetuous officers held this attitude in contempt. Prominent among them was Capt. (Bvt. Lt. Col.) William J. Fetterman. On the morning of December 21, 1866, he was sent with 82 men to relieve a besieged wood train. Despite positive orders from Carrington to be cautious, Fetterman blundered into an ambush that annihilated his entire command.

Under a new commander, the garrisons of the three forts lived under siege for the rest of the winter. In the summer of 1867, the Sioux and Cheyennes agreed to wipe out both Fort Phil Kearny and Fort C. F. Smith. But in typical Indian fashion a disagreement arose that divided their formidable numbers into two factions, each to attack the fort of its choice.

On August 1, 1867, one of these large war-parties fell upon a detail of 19 soldiers and civilians working in a hayfield near Fort C. F. Smith. Taking refuge in a log corral, the whites, armed with newly-issued breech-loaders and repeaters, managed to beat off their assailants. After an all-day battle, in which even fire-arrows failed to dislodge the whites, the hostiles withdrew. The next day a more celebrated engagement took place.
A small detachment of soldiers was cutting wood on Piney Island, near Fort Phil Kearny, when the other band of warriors, led by Red Cloud himself, attacked. From the boxes of 14 wagons, removed from their running gear and arranged in a defensive circle, the vastly outnumbered but well-armed whites beat off six charges during a four-hour battle. When reinforcements finally arrived, a few shells from their "wagon guns" quickly dispersed the hostiles.

The Hayfield and Wagon Box fights, although exacting a modicum of revenge for the Fetterman Massacre, did not seem to deter the hostiles, whose attacks steadily increased until the following spring. To the south, in Nebraska and Kansas, Cheyennes and Arapahos terrorized Union Pacific construction crews and traffic on the Smoky Hill route to Denver. A large expedition under Maj. Gen. W. S. Hancock in the summer of 1867 failed to intimidate them. Still farther south, Kiowas and Comanches plundered the Texas frontier.

Destructive and costly Indian wars combined with the growing sentiment for reform led to the formation of the Peace Commission of 1867. On October 21, 1867, the Commission met with tribes of the southern plains and concluded the Medicine Lodge Treaty, by which they agreed to cease fighting and withdraw to lands set aside in western Indian Territory. To prepare for their occupancy, the United States obtained title to this region by accusing the
Five Civilized Tribes of treason for their sympathy to the South during the Civil War. At Fort Laramie on April 29, 1868, the commissioners bowed to the demands of Red Cloud and surrendered the Bozeman Trail and its protecting forts. In return, the Sioux and Northern Cheyennes promised to settle on a reservation near the Missouri River, but insisted on retaining the Powder River country as unceded hunting grounds. As soon as the pact was signed, the jubilant Sioux hurried to burn the abandoned forts.

These treaties, particularly the Medicine Lodge Treaty, failed to solve the Indian problem or bring peace to the plains. The Cheyennes and Arapahos immediately returned to the warpath. Their destructive potential was greatly augmented when, in August 1868, a band of warriors bluffed General Sully into handing over a large supply of new guns and ammunition. Delighted with their windfall, the Indians spread over the central plains to test their gifts on white targets.

In September a company of frontiersmen enlisted for Indian duty by Maj. (Bvt. Col.) George A. Forsyth rode out of Fort Wallace, Kansas, on the trail of a large war party led by Pawnee Killer, Roman Nose, and others. On September 16, the Indians

turned on their pursuers, who entrenched on a small island in the Arikaree Fork of the Republican River, in eastern Colorado. The Indians made repeated charges, but were each time repulsed with heavy losses on both sides. A nine-day siege also failed to dislodge the defenders, and the hostiles retreated at the approach of a relief column. This action is known as the battle of Beecher's Island, after Lt. F. W. Beecher, who was killed in the fight.

Meanwhile, Maj. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan, commanding the Division of the Missouri, began training his troops for a cold-weather campaign that he hoped would trap the hostiles in their winter encampments. He planned to have columns from Fort Bascom, New Mexico, Fort Lyon, Colorado, and Fort Larned, Kansas, converge on western Indian Territory. After they had driven all hostile bands into the valley of the Washita River, the Fort Larned column would administer the coup de grace. Before moving his columns, Sheridan ordered all Indians who claimed to be peaceful from the area of operations. Old Fort Cobb was reactivated to provide them refuge, and Col. (Bvt. Maj. Gen.) W. B. Hazen put in charge of the agency. The way was now cleared for the offensive.

Departing from Fort Larned in November 1868, the Seventh Cavalry, under Lt. Col. (Bvt. Maj. Gen.) George Armstrong Custer, began its march southward. Establishing a supply base (Camp Supply) in northwestern Indian Territory, Custer pressed on in a raging
blizzard. At dawn on November 27, the troopers, their band blaring the regimental battle-song, swept down into the valley of the Washita towards the camp of Black Kettle. The startled Indians poured from their lodges in panic, only to meet the fire of cavalry carbines. But Custer had stumbled on to only one of several villages that lined the Washita. When large bands of fresh warriors appeared on the field, Custer burned the Southern Cheyenne Camp, slaughtered the pony herd, and hastily withdrew. By demonstrating that the soldiers would fight in the winter when the Indians preferred to be left alone, the battle of the Washita dealt a heavy blow to hostile morale.

Many survivors of the battle of the Washita escaped to the Staked Plains, from where they continued to raid on a somewhat reduced scale. Others chose less remote areas, only to be ferreted out by Sheridan's pursuing columns. His troops were thus occupied throughout the winter and spring of 1869. Defeat of Tall Bull's Cheyennes by Col. (Bvt. Maj. Gen.) Eugene A. Carr at Summit Springs in July was the last action of the campaign. All but a few of the hostiles were rounded up and escorted to Fort Cobb, where it was hoped they would cause no further trouble. But this was not to be. The hard-won ascendency which the Army had attained over the warriors of the southern plains was about to be nullified by an ever-growing spirit of beneficence that culminated in President Grant's "Peace Policy."
THE SUN DANCE lay at the core of the plains Indian's religion. To the whites, its most spectacular feature was self-torture. Warriors suspended themselves from a pole by strips of rawhide inserted beneath the chest or back muscles. The weight of their bodies at length tore them loose. Frederic Remington here depicts the ritual among the Sioux.

Courtesy Harold McCracken
FORT CUSTER, Montana. On the plains, where Indians rarely attacked a military installation, the typical fort was not the log stockade usually depicted by Hollywood. It consisted instead of barracks, officers quarters, and utility buildings grouped around a parade ground. This view of Fort Custer was taken about 1885.
This unusual photograph cannot be accurately identified, but was probably taken during the 1870's or 1880's at one of the small Rio Grande outposts that guarded the border between Texas and Mexico.

National Archives
LEADERS IN THE SIOUX WARS, 1866-1880
Red Cloud
Sitting Bull
Gall
Crow King
National Archives
THE FIRST DRAGOONS, 1851. Mounted soldier is corporal in campaign dress. The other is a chief trumpeter in full dress uniform. From Fritz Kredel and Frederick P. Todd, Soldiers of the American Army, 1775-1954 (Chicago, 1954).
CUSTER'S LAST STAND. Many artists have depicted this famous battle. Gayle Hoskins produced this version, one of the best despite several errors.

From a 1928 calendar.
MEETING BETWEEN THE LINES. Col. Nelson A. Miles met with Sitting Bull in the fall of 1876 to persuade the Hunkpapa medicine man to surrender. Sitting Bull declared, "God Almighty made me an Indian, and not an agency Indian." He later escaped to Canada, but in 1881 surrendered and became an agency Indian. Frederic Remington depicted the scene for Miles' *Personal Recollections.*
SURRENDER OF CHIEF JOSEPH. To illustrate General Miles' memoirs, Frederic Remington depicted the dramatic moment when Joseph, confronting Miles after the battle of Bear Paw Mountain, said, "From where the sun now stands, I will fight no more, forever."

National Archives
FIGHTING OVER THE CAPTURED HERD. Frederic Remington painted this scene to portray an episode at the battle of Bear Paw Mountain in 1877. Similar scenes were enacted at the battle of Palo Duro Canyon and Reynolds' fight on Powder River.
LAVA BEDS NATIONAL MONUMENT, California. Pickets watch hostile movements during the siege of Captain Jack's Stronghold in the Modoc War of 1873.

National Archives
FORT YUMA, California. In 1880 this ferry across the Colorado River connected Arizona with California at Fort Yuma, strategic point on the southern transcontinental route of transportation and communication.

National Archives
PORT BOWIE, Arizona. Chiricahua prisoners of war were brought to Port Bowie following the surrender to General Miles at Skeleton Canyon. This picture of Geronimo (right) and Natchez was taken at Port Bowie shortly before their departure for confinement at Fort Marion, Fla., in September, 1886.

National Archives photograph
RED CLOUD AND AMERICAN HORSE. Long after they had given up the warpath, these two old Sioux chiefs posed for a Deadwood photographer at Pine Ridge Agency during the Ghost Dance troubles in 1891.

Grabill Collection, Library of Congress
SIOUX CAMP AT PINE RIDGE AGENCY, 1891. During the Ghost Dance troubles on the Sioux Reservations, General Miles assembled the Pine Ridge Sioux at the Agency where they could be watched while the Ghost Dancers were at large.

Grabill Collection, Library of Congress
In recent years reformers had clamored for an end, on the one hand, to harsh military policies of Indian control and, on the other, to lax and often fraudulent civilian management. Their philosophy of conquest by kindness had influenced the formation of the Peace Commission of 1867 and the conclusion of the Fort Laramie and Medicine Lodge Treaties. This doctrine found expression in official policy when Ulysses S. Grant came to the Presidency in 1869.

During his two terms in the White House, several policy innovations were forthcoming that revolutionized Indian management. Not least among them was a renunciation of the antiquated treaty system. After years of argument, reformers finally convinced legislators that Indian tribes should be treated, not as nations, but as wards of the United States. Therefore, Congress demonstrated its changed attitude by passing, on March 3, 1871, a bill that prohibited any future treaties with Indian tribes. In this same year, the equally obsolete concentration policy succumbed to a new system of small reservations. At such places

the red man was to be furnished every necessity, thus insuring his ultimate assimilation into white society. Such care and kindness, however, was ridiculed by still other reformers who stressed individual land allotments for Indians. Pampering the Indian with government doles, they contended, would keep him dependent on his white benefactors and less apt to become a self-reliant citizen. Severalty would be put to the test some day, but in the meantime the small reservation held the limelight.

While debates raged over these considerations, President Grant attempted innovations of his own. He appointed a Board of Indian Commissioners, composed of eminent citizens serving without pay, to advise the Indian Bureau on formulation of policy. The Bureau, however, usually chose to ignore the recommendations of the Board, thereby insuring its impotence. While the Board struggled to make itself heard, another of Grant's experiments also lost ground.

In 1869 the Chief Executive decided to appoint church-nominated men as Indian agents. He thus hoped not only to end corruption on the reservation level, but to provide the red men with examples of morality as well. The Quakers were the first denomination assigned reservations under the new system. The

19. Priest, Uncle Sam's Stepchildren, 96.
southern plains were selected as a testing ground for the "Quaker Policy" and the gentle Friends fell heir to some of the fiercest tribes in the region.

Typical of the problems they faced and their failure to solve them was the case of Quaker Agent Lawrie Tatum. At Fort Cobb on July 1, 1869, he took charge of the Kiowas and Comanches, shortly to be moved to newly-erected Fort Sill. There Tatum immediately attempted to transform his wild nomadic wards into peaceful farmers. But his recalcitrant flock construed his solicitude as weakness, and continued to depredate in northern Texas. They had little fear of punishment. The Peace Policy forbade Army interference on the reservations unless requested by the agent. And since Tatum refused to believe that his charges were guilty, the Fort Sill reservation became a "city of refuge" where the Kiowas and Comanches could find protection after each raid. Their boldness grew in proportion to their success, and they brazenly defied the Army to stop them. But their ardor was dampened in 1871 by an unexpected turn of events.

In May of that year, a large Kiowa war-party under Satanta, Big Tree, and Satank wiped out a wagon train between Fort Griffin and Jacksboro, Texas. Unknown to the Indians, General Sherman was on a tour of inspection in this very area. Everywhere examples of Kiowa and Comanche destruction caught his eye and strengthened his determination to see the Indians punished.
Consequently, when the Kiowa chiefs bragged of their exploit at Fort Sill, they were arrested at once and sent to Texas for an unprecedented civil trial. This heretofore unseen facet of the Peace Policy aroused a great deal of public interest. Not a little chagrin was evident among the Kiowas, who, although threatening reprisals, noticeably decreased their raids during the winter of 1871-72. They were further shocked when Satanta and Big Tree were sentenced to death (Satank was shot while trying to escape enroute to the trial). Later, however, Quaker intervention brought a commutation to life imprisonment.20

While the Kiowas eagerly awaited the outcome of the Jacksboro Affair, their Comanche friends did not curtail activities. They continued to plague northern Texas with a rash of raids until even Agent Tatum was forced to acknowledge the guilt of his wards. Reluctantly, he called on the Army to punish them, but in so doing incurred the displeasure of his more idealistic superiors. Discouraged, Tatum resigned his post. Needless to say, the Army welcomed an opportunity to punish the hostiles, but its small forces could do little more than teach the Indians that the Fort Sill reservation was no longer a haven.

Certain humanitarian groups, meanwhile, worked diligently for the release of Satanta and Big Tree. Just as they were making their influence felt, an unexpected event momentarily checked their progress. Public sentiment was aroused in opposition to lenient treatment of Indians by an uprising in the Northwest.

On November 29, 1872, a company of soldiers attempted to arrest Captain Jack, a Modoc leader who, two years earlier, had murdered another Indian and with some followers had fled the reservation. The attempt precipitated a battle between the soldiers and Indians, and Captain Jack retreated with his band into the natural fortress of northern California's Lava Beds. With a force of 400 soldiers, later augmented to over 1,000, Lt. Col. Frank Wheaton failed to dislodge the Modocs from their rocky defenses. The Army then decided to accept an offer to meet the adversary in council. On April 11, 1873, Brig. Gen. E. R. S. Canby, the department commander, entered the Lava Beds with several commissioners to talk with the Modocs. After a brief exchange of words, the Modocs treacherously murdered Canby and one of the commissioners. The others managed to escape. Col. Alvin Gillem took command. His men brought up mortars and shelled the Modoc stronghold, then for three days fought their way forward through the lava flow. When finally captured, the stronghold was empty. Although the Modocs had escaped, they
were later rounded up and sent to a reservation in Kansas. Captain Jack and three other leaders went to the gallows for murder. The Northwest settled down to several years of peace.

The entire nation was stunned by the murder of General Canby, but when the story disappeared from the front pages humanitarians increased their agitation for the release of Satanta and Big Tree. Finally, the Federal Government induced the State of Texas to free its captives, who promptly displayed their gratitude by resuming depredations. Once again the Peace Policy had been tested and found wanting.

A strict adherence to the Peace Policy had produced a serious division of authority between military and civil officials. Such an arrangement played havoc with Indian administration, and as usual the red man suffered. The system failed to benefit either his physical or his spiritual well-being. Denominational agents had not proved the paragons of morality that had been predicted. Mouldy flour and rancid meat continued to be items of issue at Indian agencies, and unscrupulous agents still coined small fortunes at the expense of their wards.21

Not only was the food often of inferior quality, but frequently there was not enough of it. The Medicine Lodge and Fort

21. For a brief but informative discussion of fraud in Indian administration, see Priest, Uncle Sam's Stepchildren, 67-72.
Laramie Treaties had authorized a mere three dollars a month food allowance for each Indian, on the assumption that agency rations would be supplemented by hunting. By 1872, however, the southern plains had become the scene of probably the greatest slaughter of wild life in history. Between 1872 and 1878 the repeating rifles of professional buffalo hunters accounted for no less than 7,500,000 of the animals so essential to Indian life. Obviously, under the existing system, the Indian must steal or starve.

It is not surprising, then, that Indian reservations were hotbeds of discontent and resentment. Pampered on the one hand, abused on the other, the red man had little reason to love or respect his white overlords. He therefore sought to rid himself of their yoke by force of arms.

The Last of the Plains Wars

While the Indians of the southern plains thus resisted white domination, the demands for Army intervention increased.


The debate over which Government agency should control the Indians was revived. But, although the military never regained complete jurisdiction over Indian tribes, it did obtain, in July 1874, permission from the Interior Department to attack hostiles on Indian reservations.24 This shift in policy was apparently occasioned by a realization that the frontier once again faced a full-scale Indian war. Only a month earlier, a large band of hostiles had opened an offensive that developed into the Red River War of 1874-75.

On June 27, 1874, several hundred Kiowas and Comanches, with a few Southern Cheyennes, attempted to rid the Panhandle of the hated buffalo hunter. Quanah Parker,25 the young Kwahadi Comanche chief, led this formidable war-party against a group of 28 buffalo hunters. At Adobe Walls, near the scene of Kit Carson's battle 10 years earlier, the buffalo hunters beat off several charges with accurate rifle fire. The hostiles tried

24. Rupert N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement (Glendale, 1933), 368.

25. Quanah Parker was the son of the famous Cynthia Ann Parker, a white girl captured by the Comanches in 1836. She married Nokoni, a Comanche chief, and from this union came Quahah. When his mother returned to white society in the early 1860's, Quanah remained with the Kwahadis, to become the last of the great Comanche chiefs.
siege, but after a few days withdrew. Buffalo hunting, nevertheless, declined sharply in this area for the next few months.

A month later, the Interior Department gave the Army free rein. Preparatory to his proposed campaign against the hostiles, General Sheridan ordered all peacefully inclined Indians to report to their agencies for registration. A severe drought delayed his plans until late summer of 1874, when 46 companies of cavalry and infantry finally took the field. Columns from Fort Union, New Mexico, Fort Sill and Camp Supply, Indian Territory, and Forts Concho and Griffin, Texas, began to close in on the Staked Plains.

Oddly enough, one of the first skirmishes in the Red River War took place within the confines of a reservation. On August 22, 1874, Lt. Col. (Bvt. Maj. Gen.) John W. Davidson, with four companies of the Tenth Cavalry (Negro), was called to the Wichita agency at Anadarko. The soldiers were to settle a disturbance created by a band of insolent Kiowas and Comanches. But when the troopers attempted to disarm the allegedly peaceful Indians, they resisted. After a two-day skirmish, known as the Anadarko Affair, they escaped to join other hostiles on the Staked Plains. 26

It was near this area, on August 30, 1874, that the first of the 14 major engagements in the Red River War was fought. Col. (Bvt. Maj. Gen.) Nelson A. Miles and his column, moving south from Camp Supply, encountered a large band of hostiles near Antelope Hills. After a sharp battle, Miles’ cavalry, ably supported by Gatling guns, forced the Indians to withdraw to the Staked Plains. The troops followed. But after a grueling pursuit, during which some of the soldiers, crazed by thirst, opened their veins in search of moisture, the chase was abandoned.27

A month later, following an audacious three-day siege of an Army wagon train, the hostiles suffered another reverse. This time it was at the hands of Col. (Bvt. Maj. Gen.) Ranald S. Mackenzie and the Fort Concho column. On September 27, 1874, Mackenzie discovered a large encampment of hostiles in Palo Duro Canyon, a few miles southwest of present Amarillo, Texas. After a perilous descent into the canyon, Mackenzie’s troopers came under a galling fire that obliged them to withdraw. Before retreating, however, they burned the village and its provisions, and slaughtered 1,400 Indian ponies.28

27. Richardson and Rister, The Greater Southwest, 314
Sheridan's other columns, meanwhile, were having similar adventures. Although they too won no overwhelming victories, their relentless pursuit, during October and November 1874, sapped Indian morale to such an extent that several bands capitulated. As in the Washita campaign, "mopping-up" operations continued for several more months, but finally ended late in 1875 when the last fugitives surrendered. In that same year, Satanta was again sent to Huntsville prison, where he committed suicide. Seventy-four of the worst Kiowas, Comanches, and Southern Cheyennes were imprisoned at St. Augustine, Florida.

Strangely enough, the Red River War--perhaps the most comprehensive Indian campaign ever carried out in the United States--inflicted relatively few casualties on the hostiles. Crafty though they were, their spirit was broken forever by the persistence of the Army. Except for occasional depredations by renegade bands, peace had finally been won on the southern plains. But the last hostile had scarcely been herded back to his reservation when more trouble threatened, again in the north.

Following conclusion of the Fort Laramie Treaty in 1868, most of the Sioux, including Red Cloud, had settled in the country set apart as the Great Sioux Reservation, consisting of that part of the present state of South Dakota west of the Missouri River. To manage the affairs of these Indians, several agencies
were built along the Missouri River. The most important, however, was Red Cloud Agency, in northwestern Nebraska south of the Black Hills. Nearby Fort Robinson guarded it. The irreconcilable element among the Sioux and Cheyennes, instead of going to the reservation, elected to live in the unceded hunting grounds west of the Black Hills and south of the Yellowstone River. Prominent among these Indians was the Hunkpapa Sioux medicine-man Sitting Bull. Gradually, during the early 1870's, this country was ringed by military posts. Forts Robinson, Laramie, and Fetterman lay to the south. The Missouri River forts--Randall, Sully, Rice, Lincoln, Berthold, and Buford--lay to the east and north. To the northwest were Forts Benton, Ellis, and Shaw. If these bands gave trouble, the Army could converge on them from several directions.

In 1874 an expedition under Colonel Custer entered the Black Hills, sacred Sioux territory protected by the Treaty of 1868, and confirmed the presence of gold. Living up to treaty commitments, the Army barred prospectors from the Hills. But public demand forced the Government to withdraw this protection. In 1876 a few chiefs were induced to sign an agreement (Congress had prohibited treaties in 1871) selling the Black Hills to the United States.
Throughout 1875 hundreds of Sioux, incensed at the invasion of the Black Hills, left the Missouri River agencies and joined non-reservation Indians in the Powder River country of Wyoming and Montana. Sitting Bull, Crazy Horse, and other Sioux and Cheyenne chiefs vowed to resist further white advances. The Indian Bureau warned these Indians to return to their agencies by January 31, 1876, or face the consequences. This ultimatum precipitated another Indian war.

From Nebraska, Brig. Gen. (Bvt. Maj. Gen.) George Crook marched to the hostile country early in March 1876. On the 17th part of his command, six companies of cavalry under Col. (Bvt. Maj. Gen.) J. J. Reynolds, attacked a large camp of Sioux on the Clear Branch of Powder River. Although the cavalry burned part of the village, the Sioux fought with such tenacity that Reynolds was forced to withdraw. Angry at this setback, Crook reluctantly fell back to Fort Fetterman, Wyoming, to replenish his provisions and care for the wounded.

With the failure of the first expedition, the Army next planned a three-pronged offensive to force the hostiles back to

29. George E. Hyde, Red Cloud’s Folk: A History of the Oglala Sioux Indians (Norman, 1937), 249-252. The ultimatum probably did not give the Indians enough time to comply, especially in view of the severe winter, but it is doubtful that many would have obeyed had more time been allowed.
their reservations. While Col. (Bvt. Maj. Gen.) John Gibbon marched eastward from Fort Ellis, in western Montana, Brig. Gen. (Bvt. Maj. Gen.) Alfred H. Terry, with another column, was to march westward from Fort Abraham Lincoln in Dakota. Crook and his troops would complete the envelopment by a march northward from Fort Fetterman, Wyoming. The plan was fated to suffer grave reverses before final victory was won.

First to suffer was Crook, who encountered Crazy Horse and the Oglalas on the banks of Rosebud Creek, Montana, on June 17, 1876. The Sioux fought with courage and determination, and Crook withdrew from the field with heavy loss. He marched back up the Rosebud and went into camp near present Sheridan, Wyoming.

While Crook retreated, Terry and Gibbon met on the Yellowstone at the mouth of the Rosebud. Riding with Terry was the flamboyant Custer and his Seventh Cavalry, eager to repeat their success of the Washita campaign. An opportunity presented itself when the Seventh was dispatched to reconnoiter along Rosebud Creek. As Custer and his troopers rode out of sight, all were confident that they could more than match any Indians they met.

On June 25, 1876, Custer located a huge Indian village on the banks of the Little Bighorn River and decided to attack

30. Ibid., 254-255.
immediately. He divided his command into three battalions in order to envelop the camp. Exactly what happened after Custer led his regiment into the valley of the Little Bighorn is not certain. The details of how Maj. (Bvt. Col.) Marcus A. Reno and his troops were driven back by swarms of hostiles, and how they were joined by Capt. (Bvt. Col.) Frederick W. Benteen and his battalion, are well known. But an aura of mystery surrounds the annihilation of Custer and the five troops of the regiment that he personally led. It is an enigma that goads students of military history to infinite speculations over exactly why and how Custer met such a catastrophe. But one thing is certain. By suffering one of the greatest defeats in the history of the Indian wars, he won for himself and his regiment an immortality that no victory, however brilliant or decisive, could have achieved.\textsuperscript{31}

Instead of pressing their advantage, the victorious Indians scattered across eastern Montana with hundreds of soldiers in pursuit. In July Col. (Bvt. Maj. Gen.) Wesley Merritt and troops of the Fifth Cavalry hastened to intercept some 1,000 Northern Cheyennes riding to join the hostiles. At War Bonnet

\textsuperscript{31} The standard work on the Custer Battle is W. A. Graham, \textit{The Story of the Little Big Horn} (2d ed. Harrisburg, 1945).
Creek he ambushed and drove them back to Red Cloud Agency. By September Crook was on the verge of abandoning the chase when Capt. (Bvt. Lt. Col.) Anson Mills with an advance guard of the Third Cavalry discovered the Sioux camp of American Horse at Slim Buttes, north of the Black Hills. Although badly outnumbered, Mills attacked the village. Timely arrival of the main column under Crook prevented Crazy Horse from joining American Horse and led to the capture of the entire village.

Terry had returned to Fort Lincoln, leaving Col. Nelson A. Miles to police the line of the Yellowstone and prevent the escape of the Indians north to Canada. Crook returned to Fort Fetterman, but was back in the field by late November. On the 25th his cavalry leader, Col. Ranald S. Mackenzie, attacked Dull Knife's village of Northern Cheyennes in Willow Creek Canyon of Powder River. The cavalrymen and Indians fought a hand-to-hand battle. Many Cheyennes were killed or captured, although others escaped and sought refuge with the Sioux.

To the north, Miles was also having success. In October he had captured about 2,000 Sioux and sent them to the reservation. Despite blizzards and extreme cold, he remained in the field. On January 8, 1877, he attacked and routed Crazy Horse and over 800 Sioux and Northern Cheyennes in the Wolf Mountains. Most of them soon gave themselves up at Fort Robinson. On May 7,
Miles struck again, this time crushing Lame Deer and the Minneconjou Sioux. Gradually, the remaining bands came to see the futility of resistance and turned themselves in at their agency, where they were disarmed and fed. Only Sitting Bull and about 400 Hunkpapas had eluded the Army. They escaped to Canada and lived under British rule until 1881, when, hungry and reduced in numbers by defections, they came across the border and surrendered at Fort Buford.

The power of the northern tribes had been broken forever. Occasional small raids continued for some time yet, but except for a brief Sioux uprising in 1890 they never regained their former magnitude. The Army had not yet finished the subjugation of the northern tribes, however, when another crisis flared—once more in the Northwest.

While Colonel Miles was rounding up the remnants of Lame Deer's Sioux, in May 1877, the Nez Percé Indians of northeastern Oregon, under their great chief, Joseph, were resisting Army attempts to remove them to a small reservation in Idaho. Brig. Gen. (Bvt. Maj. Gen.) O. O. Howard, with more than 500 soldiers, was sent to enforce their removal. Between June 17 and July 12, 1877, Howard fought three major engagements and was thwarted each time by the tactical genius of Joseph and the fine marksmanship of his followers. Having inflicted heavy casualties on
his pursuers, Joseph, although hampered by many women and children, headed for Canada over the rugged Lolo Trail. General Howard's infantry and artillery, unable to keep pace with the fleeing Indians, was soon hopelessly outdistanced.

For two and one-half months the Nez Percés retreated 2,000 miles. Always they dodged or defeated the 2,000 troops sent to intercept them. Surprise attacks on their camps at White Bird Canyon, Big Hole, and Canyon Creek failed to produce the usual Indian panics. The Nez Percés rallied around their able chief, beat off the attackers, and resumed the flight to Canada. Despite sound tactics, however, Joseph was finally brought to bay. A column led by Colonel Miles, after a swift march from Fort Keogh, located the Nez Percés encamped on Snake Creek, in the Bear Paw Mountains of north-central Montana. On October 3, 1877, Miles launched a surprise attack. Although taken unawares, the Nez Percés beat off the assault, inflicting 20 percent casualties on the attackers. Miles then brought 12-pound Napoleon guns to bear and their shells wrought havoc among the surrounded Indians. The next day, General Howard and his column arrived, and after a five-day siege the Nez Percés surrendered. Thus ended the most remarkable retreat in the history of the Indian Wars.

The following year, 1878, the Northwest was the scene of another uprising. In the spring the Bannocks of Idaho left the
Fort Hall Reservation and began plundering white settlements and ranches. Joined by a few Paiutes, Umatillas, and Cayuses, they carried their operations into Oregon. After a series of skirmishes with soldiers, they were defeated by General Howard at Clark's Fork in July, and returned to the reservation.

Equally serious was the outbreak the following year at White River Agency in northwestern Colorado. In September 1879, the Utes revolted against the dictatorial rule of Agent N. C. Meeker. They murdered him and many of the agency staff. At the same time, they ambushed a column of troops under Maj. T. T. Thornburgh enroute to the agency. The Major fell in the first fire, and his command lay under siege for four days. The approach of more troops, together with the moderating influence of the powerful chief Ouray, lifted the siege and brought the outbreak to a close.

Lasting peace had come to the northern and southern plains, and the settlement of the Ute and Bannock troubles ended the wars of the Northwest. Public interest focused on the one part of the frontier still to be conquered.

**War in the Southwest**

When the Civil War ended, Arizona, despite the aggressive measures of General Carleton, was still engrossed in an Apache
war. Arizonans repeatedly petitioned for increased military protection, but to no avail. Incensed at all Indians and angry at governmental neglect, embittered citizens of Tucson attacked a peaceful village of Arivaipa Indians at Camp Grant. In this tragic episode of April 30, 1870, 108 Arivaipas were murdered and many survivors sold into slavery. The Camp Grant Massacre, although generally receiving the approbation of westerners, did much to confute the efforts of Peace Policy representatives then in the Territory. Treaty agents now found hostiles more reluctant than ever to trade their freedom for the apparent insecurity of reservation life.

While the peace commissioners tried unsuccessfully to overcome the stigma of Camp Grant, Lt. Col. (Bvt. Maj. Gen.) George Crook took command of the Department of Arizona on June 4, 1871. In anticipation of a punitive campaign against the hostiles, he reorganized his little army. His plans, however, were forestalled by the arrival of still another peace representative. This latest emissary was Gen. O. O. Howard, and he surprised Crook by amazing success. With the assistance of Thomas J. Jeffords, a close friend of Cochise, Howard persuaded the ageing Chiricahua

to cease his bloody warfare against the white man and settle on a reservation at Sulphur Springs, west of Apache Pass.

Other Apaches and Yavapais were less amenable, and increased depredations evoked even louder demands from the Arizonans for military action. Ignoring the Peace Policy, Crook in 1872 therefore converged troops on the Tonto Basin, principal hostile base of operations in central Arizona. During this campaign, Capt. W. H. Brown, with two troops of the Fifth Cavalry and 30 Apache scouts, won the Army's greatest victory in the long history of Apache warfare. On December 27, 1872, Brown trapped a band of Yavapais in a cave in Salt River Canyon, and after a bloody battle only a handful of survivors stood among the bodies of 76 of their tribesmen.\(^{33}\)

These aggressive tactics so lowered the morale of the hostiles that, on April 6, 1873, they made peace at Camp Verde, Arizona. Crook was rewarded by promotion to brigadier general. While he remained in command of the Department, Arizona enjoyed a respite from serious Apache troubles. He was transferred to the north in 1875 and, whether coincidentally or not, the Apaches again grew restive.

\(^{33}\) Ralph H. Ogle, "Federal Control of the Western Apaches," New Mexico Historical Review, XV (1940), 69.
The decade 1876-86 was characterized by continual Apache raids in the Southwest, and by two major outbreaks. The Indians had been herded on to reservations where agents doled out a meager fare and unscrupulous traders sold inferior whiskey. The most important agency was San Carlos, on the Gila River. Called "hell's forty acres" by one observer, it was noted for its unhealthy location, overcrowded condition, and dissatisfied inhabitants. A few renegade bands had refused to go to the reservations, and for 10 years they terrorized southern Arizona and New Mexico and the settlements of northern Mexico. The size of these war parties fluctuated, for they drew recruits from the reservations. When weary of raiding, or when troops pressed too closely, they gave themselves up and returned to the reservation, only to start anew when agency life again became irksome.

Troops based at Forts Apache, Thomas, Grant, Bowie, and Huachuca, Arizona; at Forts Bayard and Stanton, New Mexico; and at Forts Bliss, Davis, and Quitman, Texas, campaigned ceaselessly against the raiders. It was arduous and frustrating duty. Climate and geography aided the enemy, and the Apaches were skilled at avoiding engagements where the odds were not overwhelmingly

in their favor. For soldiers of the Southwest, the Apache Wars consisted of endless marches under the desert sun, with rarely a chance to come to grips with the foe.

Twice during the decade the pace of raiding approached the scale of major war. In 1879, with over 100 Mimbreno and Mescalero warriors, Victorio struck time and again in New Mexico, Chihuahua, and the Big Bend region of Texas. When cornered, he skirmished with soldiers, Texas Rangers, and citizens' posses, but always managed to escape. Columns from Fort Davis and other West Texas posts marched 90,000 miles in the Victorio campaign.35 In October 1880, Mexican troops finally trapped Victorio in Chihuahua and during the ensuing battle he was killed. His followers, under the aged and rheumatic Nana, escaped to the Sierra Madre, where they later joined forces with another wily Apache leader, Geronimo.

Following the death of Cochise, Geronimo grew in stature among the Chiricahua, who had been moved from their reservation near Fort Bowie to one farther north, near Fort Apache. In 1881 an attempt to arrest an Apache medicine-man precipitated a skirmish at Cibicue Creek, west of Fort Apache. The Chiricahua had

not participated in this incident, but they apparently feared that the Army's retaliation would not discriminate between guilty and innocent. Under Geronimo and other leaders, about 75 Chiricahuas fled the agency and, avoiding pursuing columns, escaped to Mexico.

Two years of increased raiding followed. As usual the Army guarded waterholes along the border and trusted that relentless pursuit and hardship would discourage the raiders. Despite the bleak outlook, the winter of 1882 brought some reassurance. On September 4 General Crook resumed command of the Department. Immediately he inspected the deplorable conditions on the Apache reservations. Because of the Peace Policy, the crippling division of authority between military and civilian officials still existed. Poor management by the Indian Bureau and the unrestricted use of liquor, moreover, played havoc with reservation discipline. Crook therefore assigned several young officers to the agencies in hopes that their influence would bring order out of chaos. He then turned to the hostiles. The United States and Mexico had signed an agreement that pledged mutual cooperation in tracking down the renegade Apaches. Crook, determined to take full advantage of this arrangement, sent several detachments of Apache scouts, commanded by white officers, into Mexico. Although unable to force decisive battles,
they did, by their persistence, show the fugitives that the Sierra Madre no longer afforded sanctuary. By the spring of 1884 most of the renegade Chiricahuas had agreed to return to their reservations. Arizona breathed a sigh of relief. It was premature, however, for Apache reservations still simmered with unrest. Only a spark was needed for hostilities to begin anew.

Tiswin, the potent native liquor, provided the ignition. Violence flared again in May 1885, when 190 tiswin-saturated Chiricahuas, led by Geronimo, Nachez (son of Cochise), Nana, and others, fled Fort Apache and headed for Mexico. They eluded the cavalry sent to intercept them and continued to do so as they raided all summer.

Typical of the supreme difficulties their method of fighting presented the Army were the activities of but one band of only 11 hostiles. Starting in November 1885, these raiders, in less than four weeks, traveled over 1,200 miles, wore out 250 horses, murdered 38 people, and, although dismounted twice during this time, made good their escape to Mexico.36

Again Crook sent detachments of Apache scouts south of the border. Again persistence won out. No great victories

were achieved this time either, but constant pursuit finally compelled the renegades to meet in conference with Crook at Cañon de los Embudos, Mexico, on March 25, 1886. They surrendered to the General on condition that they be sent to Florida, with their families, for no more than three years confinement. Enroute to Fort Bowie, however, Geronimo and his cohorts went on a mescal spree and broke for the Sierra Madre. Their defection brought such a storm of criticism, both public and official, that Crook asked to be relieved of his command.

He was replaced on April 12, 1886, by Brig. Gen. Nelson A. Miles. Immediately, Miles revamped his supply system and erected 27 heliograph stations on high peaks in Arizona and New Mexico. Large reinforcements made it possible for the new commander to organize "pursuing commands" in lieu of the detachments of Apache scouts, in whom he placed little faith. In spite of his innovations, Miles' hard-working army made little progress against the hostiles until the fall of 1886. Then, largely because of the efforts of Lt. Charles B. Gatewood, Geronimo and Nachez were induced to surrender. With their capitulation at Skeleton Canyon, on September 4, 1886, peace came to the frontier.
The Collapse of the Indian Barrier

Thus a hundred years of warfare ended. It was a century that had witnessed the conquest of a continent, despite the muddle of philosophies that had helped prolong the struggle. Ill-conceived as some of the schemes of Indian management were, more sensible methods of control somehow managed, as time wore on, to come to the fore. Not a little credit for this improvement was due the American public.

The years following the Civil War saw the American citizen slowly awaken to the pressing need for a reformation of Indian policy. Such episodes as the ruthless removals of the Poncas and Northern Cheyennes to unhealthy reservations in the Indian Territory, and their pathetic attempts to return home, stimulated a wave of popular interest in the fate of the red man. The flight of the Nez Percés and the terrible conditions at San Carlos also had great influence on public opinion. Shocking disclosures of fraud, even in high governmental offices, aroused still greater speculation.

By 1880, the American public was conscious, as never before, of the plight of the red man. Various aspects of Indian affairs came under scrutiny. Predictions of the failure of the small reservation system were coming true. It became apparent that
the red man would never be a productive citizen as long as he remained dependent on Government doles and clung to his ancient tribal system. Consequently, the idea of individual land allotments for the Indian gained wider acceptance. Severalty treatment, it was argued, would undermine the influence of Indian chiefs, thereby destroying the red man's communal society and, at the same time, providing incentive to become self-sufficient. Coupled with improved education, the plan seemed foolproof.

Prominent in the fight for severalty were Senator Henry Laurens Dawes and Carl Schurz, competent Secretary of the Interior under President Hayes. Aided by several private organizations, such as the Indian Rights Association, these men saw their philosophy triumph with the passage of the Dawes Severalty Act in 1887.

No doubt the fathers of the Severalty Act were sincere in their desire to better the red man's lot, but their offspring was fated to go the way of its predecessors. It too fell prey to mismanagement and fraud. Severalty was modified to such a degree that even Senator Dawes was forced to repudiate his creation in favor of one more apt to preserve the unique culture of the American Indian\(^\text{37}\)--but that was still far in the future.

\(^{37}\) Priest, *Uncle Sam's Stepchildren*, 250-252.
The 19th century ended, therefore, with the problem of Indian management still unsolved. Nevertheless, with the failure of each new philosophy, the Government moved a little nearer to a suitable Indian policy. To the red man, however, this progress must have seemed trivial indeed. It is small wonder, then, that when force of arms failed to free him from white domination he turned to the supernatural for solace.

During the late 1880's, a religious craze swept through almost every tribe west of the Mississippi River. Spiritual leaders predicted the coming of a messiah who would deliver his red children from the yoke of white oppression. Frenzied "Ghost Dances" attended the messianic movement, and although they did not necessarily imply violence they nevertheless alarmed whites living near reservations by their displays of unbridled emotion. From this misunderstanding came a tragic incident.

Troops were sent, in December 1890, to suppress what was reported to be a brewing Sioux outbreak at the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. On December 29, soldiers attempted to disarm a band of Sioux. The Indians, believing that they were about to be murdered, resisted, and the Battle of Wounded Knee Creek resulted. It was a fight in which many Sioux men, women, and children fell before the fire of Hotchkiss guns.
The soldiers lost heavily also, but quelled this last major Indian uprising.

Although a few stray renegades plagued some areas of the West for another decade, Wounded Knee marked the close of the Indian wars. In the same year, 1890, the Census Bureau discovered that a distinct line of settlement could no longer be traced on the map. It was appropriate, and by no means coincidental, that the last vestige of the Indian barrier vanished together with the frontier of settlement. The Indian barrier had been one of the most powerful of the forces guiding the course of frontier history. It had significantly influenced the advance and development of the mining frontier, the cattlemen's frontier, and the farmer's frontier. It had affected transportation and communication, and the growth of towns and cities. With two exceptions, it had determined the course of American military history for over half a century. Its disintegration made possible the passing of the frontier.
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THE MILITARY AND INDIAN FRONTIER 1830-1890

▲ Sites of Exceptional Value.
■ Sites in the National Park System.
THE SIOUX WARS 1862 - 1864

NORTH DAKOTA

BAD LANDS

SOUTH DAKOTA

BLACK HILLS

THE SIOUX WARS 1866 - 1868

MONTANA

HELENA

BOZEMAN

Virginia City

Wyoming

BLACK HILLS

Fort Reno

Fort Laramie

Fort Phil Kearny

Fetterman Massacre

Wagon Box

Hayfield

Fort C.F. Smith

Bozeman Trail

Missouri River

Killdeer Mountain

Big Mound

Whitestone

Fort Abercrombie

Fort Ridgely

Fort Snelling

Birch Coulee

Red River

Dakota River

Cheyenne River

Belle Fourche River

Snake River

Yellowstone River

Powder River

Bighorn River

Fort Rice
THE
APACHE AND NAVAJO WARS
1850 - 1886
Key to Map of the Reservation System, 1885

1. St. Regis
2. Tuscarora, Tonawanda, Onondanga, Oneida, Oil Spring, Allegany, Cattaraugus.
3. Pottawatomie of Huron, Isabella
4. Oneida, Menomonee
5. L'Anse, Ontonagon, La Pointe, Red Cliff, Lac Court Oreille, Lac de Flambeau.
7. Qualla
8. Sac & Fox
9. Turtle Mountain, Devil's Lake
10. Lake Traverse
11. Fort Berthold
12. Sioux
13. Old Winnebago, Crow Creek, Yankton, Ponca, Niobrara, Winnebago, Omaha.
14. Sac, Fox & Iowa, Kickapoo, Pottawatome.
15. Indian Territory: Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Osage, Chickasaw, Seminole, Cheyenne & Araphao, Kiowa & Comanche, Wichita, Pottawattomie, Kickapoo, Iowa, Pawnee, Otoe & Missouria, Ponca, Tonkawa, Kansas, Chilocco.
17. Jocko
18. Coeur d'Alene, Lapwai
19. Lemhi
20. Fort Hall
21. Crow, Northern Cheyenne
22. Wind River
23. Uintah, Uncompahgre
24. Duck Valley
25. Ute
26. Pueblo
27. Mescalero
28. Navajo, Hopi
29. White Mountain, Papago, Gila Bend, Gila River, Salt River, Colorado River, Yuma.
32. Yakima, Umatilla
33. Coastal tribes
34. Siletz, Grande Ronde, Warm Spring, Klamath, Malheur.
36. Pyramid Lake, Walker River
37. Tule River
38. Mission Indians
THE INDIAN RESERVATION SYSTEM 1885

Basic Data: Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1885
FORT SILL, I.T.
1874

Adapted From Surgeon General's Report On Hygiene, 1875, Page 236.
FORT BOWIE, ARIZONA
MAY 20, 1889

SCALE IN FEET

100 50 0 100 200 300

21. Butcher's Shop
22. Quartermaster Storehouse
23. Engine & Ice Machine
24. Privy
25. Commanding Officer's Qtrs.
26. Guardhouse
27. N.C.S. Quarters
28. Bakery
29. Civilian Employees' Qtrs.
30. Laundress' Quarters
31. Mess Hall, etc. to No. 8
32. Schoolhouse
33. New Hospital
34. Hospital Stewards Qtrs.
35. Post Trader

BASIC DATA: Reproduced from Archives map-R.B., 1889
BUILDINGS & GROUNDS LAYOUT
J.L. HUBBELL TRADING POST
ARIZONA
Part II

SURVEY OF HISTORIC SITES AND BUILDINGS

A profusion of historic sites illustrating the 19th century military and Indian frontier has survived in the western United States. This theme of frontier history, in fact, is exceeded in number of sites with tangible remains only by the mining frontier. As a result of the recent surge of popular interest in the West, inspired by moving pictures, television, and magazine articles, the historic sites of the military and Indian frontier have become prominent landmarks on the itineraries of vacationing Americans.

Army forts that defined the advancing military frontier account for the overwhelming majority of sites in this theme. West of the Mississippi River almost 200 forts with visible remains may be listed and located. Some, such as Fort Buchanan, Arizona, and Fort C. F. Smith, Montana, are marked only by mounds of earth covering building foundations. Others, such as Fort Larned, Kansas, and Fort Davis, Texas, offer the visitor a virtually complete picture of the Army's frontier outpost. Between these two extremes are scores of forts with adobe or stone ruins in various stages of disintegration. As the plains Indian posed the greatest barrier to the westward movement, most of the forts are to be found in the plains and Rocky Mountain states. Logically, they are concentrated along historic routes of transportation and communication such as the Missouri, Yellowstone, Platte, Arkansas, Rio Grande, and Gila Rivers;
the Oregon, Santa Fe, Smoky Hill, and Bozeman Trails; and the Northern Pacific, Union Pacific, Kansas Pacific, and Southern Pacific Railroads.

Battlefields where Indians and soldiers clashed are also numerous. The sites of almost 50 major engagements, located mostly in the plains states, may be identified. At many, the natural setting remains unimpaired, and the student has little difficulty in locating key positions and visualizing the action. White Bird Canyon, the Fetterman Massacre site, Palo Duro Canyon, and Adobe Walls are examples. A few battlefields--Rush Springs and Washita for instance--have been destroyed by farming or ranching operations. Most of the battlesites have been marked by federal, state, or local agencies, and a few have been set aside as historical monuments.

The Indian was not conquered by military means alone. There were less violent methods that also proved effective. Agencies, missions, and trading posts are historic sites that exemplify this other part of the story. A number of agencies with structures dating from the late 19th century are scattered about the west, the best examples in Oklahoma, the Dakotas, and Montana. Good remains of Indian missions may be seen in Kansas, the Dakotas, Montana, and the Pacific Northwest. The trading post, together with the ritual of Indian trading, is still vividly displayed on the Navajo Reservation of Arizona and New Mexico.

Aridity and, until recently, sparsity of population have combined
in the West to reduce the threat of nature and man to historic sites. The threat has nevertheless been real, and with the increasing shift of population to the West is growing yet more real. Most forts were built of adobe. When the Army moved out, local settlers customarily stripped them for building materials. Deprived of roofs, doors, and windows, the adobe walls were left exposed to the elements. Today, as a result, the sites of most forts are marked by melting adobe ruins that disintegrate more and more each year. Stone forts were less vulnerable to the ravages of wind and rain, but they too yielded building material--stone blocks already quarried and shaped--to ranchers or farmers of the surrounding country. Today, however, the ruins of stone forts are generally more imposing than those of adobe forts.

Some sites escaped destruction by continuing use. The Army still uses Forts Huachuca, Bliss, Sill, Leavenworth, and Riley. The Indian Bureau still maintains agencies at Lame Deer, Montana, Pine Ridge, South Dakota, Standing Rock, North Dakota, and elsewhere. In each example, historic structures have been preserved with more or less modification. Some sites have survived by finding other uses. The city of San Angelo, Texas, engulfed Fort Concho, and some buildings survived as private residences and parts of commercial establishments. A similar fate overtook Camp Verde, Arizona, and Fort Stockton, Texas. Indian agencies moved into Fort Apache, Arizona, and Fort Simcoe, Washington, an Indian school into Fort Wingate,
New Mexico. The State Game Farm took over the agency complex at the headquarters of the Cheyenne-Arapaho Reservation in Oklahoma. A dude ranch now uses the old buildings at Fort Clark, Texas, a cattle ranch those of Fort Larned, Kansas. In these examples, too, historic buildings have been maintained with varying modification.

Probably the greatest destruction of sites in recent years has resulted from the flood control and irrigation programs of the U.S. Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation. When the Missouri River Basin Project is completed along the main stem of the Missouri River, much of the valley between Yankton, South Dakota, and the North Dakota-Montana boundary will be subject to inundation. The sites of many forts, agencies, and missions will be lost. In Oahe Reservoir alone, one battlesite, four military posts, and seven missions will be endangered. The National Park Service and the Smithsonian Institution have carried out historical and archeological studies to salvage as much history as possible in the reservoir areas.

Against the dangers to survival must be balanced the commendable efforts of federal, state, and local preservationists to save the historic sites of the Indian wars. The National Park Service preserves and interprets Fort Laramie, Wyoming, Fort Union, New Mexico, and the sites of the battles at Captain Jack's Stronghold in California and Big Hole and Little Bighorn in Montana. The United States Army has done an outstanding job of preserving the historical values of Fort Sill, Oklahoma. Not only has it saved the entire post of the 1870's, with the exception of the cavalry stables, but its Artillery and Missile Center Museum is one of the finest museums of military history in the country. Historical programs at Forts Huachuca, Bliss, Riley, and Leavenworth also merit recognition.

Many of the western states maintain historical societies or other agencies that have taken an unusually active interest in preserving or marking the sites that fall within this historical theme. Wyoming owns, in whole or part, the sites of Forts Bridger, Reno, and Phil Kearny, and the battlefields of the Connor and Wagon Box fights. Seven forts and one battlefield in North Dakota are in State ownership. At Fort Garland the State Historical Society of Colorado has created a model of preservation and interpretation of the 19th century frontier outpost. Kansas maintains four Indian missions, and Minnesota owns seven sites associated with the military and Indian frontier. The Oklahoma Historical Society is conducting a state survey of historic sites and has supervised an extensive
highway marking program. The State Park System includes Fort Gibson and Sequoya's Home. Texas also is surveying its historic sites, and maintains Fort Griffin as a State Park. Fort Churchill is part of the Nevada State Park System, and Fort Simcoe has been leased to the Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission by the Yakima Indians. California preserves Forts Tejon and Humboldt, and the Yuma Tribal Council has recently interested the Division of Beaches and Parks in developing Fort Yuma as a State Historical Monument.

Local groups have usually found preservation of forts prohibitively expensive. In Texas, however, the Fort Belknap Society and the Fort Davis Historical Society deserve high praise for their efforts and accomplishments. The municipalities of Fort Smith, Arkansas, San Angelo and Fort Stockton, Texas, Fort Scott, Kansas, Tucson and Camp Verde, Arizona, and Walla Walla, Washington, have done good work in caring for frontier military posts that lie within their corporate limits. The town of Medicine Lodge, Kansas, has preserved the site where the Medicine Lodge Treaty was signed in 1867. The Creek Indian Memorial Association maintains a museum in the old Creek National Capitol Building at Okmulgee, Oklahoma.

In the following pages, historians of the National Park Service have selected and evaluated the more important historic sites of the military and Indian frontier. The first group are those believed to be exceptionally valuable for illustrating or commemorating this theme of American history. Each of these sites has been studied,
visited, and weighed against the criteria of exceptional value reproduced in the appendix, and each has been judged to meet one or more of the criteria. Sites that are units of the National Park System have not been studied and evaluated like those in non-federal ownership. But as they, too, are part of the total picture, those that fall within this historical theme are discussed together with other sites of exceptional value.

The second group of sites treated in this section, "Other Sites Considered," includes those of sufficient importance to merit some attention, but not judged exceptionally valuable when measured by the criteria. The third group, "Sites Also Noted," lists sites of marginal importance that were examined by Survey historians in the course of their travels.
FORT SNELLING, Minnesota. Artist's conception of the fort as it appeared about 1825.

Minnesota Historical Society
FORT SNELLING, Minnesota. This view shows the original fort as it appears today from the air.

Minneapolis Tribune photograph, 1958
FORT LEAVENWORTH, Kansas. The first officers' school at Fort Leavenworth, still a major army installation, was opened in this building in 1881.

National Park Service photograph, 1955
FORT GIBSON, Oklahoma. An excellent restoration stands on the site of the original fort. This view shows officers quarters and a bastion. A pavilion in the center of the parade ground (left) covered the well.

National Park Service photograph, 1953

FORT GIBSON, Oklahoma. These stone barracks were built after the Civil War as part of the second fort, which replaced the stockade in the valley below. National Park Service photograph, 1958.
FORT LARNED, Kansas. This post was a way-station on the Santa Fe Trail and played an important part in Sheridan's winter campaign of 1868-1869. Above is officers quarters. Most other buildings also remain in good condition.

National Park Service photograph, 1957
FORT STILL, Oklahoma. Sherman House has long been home of the commanding officer. In 1871 a Kiowa Indian attempted to murder General of the Army William T. Sherman on the porch of these quarters.

U.S. Army photograph, 1956
FORT SILL, Oklahoma. Once the post commissary, Hamilton Hall now houses part of the Artillery and Guided Missile Center Museum.

U.S. Army photograph, 1957
FORT SILL, Oklahoma. The Old Post Corral now houses 19th century vehicles illustrating frontier military and civilian means of transportation.

U.S. Army photograph, 1957
FORT BELKNAP, Texas. The arsenal (above) is the only original building still standing. Two barracks (below) have been reconstructed on original foundations.

National Park Service Photographs, 1958
FORT DAVIS, Texas. Three sets of officers quarters have been rehabilitated and are used as guest cottages. The remainder of the buildings on officers row are in bad repair, but might easily be stabilized.

National Park Service photograph, 1953
FORT DAVIS, Texas. Barracks that once quartered cavalrymen who pursued Victorio's Apaches are now falling into ruin.

National Park Service photograph, 1953
FORT DAVIS, Texas. Each year, spring winds do further damage to the adobe chapel.

National Park Service photograph, 1953
FORT DAVIS, TEXAS. This panorama looking north shows the main complex of buildings as they appear today. Left of the parade ground is officers row, with 13 sets of quarters. Right of the parade ground are the ruins of two barracks, with kitchens behind, and a restored barracks now housing a museum of the Fort Davis Historical Society. The long building to the rear and beyond the barracks was the Commissary. The large adobe building north of the parade ground served during the 1870’s as the hospital (as shown on the map), but was used for residential purposes after the new hospital, 500 yards behind officers row (not shown), was built in the 1880’s.

National Park Service photograph, 1959

FORT SMITH, ARKANSAS. There are no surface remains of the first fort, established in 1817. These two buildings of the second fort have survived. Left is the Commissary building, built in 1839. Right is the altered barracks building that housed troops from 1840 to 1871, and the Federal Court and Jail from 1872 to 1887. Judge Isaac C. Parker presided over this court from 1875 to 1887.

National Park Service photographs, 1959
PORT UNION NATIONAL MONUMENT, New Mexico. This aerial view, taken about 1935, shows ruins of the second fort, an earth fortification built during the Civil War, and the third fort, a conventional fort built in the late 1860's.

Courtesy Mrs. Sterling Rohls, Santa Fe, N. M.
FORT BOWIE, Arizona. This picture was taken in 1885 by Lt. Charles B. Gatewood, who in 1886 went to the Chiricahua stronghold in the Sierra Madre and persuaded Geronimo to surrender.

National Archives
FORT BOWIE, Arizona. Stone and adobe ruins today mark the site of the hub of military operations against Cochise and Geronimo.
FORT BOWIE, Arizona. Above, ruins of barracks; below, ruins of the post trader store.

National Park Service photographs, 1957
HUBBELL TRADING POST, Arizona. The trading post in the background was built by Hubbell about 1900 to replace the smaller building erected by William Leonard in 1876. In foreground, Don Lorenzo Hubbell trades with a Navajo woman for a blanket. Photo by Ben Wittick about 1905.

Laboratory of Anthropology, Santa Fe
HUBBELL TRADING POST, Arizona. John Lorenzo Hubbell, the "king of northern Arizona," traded at this site for over half a century and presided over a trading empire that blanketed the Navajo Reservation.

National Park Service photograph, 1957
FORT PHIL KEARNY, Wyoming. A replica marks the site of the most important of the three forts that guarded the Bozeman Trail from 1866 to 1868. Nearby Captain Fetterman and his command were wiped out by Sioux warriors.

National Park Service photograph, 1949
FETTERMAN DISASTER. Ten years before the Custer battle, Captain Fetterman and 80 men were wiped out by Red Cloud's warriors near Fort Phil Kearny, Wyoming. The last of Fetterman's command made a brief final stand at a site now marked by this monument.

National Park Service photograph, 1952
WAGON BOX FIGHT. At this site near Story, Wyoming, a handful of soldiers and civilians held off hundreds of Sioux warriors in one of the most dramatic engagements of the Indian Wars.

National Park Service photograph, 1949
FORT ROBINSON, Nebraska. Monument in front of headquarters building at Fort Robinson commemorates famous Sioux leader Crazy Horse, who was killed nearby in 1877.

National Park Service photograph, 1954
WOUNDED KNEE BATTLEFIELD, South Dakota. The site near Pine Ridge Agency of the last major Indian battle has changed little since 1890.

National Park Service photograph, 1954
WOUNDED KNEE BATTLEFIELD, South Dakota. Following the battle, the Sioux buried their dead in a mass grave on the battlefield.

National Park Service photograph, 1954
SITES OF EXCEPTIONAL VALUE

FORT SNELLING, MINNESOTA

Location. Near the junction of the Minnesota and Mississippi Rivers in South Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Ownership and Administration. U.S. Government, used and administered by the Veteran's Administration. The proposed Fort Snelling State Park comprises about 26 acres, which contain the site of the original fort and a buffer area that includes the post chapel and several sets of officers quarters.

Significance. (Criteria 1 and 2.) After the War of 1812 Americans once more turned their attention to the western frontier. Three military posts were built between 1817 and 1819---Forts Snelling, Minnesota, Atkinson, Nebraska, and Smith, Arkansas. These posts were to protect the frontier from Indians, promote the fur trade, and clear the way for settlement. During the 1820's, with the removal of eastern tribes to the west, the concept of a permanent Indian frontier gained prominence. More posts were established. By 1830, a well defined military frontier confronted the "permanent" Indian frontier. From north to south, the military frontier was marked by Forts Snelling, Leavenworth (replacing Atkinson in 1827), Gibson (replacing Smith in 1823), Towson, and Jesup. These were the most important forts until the frontier moved to the plains and jumped to the Pacific in the 1840's.
Northern bastion of this military frontier, Fort Snelling alone guarded a vast arc of territory extending from the Great Lakes to the Missouri River. For more than a third of a century it was the most northwesterly military installation in the United States. Although few expeditions used it as a base of operations against Indians, Fort Snelling exerted a powerful influence upon the region and by its very presence contributed significantly to clearing the way for settlers.

The territory drained by the Upper Mississippi River was acquired as part of the Louisiana Purchase of 1803, and plans for a fort in the region were immediately drawn up. Not until August 1819, however, did Lt. Col. Henry Leavenworth arrive with troops at the mouth of the Minnesota River. Construction began at this place the following summer under direction of Col. Joseph Snelling, but was not finished until July 1823. Originally called Fort Anthony, the name was changed after completion to Fort Snelling.

In conjunction with the fort, Agent Lawrence Taliaferro established St. Peters Agency nearby to administer affairs of resident Sioux and Chippewa Indians. Both agent and troops kept constantly occupied trying to prevent warfare among the various tribes. During the 1820's the Sioux and Chippewa had violent conflicts. In 1826 strife broke out among the Winnebagos near Prairie du Chien. Troops from Fort Snelling quelled it, but were again called upon in 1840 and succeeding years to pacify these Indians. Expeditions
were also sent from Snelling to the international boundary to prevent French-Canadian hunters from crossing the border to hunt buffalo. In 1849 infantry from Snelling joined dragoons from Fort Gains to investigate troubles in Iowa. One result of this expedition was the founding of Fort Dodge near the present town of the same name.

Abandoned in 1857, Fort Snelling was reactivated in 1861. It saw considerable activity during the bloody Sioux uprising of 1862 in Minnesota, and was at this time declared a permanent post. But the locus of conflict between Indians and soldiers shortly thereafter shifted farther west, to the Dakotas, and later to Montana and Wyoming. Fort Snelling continued to play a supporting role in these later wars, and in 1881 became headquarters of the Department of Dakota, which included Minnesota, the Dakotas, and Montana.

For 85 years following 1861 Fort Snelling served as a regional training center for troops, a function that became particularly important during both World Wars I and II. In 1946 the Army abandoned the fort and transferred it to the Veteran’s Administration.

Present Status. Of the 16 buildings listed in the completion report of August 1824, only four have survived: the quarters of the commanding officer, officers quarters, the hexagonal tower, and the round tower. Of the four structures, the hexagonal tower
has undergone the least alteration. The officers quarters were extensively remodeled in 1904 and bear little resemblance to the original. In 1957 and 1958 archeological excavations were undertaken at the site by the Minnesota Historical Society. Excavations revealed the foundations of several original structures, including the powder magazine, school house, sutler's store, hospital, shops, cistern, and a portion of the original walls of the fort. The site is proposed for designation and development as a Minnesota State Park.


FORT ATKINSON, NEBRASKA

Location. Washington County, Nebraska, about one mile east of the town of Fort Calhoun.

Ownership and Administration. Private.

39. Although Fort Atkinson was abandoned before 1830, initial limiting date for this study, it is more closely associated with other sites treated here than with sites treated in Theme XI, "Advance of the Frontier, 1763-1830."
Significance. (Criterion 1.) On the line of forts guarding the western frontier of the 1820's, Fort Atkinson lay to the south and west of Fort Snelling, and held this portion of the line from 1819 until its abandonment in 1827. Strategically located at Council Bluffs, important center of activity in the fur trade, the fort's primary function was to advance the interests of fur traders in the Upper Missouri country.

In 1823 Fort Atkinson was base for an expedition sent north to punish Arikaree Indians who had attacked a trading party of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company under William H. Ashley. The expedition consisted of 220 soldiers, who were joined by 120 trappers and 400 to 500 Sioux allies. It chastized the Arikarees and recovered some of Ashley's property, but failed in its larger purpose of imbuing the Indians with respect for American authority.

A second expedition two years later had more success. With 475 soldiers, Col. Henry Atkinson and Indian Agent Benjamin O'Fallon in 1825 marched up the Missouri to the mouth of the Yellowstone, negotiated treaties with 12 tribes, and accomplished much towards instilling a friendly attitude in the Indians and promoting the fur trade. O'Fallon thereafter established the Upper Missouri Indian Agency at Fort Atkinson and worked to keep peace among these tribes and to insure their cooperation with the fur traders.

Fort Atkinson also played an important part in the exploration of the West. In 1820 Maj. Stephen H. Long set out from
Engineers Cantonment, near Fort Atkinson, to explore the Rocky Mountains. He marched up the Platte, south along the base of the mountains, and returned down the Arkansas River. In 1824 Thomas Fitzpatrick and other trappers of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company arrived at the fort after their dramatic rediscovery of South Pass and the North Platte route, which later became the Oregon Trail. Later the same year William H. Ashley led an expedition from the fort to the Green River and discovered the canyon of the Upper Colorado River.

In 1827, in order to give better protection to the Santa Fe Trail, the Army abandoned Fort Atkinson and moved the garrison down the Missouri to establish Cantonment (later Fort) Leavenworth. The Upper Missouri Indian Agency also moved to Fort Leavenworth.

A historian of the early western military frontier summarized the importance of Fort Atkinson in the following words:

The nearest one can come to applying a fair test is to consider the wisdom of the establishment of Fort Atkinson. A new post several hundred miles beyond the frontier was established. The military frontier line was extended at one stroke to include areas that would by the process of settlement have required decades to occupy. Forts far behind the new line could be and were abandoned. The Indians on the Great Plains realized for the first time the strength and greatness of the United States. Judged by a pragmatic standard, the Missouri Expedition was no failure.  

Present Status. There are no remains of Fort Atkinson. The site, however, has been identified with certainty. Limited

40. Edgar B. Wesley, Guarding the Frontier (Minneapolis, 1935), 156.
archeological excavations have been conducted under the supervision of the Nebraska State Historical Society, but are by no means complete.


FORT LEAVENWORTH, KANSAS

Location. Leavenworth County, Kansas.

Administration and Ownership. United States Government, Department of Defense, Department of the Army.

Significance. (Criteria 1, 2, and 3.) Established in 1827 to help protect caravans on the Santa Fe Trail, Fort Leavenworth during the 1820's and 1830's occupied the center of the line of forts that defined the "permanent Indian frontier." This line extended from Fort Snelling, Minnesota, through Forts Leavenworth, Gibson, and Towson to Fort Jesup, Louisiana. Fort Leavenworth played a major role in the Indian wars of the central plains, in the Mexican War, and in the Civil War. Later, it achieved a notable record as a training center and a school for advanced
military education. It has been in continuous military use for more than a century and a quarter, and today remains one of the most important army installations in the United States.

As a frontier fort, Leavenworth attained its greatest significance in the three decades before the Civil War. Strategically located on the Missouri River near the eastern termini of the Oregon and Santa Fe Trails, the fort was a principal point of departure for traffic to the plains, and served as base for several important expeditions to the plains. From here, Col. Bennet Riley commanded the first military escort of caravans over the Santa Fe Trail in 1829; Col. Henry Dodge marched up the Platte River to the Rocky Mountains and returned by the Santa Fe Trail in 1835; Col. Stephen W. Kearny led the largest regular United States mounted force ever assembled to Cherokee country in 1839; and, under the same officer, dragoons went to South Pass and the Rockies in 1845. Because of its location, Fort Leavenworth was also, from 1827 to 1839, headquarters of the Upper Missouri Indian Agency, which administered all tribes of the Upper Missouri and northern plains. It was thus the scene of many conferences and treaty councils between United States officials and tribal delegations.

When the Mexican War broke out, Col. S. W. Kearny organized the "Army of the West" at Fort Leavenworth. Kearny marched over
the Santa Fe Trail, conquered New Mexico without bloodshed, and went on to the Pacific Coast to aid in the subjugation and occupation of California. When the Territory of Kansas was organized in 1854, Fort Leavenworth became its first territorial capital and was therefore closely associated with the strife of "bleeding Kansas." In the Civil War, too, it assumed military significance in the western campaigns, and was twice threatened by Confederates.

By close of the Civil War, the frontier had advanced beyond Fort Leavenworth. The post nevertheless continued to fulfill essential if less dramatic functions. To support operations farther west, it served as an ordnance arsenal from 1860 to 1874, and as quartermaster depot for the Military Division of the Missouri from 1874 to 1878. In 1881 the school for infantry and cavalry officers was founded at Leavenworth; in 1901 it became the General Service and Staff School, later the Command and General Staff College. A United States military prison was there from 1875 to 1895, and from 1906 to 1929.

The passing of the frontier left Fort Leavenworth untouched, unlike most other western posts. It became one of the Army's permanent and well-established installations. During both World Wars it trained thousands of men and advanced the military education

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41. Kearny's feat is fully treated in "The Texas Revolution and Mexican War," one of the series of studies being prepared by the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings.
of thousands of officers. As home of the Command and General Staff College, it still carries on its educational tradition.

Present Status. There are several notable structures surviving at Fort Leavenworth. These include the post chapel, built in 1878; the original home of the General School for Officers, now the Command and General Staff College; the enlisted men's barracks, constructed between 1881 and 1889; Syracuse House, erected in the late 1860's; and a portion of the original wall of the fort. One of the old cavalry stables now houses a transportation museum.

References. Elvid Hunt, History of Fort Leavenworth, 1827-1927 (Fort Leavenworth, 1926); Fort Leavenworth and the Command and General Staff College (Fort Leavenworth, n.d.); Otis E. Young, The West of Philip St. George Cooke (Glendale, 1955).

FORT SMITH, ARKANSAS

Location. Fort Smith, Arkansas

Ownership and Administration. City of Fort Smith.

Significance. (Criterion 1.) The check to westward exploration caused by the War of 1812 came to an end in 1817, when an expedition under Maj. Stephen H. Long arrived at the junction of the Arkansas and Poteau Rivers in Missouri Territory. There, just

42. Fort Smith was significant both before and after 1830, and is therefore evaluated both in this study and in the report on "The Advance of the Frontier, 1763 to 1830."
east of the Osage Indian boundary line on a rocky bluff named by French traders "La Belle Pointe," Long began construction of a log fortification that he called Cantonment (later Fort) Smith. When completed, the fort consisted of some 24 buildings surrounded by a stockade, with two-story blockhouses at the alternate angles, the whole being approximately 132 feet square.

The establishment of Fort Smith filled a pressing need, for the Cherokees, who had begun crossing the Mississippi River in 1809, were encroaching on Osage lands, and constant vigilance was necessary to prevent inter-tribal warfare. Here as elsewhere along the frontier force was occasionally required to keep the westward moving settlers from occupying Indian lands. Although four companies of the Seventh Infantry were sent to reinforce the garrison in 1822, Indian depredations continued. The Fort Smith garrison was moved westward to the mouth of the Verdigris River in April 1824, where they established Fort Gibson. Only a token force was left at Fort Smith, which soon fell into decay.

With the increase of white settlers in the Southwest, a second fort was established at Fort Smith in July 1838. The site selected was a short distance east of the first fort, and the buildings were of brick and stone—the latter quarried from the out-croppings at Belle Pointe. Work was halted within five years, after several buildings had been completed, but troops continued to be stationed
there until 1871. In that year the United States Criminal Court of the Western District of Arkansas was moved from Van Buren to Fort Smith and housed in one of the old fort buildings. Judge Issac C. Parker was appointed in March 1875 to head the court, which had jurisdiction over some 74,000 square miles in Arkansas and Indian Territory. During his 21 years in office, Parker gained a national reputation for his efforts to bring law and order to a lawless frontier. During this time, some 13,500 cases were docketed in his courtroom, ranging from theft of government timber to murder. Some 9,500 defendants were convicted, and 88 died on the scaffold that stood nearby. Mute testimony to the rigors of Parker's task is afforded by the record, which shows that 65 of his deputy marshals were slain in the line of duty.

Present Status. There are no surface remains of the first fort at Belle Pointe, although the quarries used in constructing the second are visible. The Belle Pointe area, formerly a shanty-town section called Coke Hill, has recently been cleared in a program for creating a municipal park. Part of the site has probably been destroyed by erosion, but the remainder should provide a rich field for archeological excavation. Preliminary archeological work has already located stone foundations believed to have supported the walls of the first fort. A detailed historical report has been prepared by the Fort Smith Chamber of Commerce, and a major
archeological project was planned for the summer of 1959. Railroad tracks of the Frisco and Missouri Pacific Railroads, together with the passenger and freight stations of these two lines, lie immediately adjacent to the site, separating it from the site of the second fort and seriously impairing its integrity.

Of the second fort there are two important remains. The old Commissary building, a large stone building immediately behind the Frisco Railroad station, was built in 1839 to serve as the northwest bastion of the second fort. It was used until 1871 and now houses a museum. The old Federal Building, built in 1840 as barracks for troops, is a block southeast of the Commissary. It housed soldiers until 1871, and the Federal Court and Jail from 1872 to 1887. The courtroom where Judge Parker presided from 1875 to 1887 has been restored to its original appearance. This two-story brick building is in two parts. The old half was used by the Army and by Judge Parker, the new was added in later years.

FORT GIBSON, OKLAHOMA

Location. Muskogee County, Oklahoma, near town of Fort Gibson.

Ownership and Administration. Owned by State of Oklahoma, administered by Planning and Resources Board through the Division of State Parks.

Significance. (Criteria 1, 2, and 3.) Of the line of forts that separated settlements of the Mississippi Valley from the "permanent Indian frontier"--Snelling, Leavenworth, Gibson, Towson, and Jesup--Fort Gibson was the most important and influential, for it was thrust into the Indian country and actively concerned with immediate Indian problems. Established by Col. Mathew Arbuckle in 1824 on the Grand (Verdigris) River near its confluence with the Arkansas, its purpose was to prevent Osage attacks on Cherokees already filtering into Indian Territory. During the period of Indian Removal, 1825-1840, it played a major role in receiving, caring for, and locating immigrant Cherokees, Creeks, and Seminoles. It also enforced peace among the newly arrived tribes, and attempted to protect them from the plains Indians. For a time the fort housed the Cherokee Agency. Troops from Fort Gibson provided escorts for surveyors marking boundaries of Indian lands, established sub-posts such as Forts Coffee, Wayne, Holmes, Arbuckle, and Washita to police other parts of Indian Territory, laid out a network of roads, patrolled to prevent the flow of liquor into Indian Territory, and
on occasion furnished escorts for traffic on the Santa Fe Trail. Peace commissions met at Fort Gibson with native and immigrant tribes alike to conclude treaties. Scores of new graduates of West Point gained their first military experience at Fort Gibson, and newly activated units such as the Rangers and the Dragoon Regiment were tested there.

Fort Gibson was base of operations for three important expeditions to the plains, all aimed at persuading the wild tribes to conclude peace treaties with the United States. One in 1832 and another in 1833 failed. A third, the Dragoon Expedition, set out in 1834 under command of Gen. Henry Leavenworth. Leavenworth and 150 men died of fever, but Col. Henry Dodge, who took command, met with Kiowas, Comanches, and Wichitas, and persuaded them to send delegates to Fort Gibson for negotiations. Dodge's effort led to conclusion, the following year, of the first treaties with the wild tribes. The plains Indians promised not to molest travelers on the Santa Fe Trail and to quite warring on the immigrant tribes.

Not only was Fort Gibson the hub of military affairs on the frontier, but it became, also, a center of trade and travel. Keelboats and later river steamers came up the Arkansas and at the fort landing unloaded passengers, military stores, and merchandise for the Indian trade. Return cargoes were obtained from Indian
traders. The Texas Road, which linked the growing American settlements in Texas with the Mississippi Valley, ran by Fort Gibson, which became an important way-station for immigrants, freighters, and traders.

Associated with Fort Gibson during these eventful years were such persons as Capt. B.L.E. Bonneville, the explorer; Gen. Henry Leavenworth; Capt. David Hunter, later prominent in the Civil War; and Nathan Boone, son of Daniel Boone. A. J. Smith, E. V. Sumner, Philip St. George Cooke, Stephen Watts Kearny, Braxton Bragg, and many other officers of note served there. Gen. Winfield Scott inspected the post in March 1829, and Washington Irving visited it in October 1832. Two years later, George Catlin lay sick in the post hospital. Lt. Jefferson Davis faced court-martial charges at the fort in 1835 and, although acquitted, resigned to marry the daughter of Zachary Taylor. Sam Houston came to Gibson in 1829, married a Cherokee woman, and resided nearby until embarking upon his Texas adventure several years later.

Originally a four-company post, Fort Gibson was expanded in 1831 to accommodate a regiment and became headquarters of the Seventh Infantry. It consisted of a collection of closely packed log buildings surrounded by a log palisade. Blockhouses guarded two of the four corners and commanded all four sides. Log quarters and barracks also stood outside the stockade, together with the
sutler's store, two hospitals, and a variety of other structures. Troops who served there unanimously condemned the dilapidated log structures as wholly inadequate, and in 1846 new construction was begun on the hill overlooking the stockade. But by 1857 only one stone building had been finished. In that year, Cherokee sentiment led the Army to abandon the fort.

During the Civil War it was reoccupied by Union troops in 1863 and played a vital part in strengthening the loyal element of the Cherokees. It was base for the Union Army that, in July, defeated Confederates at Honey Springs in an engagement that won Indian Territory for the Union. Regular troops replaced the volunteers in 1866 and garrisoned the post until its abandonment in 1889. During this period the post on the hill was completed, and consisted of seven large stone buildings and ten frame buildings.

Present Status. Although the original fort has long since disappeared, the State of Oklahoma, under a WPA grant, in 1936 reconstructed the log stockade and a number of outlying buildings on the original site. The project was carried out under the supervision of Grant Foreman, then Oklahoma's leading historian, and is, with a few minor exceptions, a faithful reproduction of the original. The principal departure from authentic construction lies in the use, for durability, of pine timber and lime chinking. The stockade is an excellent re-creation of the historical setting.
Interpretive markers, well-written and attractively designed, give much of the history of the fort. The State owns 55 acres, including the fort site, and administers the area as a State Park.

On a ridge overlooking the reconstructed stockade is the site of the second Fort Gibson, built largely after the Civil War. It was a conventional post made up of a group of buildings arranged for utility rather than defense. Several stone buildings, in various stages of repair, together with some ruins, still survive. They are privately owned and used. A two-story stone barracks, with porches running the length of the building on two levels, is the most imposing remain of this group, and is in good condition. This building is owned by the State Historical Society but is privately used.


FORT LARNED, KANSAS

Location. About five miles west of the town of Larned, Kansas, in Pawnee County.

Administration and Ownership. The site is in private ownership, although one of the buildings and a set of officers quarters serve
as a museum administered by the Fort Larned Historical Society.

Significance. (Criteria 1 and 4.) Most active and important military post in Kansas during the 1860's, Fort Larned was significant as a way-station on the Santa Fe Trail, as a base of military operations against hostile Indians of the central plains, and as a center for the administration of these tribes by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. First established in 1859 as Camp Alert, it was moved later in the year to a new site three miles farther west, where a sod and adobe post was built and named Fort Larned. In the early 1860's, Larned was the northern anchor of the line of forts that defined the southwestern military frontier. This line extended south from Fort Larned through Fort Cobb, Indian Territory, Forts Belknap, Chadbourne, McKavett, Stockton, and Clark, Texas, to Fort Duncan, on the Rio Grande.

As a military center, Fort Larned played an important part in the plains war of 1863-1864. In 1864 it served as base for an expedition against the Cheyennes. In the autumn of that year, Kiowas under Satanta killed a sentry at the fort and captured the horse herd. Satanta sent word to the post quartermaster that the horses were inferior and he hoped that the Army would provide him

43. The Santa Fe Trail associations of Fort Larned are more fully explored in the study of the Santa Fe Trail prepared for the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings in 1958.
with better stock in the future. Fort Larned was also a base for Maj. Gen. Winfield S. Hancock in 1867. Hancock led 1,400 men to the Kansas prairies with the objective of impressing the Indians with the strength of the United States. Mainly, however, he succeeded in frightening and antagonizing them.

Fort Larned was a key post in the plains war of 1868-1869. When government agents at the fort refused Cheyenne demands for arms and ammunition, this tribe adopted so threatening an attitude that Brig. Gen. Alfred Sully complied. The Cheyennes immediately went on the warpath. Sully took the field, but found the Indians so formidable that he retired to Fort Larned. These events signalled a general plains war, for Kiowas, Comanches, and Arapahos also began raiding and pillaging from Kansas to Texas. In response, Maj. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan organized a winter campaign. He ordered Lt. Col. George A. Custer and the Seventh Cavalry to Fort Larned to outfit for a thrust south into Indian Territory. Custer's campaign culminated in the battle of the Washita on November 27 and the decisive defeat of Black Kettle and a large camp of Cheyennes. With the close of this campaign, the plains enjoyed comparative tranquility that lasted until the Red River War of 1874-1875.

Throughout the 1860's, Fort Larned was also an administrative center for peaceful attempts at managing the plains Indians. Here from 1861 to 1868 Indian Bureau officials issued annuities to tribes
that had signed the Fort Wise Treaty of 1861. In 1864 the fort became agency for the Kiowas and Comanches, and the following year for the Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Kiowa-Apaches. Attracted by the opportunities thus found at Fort Larned, traders flocked to the post and it became an important center of trade, much of it illicit. The agency at Fort Larned was abolished in 1868 and the tribes moved to new reservations in Indian Territory.

The last important function of the post was to provide protection for construction workers on the Santa Fe Railroad. With the completion of the line through Kansas, the fort was abandoned in 1878.

**Present Status.** Beginning about 1864, substantial stone buildings largely replaced the earlier sod and adobe construction. Nine of these stone buildings are still standing. Two sets of officers quarters, work shops, and store houses have undergone very little alteration. The quartermaster office and storehouse and company barracks have been changed somewhat, but the basic structure remains unimpaired. These buildings serve as the headquarters of a large ranching operation.

FORT SILL, OKLAHOMA

Location. Comanche County, Oklahoma, near Lawton.

Ownership and Administration. U.S. Government, Department of Defense, Department of the Army.

Significance. (Criteria 1 and 2.) Fort Sill represented the culmination of Gen. P. H. Sheridan's winter campaign against the southern plains tribes in 1868-1869. The aggressive movements of Sheridan's columns, together with the decisive victory of Lt. Col. George A. Custer over Black Kettle at the battle of the Washita, had subdued the hostiles and brought peace temporarily to the plains. In order to control the Indians, Sheridan decided to establish a new post near the Wichita Mountains. Col. B. H. Grierson selected the site, a pleasant spot on Medicine Bluff Creek where the Dragoon Expedition had camped in 1834, and which Capt. Randolph B. Marcy had recommended for a fort in 1859. Sheridan named the post after his West Point classmate, Gen. Joshua Sill, who was killed while serving under Sheridan's command at Stone's River in 1863. Lt. R. H. Pratt, who later founded the Carlisle Indian School, supervised construction of the first buildings. While they were being erected, Custer returned from the field with the Seventh U.S. Cavalry and the 19th Kansas Cavalry and camped on the site.

As the Kiowa-Comanche Agency from 1870 to 1878, Fort Sill
became a major testing ground for President Grant's Peace Policy. Quaker agents promptly discovered that the philosophy of conquest through kindness, hallmark of the Peace Policy, failed to tame the wild Kiowas and Comanches. These Indians continued to raid the Texas frontier and return to their "city of refuge" at Fort Sill, where the Army was forbidden to follow. In 1871, however, Satanta, Satank, and Big Tree, leaders of a particularly vicious raid in Texas, boasted too loudly of their exploit. They were arrested at Fort Sill and sent to Jacksboro, Texas, for an unprecedented civil trial. By 1874 the failure of the Peace Policy to protect the Texas settlements prompted a return to sterner measures, and Fort Sill became the key base of operations for the Red River campaign. The Kiowas and Comanches fled to the west, and military columns converged from four directions on the Staked Plains. By the end of 1875 the last of the hostiles had been conquered, rounded up, and confined to reservations. Many of their leaders were imprisoned at Fort Sill and later sent to Fort Marion, Florida, for confinement. These operations ended warfare on the southern plains.

Fort Sill continued to be a large and active frontier military post throughout the 1880's and 1890's. After his imprisonment in Florida, Geronimo and the Chiricahua Apaches (see Fort Bowie) were settled on the Fort Sill Reservation, where Geronimo died.
and was buried in 1909. In 1911 the post became the home of the Field Artillery School and today, as the Artillery and Missile Center, it remains one of the most important U.S. Army installations.

Fort Sill is exceptionally valuable primarily because of its major role in the story of white-Indian relations on the southern plains during the decade following the Civil War. As the focal point of civil attempts to control and civilize the wild tribes, and as the focal point of military operations that finally crushed hostile resistance, it was not only the scene of important historical events, but the center from which forces were projected that shaped the history of the entire southwestern frontier. Lessons learned at Fort Sill, moreover, influenced the evolution of Indian policy throughout the West. Fort Sill draws added significance from its excellent state of preservation and from the fine program of interpretation by which its past has been vividly recreated.

Present Status. Virtually all of the original Fort Sill, built in the early 1870's, is still standing. Only the cavalry stables have been torn down to make room for newer construction. Approximately 25 buildings dating from 1870 or 1871 are still in use by the Army. These structures, built of native limestone, include residences for officers and noncommissioned officers on two adjacent sides of the parade ground, the commanding officer's

- 100 -
quarters (Sherman House, where in 1871 an Indian attempted to murder General of the Army William T. Sherman), three barracks (in the basement of one of which the three Kiowa chiefs were imprisoned in 1871), the Quartermaster Storehouse, the Commissary, Guardhouse, and Old Stone Corral. In addition, about ten stone buildings erected during the 1880's are still standing. The Army has manifested a continuing awareness of the historical importance of Fort Sill, and has made commendable efforts to preserve the historic sites and structures of the old post and interpret their history. The Quartermaster Storehouse, Commissary, and Guardhouse now contain the Artillery and Guided Missile Center Museum, which houses many outstanding displays portraying the history of the Army, with emphasis on the artillery arm and on Fort Sill. Outdoor displays in the corral portray frontier military and commercial modes of transportation, and the Guardhouse contains a fine collection of frontier and Indian artifacts. The museum complex is a major visitor attraction. The Director, Artillery and Missile Center Museum, supervises preservation and interpretation of the historical values of the post.

References. W. S. Nye, Carbine and Lance: The History of Old Fort Sill (Norman, 1937); Rupert N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement (Glendale, 1933); C. C. Rister, The Southwestern Frontier, 1865-1881 (Cleveland, 1928); W. B. Morrison, Military Posts and Camps in Oklahoma (Oklahoma City, 1945).
**Location.** Young County, Texas, near Newcastle.

**Ownership and Administration.** Owned by Young County and administered in cooperation with the Port Belknap Society.

**Significance.** (Criterion 1.) Following annexation of Texas and the Mexican War, the demands of settlers on the frontier of northern Texas for protection against Kiowa and Comanche raids from the north and west became so insistent that the Government took action and laid out a chain of forts. They were Forts Graham (1848), Worth (1849), Gates (1849), Croghan (1849), and Mason (1849). Before these forts had even been completed, however, the frontier of settlement had advanced farther west and north. Gen. William G. Belknap was therefore sent to survey the frontier and select sites for another system of forts. These were Forts Belknap (1851), Phantom Hill (1851), Chadbourne (1852), McKavett (1852), and Clark (1852). There was thus an inner and an outer ring of forts enclosing the frontier of settlement during the 1850's. On the outer ring, Fort Belknap was the key link in the chain, thrust as it was northward towards the Kiowa-Comanche country.

Throughout the 1850's the Texas frontier was the object of repeated destructive raids by Kiowas and Comanches. One-fifth of the U.S. Army, often bolstered by Texas Rangers and state troops,
attempted to defend the frontier. Judging from the catalog of atrocities, Fort Belknap and vicinity was the most dangerous segment of the frontier, and the infantry garrisons of this and other posts proved all but worthless in Indian warfare. In 1855, however, the newly-organized Second Cavalry Regiment was assigned to Texas. Under Col. Albert Sidney Johnson, it arrived at Fort Belknap on December 29 and was distributed among the forts of the outer chain. In 1858 federal and state troops took the offensive. Maj. Earl Van Dorn led a squadron of the Second Cavalry north from Fort Belknap and, at Rush Springs in Indian Territory, decisively defeated a large village of Comanches. In 1860 a regiment of state troops organized at Fort Belknap also took the offensive and pushed north as far as Kansas without bringing on a fight.

To complement military operations, the United States in 1855 turned to the reservation system. Special Agent Robert S. Neighbors and Capt. Randolph B. Marcy established two reservations near Fort Belknap, one for the numerous small docile tribes and the other for the wild southern Comanches. The experiment failed because some of the reservation Comanches could not be restrained and because the frontier whites were violently hostile to all Indians. In 1859 the reservations were abolished and the Indians escorted to new lands in Indian Territory by a squadron of cavalry under Maj. George H. Thomas, then commanding Fort Belknap.
In 1852 Fort Belknap served as base for the exploration of the upper Red River country conducted by Capt. R. B. Marcy and Lt. George B. McClellan. During the decade a small settlement, also named Belknap, grew up near the fort. Between 1858 and 1861 it was an important station on the Butterfield Overland Mail.

At the outbreak of the Civil War, Fort Belknap and the other Texas forts were evacuated by U.S. troops. It continued, however, to play a vital role in frontier defense. Troops of the Texas Frontier Regiment used it throughout the war as a base for operations against Kiowas and Comanches, and for protection of surrounding settlements. After the Civil War, U.S. troops re-occupied the Texas forts. Fort Belknap, because of the unreliable water supply, was discontinued as a permanent post in 1867, although small detachments were based there from time to time for protection of the mail road during periods of particularly intense Indian raiding activity. Fort Richardson, to the east, and Fort Griffin, to the southwest, took over Belknap's role in frontier defense. A small body of soldiers garrisoned Fort Belknap in 1871 when Gen. William T. Sherman visited it on an inspection of the Texas frontier. The next day, between Belknap and Richardson, he narrowly escaped death at the hands of a Kiowa raiding party that massacred the Warren wagon train, which was following Sherman's party. This episode, the "Jacksboro Incident,"
To the arrest of Satanta and Big Tree and their trial and conviction by a Texas state court. After the subjugation of the Kiowas and Comanches in 1874-75, Fort Belknap fell into disuse and, ultimately, ruins.

The exceptional value of Fort Belknap rests upon its role in the protection of the Texas frontier during the years of its most active advance, 1850-1865. Of the forts that made up the "outer ring" in these years, Fort Belknap bore the brunt of the Kiowa-Comanche assault, and originated the military offensives that, on occasion, carried retaliation to the Indian homeland. Because of the preservation and restoration that has been accomplished, moreover, Fort Belknap is the one post on both the outer and inner rings that best illustrates the Indian strife of the 1850's and 1860's and that best recreates the historical setting of the ante-bellum Texas fort. (Fort McKavett has extensive and substantial ruins of buildings dating from the late 1860's, but the town of Fort McKavett has grown up in the midst of the ruins. Fort Chadbourne has less imposing ruins that have been taken over by a cattle ranching enterprise. Fort Clark was an active post until after World War II, and the construction of the 1850's has been largely overshadowed by later construction.)

Fort Belknap draws added significance from its association with officers such as Albert Sidney Johnson, Earl Van Dorn, and George
H. Thomas who later became prominent in the Civil War, and from its role in the story of the Butterfield Overland Stage Lines.

Present Status. Young County in cooperation with the Fort Belknap Society administers part of the fort site as a county park. The remainder of the site has been lost in surrounding farm lands. The park was developed in 1936 by the State of Texas with Federal money made available for observance of the Texas Centennial. The only original structure on the site is the arsenal, built in 1852. The stone walls were repaired and stabilized and a new roof added. The Corn House, largely a restoration, includes some of the original stone walls that were still standing in 1936. The old well, also, has survived. The rest of the structures, all of stone construction with shingled roofs, are restorations carefully built by the State on the original foundations. These replicas include two barracks, a kitchen, and the Commissary. The latter houses a museum collection of artifacts pertaining to the history of the region. The only feature that detracts from authenticity is the kitchen. Each barrack originally had a separate kitchen building. Available funds in 1936 made it impossible to build a kitchen for each of the restored barracks, as planned. The problem was resolved by reconstructing one kitchen, not on original foundations but between the two barracks. Otherwise, the reconstruction appears to be as authentic as extant historical records and the memory of old settlers would permit.

FORT DAVIS, TEXAS

Location. Jeff Davis County, north edge of town of Fort Davis, Texas.

Ownership and Administration. Owned by the estate of D. A. Simmons, 3100 Gulf Building, Houston, Texas; administered in part by a private guest ranch concern, in part by the Fort Davis Historical Society.

Significance. (Criteria 1 and 4.) With the increase of transcontinental travel during the 1850's, several important roads pushed west from the Texas settlements into the Trans-Pecos country. The San Antonio-El Paso road, perhaps the most important, was a segment of the southern route to California, and carried many immigrant trains bound for the gold fields. Freighters also used the road and, beginning in 1857, stagecoach service was inaugurated between San Antonio and San Diego. Stage service was also begun in 1854 over a road between San Antonio and Santa Fe, and in 1858 the Butterfield Overland Mail crossed this portion of Texas. The
region was infested with Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache raiding parties that made travel dangerous and often disastrous. As the roads moved west from the settlements, therefore, a finger of military outposts likewise projected west. Forts Lancaster, Stockton, Davis, Quitman, and Bliss, together with numerous temporary sub-posts, extended military protection from the outer ring of Texas defense forts to El Paso.

Of these posts, Fort Davis was the largest and most important. Named for Secretary of War Jefferson Davis, it was established in 1854 by Lt. Col. Washington Sewell in the Davis Mountains north of the Big Bend. It guarded the junction of the trails from San Antonio to El Paso and Santa Fe and kept watch on the principal crossings of the Rio Grande used by hostile raiding parties. The heavy traffic on the Trans-Pecos roads proved tempting to Indian marauders, and attacks on stage coaches and wagon trains became common events. From 1854 to 1861, Colonel Sewell's troops from Fort Davis patrolled constantly and fought numerous skirmishes with the hostiles.

At the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, U.S. troops evacuated Fort Davis. Confederates under Col. John R. Baylor occupied the post but remained only a few months. During this period, a detachment of 12 soldiers, pursuing an Apache raiding party, rode into an ambush that destroyed the entire command. Only the guide escaped.
Federal troops returned to the fort in 1867, to find that the old establishment, primarily of log construction, had been all but wrecked by Indians. They built a new post, using substantial rock and adobe materials. It again became an important link in the West Texas frontier defenses and a base for operations against Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches. In 1879-1880 it played a major role in the arduous and costly campaign against Victorio and the Warm Springs Apaches. At the same time, the fort continued to serve as an important way-station on the roads to Mexico and California, and as the mother post of many scattered sub-posts. The Indian barrier removed, cattlemen entered the area in the 1880's and established ranches. The fort had outlived its usefulness, and was abandoned in 1891.

Fort Davis is significant because of the important role it played in defending the West Texas frontier and the routes of travel in the Trans-Pecos country. Its claim to exceptional value, however, rests primarily on the extensive and impressive ruins that have survived. Fort Davis is the best remaining example in the Southwest of the typical post-Civil War frontier fort.

Present Status. Today Fort Davis remains in an excellent state of preservation, although each year further deterioration takes place. The walls of nine sets of adobe officers quarters are still standing, several with roofs intact. Seven other sets
of officers quarters, of slab limestone construction, are in good condition, complete with roofs. Three of these, however, have been rehabilitated and are now used as guest cottages. On the opposite side of the parade ground stand the roofless walls of two long adobe barracks, as well as a restored barracks. The adobe commissary and barracks-like shop, together with the ruins of numerous utility buildings and other miscellaneous structures, complete the physical layout. It is picturesquely located in the heart of the Davis Mountains near the Davis Mountains State Park. A private concern operates a guest ranch on the site under lease from the D. A. Simmons estate. The Fort Davis Historical Society maintains a small museum in the restored barracks, but is unable to finance the stabilization measures that are urgently required if the fort is to be saved from the fate that has overtaken most of its contemporaries.

FORT UNION NATIONAL MONUMENT, NEW MEXICO

The National Park Service here preserves extensive ruins of a military post and quartermaster depot that, from 1851 to 1891, participated importantly in the development of both the southern plains and the southwestern deserts and mountains. Guarding the junction of the Cimarron Cutoff with the mountain branch of the Santa Fe Trail, it provided protection and a way-station to freighters and immigrants. Within striking distance of several tribal habitats, it figured prominently in the wars against the Apaches and Navajos of New Mexico and Arizona, against the Cheyennes and Arapahos of Oklahoma, and against the Kiowas and Comanches of Oklahoma and Texas. A large supply depot, it stockpiled goods from the States for distribution among forts to the south and west. During the Civil War, it served as an obstacle to Confederate invasion of Colorado, and as base for Union troops that threw back the Confederates at Glorieta Pass.

Although the pre-Civil War Fort Union has entirely disappeared, there are impressive remains of the second Fort Union, an earth fortification built for defense during the Civil War, and the third Fort Union, a large adobe post of conventional design begun late in the Civil War. The National Park Service is currently stabilizing these ruins, and has completed a visitors center and museum.
FORT BOWIE AND APACHE PASS, ARIZONA

Location. Cochise County, 15 miles south of town of Bowie, Arizona.

Ownership and Administration. Fort Bowie is situated on privately owned land, and much of the surrounding land is in public ownership subject to grazing lease. The public land is administered by the Bureau of Land Management, Department of the Interior.

Significance. (Criterion 1.) Fort Bowie was established on July 28, 1862, by the California Volunteers under Brig. Gen. James H. Carleton. Carleton was marching to the Rio Grande with the objective of clearing Confederate forces out of New Mexico, and required a garrison at Apache Pass to protect his line of communication with Tucson and California from Cochise's hostile Chiricahua Apache Indians. For the next 24 years, until the end of the long and costly Apache wars, it was the hub of military operations against the Chiricahuas. During the 1860's and early 1870's, the troops campaigned against Cochise, and from the late 1870's through 1886 against renegade Apaches under Natchez and Geronimo. During the final stages of the war, Gen. George Crook and his successor, Gen. Nelson A. Miles, established their headquarters at Fort Bowie, and directed the operations of columns campaigning in the Sierra Madre of Mexico. After the final surrender, Geronimo and his people
were brought to Bowie as prisoners of war and sent to Florida for confinement. With Geronimo's capture and exile in 1886, peace was restored and the fort entered its final chapter, ended by abandonment in 1894.

Fort Bowie was located to command the eastern entrance to Apache Pass, itself of great historical importance. The springs in Apache Pass made it a landmark on a major transportation and communication route across the Southwest. Through it travelled California-bound emigrants, boundary commissioners, railroad surveyors, and military commands. In 1858 the famed Butterfield Overland Mail Company ran its trail over the rocky slopes of the pass and built a stage station near the site where the fort was soon to be located. For over two years the company's picturesque Concord stagecoaches operated between St. Louis and San Francisco by way of Apache Pass. The pass was the scene, in February 1861, of Lt. George N. Bascom's disastrous attempt to arrest Cochise and other Chiricahua leaders, an attempt that drove Cochise into a decade of hostility towards the whites. It was also the scene, in July 1862, of a bloody battle between a portion of General Carleton's command and Cochise's warriors, an event that played a large part in the decision to found Fort Bowie. In 1872 Gen. O. O. Howard rode through Apache Pass on the way to his historic peace conference with Cochise, and after the great chieftain
gave up the warpath the Chiricahua Agency was for a time located in the pass. Freighters and emigrants continued to use the pass until the railroad reached Arizona in 1881.

The historic events that occurred in Apache Pass and at Fort Bowie, or through close association are illustrated by these sites, spanned half a century. In large measure they controlled the pattern of frontier development in southern Arizona during the 19th century.

**Present Status.** The fort built by the California Volunteers in 1862 stood on a hill dominating the strategic springs. It has eroded badly, with only the foundations and some fragments of adobe wall still visible. This fort was replaced in 1868 by a larger post on a slope below Bowie Peak. The ruins of the later fort are much more impressive. Walls in varying stages of disintegration mark practically all of the buildings. The stone corrals are virtually intact, and the water system is easily definable. The post cemetery is readily located west of the earlier fort. Well-preserved traces of the Butterfield Trail may still be seen at various points throughout the pass, and a pile of rock rubble north of the cemetery marks the probable site of the Overland Mail Station. The historical setting of Apache Pass has been only slightly impaired by roads and gas pipelines.

HUBBELL TRADING POST, ARIZONA

Location. Apache County, three miles west of Ganado, Arizona.

Ownership and Administration. Owned by the heirs of John Lorenzo Hubbell and administered as an active trading post by Mrs. Roman J. Hubbell.

Significance. (Criteria 1 and 4.) For four centuries the Indian trade was one of the dominant influences shaping the course of North American history. The Indian trader early became and remained the most important and influential point of contact between the white and red races. He achieved an ascendancy over the tribes unequalled by any other whites. After the collapse of the Indian barrier, the trader gravitated to the reservation and continued to function in his traditional role. There he helped
to evolve an economy adapted to reservation life, transmitted the material culture of the white man to the Indians, and fulfilled a paternalistic function that helped the Indians understand and adjust to the new conditions being thrust upon them. These activities made the trading post one of the most important institutions on the reservation, and also contributed to the two policy objectives that the Government sought through the reservation system—to control and to civilize the Indians. Trade on the Navajo Reservation of Arizona and New Mexico not only evidenced the characteristics of trade elsewhere, but carried them to their sharpest, most vivid expression. Better than any other site on the Navajo Reservation today, the Hubbell Trading Post most clearly delineates these characteristics.

The Hubbell Trading Post was the most important single trading post in the history of Navajo trading. This distinction rests, first, upon its unbroken history of eighty years. It is now the oldest continuously operated business, not only on the reservation, but in northern Arizona. With an uninterrupted chain of ownership, it enjoyed a rare opportunity to maintain a uniformly high reputation for fairness and paternalism. The distinction rests, too, upon its position as parent to a chain of Hubbell enterprises that blanketed the reservation, for its policies were those of all Hubbell posts.
The distinction rests, finally, upon the position of leadership achieved by John Lorenzo Hubbell, its founder in 1878 and owner until his death in 1930. One of the first traders on the reservation, he influenced the character of trade and traders for over fifty years. He saw and participated in the evolution of a native economy adapted to conditions of the reservation, and in the transition in native material culture that occurred between 1870 and 1920. The origin and development of Navajo craftwork as a profitable industry owe more to his vision and guidance than to any other factor. Unlike most other traders, "Don" Lorenzo's influence was not confined to the Indian community in which he lived. It manifested itself through the entire network of Hubbell posts, and reached large areas of the reservation. Several generations of Navajos have therefore benefitted from the deep responsibility for their welfare and progress that he acquired and inculcated in his employees.

**Present Status.** The significance of the Hubbell Trading Post lies also in its preservation today of the trading post of yesterday. There have been few changes since the present post and house were built about 1900 to replace an earlier, smaller structure. The long stone trading post, with its wareroom, storeroom, office, and blanket room, looks much as it did in Don Lorenzo's time, and much as other Navajo posts looked. The original massive counters
still dominate the storeroom. Office furniture is that of half a century ago. Ancient firearms, Indian craftwork, paintings, and rugs adorn the rug room. The rambling adobe hacienda in which Hubbell lived and entertained retains all of its old charm and atmosphere. The walls of the long living room and the bedrooms are covered with art work, photographs, and Indian artifacts. Shelves laden with books line the walls. Navajo rugs lie everywhere. The old home conveys more vividly than words the manner in which the Hubbells and other early traders lived. The barn and utility buildings, mostly of stone, round out the complete picture of the old-time trading post. At the Hubbell Trading Post, the visitor at once understands and appreciates the pattern of the Navajo trade, the type of man who conducted it, and the kind of life he led.

First established as a fur trading house, Fort Laramie became the principal military post guarding the overland routes to Oregon, California, and Utah. The original post on Laramie River was built in 1834 by William Sublette and Robert Campbell. This post, known as Fort William, was replaced in 1841 by a pretentious adobe walled post known as Fort John. During Capt. John C. Fremont's exploration of the West in 1842, he foresaw the coming of the covered wagon migration. Acting upon his recommendation, the United States purchased the fort in 1849.

As a military establishment, Fort Laramie played a leading role in the history of the northern plains. It continued to be the most important way-station on the Oregon and California Trails, the mid-point of the long journey to the Pacific. In 1850 alone, an estimated 55,000 emigrants passed the fort. In the campaigns against the tribes of the northern plains, Fort Laramie was a key headquarters. Columns operating from there participated in the Sioux wars of the 1850's, 1860's, and 1870's. At Fort Laramie in December 1866 John "Portugoe" Phillips ended his historic ride from Fort Phil Kearny with news of the Fetterman disaster, and

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44. Fort Laramie's role in the fur trade will be treated more fully in the study of that historical theme by the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings.
a relief column was promptly dispatched. Fort Laramie was also
the site of numerous councils between government officials and
Indian leaders, as well as of the signing of the important treaties
of 1851 and 1868. It was abandoned in 1890.

Now a National Monument administered by the National Park
Service, Fort Laramie has been stabilized and partially restored.
Remains of 21 historic buildings may still be seen. Original
structures surviving include the guardhouse, hospital, officers
quarters, and cavalry barracks. Partially restored buildings
include the sutler's store, commissary storehouse, bakery, and
"Old Bedlam," first military structure and long the administrative
and social center of the post. A small museum in the cavalry
barracks displays artifacts of Fort Laramie.

FORT PHIL KEARNY, WYOMING

Location. Near U.S. Highway 87 in Sheridan County, near
Story, Wyoming.

Ownership and Administration. Part of the sites of Fort
Phil Kearny and the Wagon Box fight are in State ownership and
administered by the Wyoming Historical Society, and the remainder
in private ownership. The site of the Fetterman Massacre is pri-
vately owned, although the small tract of land on which the monument
is located is in Federal ownership.
Significance. (Criteria 1 and 3.) One of the most significant and dramatic chapters in the history of the Indian wars occurred in and around Fort Phil Kearny, Wyoming, as the Sioux fought to prevent invasion of their hunting grounds by prospectors bound for the Montana gold-fields. Their efforts marked one of the few instances in which the Army bowed to hostile resistance and surrendered an occupied region.

The discovery of gold in the mountains of western Montana in 1862 triggered a rush to the diggings of Virginia City, Helena, and Bozeman. There were two feasible routes to the scene of the discoveries. One lay up the Missouri River to Fort Benton, then overland to the destination. This route was practical only during a few months of the year when ice did not prevent steamboats from ascending the Missouri. The other, blazed by John Bozeman and John M. Jacobs in 1862, linked the Oregon Trail near present Casper, Wyoming, to Bozeman, Montana. The Bozeman Trail could be used throughout the year, but it lay through the heart of Sioux country. Under the general leadership of Red Cloud and Man-Afraid-of-his-Horse, the Sioux determined to block traffic on this trail. As protection for the miners, the United States sent troops to the region under Col. Henry B. Carrington. Of the three forts built--Reno, Phil Kearny, and C. F. Smith--Phil Kearny was the largest and most important. There Carrington made his headquarters.
The resistance immediately encountered by Carrington has
been described by the historians of the Bozeman Trail:

From the date of the arrival of the command at
Fort Connor /soon re-named Fort Reno/ on June 28,
1866, until the abandonment of the forts in August
1868, there was never a day, never an hour, but that
the Indians attacked or would have attacked if not
properly watched; or would have raided if they had
found an opportune moment any or all of the three
forts. Eternal vigilance was not only the watch-
word, but the living necessity. Horses were
stampeded, emigrant outfits raided--more often for
the guns and ammunition than the killing of people.
The soldiers were killed at every opportunity, for
they represented the hated forts.45

Another historian states that, in the first five months from
August 1 to December 31, the Sioux and allied Cheyennes killed
154 persons at or near Fort Phil Kearny, wounded 20 more, and
killed or captured nearly 700 head of livestock. They made a
total of 51 hostile demonstrations.46

Disaster befell Carrington in December 1866. Capt. William
J. Fetterman and 80 officers and men, pursuing a hostile party
near Fort Phil Kearny, were led into an ambush prepared by Red
Cloud. A relief party sent out by Carrington found the mutilated
bodies of Fetterman's entire command. No man survived. John

45. Grace R. Hebard and E. A. Brininstool, The Bozeman
Trail (2 v., Cleveland, 1922), I, 271-272.

46. Paul I. Wellman, Death on Horseback: Seventy Years
of War for the American West (Philadelphia, 1947), 50.
"Portugee" Phillips made an epic mid-winter ride to Fort Laramie, 236 miles to the south, for help. But the Indians made no more serious trouble until the following summer.

In August 1867, however, a detail of 32 woodcutters and guards were attacked several miles from the fort by a large force of warriors under Red Cloud. Firing from within a corral of wagon boxes, the whites beat off successive charges until relief came from the fort. A similar engagement with like results occurred a day earlier in a hayfield near Fort C. F. Smith, farther north on the Bozeman Trail.

Despite reverses at the Wagon Box and Hayfield fights, the Sioux achieved their objectives. A peace commission met with them at Fort Laramie in April 1868. Red Cloud successfully demanded that the United States abandon Forts Reno, Phil Kearny, and C. F. Smith. The commission agreed, and the Treaty of Fort Laramie designated the Powder River country and the Black Hills as unceded Indian territory. When the troops evacuated the forts in August 1868, the Sioux swarmed in and burned them. The Treaty of 1868 marked the zenith of Indian power on the northern plains. Within six years the Black Hills had been invaded and the last Sioux war had begun. Despite victory at the battle of the Little Bighorn, the Sioux, by 1881, had been crushed and confined to reservations.
Present Status. The natural setting of Fort Phil Kearny and the sites of the Fetterman and Wagon Box engagements has suffered comparatively little encroachment. A log stockade, designed more as a commemoration than as an authentic reproduction, was constructed along the exterior line of Fort Phil Kearny during the 1930's. The stockade is now falling into ruin. Five miles from this site is the ridge where the Fetterman disaster occurred. Fighting began at one end of the ridge and progressed back along it to where the monument now stands. Here the last remnant of Fetterman's command was killed. The natural setting of this ridge remains unimpaired, except for a highway that crosses its point at the monument site. The monument was erected by the War Department on a small tract of Federal land adjacent to the highway. Another monument marks the site of the Wagon Box fight, which lies in a valley a short distance west of Story, Wyoming. The natural setting at this site has also remained intact.

References. Grace R. Hebard and E. A. Brininstool, The Bozeman Trail (2 v., Cleveland, 1922); Cyrus T. Brady, Indian Fights and Fighters (New York, 1909); Paul I. Wellman, Death on Horseback: Seventy Years of War for the American West (New York, 1947); Charles J. Kappler, comp., Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties (2 v., Washington, 1903).
CAPTAIN JACK'S STRONGHOLD, CALIFORNIA

Following the Modoc outbreak of 1872-73, the Indians retreated to the natural lava bed fortress in northern California now known as Captain Jack's Stronghold. From virtually impregnable defenses, the small band of warriors held U.S. troops at bay for six months. Here, also, they murdered Brig. Gen. E.R.S. Canby, who had entered their lines under a flag of truce for a parley. The Stronghold, with its natural rock forts, trenches, and caves, is much the same today as it was in 1873. Part of Lava Beds National Monument, it is administered by the National Park Service.

WHITMAN NATIONAL MONUMENT, WASHINGTON

The site of the Indian mission founded by the noted missionaries, Dr. Marcus Whitman and his wife Narcissa, was an important landmark on the Oregon Trail. Here from 1836 until killed by Indians in 1847, the Whitmans ministered to the Cayuse Indians and gave aid and comfort to emigrants passing over the Oregon Trail.

The National Park Service administers 46 acres of mission grounds, which contain the graves of the victims of the Whitman massacre, the Whitman Memorial Shaft, and the foundation ruins of the mission buildings. There is a small museum housing artifacts uncovered by archeological excavations of the site.
FORT ROBINSON AND RED CLOUD AGENCY, NEBRASKA

Location. Dawes County, Nebraska

Ownership and Administration. Part of the fort is owned by the United States and administered by the Department of Agriculture. The remainder is in State ownership, administered partly by the State University, partly by the State Game, Forestation and Parks Commission, and partly by the State Historical Society. The site of the agency is in State ownership.

Significance. (Criteria 1 and 4.) Events that occurred at Red Cloud Agency and nearby Fort Robinson during the 1870's guided the course of Indian-white relations on the northern plains during the final crucial years of Sioux and Cheyenne resistance to the advancing frontier. At these sites the United States attempted to force the wild Indians of the Powder River country into the mold of the reservation system.

Following conclusion of the Treaty of 1868, which ended the conflict over the Bozeman Trail, part of the Sioux, including Red Cloud himself, elected to settle at a government agency, while the remainder insisted upon a free life in the unceded Powder River country. Red Cloud Agency was established in 1871 on the Platte River to take care of the former. In 1873 it was moved farther north, away from the overland route, to a site on White River in northwestern Nebraska. The first years were hectic,
with dishonest or inexperienced agents nominally in charge. The actual rulers, however, were the Sioux themselves, and the agent and his staff existed under virtual siege in constant terror of their lives. The problem was aggravated by the wild Powder River Sioux, who formed the custom of wintering at the agency, where food might be had from the Great Father, and returning in the spring to the unceded territory. The situation grew so serious that in 1874 troops were sent from Fort Laramie to protect the agency employees and property. Fort Robinson was established near the agency, and the soldiers succeeded in stabilizing conditions among the Sioux.

In 1875 Red Cloud Agency was the scene of an investigation that assumed nation-wide importance. A Yale professor, O. C. Marsh, had come west on a fossil-hunting expedition. Red Cloud convinced him that the agent was profiting from traffic in Indian supplies, and that the Indians were being issued inferior food and goods. Marsh stirred up a public controversy that led to an investigation. The testimony made it clear that contractors, freighters, and government employees were profiting enormously, but no legally admissible evidence could be assembled.

Fort Robinson took on added importance with the discovery of gold in paying quantities in the Black Hills. Troops from the post for a time tried to stem the flow of miners into the
Hills, which had been guaranteed to the Indians by the Treaty of 1868. After the Government had given up this attempt, Fort Robinson became an important way-station on the Sidney-Black Hills Trail, which linked the Union Pacific with the gold-fields and was used by numerous prospectors.

Fort Robinson played a key role in the campaign of 1876 against the Powder River Sioux, who had united under the general leadership of Sitting Bull to contest the invasion of the Black Hills and the construction of the Northern Pacific Railroad. General Crook returned to Fort Robinson following the operations that included the Custer disaster and the battles of the Rosebud and Slim Buttes. After disarming and dismounting Red Cloud's people at the agency, Crook sent Col. Ranald S. Mackenzie and the Fourth Cavalry against Dull Knife and the Cheyennes. On November 25 Mackenzie surprised these Indians on a branch of Powder River and dealt them a severe blow. The survivors fled to Crazy Horse's camp farther north. During the winter Spotted Tail, an influential agency chief, went north to talk to the hostiles. His persuasion, coupled with the aggressive campaigning of Col. Nelson A. Miles, induced Crazy Horse with the Oglalas and Cheyennes to come to Red Cloud Agency and surrender to General Crook. A total of about 4,500 Indians gave themselves up at the agency and Fort Robinson during late 1876 and 1877.
Indian politics and white suspicion led to the attempted arrest of Crazy Horse in September 1877. When he resisted a soldier bayonetted him and he died shortly thereafter. Dull Knife and his people had been moved to a reservation in Indian Territory, but in October 1878 they broke loose and made an epic fighting retreat north towards their old homes. They were finally captured in the sand hills near Fort Robinson and confined at the post. In January 1879 they made a concerted attempt to escape. Most of the band fell under the fire of army rifles, and the rest were captured.

In 1878 new agencies were created in present South Dakota for the various tribes of Sioux. The Oglalas, Red Cloud's people, settled at Pine Ridge, about 50 miles north of their old agency. Fort Robinson continued as a military post. When the Ghost Dance troubles broke into open rebellion at Pine Ridge in 1890, Ninth Cavalrymen from Fort Robinson under Maj. Guy D. Henry were the first troops on the scene. A large army eventually reached Pine Ridge, and the trouble was brought under control. The battle of Wounded Knee Creek marked the end of the outbreak and the end of the Indian wars. Fort Robinson, however, remained an army installation until 1948.

Present Status. A number of the buildings of Fort Robinson that date from the 1880's and 1890's are still standing. They
include the quarters of the commanding officer, the cavalry, quartermaster, wheelright, and band leader. The post headquarters building, erected in 1905, is now being converted into a museum by the Nebraska State Historical Society. This building (see photograph) stands on the site where Crazy Horse was killed in 1877. The buildings at Red Cloud Agency have long since disappeared. The site comprises about 10 acres, owned by the State, about a mile and a half east of the fort.


CUSTER BATTLEFIELD NATIONAL MONUMENT, MONTANA

The site of the battle of the Little Bighorn has been preserved by the National Park Service. Here, on June 25-26, 1876, Lt. Col. George A. Custer and his immediate command of 265 men were annihilated by several thousand Sioux and Cheyenne warriors. Not one man survived. On bluffs overlooking the river four miles distant, Maj. Marcus A. Reno and Capt. Frederick W. Benteen with their respective battalions held out for two days until the Indians withdrew before advancing relief columns. Although one
of the most decisive Indian victories in history, it proved empty. A relentless campaign followed, and the Sioux and Cheyenne were conquered and confined to reservations.

White marble headstones are scattered over the battlefield denoting where each of Custer's men fell. Their bodies were later buried at the top of Custer Hill in a mass grave now marked by a large monument bearing the names of the dead. The site of the Reno-Benteen engagement is also marked by a monument and is included in a detached section of the area. A museum interprets the story of the battle and campaign, and a National Cemetery contains burials from many other historic encounters of the Indian wars.

BIG HOLE BATTLEFIELD NATIONAL MONUMENT, MONTANA

At Big Hole Battlefield National Monument the National Park Service preserves the site of one of the battles in the Nez Perce war of 1877. Attempted removal of the Nez Perce from Oregon to a new reservation in Idaho engendered bad feeling that broke into war when a few young men murdered some settlers on June 13 and 14, 1877. On June 17 the Indians successfully fought off soldiers at White Bird Canyon and, after several more skirmishes, decided to retreat across the Bitteroot Mountains to Montana.
Eventually they hoped to reach Canada and join Sitting Bull's Sioux, who had fled the United States after the Custer battle.

Under the skilled leadership of Chief Joseph, the Nez Percés conducted a masterly retreat, repeatedly eluding pursuing troops under Gen. O. O. Howard. After crossing the mountains by the Lolo Trail, the Indians were intercepted on Big Hole River by elements of the Seventh Infantry under Col. John Gibbon. At the battle of Big Hole, both Indians and whites suffered severe losses, but Joseph managed to extricate his people and make good his escape. Troops under Col. Nelson A. Miles and Col. James D. Sturgis also tried to cut off the retreat, but not until Joseph reached the Bear Paw Mountains, near the Canadian border in northern Montana, was he stopped. After a six-day siege, Joseph surrendered to Miles and Howard with the famous words, "From where the sun now stands, I will fight no more, forever."

Big Hole Battlefield National Monument comprises 200 acres of land in the vicinity of the battlefield, but not the scene of the fiercest fighting. The natural setting remains little changed, and traces of trenches used by the troops may still be seen.
Location. Shannon County, South Dakota, about 20 miles east of Pine Ridge Agency.

Ownership and Administration. Oglala Sioux Tribal Council, Pine Ridge, South Dakota.

Significance. (Criteria 1 and 3.) The battle of Wounded Knee was the last important armed encounter in nearly 400 years of conflict between Indians and whites in the United States. It represented the final subjugation of the American Indian to the advancing frontier, and signified acquiescence, albeit reluctant, in the new scheme of life devised for him by his conquerors. The Indian barrier thus collapsed, appropriately, in the very year soon to be selected by Frederick Jackson Turner to denote the passing of the frontier. Coinciding in time with the disappearance of a distinct line of settlement in the West, this battle therefore looms large in frontier history.

During the 1880's the last of the plains tribes were conquered and settled on reservations, the Sioux distributed among several agencies in present South Dakota. No longer self-sufficient, the Indians had to rely on government issue, and thus found themselves at the mercy of agents whose first objective, as dictated from Washington, was to "civilize" their charges. The breakup of the old culture, the conflict of ancient traditions
and ways of life with new and alien values, and the capriciousness of government policy and often inexperienced agents made the Sioux ripe for the messianic craze that swept the West in 1889-1890. Wovoka, the Paiute prophet who founded the Ghost Dance religion, became the last hope of the red man. He preached a strange doctrine blending Christianity with paganism. By performing certain ritual dances, the Indians were to hasten the return of the Messiah, who would restore the earth to its rightful owners, bring back all dead Indians, and do away with the hated white man. Among the Sioux, the religion acquired a feature entirely unexpected by Wovoka with the introduction of the Ghost Shirt, supposed to turn the bullets of the white man. With violence thus encouraged, Wovoka's peaceful doctrine was gradually subverted. The climax came with the attempted arrest and killing of Sitting Bull at Standing Rock Agency, and the battle of Wounded Knee at Pine Ridge Agency.

A large army had been assembled at Pine Ridge under Maj. Gen. Nelson A. Miles. At Wounded Knee Creek on December 29, 1890, the Seventh Cavalry under Col. James W. Forsyth attempted to disarm Big Foot's encampment of Sioux. Firing broke out, and artillery posted on a nearby hill went into action. Both sides suffered heavy casualties, some women and children falling in the melee. The Indians have always regarded the engagement
as a massacre, the Army contending that the Indians were at fault and that the death of non-combatants was unavoidable. Whatever the merits of the controversy, the battle dealt a death blow to the Messiah Craze and to the Indian's hope for a return of the old order. Thereafter he resigned himself to the new order.

Present Status. The natural scene along Wounded Knee Creek at the battle site has changed little since 1890. On the hill where the artillery was posted, the Indian dead were buried in a mass grave, which has since been appropriately marked by the Indians. The State Historical Society of South Dakota has placed markers at key sites around the battlefield to denote the positions of troops and Indians, and has erected a large sign briefly detailing the story of the battle.


ST. IGNATIUS MISSION, MONTANA

Location. Near St. Ignatius, Montana.

Ownership and Administration. Society of Jesuits.
Significance. (Criteria 1 and 2.) St. Ignatius Mission was founded in 1855 by Jesuit Father Adrien Hoeken, an associate of the celebrated Father Pierre Jean DeSmet. This mission is the only one of the early Jesuit missions of the Northwest that has survived. St. Ignatius is the successor of St. Mary's Mission, which DeSmet built in 1841 among the Flatheads in answer to requests from that tribe after deputations had made four long and perilous trips to St. Louis for "Black Robes."

By the treaty of 1855 with these tribes, the Government agreed to establish schools, mills, and blacksmith and carpenter shops in partial payment for the Lands the Indians gave up. The priests were charged with the duty of carrying out this phase of the agreement. The Indians under the charge of the priests were taught the elements of farming, carpentry, and milling. Later, Sisters of Providence from Canada established a boarding school for girls and taught Indian women. The Jesuits later built a school for Indian boys on the reservation.

Present Status. It is understood that a number of the remains of St. Ignatius have survived. These include the century-old mission, now used as a tool shed; several buildings of the girls' boarding school; and the church building erected in 1891.

CREEK NATIONAL CAPITOL, Okmulgee, Oklahoma. The Creeks built this capitol in 1878 to replace a log structure dating from 1868. This building housed the Creek Government until 1907. National Park Service photograph, 1958.

ANADARKO AGENCY, Oklahoma. The buildings now standing on this agency site date from the 1890's. Shown are the agent's home (above) and the administration building (below), now a clinic.

National Park Service photographs, 1958
FORT CHADBOURNE (above) and FORT McKAVETT were both links in the chain of Texas frontier defense posts during the 1850's. The headquarters of a cattle ranch now occupies the site of Fort Chadbourne, and a quaint village has grown up amid the ruins of Fort McKavett.

National Park Service photographs, 1958
PORT CUMMINGS, New Mexico. This post guarded strategic Cooke's Spring. Earlier, the Butterfield Stage Co. had a station on this site. Cooke's Peak in background. National Park Service photograph, 1958.

PORT WINGATE, New Mexico. This post kept watch on the Navajos after their return from Port Sumner in 1868. Now used as an Indian School, the fort has many buildings surviving from the military period. This picture shows officers row. National Park Service photograph, 1958.
FORT CHURCHILL, Nevada. The adobe structures of this military post were partially restored by CCC labor during the 1930's, but have since continued to deteriorate. The site is now a Nevada State Park.

National Park Service photograph, 1958
LOLO TRAIL, Idaho. This rugged Indian trail through the wilderness, followed by Lewis and Clark, was also used in 1877 during the Nez Perce War by Chief Joseph and General Howard's cavalry.

National Park Service photograph, 1958
WHITE BIRD CANYON, Idaho. Scene of the first battle of the Nez Perce War. In these gorges Chief Joseph's brilliant tactics brought a decisive defeat for the American cavalry.

National Park Service photograph, 1958
MULLAN ROAD, Idaho. A number of monuments trace the route of the Mullan Road, which connected the Missouri and Columbia Rivers. This one, in Fourth of July Canyon near Coeur d'Alene, stands in front of Mullan Tree, on which Capt. John Mullan carved his initials on July 4, 1861.

National Park Service photograph, 1958
FORT TEJON, California. Remains of the post established at Tejon Pass in 1854. It also served as a Butterfield stage station from 1858 to 1861.

National Park Service photograph, 1959
FORT POINT, San Francisco, California. This harbor defense fortification, completed in 1861, is located directly under the Golden Gate Bridge.

National Park Service photograph, 1959
FORT SIMCOE, Washington. A typical Northwest military post of the Indian Wars period, active only from 1856 to 1859, and later headquarters of an Indian agency. These buildings are officers quarters. National Park Service photograph, 1958.
OTHER SITES CONSIDERED

Fort C. F. Smith, Montana

Companion post of Fort Phil Kearny, Fort C. F. Smith guarded the northern segment of the Bozeman Trail from 1866 to 1868. Like Forts Phil Kearny and Reno, it lay under almost continual siege by Red Cloud's Sioux for two years. Nearby on August 1, 1866, the Indians attacked a party of workmen cutting hay. In the celebrated Hayfield fight, the small band of whites repulsed repeated mounted charges and held out until the Indians, discouraged, withdrew. The fort was abandoned, together with the other forts on the Bozeman Trail, in August 1868 and was burned by the Indians.

The site of Fort C. F. Smith is located in Bighorn County, Montana, at the mouth of Bighorn Canyon. Mounds of earth tracing the foundations of the adobe buildings are all that remain. A monument marks the site of the Hayfield fight nearby.

Fort Buford, North Dakota

Fort Buford (1866-1895) was established near the confluence of the Missouri and Yellowstone Rivers to guard routes of travel to the Montana gold-fields. It served as a base of operations and supply depot during the campaign against the Sioux in 1876, and participated actively in the Nez Perce war of 1877 and the operations against Sitting Bull, 1877-1881. Sitting Bull and a small following had fled to Canada following the Custer battle, but in 1881 finally re-crossed the border and surrendered to the post commander at Fort Buford.

Located in McKenzie County, North Dakota, the site now comprises about 20 acres owned by the State and administered by the State Historical Society. Surviving remains include frame officers quarters, walls of the powder magazine, the morgue, and buildings that have been converted for modern use. A mile west of the site are two buildings that have been moved from their original locations at the fort. An irrigation ditch runs through a corner of the site. 47

Fort Abercrombie, North Dakota

Built at the head of navigation on the Red River of the North, Fort Abercrombie (1857-1880) was established to protect settlers on the Minnesota frontier. During the Sioux outbreak of 1862, many settlers sought refuge at the fort, which was itself attacked and besieged for almost two months. Gen. H. H. Sibley returned to Abercrombie following his expedition of 1863 against the Sioux in Dakota. During the 1860's the post was also point of departure for several expeditions, including that of James L. Fisk, that pioneered a northern route to the Montana gold-fields.

Fort Abercrombie successively occupied two locations. During the 1860's it was on the Minnesota side of Red River. This site is now privately owned. The later Fort Abercrombie, on the west bank of the river, is now a North Dakota State Park. The State has reconstructed the stockade and two blockhouses.

Fort Bridger, Wyoming

Founded by Col. Albert Sidney Johnson as headquarters for operations against the Mormons in the Utah War, Fort Bridger (1858-78, 1880-90) furnished protection to the overland mail and stage lines and to construction crews building the Union Pacific Railroad. It is today unusually well preserved. Remains include the quarters of the commanding officer (1858), soldiers barracks (1884), guardhouse (1884), sentry box, and ruins of the commissary and old guardhouse (1858). Located in Uinta County on U.S. Highway 30S, the site is owned and administered by the State of Wyoming.48

Fort Fred Steele, Wyoming

Fort Fred Steele (1868-1886) was established by Col. Richard I. Dodge to help protect workers on the Union Pacific Railroad. After completion of the road, the post continued to guard the stretch of track across central Wyoming during the period of Sioux troubles. The fort was principally important for its part in the

48. This site will be more fully discussed in studies of "Overland Migrations in the Trans-Mississippi West" and "Transportation and Communication."
Ute outbreak of 1879. Agent Ezra Meeker sent for help, and Maj. T. T. Thornburgh set out for White River Agency, Colorado, with two companies of infantry. The Utes murdered Meeker and most of his staff, then fell upon Thornburgh near Yellow Jacket Pass. In the following fight, Thornburgh and 14 men were killed and 36 men wounded.

Officers quarters and several barracks are still standing at the site of Fort Fred Steele, although altered for modern use. The stone powder magazine remains intact and unchanged. Mounds of earth define the foundations of a number of other buildings. Located in Carbon County, Wyoming, about 15 miles east of Rawlins, the site is privately owned.

Fort Hartsuff, Nebraska

Fort Hartsuff (1874-1881) was established to protect settlers and resident Pawnee Indians from the wild Sioux farther north and west. This necessity disappeared with the conquest of the Sioux, and the post was abandoned in 1881. Remains consist of stable, commissary storehouse, guardhouse, library-schoolhouse, officers quarters, hospital, and a combination barracks, kitchen, and dining room. Privately owned, the site is in Valley County, Nebraska, about 10 miles northwest of Ord.49

Fort Garland, Colorado

Fort Garland (1858-1883) was built in the San Luis Valley of southern Colorado following abandonment of Fort Massachusetts. Its function was to keep watch on nearby Ute and Navajo Indians. Col. Kit Carson commanded the fort from 1866 until his death two years later, and here, in 1866, he, Lt. Gen. W. T. Sherman, and the Ute Chief Ouray held a council to discuss white invasion of Ute lands. In 1881 troops from Fort Garland escorted the Utes to new homes in Utah, and the post was shortly thereafter abandoned.

Seven of the original adobe buildings of Fort Garland have been restored by the State of Colorado, and an eighth, the post trader's store, not owned by the State, is currently in use as a

residence. A large and exceptionally fine museum, divided among the various buildings, interprets the history of the fort and the San Luis Valley. Located on the south edge of the town of Fort Garland in Costilla County, the site is a State Monument administered by the State Historical Society of Colorado.

Beecher Island Battlefield, Colorado

The battle of Beecher Island was one of the dramatic conflicts of the Indian wars. Here in September 1868 about 50 veteran frontiersmen under Maj. George A. Forsyth were besieged by a large war party of Sioux and Cheyennes estimated at more than 1,000. Forsyth beat off successive charges while volunteers worked their way through the Indian cordon to ride for help. They succeeded in reaching Fort Wallace and a relief column lifted the siege.

The island on which Forsyth fortified, in the Arikaree Fork of the Republican River, has long since disappeared. The battle is commemorated by a large monument that stands near the post office of Beecher Island about 17 miles southwest of Wray, Colorado.

Fort Riley, Kansas

Established at the junction of the Smoky Hill and Republican forks of the Kansas River, Fort Riley (1855-present) was close to the area of Indian troubles and served as base for several expeditions against the hostile tribes during the 1850's and 1860's. Here in 1866 Lt. Col. George A. Custer assembled and organized the newly authorized Seventh Cavalry Regiment. In 1891 the fort became headquarters of the School of Application for Cavalry and Light Artillery, which in 1908 became the Mounted Service School and in 1919 the Cavalry School. Still an army installation, Fort Riley is today home of the Army General School.

A number of buildings erected in the early years are still standing, including officers quarters (1855) once occupied by Custer, and the post chapel (1855), which has undergone some alteration.

Smoky Hill Forts, Kansas

As a result of increasing Indian trouble along the Smoky Hill route from Fort Leavenworth to Denver in the middle 1860's, the
Government decided to establish a line of forts to guard this trail, specifically to protect the Butterfield Overland Dispatch. Later, the forts helped guard construction crews pushing the Kansas Pacific Railroad across the plains to Denver.

**Fort Harker (1864-1873).** First named Fort Ellsworth, Fort Harker served as an important operating and distributing post for the Smoky Hill system. The town of Kanopolis has grown up around the site of the fort, and several of the original buildings are still standing as part of the town.

**Fort Wallace (1865-1882).** Westernmost of the Smoky Hill posts, Fort Wallace bore the brunt of Indian hostility during the wars of the 1860's and 1870's. In June 1867 a party of some 200 or 300 Cheyennes under Roman Nose attacked Fort Wallace itself, but were driven off by the garrison after losing several men. Here in 1868 Maj. George A. Forsyth set forth on the expedition that culminated at the battle of Beecher Island. The siege of Forsyth was lifted by a relief column from Fort Wallace.

The site of Fort Wallace is about one and one-half miles southeast of the town of Wallace, in Wallace County, Kansas. It is in private ownership. Buildings of the fort disappeared many years ago, but the site is comparatively unspoiled. The outlines of some of the buildings may still be seen.50

**Fort Hays (1865-1869).** Like the other posts, Fort Hays contributed much to protecting traffic on the Smoky Hill Trail, and construction workers on the Kansas Pacific Railroad. From temporary headquarters at Fort Hays, Maj. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan in 1868-1869 directed the operations of striking columns in the winter campaign against the southern plains tribes. From 1867 to 1870, Fort Hays was also headquarters of Lt. Col. George A. Custer and the Seventh Cavalry.

Only two buildings, the stone guardhouse and stone blockhouse, have survived. The site itself has been leveled and is used as a golf course. Located in Ellis County, near Hays, Kansas, it is owned by the Kansas State Teacher's College.51

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51. Ibid.
Fort Scott, Kansas

Fort Scott (1842-53, 1863-65, 1870-73) represented an extension of the "permanent Indian frontier" of the 1820's and 1830's. Troops from Fort Scott helped protect traffic on the Santa Fe Trail, and participated in exploring expeditions to the northern plains and Rocky Mountains. Abandoned in 1853, it was reactivated during the Civil War as a Union headquarters and supply depot. Again abandoned at the end of the war, it was reoccupied for three years in 1870-73 to police the Fort Scott and Gulf Railroad, which was threatened by troubles resulting from illegal settlement of Cherokee lands in Indian Territory.

The parade ground, one and a half officers quarters, Headquarters House (1842), and several outbuildings are still standing. Near the parade ground is a blockhouse, Fort Blair, built during the Civil War some miles distant from the fort and subsequently moved. Located in the town of Fort Scott, the site is largely though not entirely owned by the city.

Medicine Lodge Treaty Site, Kansas

The two treaties concluded by the Peace Commission of 1867-68 were landmarks in the evolution of Indian policy, and constituted important parts of the foundation on which President Grant in 1869 erected the famous Peace Policy. The treaty with the tribes of the northern plains was signed at Fort Laramie in April 1868, that with the tribes of the southern plains at Medicine Lodge in October 1867. Neither treaty solved the Indian problem, and in fact proved influential in laying the groundwork for the Sioux War of 1876-1881 in the north, and the Washita campaign of 1868-69 and the Red River war of 1874-75 in the south.

The Medicine Lodge Treaty was concluded between the Peace Commission and representatives of the Cheyennes, Arapahos, Comanches, Kiowas, and Kiowa-Apaches at a site one and one-half miles east of the town of Medicine Lodge, in Barber County, Kansas. A Memorial Peace Park, owned by the town, includes the large natural ampitheater in which the councils and treaty signing took place. Every five years, in the course of a historical pageant at this park, the ceremony of signing the treaty is re-enacted.52

52. Ibid. For the text of the Medicine Lodge and Fort Laramie treaties see Charles J. Kappler, comp., Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties (2 v., Washington, 1903), II, 754-64.
Shawnee Mission, Kansas

The Shawnee Methodist Mission (1839-1862) was a center for the education and religious instruction of Indian children moved from eastern homes to the "permanent Indian frontier." At the height of its activity, the mission comprised 2,000 acres, 16 buildings, and 200 students. On the ante-bellum frontier, the mission was an outpost of civilization and a social center. Among its visitors during these years were John C. Fremont, Marcus Whitman, Francis Parkman, and John W. Gunnison.

Of the original 16 buildings, three two-story brick structures survive. Now located in a suburb of Kansas City, Kansas (Fairway), the site is owned by the State of Kansas and administered by the State Historical Society.

Highland Indian Mission, Kansas

This mission was built about 1846 among Iowa, Sac, and Fox Indians recently moved to Kansas from the East. Until 1863 Indian children here received elementary schooling and instruction in domestic arts, manual trades, and agriculture. The mission was a large, three-story building with 32 rooms. Part of it, subsequently destroyed, has been restored by the State. Now owned and administered by the Northeast Kansas Historical Society, the building is located in Doniphan County about two miles east of Highland.

Osage Catholic Mission, Kansas

Jesuit priests in 1847 founded this mission among Osage Indians who had settled along the Verdigris and Neosho Rivers. Manual schools were later established that served Indian children until removal of the Osages to Indian Territory about 1870. There are no remains of the mission. The State has placed a historical marker on the east edge of St. Paul, in Neosho County, Kansas.

Fort Towson, Oklahoma

Sister post of Fort Gibson, Fort Towson (1824-1854) was built in 1824 to protect the interests of Indians immigrating from the East to Indian Territory. During the 1830's it was an important link in the line of forts that traced the military frontier. Once
the frontier moved farther west, the post was abandoned, but was used briefly by both Confederate and Union forces during the Civil War. Ruins of several stone buildings, overgrown by vegetation, still survive in Choctaw County a short distance northeast of the town of Fort Towson.

**Fort Washita, Oklahoma**

Established by Gen. Zachary Taylor at the mouth of the Washita River, Fort Washita (1842-1861) represented an advance of the frontier from the Forts Gibson-Towson line. It was founded specifically to protect immigrant Choctaws and Chickasaws from the plains Indians. After the Mexican War it became an important way-station on a heavily travelled road to Texas, and on the Marcy Trail to California. Abandoned at the outbreak of the Civil War, the post was reoccupied and held by Confederate troops throughout the war. Ruins of two stone buildings, one used as a cowbarn, stand on a farm south of Mida in Bryan County, Oklahoma.53

**Peace-on-the-Plains Site, Oklahoma**

At the Wichita Villages of western Indian Territory, Col. Henry Dodge, commander of the dragoon expedition of 1834, met with representatives of the Wichitas, Kiowas, and Comanches in talks that led to conclusion in 1835 of the first treaties with the plains tribes. The site is in Greer County, Oklahoma, at the mouth of Devil's Canyon where it joins the north fork of Red River. Quartz Mountain State Park overlooks the canyon, which is accessible only by foot.

**Cherokee National Capitol, Oklahoma**

Tahlequah was designated Cherokee capital when the eastern and western Cherokees signed an act of union on July 12, 1839. During the 1840's a town, complete with governmental office buildings, grew up at the site. Here the Cherokees developed democratic political institutions and a constitution patterned after the United States model.

Still standing at Tahlequah is the two-story brick capitol building completed in 1869, now used as courthouse of Cherokee County. Across the street stands a privately owned building that incorporates the walls of the Cherokee Supreme Court, built in 1845 and partially destroyed by fire in 1874.

Creek National Capitol, Oklahoma

Like the Cherokees, immigrant Creeks adopted the customs, religion, and political organization of the whites. They led in attempts to unite the Five Civilized Tribes and to bring peace and order to Indian Territory by influencing the plains Indians (unsuccessfully, as it turned out) to settle down and unite politically with the sedentary tribes. The Creek capital was established at Okmulgee in 1868, and a two-story log capitol building erected. This structure was replaced in 1878 by a two-story brownstone building that served as capitol until 1907. It housed the governing bodies of the Creek Nation, the House of Kings and the House of Warriors, as well as the Supreme Court. This building, still standing at Okmulgee, is owned by the Creek Indian Memorial Association, which maintains a museum of Creek history on the first floor.

Washita Battlefield, Oklahoma

At this site on November 25, 1868, Lt. Col. George A. Custer and the Seventh Cavalry attacked and defeated the Cheyenne camp of Black Kettle. To this victory General Sheridan’s winter campaign of 1868-1869 owed much of its success. The battlefield, located in the Washita Valley just northwest of Cheyenne, Roger Mills County, has been marked but is under cultivation.

Fort Reno, Oklahoma

This military post (1874-1949) was built across the North Canadian River from the Darlington Agency to keep watch on the


Cheyennes and Arapahos. Troops from Fort Reno pursued Dull Knife's Cheyennes, who escaped from the agency in 1879 and made a spectacular fighting retreat towards their homes in the north, only to be captured near Fort Robinson, Nebraska.

Fort Reno is now owned by the U.S. Government and operated as an Experiment Station by the Department of Agriculture. It is located on U.S. Highway 66 in Canadian County three miles west of El Reno, Oklahoma. Sixteen buildings erected between 1876 and 1890 are still standing, and used by the staff of the Experiment Station. A log cabin, reputed to have been built in 1874 and occupied for a short time by General Sheridan, has been moved from Fort Reno to a site on U.S. 66 on the west edge of El Reno.

Darlington Agency, Oklahoma

Headquarters of the Cheyenne-Arapaho Reservation, 4.3 million acres carved from land ceded by the Five Civilized Tribes, Darlington Agency was founded in 1869 and served during the early 1870's as a major testing ground for President Grant's Quaker and Peace Policies. Although the reservation was thrown open to white settlement in 1892, the agency continued to manage the affairs of the Cheyennes and Arapahos. In 1909 it was moved several miles to the north, and today the original site, the historical setting largely obscured, is occupied by the State Game Farm. It is located in Canadian County five miles northwest of El Reno, Oklahoma.

Anadarko Agency, Oklahoma

The Wichita Indian Agency was established in 1871 on the Washita River on the north edge of the present city of Anadarko. The first battle of the Red River War was fought here in 1874, when Comanches raided the agency and terrorized the peaceful Wichitas. Troops from Fort Sill joined with the infantry guard in defending the agency. Six civilians were killed and four soldiers wounded. In 1878 the Kiowa-Comanche Agency at Fort Sill was eliminated by consolidation with the Wichita Agency at Anadarko. The Kiowas, Comanches, and Kiowa-Apaches at Fort Sill were moved to Anadarko in the fall of 1879 and located with the Wichitas, Wacos, Tawakones, Keeschis, Caddoes, and Delawares. Thus, nine tribes were administered from the new Kiowa-Comanche Agency.
There are today no remains of the Wichita Agency, just north of the river, or of the first Kiowa-Comanche Agency south of the river. Nearly all of the buildings of the second Kiowa-Comanche agency, erected in the 1890's adjacent to the first agency south of the river, are still standing. These include about 15 frame houses that served as residences for agency employees, the old brick agency headquarters, a two-story office building, the stone jail, a brick blacksmith shop, and two frame warehouses. These buildings have recently been abandoned and declared surplus by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Adobe Walls Battlefield, Texas

An adobe trading post built on the South Canadian River by William Bent in 1843, Adobe Walls was soon abandoned because of Indian hostility. On November 26, 1864, Col. Kit Carson and his New Mexico Volunteers attacked a large camp of Kiowas near the ruins of the fort. Joined by Comanches, the Kiowas counterattacked and besieged Carson in the Adobe Walls. The battle raged throughout the day, but Carson's mountain howitzers kept the Indians at bay. At dusk the troops burned the Kiowa village and withdrew. The second battle of Adobe Walls was fought a mile from the ruined fort ten years later. On June 27, 1874, about 700 Cheyennes, Kiowas, and Comanches under Quanah Parker and Lone Wolf attacked a camp of buffalo hunters. The whites took refuge in two stores and a saloon nearby, and for five days held off the besieging Indians. When reinforcements from other hunting parties began to arrive, the Indians withdrew.

The site of Adobe Walls lies in the Texas Panhandle, Hutchinson County, south of Spearman. It has been acquired by the Panhandle-Plains Historical Society of Canyon. A marker has been erected, but the remains of the buildings have largely disappeared.

Fort Concho, Texas

One of the line of forts guarding the Texas frontier, Fort Concho (1867-1889), because of its strategic location, was one of the more important Texas forts. It was located at the forks of the Concho River, where most of the east-west trails converged to avoid the Staked Plains to the north and the rocky, Indian-infested desert to the south. Troops from the fort took part in the arduous campaigns led by Col. Ranald S. Mackenzie from 1870 to 1875 against the Kiowas and Comanches, and fought in the battle of Palo Duro Canyon, September 27, 1874. They also went with Mackenzie on his historic expedition to Mexico (see Fort Clark).
There are today substantial remains of Fort Concho on the south edge of San Angelo, Texas. Ten original but remodeled buildings are in use as residences or as parts of business establishments. An original barracks, repaired but otherwise unaltered, and two barracks and a powder room rebuilt from the original materials on the original foundations house an extensive museum collection of artifacts relating to all phases of Texas history. The buildings containing the museum are owned by the City of San Angelo and administered and maintained by the San Angelo Museum Board.

Fort Griffin, Texas

Another unit of the post-Civil War Texas defense system, Fort Griffin (1867-1881) furnished escorts for mail riders, surveyors, and cattle drivers, and patrols to follow up and punish depredating Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches. The nearby town of Fort Griffin was a typical wild frontier settlement, and in the 1870's an important supply and shipping center for buffalo hide-hunters.

The site of the military post lies on a flat hilltop overlooking the valley of the Clear Fork of the Brazos River in Shackelford County. Stone walls and chimney of one set of officers quarters, ruins of the bakery, hospital, and arsenal, and the chimney of the sutler's store are all that have survived. A granite shaft erected by the Texas Centennial Commission in 1936 stands in the center of the parade ground. This site is included in a Texas State Park.56

Fort Clark, Texas

Southern anchor of the Texas defense line in the 1850's, Fort Clark (1852-1949) guarded the San Antonio-El Paso road and policed the Mexican border. After an interlude of Confederate control, U.S. troops resumed their frontier duties after the Civil War. Fort Clark was headquarters of Col. Ranald S. Mackenzie in 1873 when he conducted a daring expedition to punish Kickapoo and Lipan raiders using Mexico as a sanctuary. His command crossed into Mexico, defeated the fugitives, and thus created an international incident.

From 1875 to 1881 Fort Clark figured prominently in the war against Victorio's Apaches.

Some 25 or 30 buildings dating from the 1850's and 1880's are still in use at Fort Clark, although the setting has been somewhat impaired by 20th century military construction. Located in Kinney County at Bracketville, Fort Clark is now a privately owned guest ranch.

**Fort McKavett, Texas**

Another Texas frontier post, Fort McKavett (1852-1883) furnished troops for the Red River war of 1874-1875 and for the Victorio campaign, 1878-81. Extensive and impressive stone ruins and some repaired buildings still stand in Menard County. The village of Fort McKavett has grown up amid these ruins, and the whole presents a quaint and picturesque appearance.

**Palo Duro Canyon Battlefield, Texas**

At the battle of Palo Duro Canyon, September 27, 1874, Col. Ranald S. Mackenzie and the Fourth Cavalry dealt a severe blow to Comanche power and hastened the end of the Red River war of 1874-75. Mackenzie discovered the hostile camp in Palo Duro Canyon, a great gash in the Staked Plains, and, descending the precipitous walls under cover of night, attacked at dawn. The Indians fled and the action was indecisive. But capture of the Comanche pony herd, which Mackenzie destroyed, hurt enemy mobility, wealth, and morale, and contributed significantly to ultimate surrender.

Part of Palo Duro Canyon, which is formed by the Prairie Dog Town fork of Red River, is now a Texas State Park. The battleground, however, is some miles down the canyon from the park. It is inaccessible by wheeled vehicle, but may be viewed from the south rim of the canyon at a point about ten miles northwest of the village of Wayside, in Armstrong County. At this overlook a trail, the only one on the south rim for miles and probably the one used by Mackenzie, leads into the canyon.

**Fort Cummings, New Mexico**

Fort Cummings (1863-1880) was established by the California Volunteers to control the Apaches who roamed southwestern New Mexico,
and to guard strategic Cooke's Springs, important watering place on
the southern route to California. A Butterfield stage station had
also occupied the site from 1853 to 1861. Extensive adobe ruins,
in Dona Ana County at the mouth of Cooke's Canyon, now mark the site
of this post.

Fort Wingate, New Mexico

Established in western New Mexico to keep watch on the Navajos
and to guard the overland route across northern New Mexico and
Arizona, Fort Wingate (1862-1910) was a base for Col. Kit Carson's
operations against the Navajos that in 1863-64 terminated in their
removal to Bosque Redondo in eastern New Mexico. When the Navajos
returned to their homes in 1868, Fort Wingate was moved farther
west to be closer to the Navajo Reservation. It remained an active
post until 1910 and, since 1925, has housed a Navajo Indian school.

The first site of Fort Wingate (1862-1868) is on the south edge
of the village of San Rafael, but there are no remains. The second
site (1868-1910) is in McKinley County at the town of Fort Wingate.
Eight sets of officers quarters, two two-story barracks, and several
other buildings dating from the 19th century are used by the Indian
school. Much of the historical setting remains despite modern use.

Fort Buchanan (Camp Crittenden), Arizona

Fort Buchanan (1857-1861) and Fort Breckinridge were the first
two military posts in the Gadsden Purchase. The garrisons guarded
the Butterfield Overland Mail and operated against hostile Apaches.
Shortly after the outbreak of the Civil War both forts were
evacuated and destroyed. Troops returned to Fort Buchanan after the
war and, on a hill just east of the ruined fort, built Camp Crittenden
(1867-1873). The garrison helped protect settlers of the Babacomori,
Sonoita, and Santa Cruz valleys from marauding Apaches.

Adobe ruins and mounds of earth may still be seen at Camp
Crittenden but there are no remains other than mounds of earth at
Fort Buchanan. The sites are located in Santa Cruz County near
Sonoita.
Fort Lowell, Arizona

Fort Lowell (1862-1891), on the east edge of Tucson, served more as a supply depot and administrative center than as an active outpost in the Apache wars. Its extensive adobe ruins, however, form an outstanding specimen, easily accessible, of the typical southwestern fort of the 19th century.57

Camp Verde, Arizona

Established to protect settlers in the Verde Valley of central Arizona, Camp Verde (1866-1891) was the focal point of General Crook's campaign of 1872-73 in the Tonto Basin. Here the hostile Yavapai surrendered unconditionally in April 1873. Three sets of officers quarters, remodeled and used as private residences, are still standing, together with the administration building, which houses a small museum maintained by the Camp Verde Improvement Association. The site is located in Yavapai County at the town of Camp Verde.

Fort Apache, Arizona

Key post in the Apache wars of 1872-73 and 1881-86, Fort Apache (1869-1924) was strategically located on the northern edge of San Carlos Reservation. After removal of the Chiricahuaas to San Carlos in 1876, these most intractable of Apaches were settled near the fort. Several times during the next decade, renegade bands under such leaders as Geronimo, Natchez, Chato, and Chihuahua escaped from the reservation and were pursued, generally without success, by soldiers from Fort Apache. In 1881 troops under Col. E. A. Carr fought a battle with a large force of Indians on nearby Cibicue Creek, and, while he was still in the field, Apaches attacked the fort but failed to capture it. After the surrender of Geronimo and the removal of the reservation Chiricahuaas in 1886, Fort Apache ceased to play a significant role in frontier defense.

Officers row, barracks, the adjutant's office, commissary, guardhouse, quartermaster warehouse, and cavalry stables are still standing at Fort Apache, now headquarters of the Fort Apache Indian

Reservation. A log building at the west end of officers row, one of the earliest buildings of the fort, is reputed to have been occupied by General Crook during the Apache wars.

Fort Tejon, California

Established in 1854, Fort Tejon had a varied career. In addition to its military function, it was also a Butterfield stage station and, during the famous camel experiment, camels were stationed there for several years. Partially restored, it is now a State Historical Monument.

Fort Point, California

A harbor defense fortification, Fort Point was active during the period of the Indian wars but was not directly associated with them. It occupies historic ground on which the Spanish built Castillo de San Joaquin in 1793 to protect San Francisco Bay. Of brick construction, mounting 146 guns, the fort was completed in 1861 and is the largest fortification of its kind on the Pacific Coast. Its setting is also notable, as the Golden Gate Bridge passes directly above the fort.

Fort Yuma, California

This fort is historically important because of its strategic position overlooking the Yuma Crossing of the Colorado River—one of the most significant locations of westward migration. The post protected emigrants bound for California from the attacks of the Yumas and Mohaves.

Camp Watson, Oregon

A frontier fort established in 1864 and abandoned in 1869, Camp Watson was one of a number of similar military posts in this region established for the protection of miners and emigrants and as military bases against the Indians.
Fort Klamath, Oregon

Built in 1863 to protect travelers through the Klamath Basin, the fort was active in the Snake and Paiute Indian wars and was headquarters for troops engaged in the Modoc War. Captain Jack was hanged at Fort Klamath following his surrender in the nearby Lava Beds.

Cataldo Mission (Old Mission of the Sacred Heart), Idaho

One of the best preserved mission churches in the Northwest and the oldest building in Idaho, Cataldo Mission Church was completed in 1853. It was built in the wilderness with the crudest of tools by Indians under the direction of Jesuit Father Revalli, missionary to the Flatheads.

Fort Boise (later Bosie Barracks), Idaho

Fort Boise was established in 1863 to protect overland emigrants on the Oregon Trail and to give protection to the newly opened Idaho mining districts. From 1863 until 1879 troops from the fort participated in campaigns against Indian tribes of the Pacific Northwest, and during the Bannock Indian War the post served as field headquarters.

Fort Hall, Idaho

Although chiefly remembered for its association with the Oregon Trail, Fort Hall was an important military post during the period of Indian hostilities and a center for the Indian trade. It also guarded the junction of important routes of transportation and communication.

Fort Churchill, Nevada

Built to give protection to miners on the Comstock Lode and to emigrants enroute to California on the California Trail, Fort Churchill was also a station on the Pony Express. The adobe ruins are now included in a Nevada State Park.

Fort Simcoe, Washington

Fort Simcoe is a typical Northwest military post of the Indian wars period. The well preserved buildings once served as headquarters.
of an Indian agency and are now maintained as a Washington State Park.

Fourth of July Canyon (Mullan Road), Idaho

The Mullan Road, completed in 1862, was constructed as a military road to connect the heads of navigation of the Missouri and Columbia Rivers. The Mullan Tree in Fourth of July Canyon contains the inscription placed there by Mullan during construction on July 4, 1861.

Fort Walla Walla, Washington

This post was a base for troops during several military campaigns against Indians of the Northwest and was located at the western terminus of the Mullan Road, an important trade and transportation junction.
SITES ALSO NOTED

Montana

Fort Keogh
Fort Shaw
Fort Ellis
Fort Custer
Fort Benton
Bear Paw Mountain Battlefield
Rosebud Battlefield

Wyoming

Fort Reno
Fort Fetterman
Fort D. A. Russell
Platte Bridge Battlefield
Crook Battlefield, 1876
Mackenzie Battlefield, 1876

North Dakota

Fort Lincoln
Fort Yates
Fort Totten
Standing Rock Agency

South Dakota

Slim Buttes Battlefield
Pine Ridge Agency
Rosebud Agency
Cheyenne River Agency
Fort Bennett
Fort Randall
Fort Meade

Minnesota

Fort Ridgely
Nebraska

Fort Omaha
Fort Niobrara
Ash Hollow Battlefield

Colorado

Meeker Massacre Site
Thornburgh Battlefield
Sand Creek Battlefield

Oklahoma

Camp Mason
Fort Arbuckle
Fort Cobb
Rush Springs Battlefield
Camp Supply
Dwight Mission
Sequoya's Home
Skullyville and Fort Coffee
Wheelock Mission

Texas

Fort Bliss
Fort Chadbourne
Fort Duncan
Fort Elliott
Fort McIntosh
Fort Richardson
Fort Stockton

New Mexico

Fort Bayard
Fort Craig
Fort Fillmore
Fort Selden
Fort Sumner
Cantonment Burgwin
Fort Bascom
Fort Stanton

- 156 -
Arizona

Fort Breckinridge (Old Camp Grant)
Fort Defiance
Fort Grant
Fort Huachuca
Fort Whipple
Fort McDowell
Fort Thomas

Utah

Fort Douglas

California

Fort Bidwell
Fort Bragg
Fort Crook
Fort Humboldt
Fort Independence
Fort Jones
Pala Chapel

Oregon

Camp Smith
Camp Warner
Dalles (Wascopham) Mission
Fort Dalles
Fort Harny
Fort Haskins
Fort Lane
Fort Yamhill
Williamette (Lee) Mission

Washington

Cowlitz Mission
Fort Steilacoom
St. Mary's Mission
Tshimakain Mission
Walla Walla Treaty Council Site
Idaho

Camas Prairie
Lolo Trail
Nez Perce Buffalo Trail
Spalding (Lapwai) Mission
White Bird Battlefield

Nevada

Camp Ruby
APPENDIX

The following criteria of exceptional value were devised by the Branch of History of the National Park Service and approved by the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments. All sites considered in this study were weighed against these criteria. Those judged exceptionally valuable are believed to meet one or more of the criteria.

1. Structures or sites in which the broad cultural, political, economic, military, or social history of the Nation is best exemplified, and from which the visitor may grasp the larger patterns of our American heritage. Such sites are naturally the points or bases from which the broad aspects of prehistoric and historic American life can best be presented.

2. Structures or sites associated importantly with the lives of outstanding historic personages.

3. Structures or sites associated with important events which are symbolic of some great idea or ideal of the American people.

4. Structures which embody the distinguishing characteristics of an architectural type specimen, exceptionally valuable for a study of a period style or method of construction; or a notable work of a master builder, designer, or architect whose individual genius reflected his age.

5. Archeological sites which have produced information of major scientific importance by revealing new cultures or by shedding light upon periods of occupation over large areas of the United States. Such sites are those which have produced or which may reasonably be expected to produce data which have affected theories, concepts, and ideas to a major degree. (This criterion is applicable only in the aboriginal themes produced by the National Survey.)

6. All historical and archeological sites and structures in order to meet the standards of exceptional importance should have integrity, that is, there should not be doubts as to whether it is
the original site or building, original material, or workmanship, and original location. Intangible elements of feeling and association, although difficult to describe, also may be factors in weighing the integrity of a site or structure.

7. Structures or sites of recent historical importance, relating to events or persons within 50 years, will not, as a rule, be eligible for consideration.
Memorandum

To: Members of the Consulting Committee for the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings

From: Acting Chief, Division of Interpretation

Subject: Copy of Subtheme, "Military and Indian Affairs" of Theme XV, "Westward Expansion and Extension of the National Boundaries to the Pacific, 1830-1898"

We are attaching a copy of "Military and Indian Affairs" which, as you are aware, is part of the theme of "Westward Expansion."

This study is on our tentative agenda for the next meeting of the Consulting Committee.

[Signature]

Acting Chief,
Division of Interpretation

Attachment

Dr. Richard H. Howland
Dr. J. O. Brew
Mr. Eric Ougler
Mr. Frederick Johnson
Dr. Waldo G. Leland
Mr. Earl Havell Reed
Dr. S. K. Stevens
Dr. Louis Wright