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On the cover — “A Buffalo Soldier at the Camp at Bonita Canon, Arizona Territory,” original line drawing by David Laughlin, copyright 1986, all rights reserved.

Dave Laughlin is a Tucson artist who works in a variety of mediums. He has been an exhibitor and juror at many Midwestern art shows. His major commissions are mostly sculptures but he recently has completed a series of drawings.

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ISSN 0190-80626
The Black troops of the Ninth and Tenth United States Cavalry are most often remembered for their role in the late 19th century Indian Wars of the western plains. History recalls how these troopers, or "Buffalo Soldiers," performed admirably as well as heroically while under fire on the Kansas and Texas frontiers in the late 1860s and early 1870s and in New Mexico and Colorado in the late 1870s and 1880s. That they also played a role in Arizona history about this time is perhaps less well known. Few stories of their activities in the Arizona Territory in the 19th century have come down to us, much less visible remains of this early presence.

At least one tangible remnant of history does commemorate the Buffalo Soldiers' tour of duty in Arizona in the late 1880s. It comes from what at first may seem a most unlikely source — the fireplace in a ranch house at the entrance of Bonita Canyon in what is now Chiricahua National Monument. This fireplace was built of local fieldstones in the 1920s, yet on many of the stones are chiseled the names and troop designations of soldiers who served in the Tenth Cavalry in Arizona during the final Geronimo Campaign of 1885 and 1886. By investigating the origin of these stones and the names of the men who are recorded upon them, we hope to focus attention not only upon an important turning point in Arizona history, but also upon the role played in this period by some of its often forgotten participants.

"A Campfire Sketch" by Frederic Remington of Buffalo Soldiers around a campfire.
The presence of the 10th Cavalry in the Arizona Territory during the late 19th century is amply, if matter-of-factly, recorded in official military documents and papers of the period. Also available are the published diary of one of its commissioned officers and Frederic Remington’s illustrated personal account, “A Scout with the Buffalo Soldiers.” Additionally, at least two “histories” of the 10th Cavalry have been compiled, both of which deal in summary fashion with the Arizona campaigns.

From these varied sources we know that the regiment, under the command of Col. Benjamin H. Grierson, was moved from the Department of Texas to the Department of Arizona in April, 1885. It is said that this was the first time all 12 troops and the band of the regiment were assembled together, and they continued as such to Bowie Station, Arizona Territory, marching beside the tracks of the recently completed Southern Pacific Railroad. From Bowie Station, the various troops were distributed among several posts including Fort Apache, San Carlos, Fort Grant, Fort Thomas and Fort Verde. Headquarters was established at Whipple Barracks.

This move coincided with and probably was precipitated by developing unrest at the San Carlos Reservation where many Chiricahua Apaches had been moved to allow the government to keep a closer eye upon them. After a year of relative quiet, following Geronimo’s second surrender in 1884, conditions on this reservation had again become strained.

On May 15, 1885, a group of about 150 Chiricahua men, women, and children slipped out of San Carlos, heading south for Mexico. Their leaders included Geronimo, Natchez, Chihuahua, Mangus and Old Nana. Troops from all parts of southern Arizona, including some of the newly arrived 10th Cavalry at Fort Grant (Troops D, E, H, and K), were quickly mobilized. This initial attempt to find and return the Apaches proved unsuccessful, however, foreshadowing a series of similar frustrating failures before Geronimo’s surrender at Fort Bowie over a year later.

With this most recent outbreak, then Commander of the Department of Arizona Gen. George Crook established his headquarters at Fort Bowie in Apache Pass between the Chiricahua and Dos Cabezas mountains. The role that the troopers of the 10th Cavalry played in the events that followed can be traced to General Crook’s strategy for protecting the local population while sending expeditions to Mexico to bring the Chiricahua Apaches back to the San Carlos Reservation. Writing after his resignation as a defense against criticism for actions he undertook in this effort, Crook explains:

“The hostiles were in Mexico; it was therefore necessary to secure the protection [of life and property], to prevent, if possible, their recrossing the line. To attain this end, troops were stationed in detachments along the frontier. To each detachment was assigned five Indian scouts to watch the front and detect the approach of the hostiles. These troops were stationed at every point where it was thought possible for the hostiles to pass. Every trail, every waterhole, from the Patagonia Mountains to the Rio Grande was thus guarded. The troops were under the strictest orders, constantly to patrol this line, each detachment having a particular section of the country assigned to its special charge. In addition to this, a second line was similarly established in rear of the front, both to act as a reserve, and to prevent the passing of any hostiles who might elude the vigilance of the first line. Behind this again were stationed troops on the railroad who
might be sent to any desired point on the whole front, forming thus a third line."
(Crook 1886) 12

The duty of the 10th Cavalry in this defensive scheme is established in an earlier communication — "in rear of the advance line I shall place the troops of the 10th Cavalry ... to intercept parties should they succeed in sneaking through the first line." (Crook 1885) 13

Thus, as a second line of defense and support, a series of 10th Cavalry camps was established within the major north-south valleys of southern Arizona. These camps were situated to guard waterholes and mountain trails as well as to provide protection to local ranchers against raids. In addition, they allowed rapid interception forays across the major avenues between Mexico and Arizona if the need arose.

One of these semi-permanent camps was set up near a small spring in Bonita Canyon, about 13 miles south of Fort Bowie. It came to be known as the Camp at Bonita Canon. 14

Map of Bonita Canyon area in the Chiricahua Mountains showing the locations of the 1885-86 Tenth Calvary camp and other landmarks. (From M. Tagg, 1987, The Camp at Bonita Canon, Figure 14)

The Camp at Bonita Canon

Bonita Canyon is an east-west oriented, rhyolitic, box canyon located on the western slopes of the Chiricahua Mountains. The lower part of the canyon is relatively broad (about 1/4 mile across) with a well developed flood plain opening into the vast Sulphur Spring Valley. Bonita Creek is now ephemeral, but is reported to have flowed regularly at the turn of the century. An active spring, situated at the east end of the lower canyon, had already attracted at least one homesteader, J. Hugh Stafford, and his family to the area in the late 1870s. 15

Although securing this waterhole provided ample reason, under Crook's strategy, for establishing a camp in the canyon, one particular event may have
also been decisive. From Sept. 28 to Oct. 1, a small raiding party of Apaches moved freely through the area. Pressured by two pursuing troops of the 10th Cavalry, the party was wearing out when it came upon the fall roundup of Sulphur Spring ranchers in White Tail Canyon, just to the north of Bonita Canyon. Concealed by darkness, the Apaches stole 30 prime horses and thus freshly mounted were easily able to elude the soldiers and slip back over the Mexican border.Raids such as this, which resulted in the death of three civilians, brought much criticism to Crook’s operations and further encouraged him to establish permanent camps in key areas.

The history of occupation at the Camp at Bonita Canon can be found in the 10th Cavalry “Returns from Regular Army Cavalry Regiments” for 1885 and 1886. These returns show three 10th Cavalry troops which variously and in part simultaneously were associated with the camp beginning in September, 1885, and continuing through September, 1886.

Troop E, Capt. Joseph M. Kelly commanding, and Troop H, Capt. Charles L. Cooper commanding, appear to have first camped in the canyon in late September. Capt. Kelley records in his muster roll for August 31 to October 31 that:


Cooper’s muster roll for the same period simply states that Troop H had been “encamped in Bonita Canon about 13 miles from Fort Bowie, Arizona Territory, for the period for which mustered,” but it seems likely that Troop H also entered the canyon in late September or early October. Both troops in fact were probably mobilized from their camp(s) in nearby Pinery Canyon in response to the report of Apaches being pursued into the area.

In support of the notion that the two troops were operating in tandem is the log at Fort Bowie which records that portions of both troops arrived at the fort on September 30th from Bonita Canyon. This detachment left the following day in pursuit of the Indians, only to pass through again on Oct. 9 enroute back to Bonita Canyon from the San Simon Valley.

It would appear that Troop E returned to Fort Grant at the end of October or early in November. Troop H, on the other hand, stayed in the canyon throughout the remainder of the year and should perhaps be credited with establishing a permanent camp there. Cooper’s roll shows that 47 of the 67 members of the troop were in the camp, along with 49 horses, five of which were unserviceable.

Neither of Cooper’s commissioned lieutenants were with him. 1st Lt. William R. Harmon is recorded as absent on sick leave since Aug. 1, 1882, and apparently never was a part of the Arizona campaign. 2nd Lt. William E. Shipp was on detached service with Capt. Crawford and the Indian Scouts in pursuit of Geronimo in Mexico.

Troop E rejoined Troop H sometime around the beginning of the New Year, 1886, and from January to the end of April, both troops coexisted in the canyon, swelling the ranks of the camp to almost 100 men. Both of Kelley’s lieutenants were also on detached service at this time, and probably the two captains relied heavily upon their veteran sergeants.

Little of record occurred over these months. Capt. Kelley writes at muster on
Feb. 28, 1886 that “Since last muster the Troop has been guarding waterholes in the Chiricahua Mountain range and carrying mail from Fort Bowie to Mud Springs, A.T.”

For the same period, Capt. Cooper added “The troop has performed camp duties in the field at Bonita Canon, Arizona Territory, during the period for which mustered.”

Muster roll of Troop I, Tenth Calvary, Capt. T.A. Baldwin commanding, recording the troop’s arrival in Bonita Canyon in late April, 1886.

A major change occurred at the camp on or about April 23 with the arrival of Troop I, 10th Cavalry, from Fort Grant. The commanding officer, Capt. Theodore A. Baldwin had orders to relieve both Troops E and H. Perhaps this replacement was influenced by General Crook’s recent resignation in the face of mounting public criticism and by his disagreements over policy with then Army Commander, Lt. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan.

Crook’s two long and costly Mexico campaigns, which had failed to recapture Geronimo, culminated in an imminent surrender gone awry in the Canyon de los Embudos in late March. Clearly, Crook had not been successful this time. Upon the acceptance of Crook’s resignation, Brig. Gen. Nelson A. Miles took command of the Department of Arizona on April 2, 1886.

Troop E left Bonita Canyon on April 24, followed by Troop H on April 30. Troop I, approximately 50 men strong, assumed their duties, which consisted primarily of carrying the mail in between hours of vigilant watching and waiting. This the troop did without event worthy of official record through the summer of 1886 until early September when a weary Geronimo and his people formally sur-
rendered for the third and last time and were taken to Fort Bowie to await deportation to Florida.

Despite the lack of headlines, the camp had served its purpose in the campaign to recapture Geronimo. As fate would have it, however, one more event awaited the men of the Tenth Cavalry stationed there.

The one noteworthy action, or more correctly failure to act, involving the Camp at Bonita Canon occurred Sept. 10, two days after Geronimo had been taken to Fort Bowie. On that day, a group of seven Apaches (3 men, 3 women and a boy) being escorted to Fort Bowie with the remainder of Geronimo's people escaped from their guards and were believed to be moving south on foot somewhere in the Chiricahuas north of Bonita Canyon.

With visions of continued conflict, a flurry of dispatches were sent to Capt. Baldwin ordering him, in coordination with a troop of 4th Cavalry from Fort Bowie under Capt. Budd, to set up a picket line across the mountains between the Sulphur Springs and San Simon valleys to intercept these Apaches. A failure of communication between captains Baldwin and Budd ensued, however, and the Apaches' trail was lost.

As a result, both captains received official disciplinary reports. Capt. Baldwin was ordered to break camp and immediately return to Fort Verde. Capt. Budd was instructed to feed his horses with the remaining supplies of hay at the camp and then return to Fort Bowie. 24

The Tenth Cavalry Camp at Bonita Canon, which had existed in relative obscurity for almost a year of active duty, was abandoned by Capt. Baldwin's troop of Buffalo Soliders on Sept. 15, 1886 — a final victim of the long campaign to subdue Geronimo and the Chiricahua Apaches.

The Garfield Fireplace

Historic artifacts have a way of communicating the past with an immediacy that no amount of written or oral histories can quite duplicate. Such is the case of the “Garfield Fireplace” in the Erickson-Riggs ranch house of the Faraway Ranch, now the property of the Chiricahua National Monument, National Park Service. 25

The Faraway Ranch, home of former 1st Sgt. Neil Erickson (4th Cavalry), his wife Emma and their children, began as a small property homesteaded shortly after the Geronimo campaign. The Faraway grew rapidly over the turn-of-the-century, becoming a thriving “dude” ranch in the mid-20th century under the management of Neil's daughter, Lillian, and her husband Edward Riggs. As a measure of their success, in 1958 Saturday Evening Post featured the recently widowed and partially blind Lillian Riggs in an article aptly titled, “The Lady Boss of Faraway Ranch.” 26 The Faraway main house itself also has merited description in a recent survey of historical Arizona ranch houses. 27 The significance of the property as a historical resource was officially recognized in 1980 with its placement on the National Register of Historic Places. 28

The Garfield Fireplace, consisting of the fireplace proper and associated chimney, is thought to have been constructed by Ed Riggs and others in 1924 or 1925. 29 At that time Ed was adding a guest dining room to the back of the house and decided to include a fireplace into the middle of its exterior wall. He constructed the fireplace with local rhyolitic blocks of stone, joined with mortar.

Of varying sizes and shapes, these stones in many cases were intentionally shaped. What is most notable about the stones is the presence on many of them
Exterior view of the Garfield Fireplace at the Faraway Ranch main house.
of engraved writing. The name of the fireplace itself derives from a particularly large central block on the inside above the mantelpiece. The face of this block or slab is carefully engraved in ruler lined letters:

IN
MEMORY OF
JAS. A.
GARFIELD

James Abram Garfield, sworn in as the 20th President of the United States on March 4, 1881, was only weeks later shot by a disgruntled civil servant. He died Sept. 19, 1981, the second American presidential assassination.

Surrounding the dedication to the slain president are numerous other smaller engraved blocks, which appear on the outside of the fireplace as well. These engravings range from light scratching to deep chiseling and consist primarily of the names or initials of the men of the Tenth Cavalry who were stationed in the Camp at Bonita Canon. Often accompanying the names are the soldiers’ troop letter and regimental number. Also present on a few blocks are dates, military rank and place names.

We have numbered each of the 59 blocks that bear an inscription in the accompanying drawing. Using muster rolls of the 10th Cavalry troops known to
have been stationed in the canyon, we have been able, in most cases, to associate each of the inscriptions with a soldier in one of these troops. Much more than a fireplace, the Garfield Fireplace is a record in stone — a muster roll, if you will — preserving the names of the men who served in Bonita Canyon in the late 1880s.

Along with a name or set of initials, 12 of the blocks are inscribed with the designation of Troop H and fifteen with Troop E, while only one block is signed as belonging to Troop I. This block (#3), appearing on the outside of the fireplace, is also unique in that it carries at least eight different sets of initials. All other blocks, as far as we can tell, are associated with a single individual.
Interior view of the Garfield Fireplace with blocks numbered.

Exterior view of the Garfield Fireplace with blocks numbered.
When we consider the blocks inscribed with dates, an explanation for the uniqueness of the Troop I block is evident. Four blocks (#1, 21, 42, 52) have complete dates (day, month, year), ranging from April 19 to April 26, 1886. This tightly clustered series predates by at least several days the known date at which Troop I actually became established in the canyon. From this, it seems reasonable to suggest that the engraving of the Troop I block is a later addition to the others and that the remainder of the blocks were engraved by the soldiers of Troops E and H as they prepared to end their tour of duty in the camp. Indeed, all of our proposed identifications of legible names and most of the initials can be easily accommodated by the rolls of Troops E and H alone.

Military rank is designated on at least two blocks. One of these (#50) carries the title "1st Sgt." above the name "JAS. LOGAN," attributable to 1st Sgt. James Logan, Troop E. The other block (#42) reads in carefully crafted letters "J.W. Robinson /BLACKSMITH.E. /APR. 20.1886" and is unquestionably the handiwork of the Troop E blacksmith, John W. Robinson.

Both Logan and Robinson are represented by more than one inscribed stone. Block #45 is inscribed "J.A. Logan" while block #17 has the initials "JWR" below the representation of a blacksmith's hammer and a horseshoe. Both the lettering and symbols of this letter block are depicted in high relief, unlike the
chiseled letters of all the other inscriptions. This certainly attests to the familiarity and skill of the blacksmith in working with the tools that were used in inscribing the stones.

Both block #8, inscribed "WP(B) /H10 APR 27 /1886," and Block #38, inscribed "W.P.BATTLE /CAPT.BONI- /TA(1886)," may also be identified with a single individual: William P. Battle, Private, Troop H. Aspirations notwithstanding, the inscription "CAPT," on Block #38 would appear to be a misspelling for "CAMP." The badly weathered letters of this block have been highlighted in paint at a more recent date and it is possible that the mistake originated then. Alternatively, Pvt. Battle may have committed the error himself. Assuming a misspelling did occur, this is the only stone which refers to the Camp at Bonita Canon by name.

Block No. 38 reads "W.P. BATTLE, CAPT. BONITA 1886."
Block No. 17, top photo, reads "JWR" had has a hammer and horse shoe. Block No. 58, bottom photo, reads "GHN, H10."
Iry and infantry troops, including Troops A, C, F, I, G, and L of the 10th Cavalry. In September while in pursuit of Indians, Shafter reported burning an abandoned Indian village near present-day Hobbs and building a stone monument on a hill above a nearby spring. Part of his report is recounted by G. Hinshaw in Lea, New Mexico’s Last Frontier (Hobbs: The Hobbs Daily News-Sun, 1976, pp. 55-56) and goes as follows: “Monument Spring is so named from a monument I had built on a hill southwest and 1 1/2 miles distant from the spring. This monument is of nearly white stone, about eight feet in diameter at the base, four at the top, and 7 1/4 feet high. It can be seen for several miles in all directions...”

This monument appears to have been smaller dimensions and, as far we know, unengraved. It’s purpose is not explained by Shafter. It may have little to do in any direct fashion with the Garfield monument; neither Troops E or H were involved in the Llano Estacado expedition. What ever their relationship, interestingly both monuments suffered similar fates — neither remains in situ and the memory of both has become obscured. As Hinshaw (p.56) observed in regards to Shafter’s monument: “within 10 years buffalo hunters had removed the stones to build a nearby fortification which still stands, still contains Shafter’s carefully picked rocks; and nearly 100 years later the furies still toiled at their work of erasure as they compelled 20th Century historians to write solemnly that Indians erected the monument from which the famous spring took its name.”

46 — Baumler, The Archeology of Faraway Ranch, p. 85
47 — Erickson-Riggs Collection, WACC, NPS, Tucson.

The Garfield Fireplace Inscriptions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BLOCK</th>
<th>INSCRIPTION</th>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>RANK</th>
<th>TROOP</th>
<th>COMMENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>J. T. TAYLOR</td>
<td>John T. Taylor</td>
<td>Sgt</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>Detached service at Fort Grant Oct. 28, 1885 to Feb. 28(?) 1886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A, TROOP H, 10, CAV.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>448. 3. 1886</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>J. F. 1886</td>
<td>John F. Casey</td>
<td>Cpl</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>Promoted from Farrier Nov. 1, 1885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A, TROOP I, 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25. 3. 1885</td>
<td>Joseph Daniel</td>
<td>Pvt</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A, TROOP H, 10, CAV.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>312. 3. 1886</td>
<td>Joseph Craggell</td>
<td>Pvt</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>A, TROOP H, 10, CAV.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>J. B. L. H.</td>
<td>Thomas Pleasants</td>
<td>Pvt</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>A, TROOP H, 10, CAV.</td>
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<td>A, TROOP H, 10, CAV.</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>C. D. R.</td>
<td>Curtis Durbaut</td>
<td>Pvt</td>
<td>E</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>A, TROOP F, 10, CAV.</td>
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<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>C. R. H.</td>
<td>Thomas Harris</td>
<td>Fam</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>Appointed from Pvt Nov. 1, 1885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A, TROOP H, 10, CAV.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>34. 3. 1886</td>
<td>Thomas Harris</td>
<td>Cpl</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>Honorably discharged Feb. 24, 1886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A, TROOP H, 10, CAV.</td>
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<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>C. R.</td>
<td>William A. Battle</td>
<td>Pvt</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>A, TROOP H, 10, CAV.</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>C. R. H.</td>
<td>William A. Battle</td>
<td>Pvt</td>
<td>H</td>
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<td>A, TROOP H, 10, CAV.</td>
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<td>9.</td>
<td>C. R. H.</td>
<td>William A. Battle</td>
<td>Pvt</td>
<td>H</td>
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<td>A, TROOP H, 10, CAV.</td>
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<td>10.</td>
<td>C. R. H.</td>
<td>William A. Battle</td>
<td>Pvt</td>
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<td>A, TROOP H, 10, CAV.</td>
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<td>11.</td>
<td>C. R. H.</td>
<td>William A. Battle</td>
<td>Pvt</td>
<td>H</td>
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<td>A, TROOP H, 10, CAV.</td>
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32
Other troopers who may be associated with more than one block are Cpl. John F. Casey, Troop H (Blocks 2 and 15), Pvt. James Dillard, Troop H (Blocks 21 and 29). Why these individuals and those above elected to engrave their name on two blocks while other soldiers in the camp do not appear to be represented at all is a mystery. Interesting also is that of the two commissioned officers in the camp at the time the blocks appear to have been inscribed, only Captain Kelley’s initials are represented (Block 10).

Cities are registered on two blocks. Block #27, attributed to Cpl. Gerard Miller, Troop H, has “WASHINGTON DC” scratched in much lighter letters below the more clearly engraved name. Miller is registered in the muster rolls as having enlisted in Washington, D.C. Nov. 23, 1881.

The other block with a place name (#52) is inscribed “W.H.J. / EIOCV / APR 19 1886 / BALT MD.” We have attributed this block to William H. Johnson, Trumpeteer, Troop E. While Johnson is recorded as enlisting at Ft. Concho, Texas, previous headquarters of the 10th Cavalry, it is not unlikely that he was born elsewhere, in this case Baltimore, Md.

Another block (#18), with the initials “F W,” has engraved next to it, in descending order, the smaller letters “D C” and either an inverted triangle or a “V”. This block may be the work of Felix Wilson, Pvt., Troop E, and the letters “D C” may well represent his home, as he is recorded as enlisting in Washington, D.C.

Perhaps the most interesting of all the blocks, #44, is also unfortunately incomplete on its left side. Four lines of neatly engraved block letters on this stone can be transcribed:

Block No. 2 reads “J.C. 1886.”
Block No. 44 is the "Horton" block, which is broken on the left side.

(?!) HORTONPRESOFTHE-
(?!) PHCLUBINHON.OF-
(?!) ARFIELD.REPRESENT
(?!) TEOF.MO.

We believe that this block owes its origin to George Horton, Troop H. Horton was promoted to saddler from private on Dec. 1, 1885 — that is while the troop was stationed in Bonita Canyon — following the discharge of Saddler Benjamin F. Wallace at the expiration of his term of service. We suggest the following transcription of the block if it were complete: "George Horton, President of the Troop H Club in honor of Jas. A. Garfield, representing the state of Missouri."

If correct, this reading suggests that Horton may have played a major role in determining the theme or purpose of the engravings, in particular the dedication to President Garfield on Block 51.

Our information on Horton is limited to his enlistment on Nov. 24, 1884, in Washington, D.C. Assuming that there was some form of club of which Horton was president, it is nonetheless unclear whether this group was spontaneous or chartered and whether it was organized around President Garfield or had its origins in other matters.

Suggestions of a chartered organization to which at least some of the 10th Cavalry Buffalo Soldiers belonged to is found in other blocks as well. On three separate blocks (#3, 19 and 61) is a motif consisting of three interlocking ovals. This motif occurs twice on Block #3, which also bears the multiple initials of Troop I.
The symbol of three interlocking ovals was in use at this time by the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows in America, which received its charter directly from the United Order of Odd Fellows in England in 1843. This all-black fraternal organization was racially segregated from the United Order of Odd Fellows in America which had previously disassociated itself from the English charter. 30

The two other blocks on which the symbol occurs have been affiliated with Michael Finnegan, Wagoneer, Troop H (#19) and Sgt. Charles Faulkner, Troop H (#61). While we do not know whether either of these two individuals were members of the Odd Fellows, we do know from a published biographical sketch that another sergeant in Troop E, Charles B. Turner, was at some point in his life a strong advocate of the organization. 31

Block #53, with the initials “C.B.T.,” has been tentatively assigned to Sgt. Turner, but no other symbols are engraved on this block. Given that the Troop I block exhibits the Odd Fellows motif, one wonders whether those members of this troop who decided to add their names to the others may have all been members of the Od Fellows as well. Perhaps it was this tie that led them to include their names.

Block No. 19 reads “M.W.F.” and has three interlocking ovals underneath the initials.
Finally, we would be remiss not to single out one other special engraved block. On this stone (#48), now situated just below the mantlepiece on the right side of the fireplace, is inscribed the name “H.O. FLIPPER.” Henry Ossian Flipper (1856-1940) was the first black American to successfully complete the requirements of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point and become a commissioned officer.

Block No. 48 reads “H.O. Flipper.”

Graduated June 14, 1877, 2nd Lt. Flipper was first assigned to the 10th Cavalry at Fort Sill in Indian Territory. Later he served at several forts in Texas.

Skilled in engineering, Flipper acted as an army surveyor and construction supervisor and also at various times as a post adjutant, quartermaster and commissary officer. It was in this latter capacity at Fort Davis, Texas, that his military career sadly and abruptly ended. Arrested for embezzlement of funds, he was cleared of the charges but nonetheless court-martialed for “conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman” and was dishonorably discharged in the summer of 1882.

Throughout the remainder of his life, Flipper maintained he had been railroaded by certain fellow officers. In 1976, the Department of Defense concurred and exonerated Flipper, issuing him a posthumous honorable discharge and arranging for the re-interment of his remains at a national cemetery with full military honors.

The question has been raised as to whether Flipper himself could have carved his name adjacent to those of the troops in Bonita Canyon. During his military
20
career, Flipper served in Troop A rather than any of the troops associated with
the Camp at Bonita Canyon. In his published memoirs, however, he recounts
having met Capt. Charles L. Cooper at Fort Davis when the latter was still a
lieutenant in Troop M and that he found him and his family to be “nice people.”

After his discharge, Flipper put his engineering skills to use working for var-
ious mining companies in Mexico and Arizona. At one point, he became a mem-
ber of the Association of Civil Engineers of Arizona. In the spring of 1886 it is
thought that he may have been as close to Bonita Canyon as Northern Sonora,
perhaps less than 150 miles from the camp.

It is conceivable, therefore, that Flipper could have visited the camp and per-
sonally added his name to the others. On the other hand, perhaps he was simply
remembered by his fellow men in the service who had already made a dedication
to another fallen soldier, James A. Garfield. Surely more than a few of the “old-
timers” in the detachment had met Flipper, and all had at least heard of his his-
tory-making entrance into a world previously excluded to blacks.

While we have focused on only a few of the blocks in the Garfield Fireplace,
each in its own way is special and personal and deserves greater consideration
than can be given in this short document. The variety of engraving styles and
fonts suggest that each soldier was responsible for fashioning his own block and
thereby adding his own touch. Although we cannot do justice to all the blocks
here, we must still address the question of how they came to be set in the fire-
place in the first place — a fireplace built almost 40 years after the soldiers them-
selves had left the canyon.

Our telling of the story of the inscribed blocks at Bonita Canyon begun with
the fireplace in Faraway Ranch house but need not end there. From family
documents and recorded conversations with descendants of the turn-of-the-
century Erickson, Riggs and Stafford families, we know that the blocks origina-
ally formed a free standing monument of substantial proportions. 35 This construc-
tion, locally referred to as the “Garfield Monument,” was present when Neil
and Emma Erickson moved into the canyon in 1888. In a letter dated early in
1966, Lillian Erickson-Riggs recalls the monument: 36

“'It was a three tier structure .... The base was twelve or fifteen feet square.
This part was three feet high or about that. On top of this there was a flat space of
eighteen inches or so — a clear space — then another tier of stone about four feet
square and about four or five feet high. Then another offset and another tier of
stone perhaps two feet square and three feet high .... The man who engineered
this structure surely knew his business. Each stone was smooth faced and regular
in shape though not all were the same shape or dimensions. The important thing
about it was that each separate stone had inscribed some name or insignia ....
The whole structure was put together with adobe mud, although it seems that
some other binding material must have been used as the top sides of the different
tiers were smooth and waterproof. The joining of the stones were well seamed as
if cement were used .... The largest stone of all contained the following carving:
IN MEMORY OF JAS A. GARFIELD. This was excellently done and was the
main stone on the north side of the second tier.’”

We are fortunate in having in our possession a series of turn-of-the-century
photographs that capture the Garfield Monument in its original form, bearing out
much of Lillian’s description. The two earliest photographs, perhaps dating to
the 1890s, show the approximately 10 foot tall, three-tiered monument’s south face. Although these are not exceptionally clear, it does not appear from them that many of the stones on this side of the monument were inscribed.

A later photograph of the monument taken from the north, as well as a closeup of the north face, clearly show some of the inscribed blocks in place, including the dedication to Garfield in the center of the second tier. Noteworthy is the partial depiction in the closeup photograph of a block below and to the left of the Garfield block. This block, inscribed “ER” is certainly the end of block #48 in the fireplace engraved with the name “H.O.FLIPPER.” While perhaps not done by his own hand, there can be no doubt that Flipper’s name was an integral part of the original construction.

The Garfield Monument, looking northwest, circa 1890. The man sitting on the monument next to a rifle is unidentified. (Courtesy Arizona State Museum, University of Arizona).
Most, but not all, of the inscribed blocks visible in the photographs of the monument have made their way into the fireplace. Elsewhere in her letter Erickson-Riggs noted that "by 1920 the monument was deteriorating to such an extent that something had to be done. People were taking out the stones and carrying them away away for doorsteps and some were broken." Thus it is likely that although not all the stones in the monument were inscribed, some that were have been lost.

Two that we regard as missing, based on the photographs, are a stone inscribed "[OF.NC]/F.W.HALL" (Frank W. Hall, Troop H) and another broken one engraved "W. ANDER——/E10" (William Anderson, Troop E). How many other stones might be missing is not known. Although unlikely, it is possible that the name of every soldier in the camp, at least from Troops E and H, was at one time recorded on the monument.

The photographs witness the gradual decay of the monument over the turn-of-the-century with the third tier completely gone by ca. 1910. Seeing that the monument was rapidly deteriorating, Neil Erickson, according to his daughter, repeatedly tried to interest others in its preservation. Apparently he was not alone; our earliest reference to the existence of the monument also appears to involve an effort to gain recognition of its importance. Writing in response to an official inquiry about the monument, Maj. Thomas McGregor, 2nd Cavalry, commanding the post at Fort Bowie, sent the following letter, dated Jan. 12, 1893, to the Asst. Adjutant General in Los Angeles:

"Sir:

I have the honor to transmit herewith report of Lieut. John S. Winn, 2d Cav., the officer sent to Bonita Canon to obtain information regarding a monument reported to have been built in that neighborhood.

"I also enclose a letter received at this post from Major George Horton who I suppose is the person spoken of in the letter to Mrs. Logan as being formerly a member of Tr. H, 10th Cav. I made enquiry of Mr. Stafford a few days before
receipt of your communication regarding this monument and he informed me
that while the soldiers were camped there they had built this pile of rocks and
mud to pass away the time. The statement in the copy of resolutions “that every
State and Territory in the Union are represented in the monument by a block of
stone” sent to said monument for that purpose is sheer nonsense. Since receipt
of your communication I have asked other persons who have been in the vicinity
why they never spoke about this monument and their reply was that they thought
it was an old bake-oven built by the Troops as they had seen other chimneys
around where the Troops camped.”

Already lost in obscurity and rumor by this early date, the Garfield Monument
was perhaps remembered best by those who built it. McGregor’s communication refers to a letter to a Mrs. Logan (probably the wife of 1st Sgt. James Logan, Troop E) and another letter from a former member of Troop H, George Horton.  

39 In the absence of the report and associated documents forwarded by McGregor, we can only speculate as to what these letters contained.

We do think that a George Horton identified himself as the “president” of a club honoring Garfield on the monument (Block #44), and it seems reasonable that he may have been making inquiries into the status of the club’s construction, perhaps in the form of the “resolutions” referred to by McGregor. He, along with others, might have been attempting to have the monument officially recognized and could have included the statement that “every State and Territory in the Union are represented in the monument by a block of stone.” Although McGregor is correct in pointing out that the blocks were locally derived and not sent to the monument from all parts of the country, it is likely that the resolutions referred to the homes of the troopers and not the stones themselves.

Despite this early inquiry, no steps were taken to preserve the monument and official interest in its disposition appears to have begun and ended with McGregor’s letter.

In the early 1920s, Lillian recalls that: 42 “My husband [Ed Riggs] and I were living then at the Faraway. We asked Dad’s [Neil Erickson’s] permission to take the stones and incorporate them into a fireplace in our elongated dining room. Dad reluctantly gave his permission. He still wanted it restored in its original form.”

It was thus that the Garfield Monument became the Garfield Fireplace, and memory of its earlier form faded.

The question remains as to why the Buffalo Soldiers in Bonita Canyon built this monument and dedicated it to President Garfield.

As an officer of the 42nd Ohio Regiment of Volunteers in the Civil War, Garfield had been in command of black troops and was aware of their capabilities as soldiers. While he did not serve as president long enough to establish policy, comments made during his campaign and in his inaugural address indicate that he was also sympathetic to the problem encountered by these and other blacks in the post-Civil War Reconstruction era. 43 There was certainly cause for the soldiers at Bonita Canyon to remember this man, therefore, even if it was simply patriotic expression for a slain president and supreme commander of armed forces.

Of course the monument may have served other purposes as well. Lillian recalled that she was told that a flagpole was part of the original structure and from it the troop flag waved before the parade ground of the camp. 44 What appears to be a wooden staff is present in several of the photographs of the monument taken before and after the third tier had crumbled. However, if the monument was constructed, as we believe, by the men of Troops E and H shortly before their departure in April, 1886, it would seem that any use as a flagpole base would have been after the fact and more closely associated with Troop I who replaced them.

Perhaps as Stafford told Maj. McGregor in 1893, the monument was made primarily to pass away the time. Certainly there were many hours of waiting involved in the “Waterhole Campaign,” as the long and frustrating attempt to recapture Geronimo came to be called by the 10th Cavalry troops. But this also
does not account for the late date of its construction, unless the dated blocks were added to others carved over the months prior.

![The Garfield Monument, looking west, circa 1920. (Courtesy Chiricahua National Monument, Erickson-Riggs Collection)](image)

**Postscript**

In 1983, as part of a National Park Service archaeological survey team, we made a concerted effort to re-establish the location of the original Garfield Monument and other features that may have been associated with the Camp at Bonita Canon. Guided by turn-of-the-century photographs and a 1911 map on which the general location of the monument was depicted, we, with the staff of the Chiricahua National Monument, succeeded in discovering several foundation stones of the original monument still in situ near the entrance of the road leading into the Faraway Ranch.

In 1986, the Western Archeological and Conservation Center, National Park Service, in recognition of the historical and cultural significance of the Camp at Bonita Canon, conducted further archaeological investigations at the camp. As part of this research, the original foundation was exposed and recorded in detail, providing a fitting observance of the centennial of the Garfield Monument (1886-1986).

It is also possible that these other reasons overlook the obvious. Although unique as far as we can ascertain in the course of the Geronimo campaign or elsewhere during the Indian Wars of the West, the Garfield Monument may need no special explanation. People everywhere in every time have sought to be remembered, have endeavored to say “I was here.” As the troops moved on, some to much more adventure, they left behind a marker of their passing. This particular monument did not last the ages perhaps intended by its makers. Nonetheless, it lives on in the stones of the Garfield Fireplace and even in this form serves as a reminder of the role played by black Americans in the formative years of Arizona state history.
People with further documentation or information regarding the Garfield Monument or the Camp at Bonita Canon are encouraged to contact the staff of the Chiricahua National Monument.

This photo of the excavated Garfield Monument foundation was taken in 1986. (Courtesy of Western Archaeological and Conservation Center, National Park Service)

Acknowledgements
The authors wish to acknowledge the support and assistance of the staffs of the Chiricahua National Monument and Western Archeological and Conservation Center.
Center, National Park Service, particularly Park Naturalist Charles Milliken, former Superintendent Ted Scott, Dr. Keith Anderson and Dr. George Teague. Our gratitude also goes to Richard Y. Murray and David Laughlin for their many helpful ideas and valuable suggestions.

NOTES

1 — The name “Buffalo Soldier” was given to the troopers of the Ninth and Tenth Cavalry by their Indian adversaries on the Plains at least by the early 1870s. It is generally thought that the term was applied in reference to the “woolly” texture of the black soldiers’ hair or perhaps to the buffalo robes they wore during winter campaigns. Most authors are in agreement that the name also reflected respect for these men, inasmuch as the buffalo was an important economic and symbolic element for many Plains Indian tribes. For example, see D.D. Good, “The Buffalo Soldier,” American Scene X:4 (1970).

2 — Perhaps the best single source for an overview of the 19th century history of the Buffalo Soldiers can be found in W.H. Leckie, The Buffalo Soldiers: A Narrative of the Negro Cavalry in the West (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1967).

3 — This paper follows and in part builds upon the unpublished research of Philip Gomez, formerly a park technician at Fort Bowie National Historic Site. Gomez’s research focused upon the possible role of Lt. Henry O. Flipper in the engraving of the blocks in the fireplace (see text below), but also touched upon other important information discussed here. An unpublished manuscript summarizes his research: P. Gomez, “The Mystery of President Garfield and Lieutenant Henry O. Flipper in the Water Hole Campaign,” (Chiricahua National Monument Accession #1342). For other people’s thoughts consulted in our work, see the acknowledgements.

4 — Particularly useful in our research were the following: Returns From Regular Army Cavalry Regiments 1833-1916: Tenth Cavalry; Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, 1780’s-1917: Muster Rolls; Records of U.S. Army Continental Commands, 1821-1920, Department of Arizona, District of Bowie, Field Reports of Troops Stationed at Posts and Camps; Records of the War Department, United States Army Commands, Fort Bowie, Arizona; Returns from U.S. Military Posts 1800-1916; Rosters of Troops Serving in the Department of Arizona; Annual Reports of the Commander of the Department of Arizona.

5 — John Bigelow, Jr., On the Bloody Trail of Geronimo, Westernlore Great West and Indian Series XII, (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1968). This is a facsimile re-issue of the original which appeared in 14 parts in Outing Magazine from March, 1886 to April, 1887 under the title, After Geronimo.


9 - Bigelow (ibid., p. 88) states that the headquarters was originally established at Fort Apache. However, Glass (The History of the 10th Cavalry, pp. 24-26) places it in Whipple Barracks, from which it was moved in July, 1886 to Ft. Grant. The May, 1886 Roster of Troops Serving in the Department of Arizona also places the headquarters of the Tenth Cavalry in Whipple Barracks.


11 - Bigelow, “The Tenth Regiment of Cavalry.”


13 - Letter from Crook to AAG, Division of the Pacific, July 7, 1885, transcribed by Thrapp, Conquest of the Apacheria, p 327.


16 - This incident is recounted by Thrapp, The Conquest of the Apacheria, pp. 332-333.

17 - Altshuler, Starting With Defiance, p. 14, mentions only Troops E and I.


19 - The register for Oct. 9, 1885, reads: “Capt. Cooper, Capt. Kelley with Troops H and E, 10th Cavalry, arrived at post from San Simon, AT, and left post same day.” (ibid.)

20 - The exact date at which Troop E left the Camp at Bonita Canyon is
unclear, owing in part to our inability to locate a muster roll for the revelant period. The Returns from Regular Cavalry Regiments place Troop E in their permanent duty station at Fort Grant for both November and December and further note that the troop was stationed again at Bonita Canyon Dec. 31st, 1885. Capt. Kelley’s Oct. 31 muster roll lists the troop’s station as Fort Grant, also suggesting that by this date they had left the canyon. However, Capt. Kelley also signed his name as inspector and mustering officer on the October 31st muster roll for Cooper’s Troop H in Bonita Canyon, implying that he had not yet returned to Fort Grant. Moreover, a communication addressed to Capt. Kelley in Bonita Canyon from Fort Bowie is dated as late as Nov. 2.

21 — It was not uncommon for lieutenants, particularly those in the 10th Cavalry, to request more “glorious” duty. Bigelow (1971 [1869], p. 88) recalls that “several of the officers, anxious to be where there was most to be done, had themselves detached from the troops to do duty with Indian Scouts at the front.” Lt. Shipp saw considerable action this way and was with Crawford on his tragic winter expedition in Mexico about which he wrote in “Captain Crawford’s Last Expedition,” Journal of the U.S. Cavalry Association (December, 1892: reprinted October, 1908).

22 — It is apparent from the muster rolls, that while Capt. Baldwin’s Troop I arrived at the Camp at Bonita Canon from Ft. Verde via Ft. Grant on April 23, 1886, most of the troop was soon ordered to Morses Canon and did not assume full-time residence in the Bonita Canon until the beginning of May.

23 — Utley (1977) provides perhaps the most cogent summary of the Geronimo campaigns and their effect upon Crook’s reputation. Despite the public fanfare surrounding his replacement by Miles, little changed in the duties of most regular troopers, and this was particularly true for the 10th Cavalry.

24 — Altshuler’s (Starting With Defiance, p. 15) reference to a “Camp in Bonita Canon” Undoubtedly refers to this incident. She writes of the camp: “On September 10, 1887 [sic], Captain Otho W. Budd’s 4th Cavalry troop camped here, about five miles northwest of Camp Emmett Crawford.” The actual year should be 1886 and Camp Emmet Crawford, manned by Capt. Kennedy’s Troop of 10th Cavalry, was in reality approximately 16 miles southeast from the Camp at Bonita Canon across the Chiricahua Mountains via the White Tail Trail. Although Budd was ordered to immediately coordinate with Baldwin in setting up a perimeter, he elected instead to set up a camp (Altshuler’s “Camp in Bonita Canon”?) for the night upon his arrival on Sept. 10th, perhaps outside the canyon month. This ultimately resulted in the Apaches’ escape despite the mobilization of the troops the following day. Capt. Budd was ordered to return to Bonita Canon on Sept. 13 and have his troop’s horses consume the remaining forage. It is not known how long he stayed.

25 — With the death of Lillian Erickson-Riggs in 1977, the Faraway Ranch property and most of its belongings were purchased from the family by the National Park Service with the understanding that these would be preserved and maintained for their inherent historical significance. Since that time, the Chiricahua National Monument has initiated numerous steps toward preparing the property for public visitation. Included in these are a Historic Structure Report (L. Torres and M. Baumler, A History of the Buildings and Structures of Faraway Ranch, Denver: Service Center, U.S. Department of the Interior,


32 — Flipper’s memoirs have been edited and published by T.A. Harris as *Negro Frontierman: The Western Memories of Henry O. Flipper* (El Paso: Texas Western College, 1963). Biographical sketches are also available including one in R.E. Greene, *Black Defenders of America*.

33 — A. Harris (ed.), *Negro Frontiersman*.

34 — See above, note #3. We are indebted to P. Gomez for his unpublished research regarding the plausibility of Flipper’s presence in Bonita Canon in 1885 or 1886.

35 — The family letters, papers and documents acquired through the purchase of the Faraway Ranch by the National Park Service are currently housed as the Erickson-Riggs Collection, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, National Park Service, Tucson.

36 — Letter to Richard Y. Murray from Lillian Erickson-Riggs. A typed draft of this letter, dated January, 1966, is present in the Erickson-Riggs collection and was brought to our attention by Murray who no longer had possession of the letter actually sent to him in February, 1966. Inasmuch as Lillian Erickson-Riggs was almost totally blind at this point, it was necessary to interpolate the meaning of some passages in the draft which undoubtedly were reworked by Lillian’s foreman before being sent.

37 — ibid.

38 — Letter from Thomas McGregor, Commanding Post at Fort Bowie to Asst. Adjutant General, Los Angeles, Jan. 12, 1893. The existence of this military document was also kindly brought to our attention by Richard Y. Murray. The register of letters sent from Fort Bowie further confirm that “Lieut. John L. Winn, 2nd Cavalry and Corporal Robert W. Parker, Troop I, 2nd Cavalry will proceed tomorrow the 9th inst. to Bonita Canon and ascertain the condition of
an alleged monument reported to have been erected by troopers of the 10th Cavalry near Stafford's Ranch at that place ...” (Orders No. 2, Jan. 8, 1893).

39 — The reference in McGregor’s letter to a Maj. George Horton as being “formerly a member of Tr. H, 10th Cav.” is certainly difficult to reconcile with our George Horton in Troop H or any other member of the 10th Cavalry for that matter. Other explanations notwithstanding, we feel that this was either an error on McGregor’s part or an attempt to hasten the bureaucratic process perpetrated by Horton himself!

40 — In 1983, Gordon Chapell, Western Regional Historian, National Park Service, attempted to trace the documents forwarded by McGregor. A portion of the reply (File NNM083-1912-RBM) to his inquiry written by Robert B. Matchette, Navy and Old Army Branch, Military Archives Division, National Archives goes as follows: “I have been unable to trace Thomas McGregor’s letter of January 12, 1893, and its enclosures beyond headquarters, Department of Arizona. The sequence of events began when the Department, on January 5, 1893, received a communication, dated December 29, 1892, from Commanding General of the Army John M. Schofield, enclosing ‘Papers relative to an alleged monument to Genls. Garfield and Logan erected by soldiers in Bonita Canon Ariz. near Fort Bowie 1885-6’. Department Commander, Brigadier General McCook, immediately (January 5, 1893) wrote a letter to Major McGregor at Fort Bowie, enclosing the papers from Schofield, and instructing him to investigate the monument, take photographs (if possible) or make drawings of the structure, and to get precise measurements.

The text of McGregor’s reply ... was received at Department Headquarters on January 15, 1893, together with the original papers and, presumably, letters from Winn and Horton. On January 17, 1893, the entire package was endorsed and, according to the register of letters received, Department of Arizona, returned to Major General Schofield.

It is at this point that I lose track of the documents.”

41 — Interestingly, the year 1893, when McGregor made his investigation, also marks the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Grand United Order of the Odd Fellows in America. Also perhaps more than a coincidence is that the Annual Meeting address, as recorded in Brooks, 1971 (see Note 30), makes the statement that the Odd Fellows represent “every State and territory in the Union” — the same wording apparently used in the resolution referred to by McGregor.

42 — Letter to Richard Y. Murray from Lillian Erickson-Riggs, op. cit.

43 — W. Logan, author of The Betrayal of the Negro: From Ruthford B. Hayes to Woodrow Wilson (Collier Books, New York, 1965), makes a case for seeing Garfield as a potential friend of the American Negro. Garfield’s death, before he could act upon his promises and policy, was all the more untimely given the rather poor civil rights record documented by Logan for the Presidents who succeeded him.

44 — Letter to Richard Y. Murray from Lillian Erickson-Riggs, op. cit.

45 — A possible precedent for the Garfield Monument may have been set some 10 years earlier in New Mexico. In the summer of 1875, an expedition to explore the Llano Estacado was organized at Fort Concho with Lt. Col. William R. Shafter in command. This expeditionary force was composed of Negro cava-
<table>
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<td>Jerry R. Routlend</td>
<td>Cpl</td>
<td>E</td>
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<td>12.</td>
<td>Pollard Colte</td>
<td>Pollard Cole</td>
<td>Sgt</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>Reduced from 1st Sgt Dec. 15, 1885</td>
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<td>Promoted from Farrier Nov. 1, 1885</td>
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<td>(Engraved in high relief)</td>
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<td>Michael Finnegam</td>
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<td>Wpr</td>
<td>H</td>
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<td>Pvt</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>Sick in hospital at Fort Bowie from December 16, 1885, Returned by Feb. 20, 1886.</td>
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<td>Tfred Wilson</td>
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<td>Jerry Lloyd</td>
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<td>Pvt</td>
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<td>James Logan</td>
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**Notes:**
- Reduced from 1st Sgt Dec. 1886.
- Promoted from Farrier Nov. 1, 1885.
- Sick in hospital at Fort Bowie from December 16, 1885, Returned by Feb. 20, 1886.
- Enlisted in Washington, DC, on Nov. 23, 1901.
- Detached service at Ft. Grant Aug. 31, 1885, to April 30, 1886.
- Appointed from Pvt Nov. 1, 1885.
About The Authors

Mark Baumler received his doctorate in anthropology from the University of Arizona in 1987. He has conducted archaeological field research on sites in the Midwest, Southwest and California and in various European countries. In 1983, he led a survey team from the National Park Service’s Western Archaeological and Conservation Center that rediscovered the remains of the Camp at Bonita Canyon, including the buried foundation of the original Garfield Monument. Baumler currently resides in Helena, Mont., with his wife, Ellen, and daughter, Katherine. He is Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer for the Montana Historical Society.

Richard Ahlstrom received a doctorate in anthropology from the University of Arizona in 1985. His primary research interests are the prehistory of the Colorado Plateau, interpretation of tree-ring data from archaeological contexts and Hopi ethnohistory. His field experience has included a survey of southeastern Utah, excavation in southwestern Colorado and collection of tree-ring samples in the Hopi pueblo of Walpi.
As the last and perhaps most hostile of the American Indian groups to surrender to the United States government, the Chiricahua Apaches have been the subject of a considerable body of literature. Led by such famous chiefs as Cochise and Geronimo, they resisted removal from southeastern Arizona and southwestern New Mexico throughout more than 20 years of warfare. Held as prisoners of war for 27 years, then released to join the Mescalero Apaches on their New Mexico reservation, their story still excites considerable interest. Books written about the Chiricahua cover a wide array of topics and time periods and range in quality from excellent to fraudulent. This bibliographic essay of some of the more reputable works about the tribe provides a sampling of available books on Chiricahua history.

The first Europeans who made contact with the Apaches were Spaniards in the 16th century. Jack D. Forbes examines the earliest meetings in his book Apache, Navajo and Spaniard, which covers the period from 1540-1698. He shows that Spanish exploitation and slave trading destroyed the delicate balance between the different Indian groups and drove the Apaches to rebellion.

In the next century, a series of reforms in Spain led to changed relations with the Apaches. In The Apache Frontier: Jacobo Ugarte and Spanish-Indian Relations in Northern New Spain, 1869-1791, Max Moorhead relates how one commandant general implemented those reforms. By utilizing correspondence from officers in the field with administrators in Mexico City and Spain, he demonstrates the functioning of the presidio system and the formation of the "establecimientos del paz."

A first hand account of life on the frontier and the terror inspired by the Apaches in outlying settlements is presented by Juan Nentvig, a Jesuit priest stationed in northern Sonora from 1750-1767. Rudo Ensayo: A Description of Sonora and Arizona in 1764 contains a group of essays written by the priest. He describes the region in great detail, mentions the Chiricahua Mountains, and says of them: "All that area is where the wild, reckless and uncontrolled activities of the enemy, the Apaches, take place."

Impact of the Chiricahua and other Apache groups on Spanish colonial Tucson and their eventual settlement on to peaceful reserves in northern Sonora is examined by Henry F. Dobyns in Spanish Colonial Tucson: A Demographic History. Using primary source material from the Bancroft Library, Dobyns reconstructed the population of colonial Tucson. Letters from the period vividly describe campaigns against the Apaches, and the development of colonial policy involving the Indians is delineated.

In addition to covering Spanish-Apache relations, Edward H. Spicer also includes Mexican and United States contact in his book, Cycles of Conquest: the Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533-1960. The sections on the Chiricahuas are valuable summaries of the associations between Apaches and the successive governments which attempted to subdue them.

In An Apache Lifeway: The Economic, Social, and Religious Institutions
of the Chiricahua Indians, Morris Opler describes the lifestyle of the Chiricahuas. Although more of an ethnology than a history, the book is necessary to any study of the tribe. A less complete but more readily available work on the Chiricahuas can be found in Frank Lockwood’s The Apache Indians, recently reprinted in a paperback edition.

The steady westward movement of conquest by the United States brought the Chiricahuas into contact with a new group of immigrants. The first record of those meetings was made by a fur trapper, James Ohio Pattie, as he searched for beaver along the Gila and San Pedro Rivers in the 1820s. Although most mountainmen were illiterate, Pattie proved the exception and kept a journal of his travels, later published as the Personal Narrative of James Ohio Pattie.

The conquest of the northern half of Mexico by the United States in 1848 led to the establishment of a new boundary between two countries. The head of one survey party, John R. Bartlett, recorded his impressions of the Chiricahuas in Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora and Chihuahua, During the Years 1850, ’51, ’52, and ’53. Another member of Bartlett’s party, John C. Cremony, also recorded his impressions. First published in 1868, Life Among the Apaches sympathetically describes Apache life in detail and blames much of the trouble on the newcomers:

“Tales of violence and wrong, of outrage and devilish malignity, committed by the Indians are rife all along our frontiers: but who ever hears the other side? Who chronicles the inciting causes, the long unbroken series of injuries perpetrated by the semi-civilized white savages...?”

The period of warfare with the Chiricahuas involved many of the more illustrious Indian fighters of the 19th-century. Their memoirs of seeking peace and of battle provide valuable first hand accounts of Apache relations. Perhaps the most famous of the encounters occurred in 1872 when Cochise agreed to make peace and live on a reservation. Gen. Oliver O. Howard recorded his memories of the event in My Life and Experiences Among Our Hostile Indians. Vincent Colyer described earlier attempts at establishing treaties in Peace with the Apaches of New Mexico and Arizona.

The two generals who led the United States Army against the Chiricahuas also published memoirs. Gen. George Crook fought the Apaches for nearly 15 years and his inability to engineer their final surrender caused him to resign his commission. He details his career in General George Crook: His Autobiography. His aide, John G. Bourke, also recorded his memories of the campaigns in On The Border with Crook and An Apache Campaign in the Sierra Madre. Bourke, also an amateur ethnologist and botanist, knew and described many of the noted Apache leaders of the period, and related accounts of these meetings.

Nelson A. Miles, the general in command at the time of the final surrender of the Chiricahuas, recorded his version of events in his autobiography, Personal Recollections and Observations.

Several of the junior officers involved in the campaign to capture Geronimo published their recollections. Two that are outstanding are Britton Davis’s The Truth About Geronimo and Chasing Geronimo: The Journal of Leonard Wood, May-September, 1886, compiled and edited by Jack Lane. Although
others have been published, these seem to stick closest to contemporary accounts. 14

Odie Faulk used the papers collected by Charles B. Gatewood, Jr., son of the man responsible for Geronimo’s final surrender, to write The Geronimo Campaign. Lt. Charles B. Gatewood travelled with two Indian scouts to the hostile’s camp and convinced them to give up to the United States Army. Due to political infighting, Gatewood never received credit for his role in the surrender. His son stated: “His reward ... for himself a free plot of ground in Arlington Cemetery, and to his widow a tawdry seventeen dollars a month.” 15

In the years following the end of hostilities, several Chiricahua Apaches related their versions of the events. Geronimo, the infamous war leader, narrated his story to Stephen M. Barrett, a local school superintendent. In order to receive permission to publish the account, entitled Geronimo’s Story of His Life, Barrett finally had to get President Theodore Roosevelt to intercede with military officials at Fort Sill, Okla., where Geronimo was still a prisoner of war. A complete biography of Geronimo appeared in 1976, written by Angie Debo. Geronimo: The Man, His Time, His Place portrays the man in a sympathetic but realistic manner, showing him to be an essentially honest man caught up in the events of his time. 16

Eve Ball, who lived near the Chiricahuas on the Mescalero reservation, recorded the recollections of several tribal members. James Kaywakla’s memories appeared in the book, In the Days of Victorio. As a child, he traveled with the war leader, Nana, who later joined Geronimo’s band. Other Chiricahuas told Ball their stories which she collected in the volume Indeh. Asa Daklugie, Jasper Kanseah and Eugene Chiricahua were the children of band leaders and remembered life in hiding from the pursuing United States Army and their years in captivity. 17

In I Fought with Geronimo, Jason Betzinez recounted his experiences as a young warrior, his life as a prisoner of war and his years as a farmer in Oklahoma after he received his freedom. His recollections of battles provide an image from the Chiricahua point of view that contrasts strongly to those given by soldiers of contemporary news accounts. 18

Apache historian Dan Thrapp has produced a number of valuable books on the Chiricahuas. His The Conquest of Apacheria is the most complete study to date on the Apache wars. His other works cover all view points for the period: Apache, soldier, scout, journalist. Victorio and the Mimbres Apaches and Juh: An Incredible Indian are biographies of Chiricahua band leaders and draw heavily on first hand accounts by members of the tribe.

In General Crook and the Sierra Madre Adventure, he recounts Crook’s campaign in pursuit of the hostilies. Al Sieber: Chief of Scouts describes Sieber’s life at the head of the Apache scouts who pursued the Chiricahuas during the Crook campaign. Thrapp collected reports of journalist Charles Lummis from his assignment at Fort Bowie, Arizona Territory, during the last years of the Apache wars in Dateline Fort Bowie: Charles Fletcher Lummis Reports on an Apache War. 19

Fictional accounts of the Chiricahua wars and the people involved abound. Many have little substance and less truth, but a few show careful research and
are valuable contributions in their own right. One of the best is Will Comfort's *Apache*. Written in 1931 and extremely unusual for the day in its sympathetic portrayal of the Chiricahua. *Apache* is the story of Mangas Coloradas, leader of the Warm Springs band, and his death at the hands of United States soldiers after he met with them under a white flag to make peace. 20

The best known of the Apache novels is *Blood Brother* by Elliot Arnold. The movie and television series of Broken Arrow derived from the book, and many histories cite the fictional work as a source for Chiricahua history. Although the general outline of the story follows historical accounts, much is myth. The myth grew to be accepted as truth in the eyes of many. 21

James R. Olson's *Ulzana* and Paul I. Wellman's *Broncho Apache* adhere closer to the truth. Wellman's book tells the story of Massai, a warrior who escaped from the train carrying the Chiricahua into captivity as prisoners of war in Florida. He made his way across half a continent to return to his home and successfully eluded capture until his death in 1913. The novel accurately portrays his life. *Ulzana*, historically accurate in outline, makes the warrior seem like a businessman in a breechcloth. His views are distinctly middle class American, not Apache. 22

Although a prizewinning bestseller, Will Henry's *Chiricahua* strays far from the truth. Loosely based on the story of Tzoe or Peaches, the Apache who led General Crook to the hostiles, the account stretches the historical record to the breaking point. *A Time in the Sun* by Jane Barry, another bestseller, also leaves accuracy a little far behind. The novel's heroine, kidnapped by Apaches, grows to appreciate their way of life but returns to "civilization" after the death of her lover. 23

Paul Horgan realistically portrays Crook's campaign against the Apaches and gives an excellent picture of Army life in *A Distant Trumpet*. However, his depiction of the Indians is ethnocentric at best and racist at its worst. By belittling the role of the Chiricahua, he lessens the contributions of Crook and Gatewood in bringing them to surrender. 24

Numerous other books about the Chiricahua have been written. The era of protest in the 1960s and 1970s produced a rash of pro-Apache works, while the post-war period at the turn of the century was marked by works depicting them as blood-soaked savages. In addition, countless articles have appeared on the subject and continue to do so. The works selected for this list provide a foundation of the more accurate materials for interested study.

**NOTES**

10 — John C. Cremony, Life Among the Apaches (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983).
20 — Will Comfort, Apache (New York: Dutton, 1931, also available in a recent paperback edition).

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Becky Orozco has lived most of her life in Cochise County. She has a masters degree in southwestern history from the University of Arizona and is a PhD candidate there.

Orozco has worked with the Chiricahua on several projects, including the recent observance of the 100th anniversary of Geronimo’s surrender and as a consultant on a documentary on the Chiricahua which will be shown in November on PBS.
THE 1887 EARTHQUAKE

By William B. Loring

On May 3, 1887, Cochise County and adjacent areas was shaken by an earthquake with an estimated Richter scale reading of 7.2. Its epicenter was 30 miles south of the international border and 40 miles south-southeast of the future site of Douglas in the San Bernardino Valley of Sonora, Mexico.

EFFECTS

There were 51 deaths, all in Sonora. The greatest intensity of force from the earthquake was in an area 77 miles long by 12 miles wide, running north to south, centered on a system of faults and reaching almost to the Arizona border. In this gently rolling ranch land, the most noticeable effect was the appearance of two inches of water in an area two miles long by one mile wide.

In the area of next greatest intensity, 110 by 30 miles, there were several villages. At Bavispe, 30 miles south-southeast of the epicenter, people heard a low subterranean roar, which seemed to come from the hills to the northwest, then felt a sudden shaking beneath them. Bavispe, on an alluvial terrace above the Bavispe River, was completely destroyed. When the shaking began, many people rushed into the church, whose walls separated causing the roof to collapse. In general, walls running east to west suffered less damage than north-south ones. Brick walls were more resistant than those of adobe, which was the more common material.

Opotu, 75 miles south of the center, 50 miles southwest of Bavispe and on the south-flowing lower part of the Bavispe River about 20 miles below the present Angostura Dam, was next hardest hit. Houses not knocked down were on the point of collapse. Several springs started up.

Huasabas, 20 miles further south, was almost as badly hit. Fronteras, 25 miles west of the center (30 miles south of Douglas) had 17 houses destroyed completely and others damaged. The river briefly stopped flowing, then ran larger than before.

At the Slaughter Ranch, 15 miles east of Douglas, all the buildings were thrown down; they were substantially built adobe.

The third category of intensity was roughly triangular; reaching south to Sahuaripa 125 miles, northwest to St. David and almost Willcox and northeast 30 miles into New Mexico. Mountains within this triangular area and as far as Tucson, Nogales and the Chihuahua border had land slides and rock falls with resultant brush fires.

A limestone-capped butte, just south of present day Highway 80, 12 miles west of Douglas, had several 10-foot blocks of limestone fall to its southern base. They probably fell, however, because of age shown by the amount of weathering on the surface of blocks and cliff during an earlier earthquake.

At Abbott Ranch 30 miles north of the border in the Sulphur Springs Valley, geysers of water spurted as high as two feet. Many isolated ranch building in the valley were demolished.

Along the San Pedro River, St. David had a few walls fall or crack, while at Charleston the earthquake left no building safe to live in. Artesian water started flowing at St. David. Bisbee and Tombstone, being on rock rather than alluvium (like Charleston) suffered little damage (windows and plaster cracked, etc.).
In Sonora at Arizpe, several houses fell and others cracked. At Moctezuma several houses were levelled, while Nacozari, among the mountains had no damage. At Janos, Chihuahua, all houses were demolished.

At Nogales and Tucson, walls of several buildings cracked, including San Xavier del Bac Mission. Much damage was done to buildings at Willcox. At Casa Grandes, Chihuahua, many houses were left on the verge of ruin.

Places marking the edge of the area where the earthquake was felt include: Yuma, 350 miles; Phoenix, 250 miles; Santa Fe, 350 miles; and Mexico City, 1,000 miles.

Surface Evidence

A north-south break at the surface runs almost to the Arizona line, cutting the valley fill as much as 10 feet. Remnants of earlier faults exist near the present breaks.

Explanations

An earlier earthquake may have caused destruction and abandonment of one of the early pueblo-type Indian settlements. At Casas Grandes, the earthquake was strongly felt. In 1425 it was abandoned, probably after an earthquake.

One explanation for the earth shaking in this location is plate tectonics. In this generally accepted theory, the crust under oceans is spreading at north-south trending fractures. These rifts are offset, to east or west, at about 100-mile intervals. The east-west lines of offsetting are transform faults.

As part of the Atlantic rifting, the North American plate partly covers the Pacific plate. West of Baja California and most of the state of California, the east Pacific rift is not present; it is somewhere under the continent.

A transform fault appears to lie, at depth, close to the southern border of southeast Arizona in this explanation. The valleys in southeastern Arizona may have been formed when those parts of the west-moving continent were over the northern segment of the rift when it opened and overlying material collapsed. This rift segment would now be far to the east.

The rift segment lying south of the transform fault is thus now under the San Bernardino Valley. One opening of this rift caused the 1887 earthquake; an earlier opening may have shaken Casas Grandes in 1425.

When rifts open, basalt flows out on the ocean floor. There is some basalt near the eastern edge of Sulphur Springs Valley. More, much fresher-looking basalt occurs at the north end of the San Bernardino Valley.

If the last previous earthquake was in 1425, the interval was 462 years. If there was one in between, the average of the two intervals would be 231 years.

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Map used by permission of Arizona State Geologist Larry Fellows.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

William B. Loring is a retired mines and mineral exploration geologist. Originally from Canada, he now lives in Douglas.