

THE UTE CAMPAIGN OF 1879:
A STUDY IN THE USE OF THE MILITARY INSTRUMENT

A thesis presented to the Faculty of the U.S. Army
Command and General Staff College in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree

MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE

by

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Fort Leavenworth, Kansas
1993

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1. AGENCY USE ONLY (Leave blank)		2. REPORT DATE 4 June 1993	3. REPORT TYPE AND DATES COVERED Master's Thesis, 1 Aug 92 - 4 Jun 93	
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE The Ute Campaign of 1879: A Study in the Use of the Military Instrument			5. FUNDING NUMBERS	
6. AUTHOR(S) MAJ Russel D. Santala, USA				
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) U.S. Army Command and General Staff College Attn: ATZL-SWD-GD Ft. Leavenworth, KS 66027-6900			8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER	
9. SPONSORING / MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)			10. SPONSORING / MONITORING AGENCY REPORT NUMBER	
11. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES				
12a. DISTRIBUTION / AVAILABILITY STATEMENT Approved for Public Release; distribution is unlimited			12b. DISTRIBUTION CODE A	
13. ABSTRACT (Maximum 200 words) This study examines the role of the U.S. Army as an instrument of national power in the execution of U.S. government policy. The focus of the thesis is an investigation of the implementation of policy, in terms of the Ute Indian tribe of Colorado, and the events preceding and following the Ute uprising of 1879. The Army found itself in a dilemma with regard to its support of a national "Indian strategy." It was not the primary executive agent for the implementation of policy but was called upon to both enforce national policy and police violators. This study traces the development of the U.S. Indian Policy and the evolution of army strategy in the west. The study culminates with an analysis of the events surrounding the outbreak of hostilities in 1879. This study addresses issues that faced the U.S. Army in an environment of unclear national policy and competing national and local interests. The implications of this episode warrant examination as the U.S. Army finds itself in another period with similar problems.				
14. SUBJECT TERMS Frontier Army, Indian Campaign, Indian Wars, Military Operations, National Military Strategy, Ute Indians			15. NUMBER OF PAGES 111	
			16. PRICE CODE	
17. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF REPORT UNCLASSIFIED	18. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF THIS PAGE UNCLASSIFIED	19. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF ABSTRACT UNCLASSIFIED	20. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT	

MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE

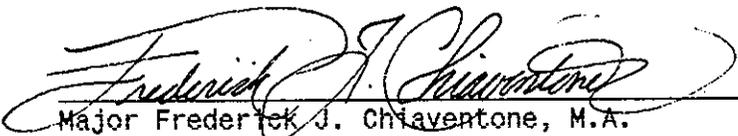
THESIS APPROVAL PAGE

Name of candidate: Major Russel D. Santala

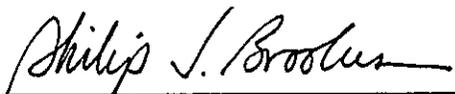
Thesis Title: The Ute Campaign of 1879: A Study in the Use of the
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The opinions and conclusions expressed herein are those of the student author and do not necessarily represent the views of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College or any other governmental agency. (References to this study should include the foregoing statement)

ABSTRACT

THE UTE CAMPAIGN OF 1879: A STUDY IN THE USE OF THE MILITARY INSTRUMENT
by Major Russel D. Santala, USA, 111 pages.

This study examines the role of the U.S. Army as an instrument of national power in the execution of U.S. government policy. The focus of the thesis is an investigation of the implementation of policy, in terms of the Ute Indian tribe of Colorado, and the events preceding and following the Ute uprising of 1879.

The U.S. Army found itself in a dilemma with regard to its support of a national "Indian strategy." It was not the primary executive agent for the implementation of policy, but was called upon to both enforce national policy and police violators. This study traces the development of the U.S. Indian Policy and the evolution of army strategy in the west.

The study culminates with an analysis of the events surrounding the outbreak of hostilities in 1879. This study addresses issues that faced the U.S. Army in an environment of unclear national policy and competing national and local interests. The implications of this episode warrant examination, as the U.S. Army finds itself in another period with similar problems.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I must thank Colonel Richard M. Swain, Combat Studies Institute, USACGSC, for bringing order out of chaos, and for his guidance and encouragement. Thanks are due Major Frederick J. Chiaventone, Department of Joint and Combined Operations, USACGSC, for a thorough job of editing and his shared interest of the Indian campaigns.

The staff of the Combined Arms Research Library are due thanks for their invaluable assistance in gathering material and keeping tabs on the progress of the project.

Special thanks are reserved for my family. Their shared sacrifice was an indispensable part of this effort.

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

"The lance of the mightiest Plains Indian nation was shattered, and thereafter no Indians retained enough military power to resist the writ of Washington for long."¹ With this remark, Russell F. Weigley concludes the American Army's campaigns against the Indian; a series of campaigns that have been viewed as devoid of strategic or operational focus, save for a continuation of a "war of annihilation" strategy held since the Civil War by the senior army leaders. With this in mind, this thesis begins an examination of the Army's strategic and operational framework as it relates to the uprising of the Ute Indians of Colorado in 1879. The central question of this thesis is: Did the army have an operational strategy consistent with national goals, as evident in the Ute campaign?

Before this question is answered, it is essential to address three secondary questions:

1. Did a national military strategy exist and how did it relate to the conduct of the Indian campaigns?
2. How was the execution of the national military campaign constrained?
3. How did operational and tactical questions conform to national military strategy?

These questions will shape this study by first examining the Indian

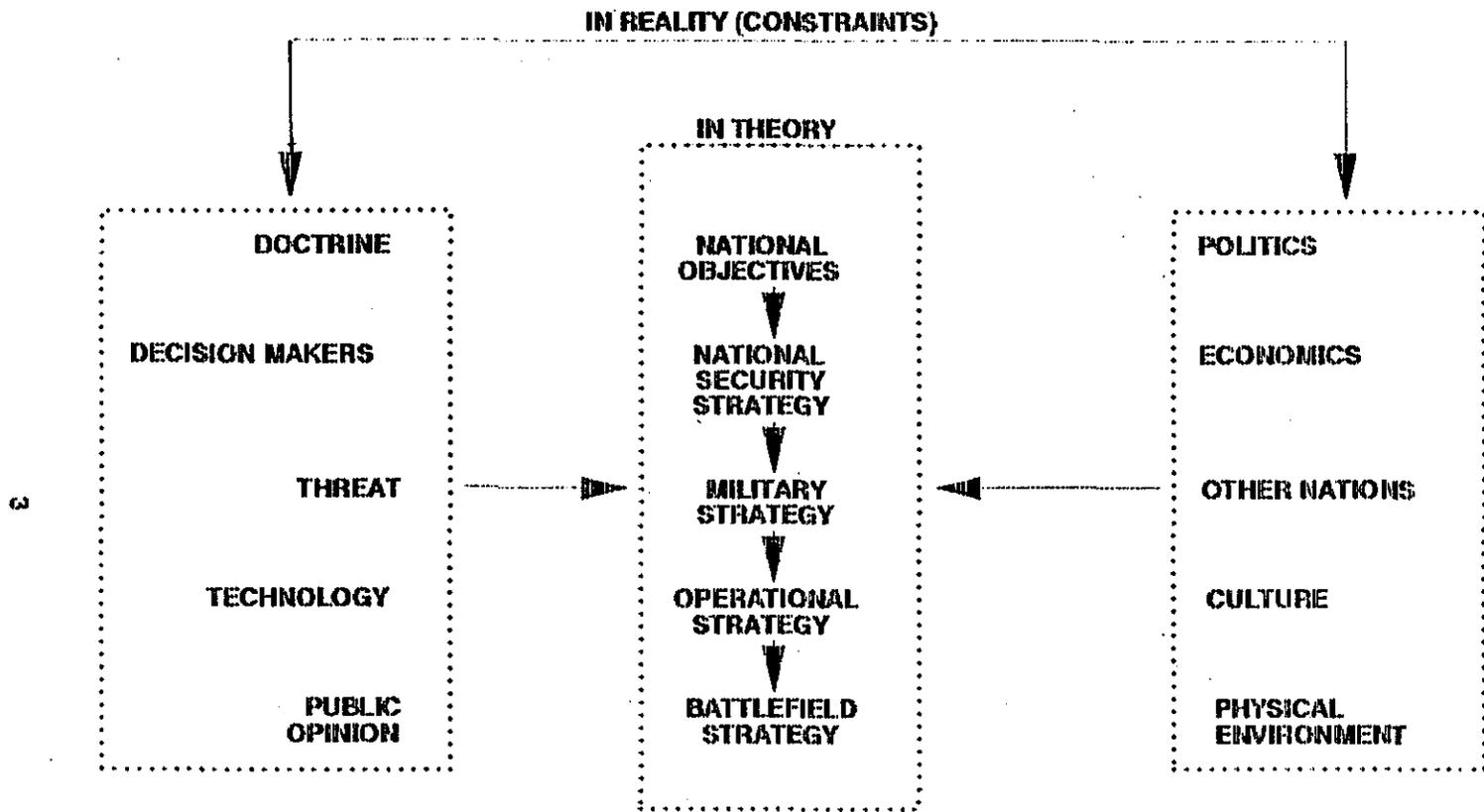
policy as an expression of the national security strategy of the United States in support of the national objective of western expansion.

The second subject to be examined is the national military strategy that evolved to support the security strategy at the national or War Department level.

After addressing the national or strategic level, the thesis will turn to the operational or military department level and the tactical or battlefield levels and evaluate the execution of military policy. This examination will demonstrate the linkages from the strategic or national level, through the operational or departmental level, to the tactical or battlefield level. The Army's means will be examined in relationship to constraining factors both internal and external to its organization. The paper will examine the application of military power in support of government policy in terms of the Ute campaign.

The framework for this study corresponds with the strategy process model (Figure 1) and will, as previously stated, examine the linkages between three levels of action: Strategic, Operational, and Tactical. This study is based on an analysis of historical events at each of the three levels in accordance with the strategic process model.

Chapter 2 addresses the "national security strategy" of the Hayes administration and the corresponding "national military strategy" of the War Department. Conflicting views exist in the current body of literature in terms of the impact of the government on the utilization of military power in relation to the Indian policy. In order to discuss this fully, Indian and military policy in the west from 1865 to



1880 will be addressed, to provide the necessary context. The goal of this chapter is to articulate the national Indian policy and the related national military strategy, or doctrine, required to implement the policy.

Chapter 3 is an analysis of "operational strategy" selected to achieve the goals of policy. This chapter focuses on the operational level military organizations responsible for the application of military force to achieve political goals, and the non-military government agencies within the theater of operations. The military organizations examined are the Division of the Missouri, the Department of the Missouri and the Department of the Platte. The government agencies within the theater of operations include the state of Colorado, and representatives of the federal government operating within the state (i.e., agents of the Indian Bureau). Based on an initial survey of the material, the absence of a clear military strategy would appear to have occurred at this level, largely due to the personalities of the senior army officers in command. The Commanders of the Departments of the Platte and Missouri, Brigadier Generals Crook and Pope, respectively, had significantly different views of the role of the army and the conduct of campaigns, than did their superiors, Generals Sherman and Sheridan. The conclusion of this chapter will be a discussion of the operational strategy that guided tactical level commanders within the departments, and specific guidance for the conduct of the Ute campaign.

Chapter 4 focuses on the tactical events involved in the conduct of the Ute campaign. These events will include the "Battle at Milk River" and the show of force executed by Colonel Wesley Merritt to

intimidate the Utes to the bargaining table. The "constraints" examined are be the local factors that influenced the tactical level commanders during the conduct of the campaign. In addition to the explanation of battlefield events, the goal of this chapter is to relate the operational considerations surrounding these tactical events.

Chapter 5 concludes this study by establishing that the army did or have an Indian policy that was internalized throughout the command structure. The policy should have provided for the application of military power within budgetary and manpower constraints, and was a reflection of the national security objectives of the Hayes administration. If the military strategy was not mutually supportive throughout the strategy process model, the likely cause was the differing views of senior army leaders between the national and departmental levels.

Before beginning the analysis of the national strategic policy and the impact on military strategy in chapter 2, it is necessary to provide some background material pertaining to events that were unfolding in Colorado and examine some of the elements of the Ute crisis. This will assist in focusing the study as it looks at larger strategic and operational matters, and will assist in explaining why some questions loom larger than others in terms of the events surrounding this one, relatively small, tribe.

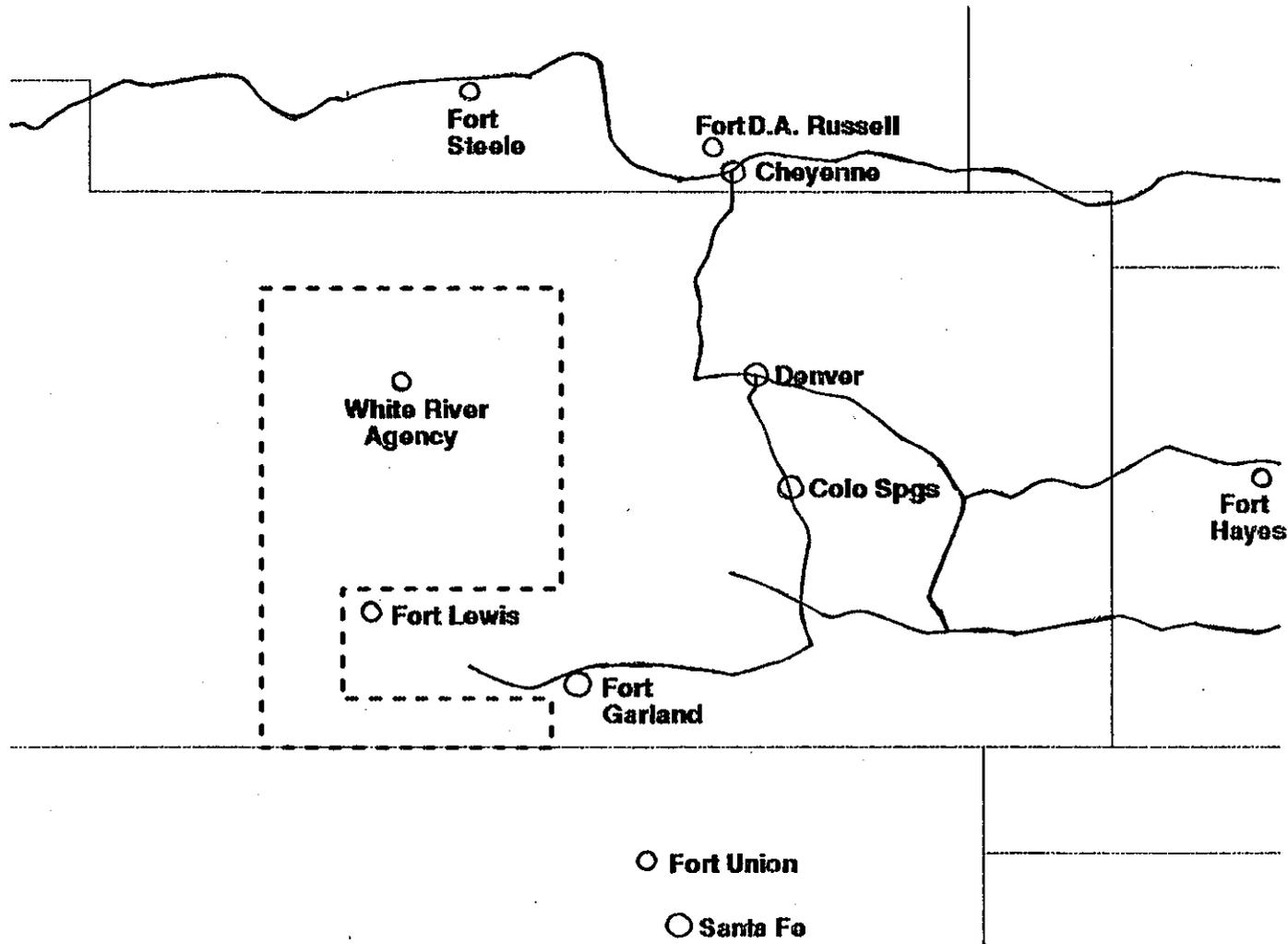
In September of 1879, three troops of the 5th US Cavalry, under the command of Major T.T. Thornburgh, left Fort Steele, Wyoming, for the White River Agency in northwest Colorado. Major Thornburgh was operating under orders from the Commander of the Department of the

Platte, Brigadier General George Crook, to move to the agency and assist the reservation agent, Nathan C. Meeker. Meeker had been appointed agent to the White River Agency on 18 March 1878 after actively pursuing the position through political acquaintances, both in Colorado and in Washington D.C. Meeker's goal was to establish a kind of utopian state that combined his religious views and the lessons from the Union Colony, a cooperative agrarian experiment, in Greeley, Colorado.

The appointment of Indian Bureau Agents had long been a part of the political spoils system. With a change in administration, a whole series of covert and overt appointments were made to reward political service, and the impact of this inept system was felt at the agencies producing the problems that had long been a sore point with the War Department. Since 1849, the Department of the Interior controlled Indian affairs, and, particularly under the Grant Administration, this arrangement had come under criticism from both the reform movement and senior officers within the army, who believed they were better qualified at managing Indian policy for the nation than were mere political appointees. General Sheridan commented, "that it is not the Government that is managing the Indians, it is the contractors, traders, and supply interests."²

Shortly before his appointment, Meeker received an encouraging letter from Colorado Senator, Henry M. Teller, describing his discussion with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Edward A. Hayt, on 3 January 1878. It read:

I went to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and posted your claims for an agency and designated White River Agency as the one I wanted for you. Now I think I have a good show. The



THE AREA OF OPERATIONS
(Adapted from Sprague, Massacre)
Figure 2

Commissioner said he was not at all satisfied with the agent at White River who knows nothing of irrigation or farming in the west. I am anxious you should have it because I feel you should do something that would be of benefit to our people and to the indians. There I believe the indians can be taught to raise cattle and I have an idea you are the man to do it. Now if you had the place it would pay you \$1,500 a year and you would have a house to live in free, a garden and so forth. So I think you can save something. It is only 100 miles from the railroad and quite easy. If you accept I will commence work. Let me hear soon.³

The Utes took an entirely different view of their new agent. Largely indifferent to the violations of the treaty of 1873 which secured for them 4,000,000 acres of Colorado, they viewed themselves as allies to the United States government. As Ouray, the most prominent of Ute chiefs expressed:

The army conquered the Sioux. You can order them around. But we Utes have never disturbed you whites. So you must wait until we come to your ways of doing things.⁴

Both the representative of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the government of the state of Colorado had an expressly different agenda for the assimilation of the Ute tribe into mainstream American culture--or better yet, isolation from it altogether. Because of this, the relationship between Meeker and his "charges," the White River Utes, had deteriorated to the point that Meeker felt his life was in jeopardy. Meeker was confronted by the Utes, who suspected him of direct involvement with the anti-Ute movement in the state.

At this time, articles headlined "The Utes Must Go" were being prepared by members of the staff of Governor Frederick W. Pitkin. Pitkin was a former miner who used his wealth and influence, acquired from a gold mine in the San Juan Mountains of Colorado, to both to revise the Ute Treaty in 1873 and to become the first Governor of Colorado, upon statehood in 1876. His view of the Utes was an

expression of the statewide view that they were an impediment to the development of the richest part of the state and should be removed to the Indian Territories or elsewhere. William Vickers, an advisor to the governor wrote in the Denver Tribune:

The Utes are actual, practical Communists and the Government should be ashamed to foster and encourage them in their idleness and wanton waste of property. Living off the bounty of a paternal but idiotic Indian Bureau, they actually become too lazy to draw their rations in the regular way but insist on taking what they want wherever they find it. Removed to Indian Territory, the Utes could be fed and clothed for about one half what it now costs the government.

Honorable N.C. Meeker, the well-known Superintendent of the White River Agency, was formerly a fast friend and ardent admirer of the Indians. He went to the Agency in the firm belief that he could manage the Indians successfully by kind treatment, patient precept and good example. But utter failure marked his efforts and at last he reluctantly accepted the truth of the border truism that the only truly good Indians are dead ones.⁵

Into this situation, Major Thornburgh and his three troops of cavalry arrived to mediate a dispute that had its roots in the Indian policy of the previous 25 years. Thornburgh's orders gave him only the broadest instructions. Meeker had requested assistance on 10 September 1879, by sending a messenger to telegram Commissioner Hayt. The message reached Hayt on 13 September 1879.

The request for troops was seen by Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz, Secretary of War George W. McCrary, and ultimately by General of the Army William T. Sherman. Sherman approved the request for troops and instructed the Commander of the Division of the Missouri, Major General Phillip H. Sheridan, to order "the nearest military commander" to send troops to White River.⁶ Following some confusion at Sheridan's headquarters, the order was sent to Fort Steele near Rawlins, Wyoming, and then to Major Thornburgh. While the troops

at Fort Steele were the closest to the White River Agency, they had not operated in Colorado before, as the Colorado-Wyoming border delineated the boundary between the Department of the Missouri and the Department of the Platte.⁷ By the conclusion of the campaign, troops from both departments were committed against the Utes.

The Commander of the Department of the Platte, Brigadier General George Crook, gave the following order to the forces at Ft. Steele:

You will move with a sufficient number of troops to White River Agency under special instructions.⁸

The special instructions that Crook spoke of were to contact the agent on the scene and "develop" the situation. Thornburgh began his march to the White River Agency on 22 September 1879, with a total of 153 soldiers and 25 civilians.

By 25 September 1879, they arrived within 53 miles of the agency and camped on the banks of Fortification Creek. He dispatched a letter to the Agency, reporting:

In obedience to instructions from the General of the Army, I am enroute to your agency, and expect to arrive there on the 29th instant, for the purpose of affording you any assistance in my power in regulating your affairs, and to make arrests at your suggestion, and to hold as prisoners such of your Indians as you desire, until investigations are made by your department.

I have heard nothing definite from your agency for ten days and do not know what state of affairs exists, whether the Indians will leave at my approach or show hostilities. I send this letter by Mr. Lowry, one of my guides, and desire you to communicate with me as soon as possible, giving me all the information in your power, in order that I may know what course I am to pursue. If practical, meet me on the road at the earliest moment.⁹

After dispatching the letter, Major Thornburgh continued the march toward the agency and met a delegation of eleven Utes from the

agency, who voiced their concern over the arrival of troops and denounced the agent, Meeker.¹⁰

The consternation of the Utes was understandable, both in light of their perception of the Army's role in the suppression of the other major Colorado tribe--the Cheyenne--and in their previous support of the Army in the campaign against the Navajo. Utes had joined "the rope thrower," Kit Carson, during his earlier campaigns against the Navajo and had taken a role in support of the army against their traditional enemy, the Cheyenne.¹¹ They had not faced an active campaign against them in the past, having relied on their remoteness to protect them from the expansion of the western movement.

The Utes had also benefitted by having a relatively sophisticated leader in their chief Ouray. After being invited to Washington by the Indian Bureau to negotiate the Ute Treaty of 1868, Ouray took his cause to the eastern press. Ouray remarked:

The agreement an Indian makes to a United States treaty is like the agreement a buffalo makes with his hunters when pierced with arrows. All he can do is lie down and give-in.¹²

Although only a Chief of the Umcompaghre branch of the Utes, Ouray was viewed by both state and federal officials as the de facto leader of the entire tribe.

The response from Meeker to Major Thornburgh's earlier letter gave an accurate appraisal of the Indian mood at the agency. The 27 September 1879 letter stated:

Understanding that you are on the way hither with United States troops, I send a messenger, Mr. Eskridge, and two Indians, Henry (interpreter) and John Ayersly, to inform you that the Indians are greatly excited, and wish you to stop at some convenient camping place, and then that you and five soldiers of your command come into the Agency, when a talk and a better understanding can be had.

This I agree to, but I do not propose to order your movements, but it seems for the best. The Indians seem to consider the advance of the troops as a declaration of real war. In this I am laboring to undeceive them, and at the same time to convince them they cannot do whatever they please. The first object is to allay apprehension.¹³

Upon receipt of this letter, Major Thornburgh decided to continue toward the agency and at some undetermined point, stop the main body and proceed alone with a small escort.¹⁴ But Thornburgh never reached the agency. The Utes attacked his command at Milk River. For seven days Thornburgh's command was besieged by the Utes, until a relieving force under Colonel Wesley Merritt, arrived on the scene. For the next month the army played a cat and mouse game with the Utes, attempting to locate their camps, while the Utes retreated deeper into the mountains.

The army was walking a tightrope, attempting to cow the Utes by a show of force with troops from both the Departments of the Platte and the Missouri, while at the same time avoiding a confrontation to safeguard the lives of the hostages taken from the agency. While the army continued to look for the Utes, General Charles Adams, acting as a special envoy of Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz, was negotiating with chief Ouray and the Uncompahgre Utes, to intercede with the White River band of the tribe to release the hostages. Adams was well respected by the Utes and trusted by the state's two most powerful political figures--Teller and Pitkin. He had warned Secretary Schurz of the inherent danger of sending troops to resolve the Ute question. Schurz responded that a "calamity" on the White River would delight Teller and other Grant Republicans and provide an excuse to

dump President Hayes from the 1880 ticket; and also the army would be pleased to have a fresh disaster to use as a basis for new demands to transfer the Indian Bureau to the War Department.¹⁵

The view of what "constraining" factors were at work during this period, and how they affected the Indian policy and military strategy, are varied. Most writers on the subject agree that political, economic, and social factors played a large role in determining the national Indian policy. They disagree whether this was an articulated policy or merely an ad hoc expression of the spirit of manifest destiny. Additionally, there exists no consensus on the impact of either the stated or unstated policy, on the application of military power in support of national goals and objectives.

Robert Wooster argues in his book, The United States and Indian Policy: 1865-1903, that post-1865 politics played a clear role in defining the military strategy that the army followed. He concludes that while a wide variety of influences impacted on the role of the army, lack of concern by national political and military figures precluded the development of a lasting policy or doctrine.

Russell F. Weigley in The American Way of War attributes our military strategy in combatting the Indians to the experiences of the army senior leadership during the Civil War. As Weigley states:

If the conduct of the Civil War had prepared the United States Army to employ a strategy of annihilation, sometimes with frightful literalness, in its wars against the Indians, the strategy was much in harmony with post-Civil War national policy.¹⁶

Weigley epitomizes Sherman as the creator of a kind of war that far eclipsed earlier history, in terms of terror and destructiveness, and which reached a pinnacle during the winter campaigns against the Indians.

A balance between the two views seems a more prudent position. Certainly, General of the Army William T. Sherman carried the "baggage" of the war of annihilation with him into his leadership of the army in the west, but whether this was the doctrine of the army can be held in question. Sherman, as a member of the Peace Commission of 1867, made clear his view to Red Cloud and the Sioux "that he had little tolerance for their demands. Whatever they said, they were doomed. The United States, with its expanding population, its railroads, and its army, was the face of the future."¹⁷

One of those opposed to Sherman's view of army strategy as a form of "Social Darwinism" was Brigadier General John Pope who, to paraphrase a modern politician, favored a "kinder and gentler" reservation policy. In an address in May 1878, Pope did not question the displacement of the Indian from his lands, only that it should be accomplished with the least suffering. He remarked on the view of the army officer:

To the Army officer a state of peace with the Indians is, of all things, the most desirable, and no man in all the country east or west would do more to avert an Indian war. To him war with Indians means far more than to anyone else except the actual victim. He sees its beginning in injustice and wrong to the Indian, which he has not the power to prevent; he sees the Indian gradually reach a condition of starvation impossible of longer endurance and thus forced to take what he can get to save himself from dying of hunger, and cannot help sympathizing with him for doing so; but because he does so the officer is ordered to use force against him. With what spirit a humane, or even a decently civilized man, enters into such a war, may be easily

understood, and yet in nearly every case this is precisely the feeling with which Army officers begin hostilities with Indians.¹⁸

It is with this paradoxical view that this study will begin an analysis of the strategic and operational framework of the army in the context of the Ute campaign of 1879. Is there an alternative to the Weigley model of the "war of annihilation" strategy, or the view of Wooster - that a policy was not necessary, as "no emergency existed" in the campaign against the Indian.

The conduct of the Ute campaign and subsequent Indian campaigns may denote the shift in United States military policy that returned the army to its frontier roots and away from the conventional army that was created as a result of the Civil War. The period also marked a transition in army leadership that would prepare the army for the next century. The strategy in the west was something more than "a series of forlorn hopes."¹⁹

ENDNOTES

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CHAPTER 2

STRATEGIC SETTING

The relationship between government policy and the strategy of its military is not often clear. The political origins of strategy often serve to confound the historian, as well as the soldier in its execution. Historian T. Harry Williams states:

Once a government has decided on a policy, it turns to strategy to achieve its objective. The government, to cite the American experience, informs the military of the objective and indicates the human and material resources it can make available. The military then takes over the planning and execution of a strategy to accomplish the policy; in effect, it takes over the running of the war. This is the concept of strategy that appeared in early modern writings on military theory and that prevailed in America's first wars. There was always, however, a gap between theory and practice.¹

From the conclusion of the Civil War through the end of the Hayes administration, the national objectives of the United States were to promote economic development and settlement in the western regions. Accomplishment of these objectives required the federal government to formulate an Indian policy that would deal with the inevitable conflict of two cultures. There were three parts to the Indian policy adopted to accomplish these objectives: First, was removal of Indians from the major east-west immigrant trails and as an obstacle to development of transcontinental railroad routes; second, increasing the reservation system to reduce contact between the races and thereby reduce conflict;

and third, using the reservation system to assimilate the Indian into mainstream American culture. The Indian policy was the cornerstone national security issue during the period and the focus of army operations.

In retrospect this strategy is readily apparent, but at the time the security strategy was not found expressed in a document produced annually as is the current practice. As General W. T. Sherman prepared to attend the August 1867 Peace Commission, to open the plains for settlement and the railroad, his concern was on defining the army's role in relation to the policy of the government. He stated:

I dont [sic] care about interesting myself too far in the fate of the poor devils of Indians who are doomed from the causes inherent in their nature or from the natural & persistent hostility of the white race. All I aim to accomplish is to so clearly define the duties of the Civil & Military agents of Govt so that we wont [sic] be quarrelling all the time as to whose business it is to look after them.²

The conclusion of the Civil War brought the focus of America back onto national expansion beyond the western frontier or into the American western interior. Indeed, the "national objective" of the United States for the last thirty years of the 19th century can be characterized as a "final rush of American energy upon the remaining wilderness."³ The federal government was faced with the need to develop a security strategy that would support the movement of industry and immigrants east from California and west from the second tier of trans-Mississippi states - Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, and Minnesota. Challenging the inexorable march of America's "manifest destiny" was the Indian. The Indian policy was the federal government's strategy to answer this challenge.

By 1865, the first pre-war attempt at a solution to the the "Indian question" had been overcome by the continued western expansion of the nation. This attempt at physical separation using the western trans Mississippi River states for Indian territory, had become untenable. As a security strategy, the westward transfer of the eastern Indian tribes, thus clearing the area east of the Mississippi river for "civilization", no longer fulfilled the national objective of settlement from "sea to shining sea."

The pre-war national policy of separation had been created by the ratification of the Indian Removal Bill, 28 May 1830. Two trends which emerged during this period would affect further relations between the United States and the Indian. First, the Indians who had supported the U.S. during the War of 1812 were stripped of the lands that had been previously guaranteed them by treaties - "as long as the grass shall grow and the water flow." As Chief John Ross, of the Cherokee nation, commented:

What a pernicious effort must such a document...have on the interests and improvements of the Indians? Who shall expect from the Cherokees a rapid progress in education, religion, agriculture, and the various arts of civilized life when resolutions are passed in a civilized and Christian legislature (whose daily sessions, we are told, commence with a prayer to Almighty God) to wrest their country from them, and strange to tell, with the point of the bayonet, if nothing else will do? Is it the nature of things, that the Cherokees will build good and comfortable houses and make them great farms, when they know not but their possessions will fall into the hands of strangers and invaders? How is it possible that they will establish for themselves good laws, when an attempt is made to crush their first feeble effort toward it?⁴

The second outcome of the initial government Indian separation policy was the result of a Supreme Court decision in favor of the Cherokee nation. In 1831, Chief Justice John Marshall and the court ruled in favor of the Cherokees, while deciding the case of Cherokee v. the State of Georgia. This decision stated the Indians were not subject to state law, but also ruled that they were not an independent nation. The Court defined the Indian relation to the federal government by calling him a "domestic dependent nation in a state of pupilage."⁵ Ultimately, these decisions to dispossess the Indians and consider them dependent "nations" of the federal government would require the involvement of the regular army as the primary military instrument necessary for enforcing Indian policy in the west. This role would break with the established American tradition east of the Mississippi river which had relied on the presence of local militias to control the Indian tribes.

The next attempt to control the Indians and allow unimpeded western settlement was the reservation or concentration policy. As early as the 1840's, efforts were begun to use reservations as a tool of Indian policy. As the utility of securing the area west of the Mississippi river was becoming evident, the government shifted from the policy of separation to one of concentration. In 1848, the idea of creating Indian colonies on the western plains was discussed.

In February of 1851, Congress passed the Indian Appropriation Act, mandating the new policy and providing monies to negotiate treaties. By 1865, the principle features of the Indian policy that the United States would pursue were in place. These features would remain in various forms until the end of the 19th century. The policy

called for the forced relocation of the Indian and the drastic reduction of areas in which the Indian was free to practice his culture. Implementation of the reservation system was at hand and would precipitate the longest and most violent Indian wars the nation had known.

Following the Civil War, the reservation system was the paramount means of implementing national policy as the United States turned again to resolving the continuing challenge of the Indian to national security and western expansion. Secretary of the Interior James Harlan dispatched two groups of commissioners in August 1865, to negotiate the new parameters of U.S. Indian policy with the Indians of Kansas, the Indian Territory, and the Plains Tribes.⁶

This policy was a hybrid of the separation policy. It sought to "concentrate" the Indians at several large reservations and remove them from the immigration and railroad routes. The Indian Territory would serve as one of the large reservations with a second one located on the northern Plains. From 1865 until 1876, this single policy constituted the national security strategy of the United States in response to the Indians.

This strategy became known as the Peace Policy during the Grant administration, as it attempted (at least on the surface) to rely on diplomatic, rather than military means, to accomplish its objectives. The view of the Indians as wards of the federal government was central to this strategy and ultimately would unhinge it, as both future

political and economic factors became evident. Even in 1865, the commissioners dispatched by Secretary Harlan were instructed that "these treaties might be amended by the Senate and such admendments would not require the concurrence of the Indians."⁷

The Peace Policy did not adopt thé pure form of the original policy of concentration. While still focused on the overall national objectives, treaties were not geared toward displacing the tribes to the large colonies originally envisioned. Instead, a desire to avert potential hostilities left negotiators a wide band of operation. Political expediency would determine which tribes were to be left in traditional areas or were to be removed to the Indian Territory. The net result was a quilt-work of reservations throughout the area created on an ad hoc basis.

The view of the national strategy toward the Indian was contentious throughout this period. The notion of dealing with the Indian by diplomatic rather than military means was debated in both political and military circles. Senior members of the military establishment actively campaigned for the control of Indian affairs to be transferred to the War Department. Army leaders believed that management of Indian affairs would be more efficiently served by the War Department. The Army saw itself removed from the corruption and inconsistant administration that plagued the Bureau of Indian Affairs, as administered by the Department of the Interior. In 1867, a bill to return the Interior Department's Indian Office to the War Department passed the House, but failed in the Senate.⁸

President Grant led the element opposed to military control of Indian strategy and favored the employment of other means. Grant's view was a great disappointment to senior army leaders, who believed he would be a strong advocate of army control of Indian policy. On 4 March 1873, at his second inaugural address he stated:

My efforts in the future will be directed to the restoration of good feeling between the different sections of our common country...by a human course, to bring the aborigines of the country under the benign influences of education and civilization. It is either this or war of extermination. Wars of extermination, engaged in by people pursuing commerce and all industrial pursuits, are expensive even against the weakest people, and are demoralizing and wicked. Our superiority of strength and advantages of civilization should make us lenient toward the Indian. The wrong inflicted upon him should be taken into account and the balance placed to his credit. The moral view of the question should be considered and the question asked, Can not the Indian be made a useful and productive member of society by proper teaching and treatment? If the effort is made in good faith, we will stand better before the civilized nations of the earth and in our own consciences for having made it.⁹

While sounding a high moral tone, Grant also addressed the economics of a national strategy of extermination that he saw as the alternative to the diplomatic solution executed under the auspices of the Interior Department. This economic concern reflected the growing hostility within the Congress for appropriations toward a standing regular army.

The struggle to maintain an army force structure to meet security objectives was not a new phenomenon in American history. Proponents of fiscal conservatism within the Congress found allies among congressmen and other Americans, who questioned both the utility of a standing army and feared it might be used for some dark political purpose. The reduction in force conducted at the end of the Civil War was both rapid and deep. As historian Edward M. Coffman describes:

The Civil War was over. Some Americans assumed that this meant elimination of the military. In 1885, when a colonel was introduced to a cultivated, urban Eastern woman, she was astonished: "What, a colonel of the Army? Why, I supposed the Army was all disbanded at the close of the war!" Most of it was. Within six months, 800,000 of the million men in blue were civilians again. By 1875 the permanent strength had leveled off at 25,000...In comparison with foreign armies, this placed the size of the American army in the 1880's at slightly less than half that of Belgium's, a seventh that of Britain's, and a twentieth of the French army's size.¹⁰

It was a period often called the "dark days" of the army, and it would shape army planning of national military strategy and operational strategy in the west.

Beginning in 1869 and 1870, President Grant initiated the most well known aspect of the Peace Policy, when he abdicated, to a large degree, federal control over the Indians to religious and reform groups. This movement was begun in the 1850's, primarily by Bishop Henry Whipple of the Episcopal church. Whipple and other reformers believed that the rapid adoption of Christianity and the culture of the white man was the only means to preclude extinction of the Indian. This view was similar to that held by the proponents of the reservation system within Grant's administration. The difference in opinion was expressed over the management of the Indian on the reservation.

Whipple and the reformers believed that corruption had reached such proportions that no progress could be made in civilizing the Indian. He proposed establishing an honest administration of Indian reservations by employing the "Friends of the Indian", as the reformers later became known. Whipple predicted that if the corruption of the Indian Office was not swept away, "a nation which sowed robbery would reap a harvest of blood."¹¹

With Grant's approval, churches began to nominate people to serve as Indian agents. Congress created a Board of Indian Commissioners to manage the Indian Office and act as a watch dog on corruption within the reservation system. Initially, the board was controlled by wealthy Protestant philanthropists, but as difficulties rose over staffing the reservations, many churches lost interest and left for other missionary adventures.¹² The Peace policy brought little improvement according to army officers and, in fact, invited disaster. Indians, being enamored with the warrior mystique, would only respect other warriors. Statements such as Colonel Richard Irving Dodge's were common:

Christian-appointed agents were a fitting climax to the preposterous acts which for a century have stultified the governmental control and management of Indians. To appoint Nathan Meeker, however faithful, honest, and christian in bearing he might be, to an agency in charge of a set of wild brigands like the Utes, is simply to invite massacre.¹³

While not well received by the military, the reformers themselves were perhaps a greater threat to the Indian than the threat of direct military action. Professing a strong belief in Indian equality with the white man, reformers felt any shortcoming of the Indian was due to their arrested cultural development. In order to assimilate the Indian, they felt his cultural heritage must be completely destroyed and that the Indian must be forced to this alternative for his own good. With this religious bent, the reformers were powerful adversaries in the world of 19th century Indian policy politics.

The management of Indian reservations by reformers, as a means to institute a program of social-Darwinism, was an abject failure. Political infighting between religious denominations, the remaining political appointees, and elected officials failed to produce an improvement to reservation conditions or a cessation of hostilities between the Indian tribes and the growing white population. The failure of this program shifted blame to the reform movement, away from the Grant administration, while fueling continued demands for direct control of Indian policy by the army, a view that was held almost universally by senior army officers.

The 1876 inauguration of Rutherford B. Hayes brought a subtle change to national security strategy. In his inaugural address, Hayes laid a philosophy of "pacification" on the nation's political plate, that sought to bring the reconstruction period to a close.¹⁴ The national objective, in terms of the Indians, was to be a continuation of the Grant administration's emphasis on a policy that relied on diplomatic means. His administration shifted its focus away from the relocation of Indian tribes to the reservations, instead emphasizing assimilation of the Indian into the "white" culture.

The shift away from the reservation policy did not occur immediately. The Hayes administration continued the Peace Policy, using reservations and citing the perceived benefit of protecting and civilizing the Indian. The reservation system continued to be modified, as it had been during the Grant years, away from the concentration of the Indian in large centralized locations. Instead, the reservations were smaller entities incorporating the Indian along loose tribal lines, and this "small reservation approach" was the

cornerstone of the Hayes strategy. As a result, when President Hayes took office in 1877, "over sixty tribes had been resettled in the Indian Territory, while many more were shifted from their homeland to new locales."¹⁵

The reservation system that President Hayes inherited was largely created on an ad hoc basis to preclude conflict at a local level. As discussed earlier, the two central themes guiding the institution of the reservation system were separation of the Indians from the major immigration routes and their removal as an impediment to the progress of the transcontinental railroad system. These ambitions were further amended to include removal of Indians from areas that had gained importance due to the discovery of various natural resources (e.g., gold in the Black Hills). As a result of the discovery of gold and silver, the treaty between the federal government and the Utes of Colorado would be revised three times, accounting for each new mineral discovery.

The task that fell to Hayes and his army was to develop a security strategy and a military strategy that would address the failure by earlier policy makers to control the Indian tribes in the long term. The pure separation policy had been invalidated since the Civil War by the continued expansion of the country. The Peace Policy had not met expectations in terms of assimilating the Indians into the white culture. In fact, the institution of the Peace Policy corresponded with the beginning of a ten year period during which some of the most dramatic conflicts between the races had occurred. At the time the army viewed this as a cause and effect relationship. The watchword became improvisation in the formulation of a new national

strategy. As historian Richard White describes:

American officials, in attempting to halt conflict between Indians and whites, prevent expensive wars, and open up lands to white settlement, created reservations the way survivors of a shipwreck might fashion a raft from the debris of the sunken vessel. Reservations evolved on an ad hoc basis as a way to prevent conflict and enforce a separation of the races.¹⁶

When President Hayes inherited the "Indian question" from the Grant administration, a long series of military campaigns had just been completed, culminating in the destruction of Custer and his command. Many throughout the country, including the Commanding General of the Army William T. Sherman, saw the need for a complete revision of the security strategy or the Indian policy. The religious and philanthropic groups that President Grant had formally promoted to the forefront, in the effort to civilize the Indian on the reservation, were challenged by both "westerners" and by the Army. The management of the Indian, by these societies and the Indian Office of the Interior Department, was deemed a total failure and calls for the War Department to manage the Indian again reached Congress in 1877.

Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz stated much the same view as General Sherman when he assumed office. His exposure to Indians prior to assuming office was limited and he held a view in keeping with the popular ethnocentrism of the times. He stated:

The underlying support of this proposition [War Department control] was the conviction that the Indian could never be civilized and that the only possible solution of the problem which he embodied was to confine him, under strict military supervision, on reservations from which all uplifting contact with white men was barred, till he should become extinct by virtue of his own incurable barbarism.¹⁷

Schurz's views changed as he gained an appreciation of the issues at hand. While a joint committee of Congress reviewed the strategy of the "Peace Policy", Secretary Schurz issued a statement on 6 December, 1877, which reaffirmed that strategy, and outlined additional measures to be undertaken to speed the assimilation of the Indian.¹⁸

Schurz's strategy called for continued use of the reservation system along with a program of guiding the Indian toward self-support. By training the Indian in "modern" agricultural means, Schurz felt the Indian would gradually replace his traditional lifestyle with the lifestyle of the dominant culture. In the long term he saw the "Americanization" of the Indian, as a means to eliminate the need for the maintenance of federal reservation lands.¹⁹ Eventually the reservations would wither away, being replaced by private land held by Indians practicing agricultural pursuits. Still, in his first annual report in November 1877, he expressed the view that, even with the application of the modified reservation system, the recurring conflict between the advancing frontier and the Indians could not be eliminated entirely because of the proximity of the races.²⁰ The Army role in this strategy was to be limited. Schurz stated:

Such a policy would be the most conducive to peace and the most economical. It ought to be retained and developed; but the army would be no proper agency for its execution. Military men and methods were indispensable for emergencies; the long, slow process of raising the red men out of barbarism, however, required qualities in those who guided it that the army could not supply.²¹

The rivalry over the management of Indian affairs had been in question since the transfer of the Office of Indian Affairs from the War Department to Interior Department in 1849.²² The debate was

central to providing a linkage between the security and military strategies toward the Indian, but was often diverted by charges of corruption and lack of expertise by both sides.

Schurz took direct action on one of the army's long standing complaints of the Interior Department, by reorganizing the Indian Office. A long time advocate of civil service reform, he entered office with a mandate from President Hayes to clean up the Interior Department, and in particular, the Indian Bureau. An investigation initiated by Schurz into the business practices of the Indian office was completed in August 1877. The report gained national prominence when reported by the New York Times, and led to the replacement of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs within a month. The report focused on the corruption and abuses that plagued the Indian Bureau. Schurz described his dealings with the Bureau as, "a constant fight with sharks."²³

The house cleaning proved to be enough to defeat army attempts to gain control of Indian affairs through a joint congressional committee in 1878-79. In addition to maintaining control of Indian affairs, the reforms alleviated some of the grievances held by the Indians and served to reduce the level of open hostility at some of the reservations. Schurz's efforts in cleaning up corruption in the Indian Bureau even won admiration in Army circles. The Division of the Missouri Commander, General Philip Sheridan commented, "...the service of Indian affairs was finally lifted out of the mire of corruption that

had long made it a discredit to our civilization."²⁴ While a symbolic step in the right direction, the effect of the Schurz reforms still had not addressed corruption at the grassroots level or the problems of the management of reservations by competing religious groups.

Given the political environment addressed above, the army found itself in the position of determining the best means to utilize the instrument of military power to support the accomplishment of the Indian policy goals and the overall national objectives. In the spring of 1865, the army returned its attention to the security of the west, a role it had abdicated to state and territorial militias during the Civil War. That year, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs reported the number of Indians as: "civilized, 97,000; semicivilized 125,000; wholly barbarous, 78,000. Of these, 180,000 had treaties with the United States and were consequently involved in relatively stable and mutually understood relations with the government; another 40,000 lived on reservations and were more or less under the control of the Indian agents; about 55,000 were totally uncontrolled."²⁵

The army faced additional problems that had developed during the hiatus of the regulars in the east during the Civil War. The relationship between white and Indian (in particular the Plains tribes) had deteriorated, first because of the conduct of operations by territorial militias, and second because the pace of emmigration had increased.

The most glaring example of militia excesses was the massacre of Black Kettle's band of Cheyenne at Sand Creek by the Colorado territorial militia in 1864. In this case, the Cheyennes had gathered

at a point designated by the territorial governor and were using a prearranged signal denoting them as "not hostile." In spite of complying fully with the directive of the governor, including flying an American flag, they were set upon brutally by the Colorado territorial militia under the command of Colonel John M. Chivington. The episode resulted in further reprisals and alienation on both sides.

Sand Creek became the rallying cry for humanitarian groups throughout the country. An investigation of its events discredited the effectiveness of the Colorado militia specifically and the use of militia troops in general. Two separate investigations were conducted one by the U.S. Senate and one by the Army. Neither adjudged any responsibility for the incident or preferred charges, but clearly Chivington was at fault. Ultimately, Chivington fled the state and returned to his native Ohio. As a result of the chronic mishandling of Indian affairs by local militias and the established precedent for treating Indians as "wards" of the federal government, the regular army eventually became the military instrument responsible for the enforcement of U.S. policy in the west.

The movement of peoples to the western frontiers had increased during the Civil War years. Migration increased, as many sought to find a new start in new mining ventures in the west, or in the promise of free land created by the Homestead Act of 1862. The population west of the Mississippi River grew by one million between 1860 and 1870 and an additional two and a half million by the end of the Hayes administration.²⁶ This increase in population compounded the army's dilemma as it placed greater demands on it for security of the

immigrants, but also increased the need for measures to protect the treaty arrangements guaranteed to the Indians by the federal government.

As the army examined the situation west of the Mississippi River in the spring of 1865, it was confident in its abilities to subdue the Indian as an obstacle to national objectives. As General Sherman announced in November 1865, "as soon as the Indians see that we have Regular Cavalry among them they will realize that we are in condition to punish them for any murders or robberies."²⁷ The confidence was perhaps more due to unfamiliarity with the problem at hand than an accurate assessment of the strategic situation. Nevertheless, as the forces that had reunited the country took two days to parade before the reviewing stand in Washington, army leadership prepared for operations on the frontier.

A few military "giants" dominated the direction of national military strategy. The office of the Commanding General of the Army filled in order by Generals Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan from the end of the Civil War to 1886, dominated the strategic application of military power in the west. This is not to imply that the Commanding General was in an all powerful position to exercise complete executive power from his office. The army had yet to institute the reforms of the general staff system, instead relying on the ten administrative and technical bureaus established by the Army Act of 1866.²⁸ This system created two chains of control within the army - the staff and the line.

The division of responsibility split the army. The bureau chiefs reported to the Secretary of War and dealt with administrative and technical matters. Operational command was exercised from the

President through the commanding general. The outcome of this arrangement was largely a measure of the personalities of the President, Secretary of War, and the Commanding General at any given time. Its impact on operational considerations was felt across the army. As Robert M. Utley comments:

Although Sherman held the post of commanding general of the army and profoundly influenced its character, he did not actually command it. The army staff—more exactly, the War Department staff—remained resolutely outside Sherman's army. And the complications that the staff's independence created for the commanding general in turn made his authority over the line more nominal than real.²⁹

The key uniformed decision makers of the line at the strategic and operational levels were intimately aware of each others' strengths and weaknesses. Past associations during the conduct of the Civil War assisted the formulation of a centralized plan of strategic and operational level commanders for the conduct army operations and campaigns in the west.

In the spring of 1865, General Grant was determined to utilize the available manpower to conduct offensive operations on the western plains to gain the strategic initiative. His desire to execute these operations quickly was twofold. First, the largest plains tribes, the Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapaho, were raiding immigrant trains and homesteads in reaction to the previously discussed militia excesses. Second, although Grant was hopeful of maintaining a standing force larger than at pre-Civil War levels, he was anticipating congressional troop reductions overall, and a requirement for increased army presence to support the reconstruction effort in the South. Secretary of War Stanton estimated that the standing regular army would be about triple 1860 strength or 50,000 men.³⁰ General Pope advised Grant, "I think

the government will find it true economy to finish this Indian war this season, so it will stay finished. We have the troops enough now on the plains to do it now better than hereafter."³¹

An offensive planned to include 12,000 troops beginning in April 1865 was delayed until the summer. When the offensive began troop strength and quality had been so dissipated that the original objectives were outside the limit of attainment. Troops employed numbered less than 5,000 and instead of regular formations, territorial and state militias comprised the majority of forces.³¹ Grant's plan to bring the Indian wars to a decisive conclusion through a strategic offensive failed. The combined effects of the reduction in the army strength and the demand for troops in the South and later on the Mexican frontier would prevent further consideration of a general offensive.

The strategic design for the conduct of the Indian wars that would characterize the regular army in the west was the product of one man, General William T. Sherman. The demands of supporting national objectives with severely limited resources forced the army onto the strategic defensive in the west. Early on, Sherman saw the potential for the employment of the railroad as a means to allow the operational offensive. Based on his Civil War experience, Sherman realized that the army could concentrate troops rapidly by using the inherent mobility provided by the railroad, while remaining on the strategic defensive. Sherman wrote to the War Department and General Grant, in the fall of 1865, after viewing progress on two sections of the railroad, on the importance of the railroad in the west, "I gave both a close and critical examination...because I see that each will enter

largely into our military calculations."³³ Sherman would work closely with the major railroad companies to synchronize the progress on routes into the operational area with the employment of army tactical formations and the positioning of the fort system in the west.

The army strategy in the west benefitted from the definition of the national objective. The objective (securing the freedom of movement for expansion along the major trails and rail lines) led the army to the definition of its primary area of operations. The fact that the national security strategy called for the removal of the Indian tribes from this area allowed the army to deal with the Indians piecemeal: First focusing on one tribe and then utilizing the rail network to mass against subsequent challenges. The strategy that developed from the stated political objectives was the only course left to the army, based on its limited resources. The strategy called for the army to remain on the strategic defensive, while using superior organization and technology to gain the operational and tactical initiative when required.

The military plan that defined the U.S. army's strategic role in the west was linked to both the national objectives and the national security strategy as defined by the federal governments policy toward the Indian. This to a large part was due to the army's absence from the west during the Civil War. The other branches of the federal government had established their agendas in regards to the Indians by the time the army returned its focus to the west. It fell largely to the army, to salute and carry out its mission.

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CHAPTER 3

THE OPPONENTS

For the time and the place they weren't bad - not to compare with Johnny Reb cavalry or Cardigan's Lights or Scarlett's Heavies or the Union horse in the Civil War, or Sikhs or Punjabis either, but then these were all soldiers at war, most of the time, and the 7th weren't.¹

So stated the fictional Captain Harry Flashman in assessing the ability of the 7th Cavalry in 1876. What were the capabilities of the Army of the west and its opponents? It is the purpose of this Chapter, as Professor Michael Howard would state, to provide the context to the "conflict of societies" between the American and Ute cultures.²

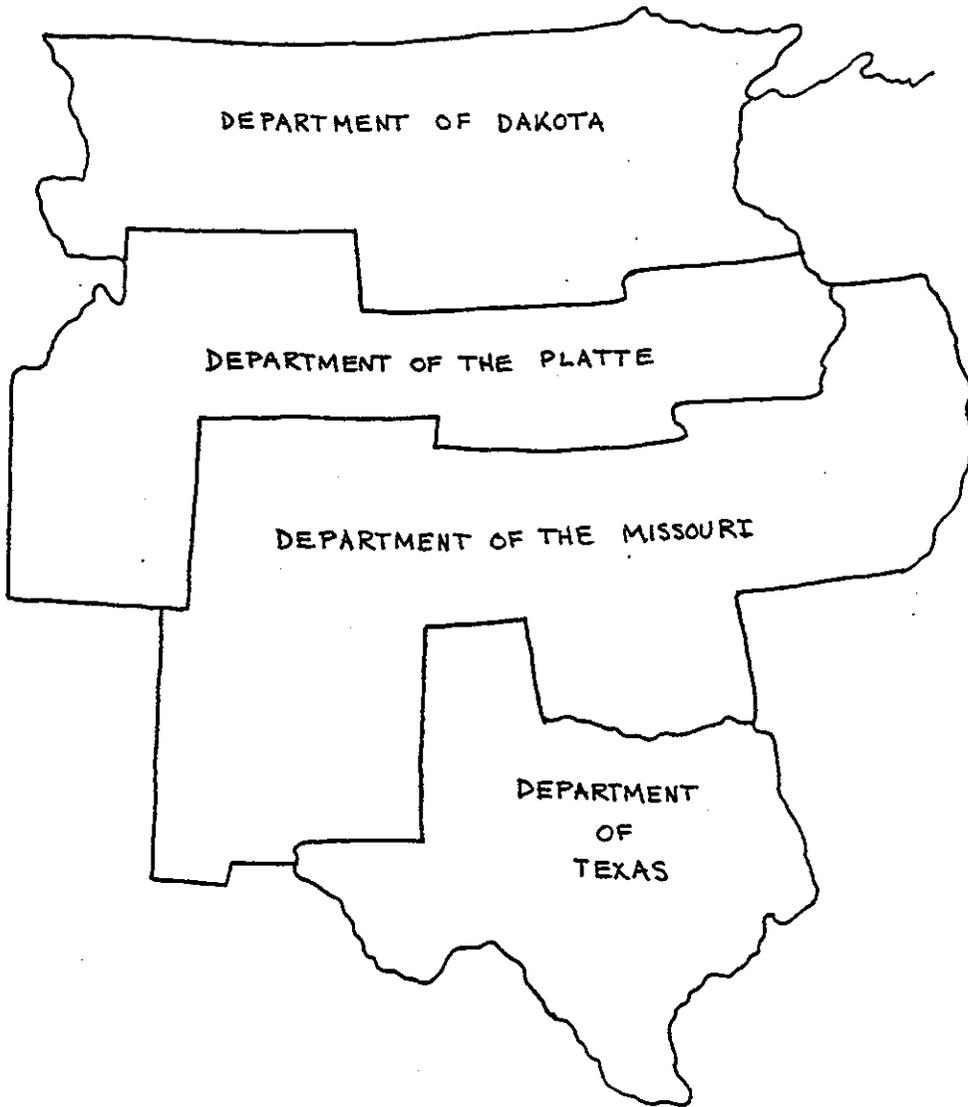
The predominant mission of the army after the end of the Civil War was to subjugate the Indian. Throughout the period this mission tested the very limits of the capabilities of the army. In 1879, the year of the Ute campaign, 20,300 troops garrisoned the west, representing 66 percent of the total army strength.³ The demands of the geographic area and the nature of the mission would largely dictate the means required by the army.

While the organization of the Indian "forces" that the army fought was very transitory, if they were organized at all, the system created by the U.S. Army reflected the need for well defined geographic boundaries and the delineation of responsibility. The system of geographically defined "divisions" and "departments" was a continuation of a method dating back to the reorganization of 1853.⁴

On 11 August, 1866, the Army reorganized the command structure into three divisions west of the Mississippi river. This structure would remain in effect and carry the army through the Indian wars. This basic organization would delineate command authority, with minor modifications, for the next twenty five years. The Military Division of the Missouri was the largest division of the three created. It encompassed the Great Plains area, which would be the focus of military action against the Indian.

From 1869 to 1883 the Division of the Missouri was further divided into five Military Departments: Dakota, Platte, Missouri, Texas, and Gulf. The Department of the Gulf remained in the division from 1875 to 1877.⁵ With headquarters initially at Ft Leavenworth, Kansas, and then at Chicago, Illinois, it was commanded by the second highest ranking officer in the army throughout the period. Its area of responsibility was vast. (figure 3) As General Sherman stated in his 1866 annual report, before incorporation of areas east of the Mississippi River:

In order to an understanding of the great military problems to be solved, I must state in general terms that this military division embraces the vast region from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains, of an average breadth (east to west) of one thousand three hundred and fifty miles and length (north to south) of over one thousand miles, viz: from the south border of New Mexico to the British line. On the east are the fertile and rapidly improving States of Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, and Arkansas. Immediately on the west are the Territories and States of Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, and the Indian Territory...Next in order are the mountainous Territories of Montana, Utah, Colorado, and New Mexico. Between these mountainous Territories and those of the river border lie the great plains of America...[which] can never be cultivated like Illinois, never be filled with inhabitants capable of self-government and self-defense as against the Indians and marauders, but at best can become a vast pasture-field, open and free to all for the rearing of herds of horses, mules, cattle, and sheep.⁶



Division of the Missouri
(Adapted from Wade, The Military Command Structure)
Figure 3

The delineation of the departments within the Military Division of the Missouri was based on several factors. Department boundaries were drawn to roughly equate with the boundaries of territories and states in order to facilitate civil-military cooperation. In addition, the east-west orientation of the departments corresponded with the routes of the major lines of communication (LOC) to the west. Throughout the period of the Indian wars, the boundaries of the departments and the placement of the forts, internal to the departments, shifted with the changes in the use of immigrant trails and the railroad.

The War Department also believed that the boundaries of the departments corresponded with the areas controlled by the major tribes of hostile Indians.⁷ By defining an area of responsibility that allegedly incorporated the range of a particular tribe, it was believed that the problems of command and control between departments would not arise. The actual justification of the number and size of the departments seems to be the army's force structure after the Civil War. In examining the period from 1866, the geographic command structure was reorganized to meet the changes in Congressional appropriations more than in response to changes in the Indian situation.⁸

The two departments involved in the 1879 Ute campaign were the Departments of the Platte and of the Missouri. Both reflected an organization that was focused on protecting the LOC's through their respective area, and the utilization of these lines as a means to conduct operations to control the Indian. Headquartered in Omaha, Nebraska, the Department of the Platte by 1875 controlled an area

including the state of Iowa, the Territories of Nebraska, Wyoming, and Utah, and a portion of the Territory of Idaho. Initially, the department was concerned with protecting immigrant trails, such as the Bozeman, but by the completion of the transcontinental railroad in May, 1869, the majority of its troops were detailed to protect this singular national link.⁹

The Department of the Missouri had a similar mission. With its headquarters at Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas, the Department saw duty in the protection of immigrants along portions of the Santa Fe and Oregon trails. By 1870, the Department had seen the destruction of the major Indian opposition in its area, largely due to the work of professional hunters, who in the course of two years, removed the great southern buffalo herd upon which the Indians based their subsistence.¹⁰ The Department was responsible for an area that covered the states of Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, and part of Arkansas, as well as the Territories of Colorado, New Mexico, and the Indian Territories. The department was well supplied with railroads, including a line of the Kansas Pacific that connected Denver from the east and ran north to the Union Pacific line at Cheyenne, Wyoming.¹¹

The manpower afforded Lieutenant General Sheridan and the Division of the Missouri was hardly sufficient for the area. In 1879, the aggregate strength of the division was 15,517 officers and men, responsible to garrison seventy-one permanent posts and twenty-two temporary encampments. This structure provided for a force ratio of one soldier for every seventy-five square miles in the Departments of the Platte and the Missouri.¹²

The demands of safeguarding rail and other lines of communication, in addition to the mission of controlling Indians and protecting them (at least marginally) from white deprivations on reservations and treaty land, led the army to establish the fort system. This system positioned small army contingents, usually company or troop sized, along the paths of advancing "civilization." As General Sheridan described:

To thoroughly and effectively perform the duties devolving upon us compels us many times to overwork our troops, and not unfrequently obliges us to take the field with small detachments, which have heretofore occasionally been overmatched and greatly outnumbered by our foes. This is not as it should be; but so long as our companies are limited to their average strength (fifty men to a battery of artillery, sixty men to a company of cavalry, and forty men to a company of infantry), it cannot be avoided...Compelled as it is to keep in advance of the wave of civilization constantly flowing westward, and to watch the Northern and Southern borders and guard them from incursions of savage foes, and also to be in readiness to repress any outbreaks upon the Indian reservations, to say nothing of having to make new roads, erect forts, and furnish escorts for surveying and exploring parties, it is, as I have said, overworked, on account of its inadequate strength for the service required.¹³

Because of both the demands placed on the army of the west and its small size, the feature which has come to characterize the Indian fighting army arose--the fort. Fort Fred Steele, Wyoming not only played a key role in the Ute campaign, but was characteristic of all western forts. Established in June, 1868, in the Wyoming territory, at an intersection of the North Platte River and the Union Pacific line, it served as part of a system of forts for the protection of the railroad and the Overland Trail and as a replacement to the abandoned Bozeman Trail posts.¹⁴

The fort system relied on the advantage in operational mobility that the railroad provided, to overcome any superiority in numbers the

Indians could achieve locally. By utilizing the complementary development of the railroad and the telegraph, the army could move troops and equipment to pursue and punish hostile bands. General Sherman was among the earliest to realize the potential of the railroad in the western campaigns, but he was not alone. The annual reports from both divisional and departmental commanders included an update on the status of the most recent rail lines established in their area of responsibility. General Sheridan commented on the close relationship between the army and the railroads in his 1880 Annual Report: "Amongst our strongest allies in the march of civilization upon the frontier, are the various railway companies who are now constructing their new lines with great rapidity."¹⁵

The advantage gained by technological superiority was not easily brought to bear in the Indian campaigns. The railroad and its complementary system, the telegraph, facilitated military campaigning, but "those miles away from the railroad were still horseback miles."¹⁶ The area that was the predominant region of operations was on the fringes of "civilization", not easily influenced by the explosion of technology during the 19th century. Mobility of men and supplies in the tactical sense still relied upon foot and horse.

Army firepower did not enjoy an advantage over the Indian on the tactical battlefield. While the cavalry had abandoned the repeating carbine in the early 1870's in favor of a single shot breach loader, the Indian favored the repeaters when they could be acquired. The tactical effect of this improved weaponry was the same in the Indian campaigns as it had been in the Civil War--the relative advantage of the tactical defense. In fact the Indian, because of his

long standing unconventional style of warfare, adapted to the impact of the "modern" rifle much faster than did the army. With sufficient quantities of breachloaders, the Indian had rendered the charge ineffective unless the element of surprise was achieved to a sufficient degree. As historian, Thomas W. Dunlay describes:

In the 1870s the army increasingly fought against enemies who could not be seen; only the smoke and flash of the concealed Indian's gun indicated his presence. This was a major reason for the surprise attacks on Indian camps; it was the only way the soldiers could make a decisive attack at all.¹⁷

The fort system was not the preferred means of operation by the army. The predominant view was that the piecemeal allocation of troops resulted from both the limited size of the army and the political demands placed on it. The system was seen as a detriment to decisive action against the Indian, and because of its political and economic motivation, it precluded the army from taking a more offensive role against the Indian. General Sheridan remarked:

The fact that our army is so small adds greatly to its expense, for whenever it becomes necessary to use a force of any magnitude whatever against the Indians, we are compelled to send troops by rail or steamboat from a large number of small posts, to enable us to take the field with any prospect of success, and the cost of transportation incurred by these concentrations becomes a serious item in our annual expenditures. Our frontier is so extensive that for the present we are compelled to adhere to a system of small posts, though it is both inconvenient and costly.¹⁸

The alternative being proposed by some within the army was the abandonment of a large number of the smaller forts and the consolidation of the bulk of the army's combat troops at a few large posts. This alternative was not given serious weight until 1879-1880, because the railroad network in the west had not been developed sufficiently to support the rapid movements of these "flying columns."

Major General John Pope, commander of the Department of the Missouri from 1870 to 1883, was a supporter of this proposal. He remarked:

The abandonment of many of the small posts, and their consolidation with larger posts, I have recommended so often that I content myself now with saying that every year which passes more and more makes apparent the good policy, in every view, of dispensing with the small posts, and concentrating troops in large garrisons. Economy and efficiency of the military forces in this department would be greatly promoted by such a system, and I again respectfully invite attention to my previous recommendations on this subject.¹⁷

By the outbreak of the Ute uprising in 1879, the army had a well defined approach to the doctrine of Indian campaigning. The adoption of General Pope's proposal was still forthcoming, and the central issues became when to strike the hostiles and how to concentrate sufficient combat power to defeat them. The employment of the bulk of the army in the western theater astride railroad lines became the answer to the latter question. The question of the optimum timing of a campaign was answered through a process of trial and error.

A winter campaign was seen as the best means to subdue the Indians. This denoted a change in the conduct of campaigning from the pre-Civil War era in the west, and was brought about by the expansion of the railroad in support operations, and the common experiences of the officers who became the senior leaders in its aftermath. Of the divisional and departmental commanders in the west in 1866, only one had previous command experience in the theater--General Philip St. George Cooke--and he was relieved following the Fetterman massacre in December of that year.¹⁸

The capabilities of a modern field army developed during the Civil War were in stark contrast to previous army operations on the

frontier. Historian Paul A. Hutton describes the experiences of General Sheridan:

Sheridan's first campaign against the Indians was a pathetic affair. A detachment of 350 regular troops and a regiment of Oregon mounted volunteers was dispatched under the command of Major Gabriel Rains in October 1855 against the Yakimas. Although the campaign gave Sheridan his first look at warriors massed for battle--"a scene of picturesque barbarism, fascinating but repulsive"--it yielded no results...Winter snows ended the campaign, and the officer's conversations quickly degenerated into recriminations about who was to blame for the failure.¹⁹

The lessons of the Civil War were not lost on the army leaders in its aftermath. Before the Civil War, the focus had been exclusively on the destruction of the opposing military forces. Later, a shift occurred which incorporated all war-making potential by an enemy into the process. The expansion of the scope of warfare would be evident on the plains of the west, and the Civil War would be used as precedent for a total war. War became more than a contest between opposing armed forces - it encompassed the societies that found themselves at opposition. The nature of the opposition left the Army little alternative in a struggle between two divergent cultures.

Army leadership was determined to find an answer to the Indian problem. It's very *raison d'être* hung in the balance, and the answer must not rely on the adoption of Indian methods. Instead, the army must adopt methods that were in keeping with the utilization of decisive military force as the primary instrument of national power. The army had to find the answer to the Indian problem as a means to justify it's own existence. As Thomas W. Dunlay describes:

In a period when the army believed that it was being starved by the Congress and ignored or scorned by the nation, the suggestion that it could not cope with the Indians without Indian aid was especially repugnant. Officers wanted to believe that they and their men did their best and were the best

soldiers possible under the circumstances. They might dress like cowboys or mule skinnners in the field...,but they took pride in the uniform and in their regiments. It was painful, therefore, to hear suggestions that they could not cope with savages.²⁰

It is an oft-heard remark in the modern army that the character of a unit is a reflection of the personality of its commander. The Indian fighting army may not have reflected the personalities of the senior commanders, but the policies and tactics within the respective divisions and departments certainly did. By 1879, the major players, Sheridan, Pope, and Crook were well tested by the rigors of Indian campaigns. Their views on the military solution to the Indian riddle rested on the spread of settlers and the use of "modern" technology. As one commander commented, "as experience of late years, has most conclusively shown that our cavalry cannot cope with the Indian man to man."²²

The failure of the army to achieve a decisive victory in the campaigns against the major Plains tribes had driven the senior leadership into seeking solace in the familiar glow of technology and organization. The army found new confidence in the modern appliances of war and saw in them a means to counteract the tactical accumen of the Indian. After listening to a litany of the inherent advantages of the Indian warrior, General Nelson A. Miles remarked, "though all that said about their skill and enterprise and energy was true, yet with our superior intelligence and modern appliances we ought and would be able to counteract, equal, or surpass all the advantages possessed by the savages."²³

Grand Strategy had evolved in the minds of the senior commanders by the initiation of the 1879 campaigns. The combination of

the winter campaign and large converging columns as a means to achieve the decisive battle with the Indian had been invalidated by the army's failure in the Great Sioux War. Ultimately, success was due to a change that brought about relentless pressure on the Sioux, through the application of harassing tactics.

While, the army had been outmaneuvered in its only attempt at a conventional campaign, it retained both the winter campaign and the converging columns as means to initiate the application of ruthless unceasing pressure on any offending Indian bands. As Sheridan reported to Sherman, "I have never looked on any decisive battle with these Indians as a settlement of the trouble...Indians do not fight such battles; they only fight boldly when they have the advantage, as in the Custer case, or to cover the movement of their women and children as in the case of Crook, but Indians have scarcely ever been punished unless by their own mode of warfare or tactics and stealing on them."²⁴ Success depended on a new operational paradigm consisting of the combination of the railroad, organization, and the application of steady, disciplined pursuit.

The nature of campaigning changed in the aftermath of the Sioux War. The Indian was on the operational defensive, never able to field a force in sufficient numbers to challenge the army. The advance of the western frontier meant the army found itself occupying forts which ringed the different reservations, prepared to respond to any outbreaks. As Sheridan stated in 1879, "Indian troubles that will hereafter occur will be those which arise upon the different Indian reservations or from attempts made to reduce the number and size of these reservations, by the concentration of the Indian tribes."²⁵

Thus, the execution of army strategy in support of national objectives was often colored by the central army figures on the scene. The three central commanders involved in the Ute War are interesting studies, both in their similarities as well as their differences. The conduct of campaigning and army execution of policy in the west was perhaps more representative of its leaders' personalities than any doctrine or official policy.

In March 1869, Phillip H. Sheridan was appointed Lieutenant General, commanding the Military Division of the Missouri. His views on the Indian problem were similar to those of General Sherman. At times, he appeared sympathetic to the plight of the Indian in the face of expanding civilization, but he, like Sherman, held the view that the Indian was doomed as an inferior culture. He was a supporter of the reservation system and a strong advocate for the return of the management of Indian affairs to the army. As he stated, "I have the interest of the Indian at heart as much as anyone, and sympathize with his fading race, but many years of experiences have taught me that to civilize and Christianize the wild Indian it is not only necessary to put him on Reservations but it is also necessary to exercise some strong authority over him."²⁶

Sheridan's conduct of campaigning was shaped from experiences in the Civil War and lessons learned in the field against the Indian. During his tenure as Divisional Commander, he had conducted successful campaigns against the Cheyennes (1868-1869) and the Comanches in the Red River War (1874-1875). He believed earlier failures to subdue the Indian were due to a preoccupation with humanitarian concerns. Sheridan made no moral judgements of the policy that, in his opinion,

had predetermined open war with the tribes. He reported to General Sherman:

In taking the offensive, I have to select that season when I can catch the fiends; and if a village is attacked and women and children killed, the responsibility is not with the soldiers but with the people whose crimes necessitated the attack. During the war did any one hesitate to attack a village or town occupied by the enemy because women and children were within its limits? Did we cease to throw shells into Vicksburg or Atlanta because women and children were there?²⁷

As previously stated, Sheridan believed that the nature of the Indian wars had changed by 1879. The requirement for taking the field in offensive operations had ended with the destruction of the "great" Plains tribes. Maintenance of army forces along the railroad, positioned to counter Indian incursions off reservations would be the required remedy.

Sheridan's two principle subordinates, Generals Crook and Pope, were marked in their contrasting styles of command. Both were experienced "Indian fighters" and veteran army political animals who cultivated political favors and supporters. They possessed different views on the responsibility of a Departmental commander during the conduct of a campaign, but to a large degree Pope and Crook shared similar perceptions and sought the same goals. Unlike Sherman and Sheridan, both are remembered as "humanitarian soldiers", moved by the plight of the Indian, but compelled to deal with the problems they presented. Whether they were truly compassionate, or were using this image to gain support among eastern politicians, is open to discussion. Certainly, they never offered alternative policies and in the conduct of operations neither instituted tactical changes that would reflect a higher level of sensitivity to the Indian. Their

opinions captured the imagination of the eastern press and won both men admirers among philanthropic groups and humanitarians.

Crook is often denoted as one of the most effective field commanders the army had during the period, and as a "reluctant" warrior, who was well respected by the Indian.²⁸ His soldiers tended to view Crook as a publicity hungry leader, more concerned with his image than fighting Indians. A soldiers ditty that was popular in Crooks command went:

I'd like to be a packer,
And pack with George F. Crook
And dressed up in my canvas suit
To be for him mistook.
I'd braid my beard in two long tails,
And idle all the day
In whittling sticks and wondering
What the New York papers say.²⁹

General Pope was equally concerned of his public image, but did not cultivate the image of an active field commander. Pope preferred to remain at his departmental headquarters or at a location that afforded him the use of both the railroad and telegraph. His command method put him in the position to monitor operations from afar while maintaining contact with superiors and eastern political acquaintances.

The three commanders were not working at cross purposes, but each conducted operations within the context of their own personal motivations. This situation was characteristic of officers throughout this period, and the remnants of it still can be seen in the current American army.³⁰ All three generals practiced the mechanical aspects of Indian warfare in the manner which characterized army operations and tactics; reliance on technology, use of converging

columns, winter campaigns, a "total war" devoid of rules of engagement or restrictions on either side.

The origins and conduct of warfare of the Ute tribe, as viewed by its members, are summarized in the legend of their creation:

Once there were no people in any part of the world. Sinawaf, the creator, began to cut sticks and place them in a large bag. This went on for some time until, finally, Coyote's [a figure representing evil or troublemaker] curiosity could stand the suspense no longer. One day while Sinawaf was away Coyote opened the bag. Many people came out, all of them speaking different languages, and scattering in every direction. When Sinawaf returned there were but a few people left. He was angry with Coyote, for he had planned to distribute the people equally in the land. The result of unequal distribution caused by Coyote would be war between the different peoples, each trying to gain land from his neighbor. Of all the people remaining in the bag, Sinawaf said, "this small tribe shall be Ute but they will be very brave and able to defeat the rest."³¹

For centuries the Utes were successful in defending their mountain bastion, while ranging to the east and south on forays for horses and game. The arrival of the American army on the Ute range was not at first a cause for great concern among the tribe. By the 19th century, the Utes had been very successful in fighting European style armies. Since the expansion of the Spanish empire into the southwest, the Utes had proven adept at mobile warfare in difficult terrain.

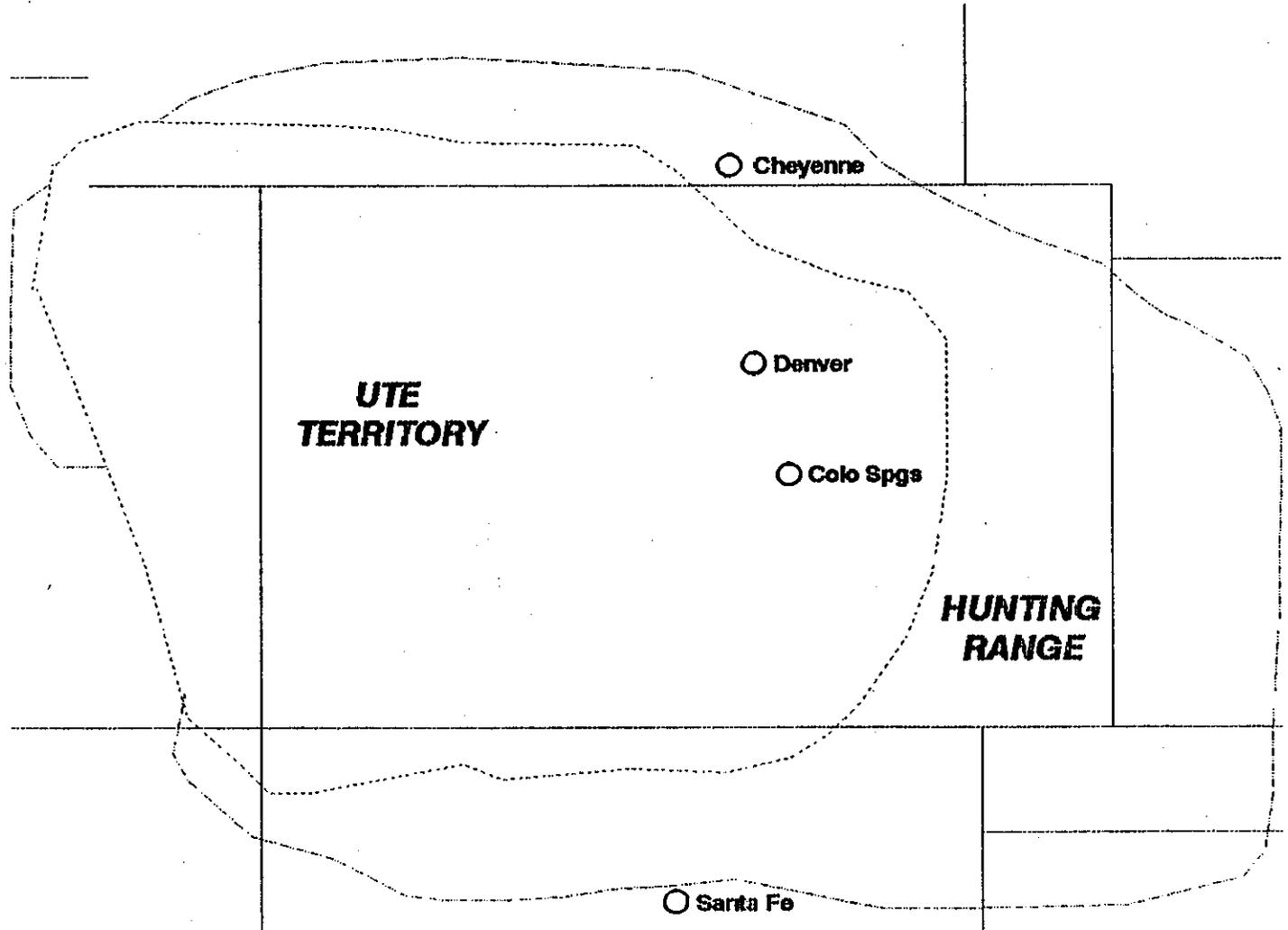
The occupation of New Mexico by Spain in 1598, began the "golden era" in the Utes' history because of the horse. As with other Plains tribes, The Utes' culture experienced a significant change through the acquisition of the horse from the Spaniards. The rapid adaptation of the horse greatly increased mobility and expanded the hunting range of the Utes. Hunters could now leave the mountains and return with sufficient buffalo meat and skins to maintain themselves throughout the winter. The creation of an economic surplus through

more efficient hunting made it possible for scattered family groups to form larger bands under more centralized leadership.³²

From 1838, with the establishment of Bents Fort along the banks of the South Platte River, the Utes had regular contact with "American" culture. The general lack of problems between the Ute tribe and the expanding frontier derived from their unique geographic position. The Utes benefitted from the fact that the large immigrant trails and efforts of the transcontinental railroad skirted their mountain home. The one point of friction between white and Ute cultures originated with the movement of settlers from New Mexico into the San Luis Valley in south central Colorado. The army was quick to respond by establishing Fort Massachusetts in 1852 (later relocated and renamed Fort Garland in 1858). The six families that founded the pioneer Colorado town of San Luis in 1851 were immigrants from New Mexico, who had only become American citizens three years earlier through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

Fort Garland remained a critical location in the relationship between the Utes and the army until the ultimate removal of the tribe from the area in 1883. It was garrisoned throughout the period by a combination of regular army and Colorado militia. The post acted as a "leadership laboratory" for future Ute warriors as they observed and served with the army in campaigns against the Navajo, Sioux, and Cheyenne. As it was described in 1870:

Eight thousand feet above sea-level, at the foot of snow-covered mountains, towering six thousand feet higher, on the western slope of the Rocky Mountain Range, in about 106 longitude and 37 latitude, a favorite range for the indomitable Utes, and a favorite haunt for elk, deer, bear, panther, and beaver, difficult to access from nearly all directions - Fort Garland, Colorado, though the point of strength and the protecting



UTE AREA AT TIME OF 1806 PIKE EXPEDITION
(Adapted from Smith, Ethnography of the Utes)
Figure 4

hope of many a small settlement and isolated rancho flourishing on those sweet trout streams, the Trinchero and Sangre de Cristo, has eminent right still to be called a frontier post.³³

Early in the relationship between the United States and the Utes, the Ute tribe seemed to realize the futility of active resistance, and instead sought to adopt a policy of negotiation. Two campaigns were conducted against the Utes in Colorado--the Ute war of 1854-1855 and the Ute war of 1879. The first began on 25 December, 1854, when a small band of Mouache Utes, under the leadership of Tierra Blanca, killed four trappers. The army gathered a force of 12 companies of regulars and militia at Fort Garland to pursue the Utes, but quickly came to the conclusion that winter is not the optimum season for active campaigning in the Rockies. The size of the force impressed the Utes, who had avoided contact with the troops by melting away into the mountains.

A peace was negotiated in the fall of 1855, with two consequences that would shape the Ute perception of the army in the future. First, while the army could not penetrate the Ute mountain range in the winter, the continual pressure the army exerted on the Utes for nine months made a lasting impression. Second, a young observer of the conflict was Ouray, who would become chief of the Utes and would shape Ute policy until his death in 1880. Ouray, who was as politically adept as many of Colorado's elected leaders, seems early on to have recognized the inevitable, and sought to delay the loss of Ute lands through alliance with the "whites" and skillful negotiation. Ouray is quoted as saying:

I realize the ultimate destiny of my people. They will be extirpated by the race that overruns, occupies and holds our hunting grounds, whose numbers and force, with the

government and millions behind it will in a few years remove the last trace of our blood that now remains. We shall fall as the leaves from the trees when frost or winter comes and the lands which we have roamed over for countless generations will be given over to the miner and the plowshare. In place of our humble tepees, the "white man's" towns and cities will appear and we shall be buried out of sight beneath the avalanche of the new civilization. This is the destiny of my people. My part is to protect them and yours as far as I can, from the violence and bloodshed while I live, and to bring both into friendly relations, so that they may be at peace with one another.³⁴

Relations between the Utes and "whites" prior to the War of 1879 were remarkable in the restraint shown on both sides. In reviewing records of army actions from 1860-1879 in Colorado, no incidents involving the Utes were recorded.³⁵ Indeed, the focus of army action in Colorado was against traditional enemies of the Utes. The Utes proved a steady ally for the army during this period, providing men to serve as scouts and auxiliaries against other tribes on the plains and to the south against the Apaches.³⁶

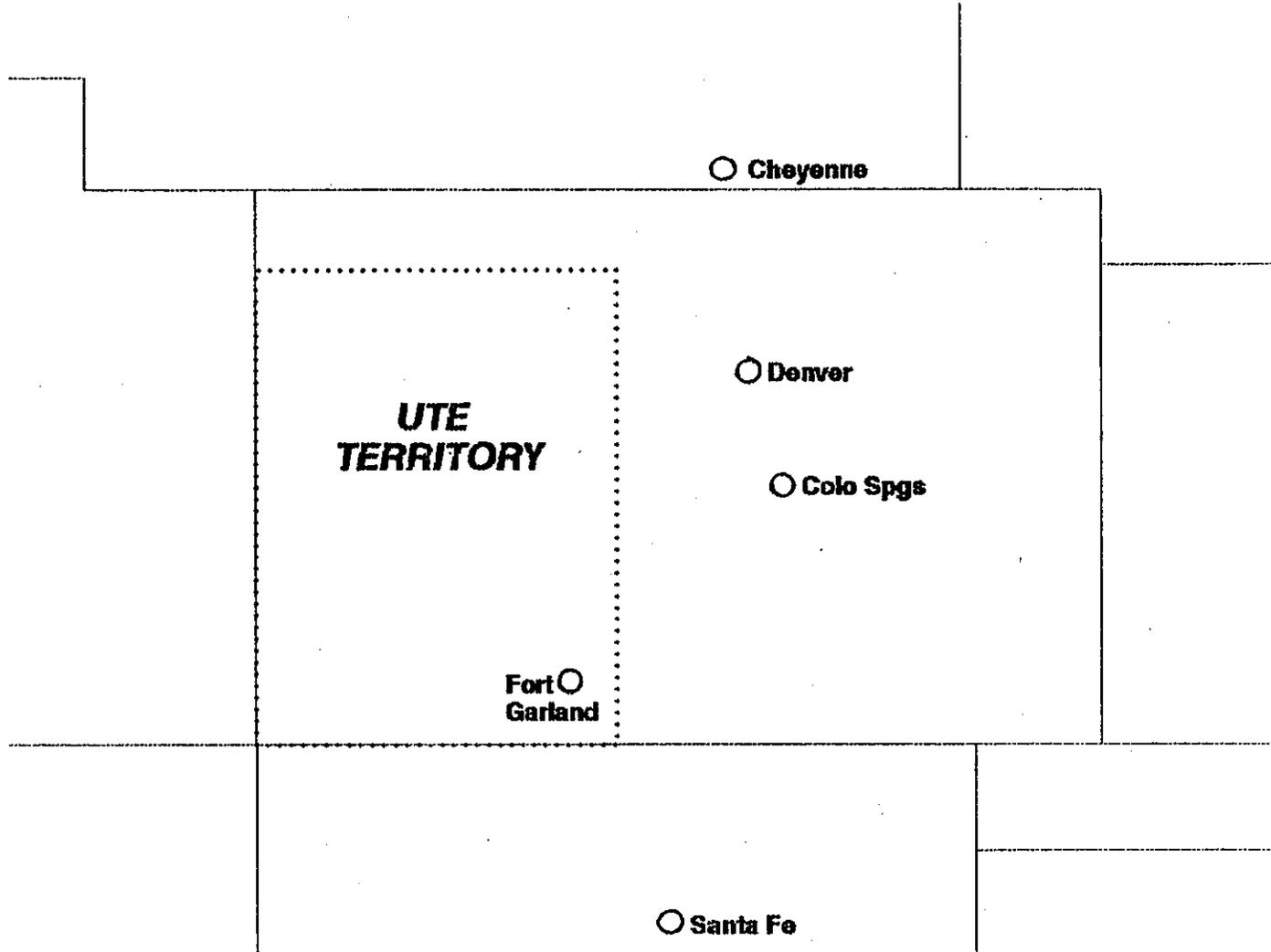
The Ute warrior was a valued addition to any army expedition. He prided himself on two things: marksmanship and horsemanship. Ute culture, perhaps because of the highly defensible nature of their home terrain, emphasized the ability of the sniper and never developed the concept of "counting coup" or hand-to-hand combat like the Plains tribes. The wealth of a man was measured by the number and quality of his horses, but his worth as a warrior was in his marksmanship.³⁷ The primary armament of the Ute by 1879, were the Henry or Winchester repeater, which were effective for hunting in the mountains, where volume of fire is more useful than range in the broken terrain. The Utes were very pragmatic about the conduct of warfare. The practice by other tribes of institutionalizing war honors (i.e., taking scalps) was

not followed. The taking of horses or prisoners was a matter of expediency, but standing fights were abjectly avoided. Among Indian enemies the Ute had a reputation as a particularly difficult adversary to kill. The army would have to learn the same lesson on its own.

As it served with the army, the Ute tribe gained an appreciation of the strengths and weaknesses of the army and of government policy. The massacre at Sand Creek in 1864 and the winter campaign of 1868 against the Cheyenne, would to a large degree serve as the framework in which the Utes would understand the threat to their tribe. The Utes sought to avoid similar results through negotiation and treaty.

The success of the Utes' policy of negotiation was determined by the "boom or bust" economic cycle that characterized Colorado as a territory and in the early years of statehood. The revision of existing agreements corresponded with each newly discovered mineral bonanza on Ute controlled territory. The Ute view of this activity was an acceptance of prospectors and miners, with vain attempts to limit the development of permanent communities and farms. They were unprepared for the onslaught that would follow the discovery of precious minerals.

The discovery of gold at Cripple Creek and at Cherry Creek in 1859, would bring about the first definition of Ute lands by the federal government. The end of the Civil War brought gold seekers and settlers to Colorado at an unprecedented rate. The federal government, utilizing the special relationship that Kit Carson held with the tribe, negotiated a treaty in 1868 that guaranteed the Utes an area of approximately 16,000,000 acres and "was binding and final forever."



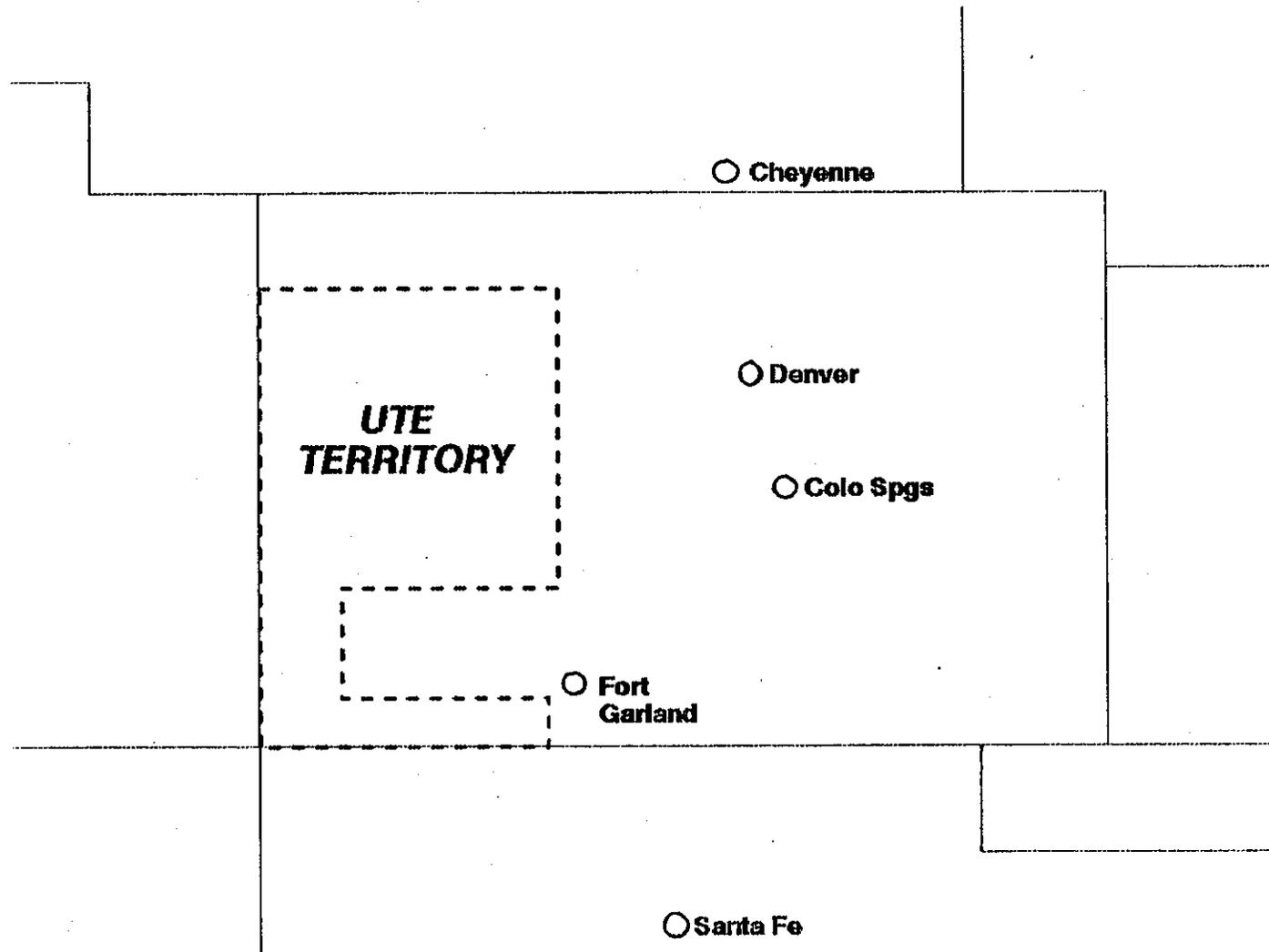
TREATY OF 1868
(Adapted from Marsh, People of the Shining Mountain)
Figure 5

The federal government designated Ouray as the primary Ute Chief, which served to consolidate his position within the tribe.

"Forever" arrived earlier than anticipated by the Utes. By 1872, the discovery of silver in the San Juan mountains of southwestern Colorado added new impetus to revise the 1868 agreement. The Colorado delegation to congress complained that this vast amount of land was under utilized by the lazy Ute people. Ouray, at a meeting of the McCook Commission stated, "We work as hard as you do. Did you ever try skinning a buffalo?"³⁹

In 1873 the Brunot Treaty was signed, which cut the San Juan region from the Ute lands. The area that the Utes controlled was still impressive - over 11,000,000 acres for a total population estimated at between four and six thousand. Ouray was disappointed by the continued reduction of Ute territory, but his tribe was faring better than most in their attempts to stave off complete destruction. The federal government had intervened twice on behalf of the Utes, sending troops to remove miners who were in violation of the treaty.

The strategy of negotiation and alliance with the army was working for the time being. But by 1879 the destruction of the major Indian opponents to the federal government and the continued pressures of Colorado settlement and industry would unhinge the Ute strategy. The power of the combined federal and state governments would be soon brought to bear on the Utes with telling effect.



○ Santa Fe
BRUNOT TREATY OF 1873
(Adapted from Sprague, Massacre)
Figure 6

ENDNOTES

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27. Ibid., 87.
28. Revisionist historians attribute the favorable view of Crook to the adoption of his biography by his long-standing adjutant as the definitive work on the subject. John G. Bourke, On the Border with Crook (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971).
29. James T. King, "Needed: A Re-evaluation of General George Crook," Nebraska History Magazine 65 (September 1964): 229.
30. The currying of political favor was a continuation of a tradition that reached its peak during the Civil War. In 1879, Crook held the ultimate political trump card as President Hayes had served under him in the Civil War. Hayes reputedly had a portrait of Crook hanging in his office in the White House. Coffman in The Old Army provides an excellent survey of this phenomenon.
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32. Carl Abbott, Stephen J. Leonard, David McComb, Colorado: A History of the Centennial State (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 1982), 26.

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CHAPTER 4

MASSACRE AND BATTLE

Either they [the Utes] or we go, and we are not going. Humanitarianism is an idea. Western empire is an inexorable fact. He who gets in the way of it will be crushed.¹

Early in 1879, an editorial in the Denver Times stated what had become obvious to most "white" Colorado residents. Since the 1873 Brunot Treaty, pressure had continued to mount for the removal of the Utes from Colorado. Within the state, the publication of Hayden's atlas of 1877 demonstrated that a large portion of land was still controlled by a "non-producing, semi-barbarous people."² Outside Colorado, Eastern humanitarians held off legislation introduced by the Colorado delegation to Congress in 1878, which was designed to forcibly remove the Utes from the state to the Indian Territory. The Utes had not yet provided the grounds for military action against them.

The spark that would provoke the war was provided by the Ute agent, Nathan C. Meeker. In March 1878, Meeker was appointed as the agent to the White River Agency in northwestern Colorado. Meeker saw the appointment to the agency as an opportunity to continue his version of social engineering. A deeply religious man, Meeker was determined to pursue his vision for assimilation of the Utes, into White society through force if necessary. As Colorado Governor Pitkin would later state, "A purer and better man than Meeker was never appointed to an Indian agency." As an afterthought he added, "He did not understand Indians sufficiently."³

Meeker sought to transform his agency overnight. He saw agriculture as the means to Ute self-sufficiency. He proposed plowing grassland to convert to farmland, although this made no sense to a culture that measured wealth in horses. Despite strong resistance to his methods, Meeker remained ever hopeful. He reported in July of 1878:

These Ute Indians are peacable, respecters of the right of property, and with few exceptions amiable and prepossessing in appearance. There are no quarrelsome outbreaks, no robberies, and perhaps not a half dozen who pilfer, and these are well known...On the whole, this agent is impressed with the idea that if the proper methods can be hit upon they can be made to develop many useful and manly qualities and be elevated to a state of absolute independence.⁴

Despite Meeker's initial favorable view, other elements in the state were opposed to mediation with the Utes. Beginning in 1877, the Department of the Missouri had been caught up in this increasing pressure between the cultures. In August 1877, citizens petitioned General Pope to station a company of cavalry permanently in the area of Middle Park to control the Utes, "believing trouble will surely be averted thereby."⁵ Pope did send troops in the summer of 1879-D Company, 9th Cavalry—with mixed results.

At length General John Pope sent a single company of colored cavalry to scout in the Middle Park. Now if there is anything on the face of the earth that an Indian hates above another it is a negro, and especially a nigger soldier. Therefore, this movement, instead of quieting their hostility, merely inflamed it.⁶

Pope's efforts to defuse the growing crisis went largely unappreciated in the racist environment of the times. In the meantime he found an unlikely ally for his idea of consolidating the Utes under the control of the army. Prior to the outbreak of open hostilities, the army had received support from the Indian Bureau in their effort to consolidate the tribes to facilitate control by the military. In the

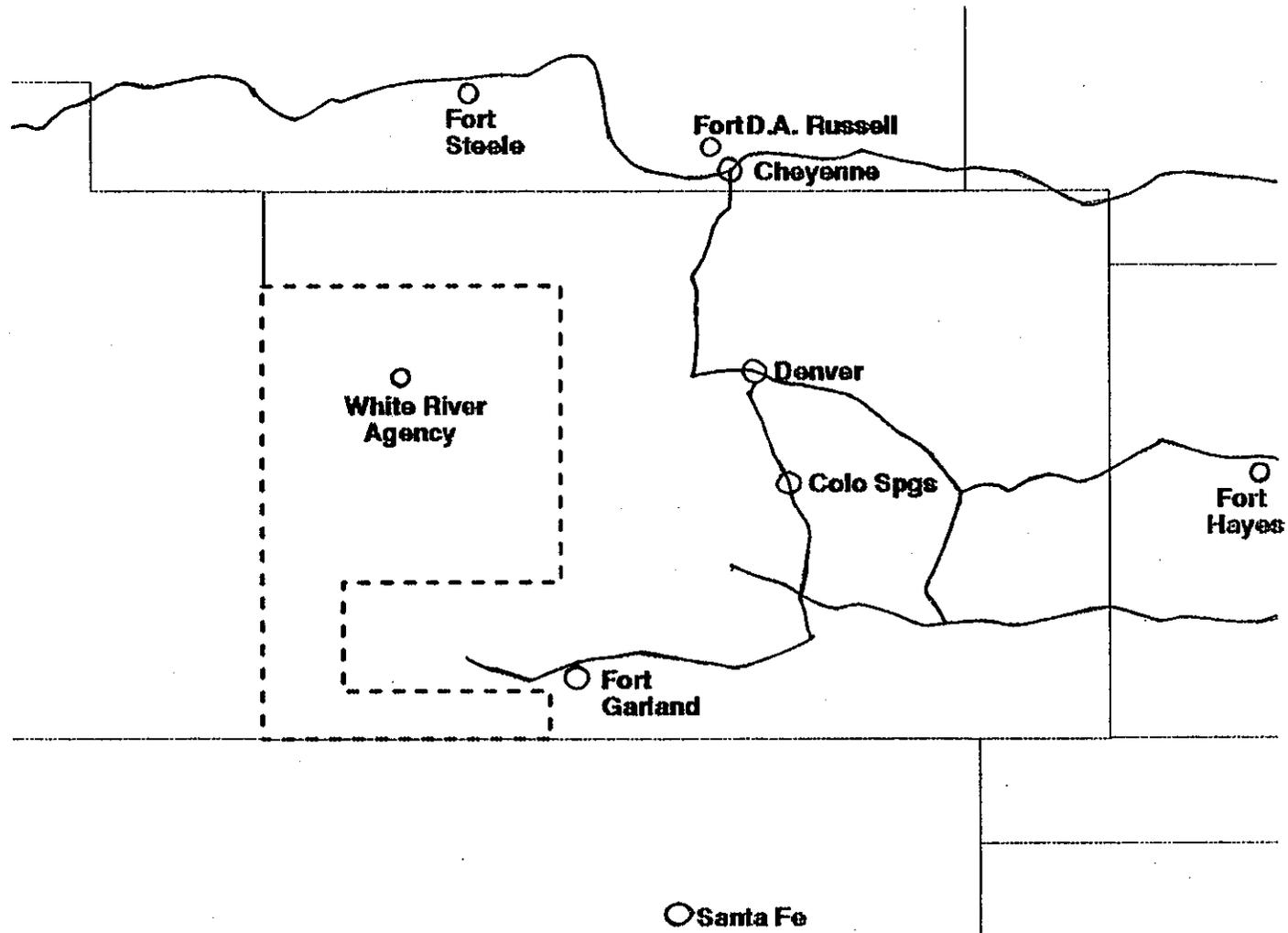
case of the Utes, the Indian Bureau supported moving them to the Indian Territory in its annual report of 1878. This proposal reflected the need to centralize the management of the different tribes, in order to better provide at least the minimum amount of subsistence to the tribes. The Utes presented a particularly thorny problem because the mountainous nature of the terrain they occupied. The White River Agency was only accessible two months out of the year by teamster wagon. The Indian Bureau presented its desire to relocate the tribe as a matter of military expediency. Commissioner Ezra A. Hayt stated:

The reason I favored it [transfer of Utes to Indian Territory] is this: The Indian Territory has enough fertile land to enable those Indians to settle down comfortably. It has a superabundance of fertile land. Again, the country is not broken, ridged, and labyrinthine like this region in Colorado; it is a country where the Army could use artillery; and wherever our troops can use artillery the Indians know very well that it is useless for them to go upon the warpath, so that, as a defensive measure, I think it would be wise to take them out of their fortresses and put them where they will be less formidable...I think, then, if we wish to avoid expensive wars and to save the lives of our soldiers, it is very desirable to put these Indians out of their fortresses in Colorado."⁷

On February 4, 1878, the Colorado delegation introduced the first of three bills designed to remove the Utes to the Indian Territory. The bills called for the transfer of the Utes and for the revocation of any title to the Ute lands. House Resolution 351, introduced by Representative A.M. Scales was typical of the three. It empowered the Secretary of the Interior to negotiate with the Utes and "establish by law the extinguishment of title to their lands, removal from their present locations and consolidation on certain reservations."⁸

The location of the White River Agency was at the end of the army's operational reach. While the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad had pushed a line past Fort Garland to bring in mining supplies to the San Juan mountains, the northwestern portion of the state remained untouched. Troops from Fort Steele, Wyoming Territory, within the Department of the Platte, were approximately 150 miles from the agency. The closest troops to the agency, within the state and under the control of the Department of the Missouri, were at Fort Garland at about 176 miles distance. The army found itself in the position that it could both contain the Utes away from the population centers and lines of communication within the state and along the Wyoming border, but was not well suited to control events in the hinterland of Colorado. Superior operational mobility was not an advantage if containment was not the objective.

The army command and control structure, as delineated by the departments, may have contributed to the outbreak of hostilities. As tensions rose and reports of Ute violations of the peace were reported, citizens of northwestern and north central Colorado crossed the state line and demanded action from the commander at Fort Steele--Major Thomas T. Thornburgh. Thornburgh did not act for two reasons. First, he viewed the Ute problem as an issue within the jurisdiction of the neighboring department. Second, while the Ute range was primarily in Colorado, the Utes did travel in Wyoming Territory, and he had received no reports of problems from Wyoming ranchers. The commander of Fort Steele solicited reports on Ute conduct from settlers within 100 miles of the post. All indicated the Utes were well behaved. Thornburgh



○ Santa Fe
THEATER RAILROADS: 1878
(Adapted from Sprague, Massacre)
Figure 7

questioned the stories, since the Utes were blamed for a myriad of problems on one side of the border and none on the other.⁹

Coordination between army departments was occurring as tensions were increasing. Meeker had sent a message to Major Thornburgh on 17 July 1879, concerned that a band of White River Utes was heading north on a raid to acquire weapons, and to possibly meet with the Sioux hostiles. By 26 July 1879, the report had been relayed to General Pope at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, from the Department of the Platte Headquarters at Fort Omaha, Nebraska.¹⁰ General Crook, Department of the Platte commander, reported to General Sheridan on the incident:

...Major Thornburgh's report with these statements are forwarded herewith. From these statements it will be seen:

1. That besides killing game the Indians committed no deprivations.
2. That the post commander of Fort Steele, Wyo., did not receive timely information of the presence of the Indians referred to.

I ask attention to the fact that it is impossible for the military, placed as they are at such great distances from the agencies, to prevent Indians from leaving without authority, unless warning in due time by the Indian authorities is given. Nor can a post commander force them to return without running the risk of bringing on a war, for which he would be held accountable.

For this reason the post commander is required to refer the matter to higher military authority, which also involves delay. Unless troops are stationed at the agencies they cannot know in time when Indians are absent by authority; nor can they prevent the occurrence of troubles, for which they are frequently and most unjustly held responsible.¹¹

In addition to problems along the Colorado-Wyoming border, the Colorado-Utah border added another factor into the equation. The long standing animosity between the federal government and portions of the Mormon community in Utah, had the potential to escalate any Ute outbreak into a more protracted insurgency. As tensions between the

Utes and the government were rising, unidentified "whites" from Utah were arriving at Indian camps inciting the tribe to take action.

Throughout the summer of 1879, events and rumors on both sides were beginning to take on a life of their own. The unsubstantiated stories of deprivations of whites and Indians were splashed across the front pages of the Colorado's daily newspapers. (figure 8) The Utes were operating under an agreement, the Brunot Treaty, that had been signed by President Grant only four years earlier. The trustees of this agreement, the Indian Bureau, both at the local and national levels, were openly suggesting the annulment of the document. The state government, led by Governor Pitkin, was calling for the removal of the Utes.

On 5 July, 1879, Governor Pitkin sent the following telegram to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Ezra A. Hayt:

Reports reach me daily that a band of White River Utes are off the reservation, destroying forests and game near North and Middle Parks. They have already burned millions of dollars of timber, and are intimidating settlers and miners. Have written Agent Meeker, but fear letters have not reached him. I respectfully request you to have telegraphic order sent troops at nearest post to remove Indians to their reservation. If general government does not act promptly the State must. Immense forests are burning throughout Western Colorado, supposed to have been fired by the Utes. I am satisfied there is an organized effort on the part of Indians to destroy the timber of Colorado. The loss will be irreplaceable. These savages should be removed to the Indian Territory, where they can no longer destroy the finest forests in this state.¹²

Pitkin's action, or more specifically his lack of action, to defuse the crisis, was adding to the tension between the Utes and the citizenry of the state. The request for troops to control the Utes was based on violations attributed to the Utes, based on rumors and the concerns of the agent Meeker.¹³ On 20 August, 1879, a delegation of

SAMPLE HEADLINES FROM THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN NEWS
(1878-1879)

1878

2 January	Indian Hostilities
3 March	Utes on Rampage, Whites Fear Uprising
5 March	Utes Kill Cattle on Snake River
18 April	Ute Massacre in Pagosa Sprins
23 April	Rumors of Ute War
28 April	Utes' Gold Locations Secret from Whites
24 May	Utes Rebellious Through Neglect of Indian Bureau
21 July	Movements of Ute Indians
3 August	Utes Kill Joe McLane, Stockmen Seek Revenge
1 September	Ute Uprising Feared in Grand County
12 September	Utes in Trouble over Murder of Settlers

1879

1 January	Utes Make Trouble in Middle Park
27 June	Utes Threaten Miners in North Park
9 July	Ute Hostile Attitude Excites State Officials
16 July	Shall We Kill or Starve the Indians? [editorial]
6 August	The Indians Must Go
14 August	Utes Arrested and Charged with Arson
10 September	Letter from Meeker to editor complaining of his treatment by the Utes.

Figure 8

Utes from the White River Agency, led by the chief of that band, Douglas, arrived in Denver for a meeting with the governor. The Utes assumed that the governor would take action against Agent Meeker, once their grievances were known. The Utes explained that they no longer had confidence in Meeker, and to avert trouble, a replacement was needed. At the time of the meeting, Pitkin had been informed that his earlier request for troops had been approved by the Indian Bureau and had been turned over to the War Department.¹⁴ The governor took no action.

Through the summer of 1879, Meeker was becoming aware of the personal animosity the White River Utes held toward him. He found solace in the belief that his program would ultimately be successful. His notions of winning the support of the Indians, would re-emerge in more recent civic-action programs in another theater--"we had to destroy the village in order to save it." Meeker had reported to his Senate sponsor, Senator Teller, "I propose to cut every Indian down to the bare starvation point if he will not work." Later, he stated, "the most hopeful thing is that there are several families complaining bitterly of cold, and they want houses."¹⁵

The only agency that appeared to be operating within the framework of national policy was the army. While the army was not a friend to the Ute, it was attempting to maintain itself above the realm of partisan politics and experiments in social engineering. General Pope had one company of cavalry patrolling the Colorado mountains trying to maintain the peace, and had previously demonstrated that the army would intervene in the Utes' behalf in support of existing treaty arrangements. Pope travelled to the state on 6 August 1879, to meet

with Governor Pitkin and assess the requests for additional troops. The steady stream of requests from the state, and the reports from both the Departments of the Platte and the Missouri, led him to the conclusion that a crisis was unfolding. Fort Lewis, Colorado, was established by the summer of 1879, near Pagosa Springs, to contain further violations of Ute lands in the San Juan Mountain area by whites.¹⁶

In 1879, Major Thornburgh had become aware of problems at the White River Agency. Meeker had written him twice, on 7 & 11 June, regarding problems at the agency.¹⁷ In addition to official message traffic, small groups of Utes had travelled to Rawlins, Wyoming, in an attempt to locate long delayed supplies for the agency. At Rawlins, the railhead for the White River Agency, supplies had been awaiting transportation for as long as one year. Thornburgh had sent a message to Meeker informing him of this problem, and requested the agent resolve the matter through Indian Bureau channels. Thornburgh did not live to learn of the answer.

The event that finally led to the collision of all the competing interests has been the subject of popular legend in the state of Colorado. The most widely held belief is that Agent Meeker plowed up the ground that the Utes used as a racetrack. Regardless of the reason, on 10 September, 1879, Meeker telegraphed the Indian Bureau that he had been physically assaulted by a Ute and was in fear of his life and the safety of other Agency employees.¹⁸

Meeker's message was received on 14 September 1879, at the Indian Bureau. By the next day the War Department had ordered troops to the scene. On the same day, Commissioner Hayt sent a message to

Meeker that troops had been requested for his protection. Hayt also instructed Meeker to have "leaders" arrested upon the arrival of the army. Meeker responded on the 22d of September:

Governor Pitkin writes, cavalry on the way. Dispatch of 15th will be obeyed.¹⁹

By the 15th, Pope had troops moving to resolve the reported problems at the agency. He had sent orders to Captain Dodge with Company D, 9th Cavalry, at Sulphur Springs, Colorado to "settle matters" at White River.²⁰ The movement of these troops was halted as Generals Sheridan, Crook, and Pope discussed the best options to deal with the problem. Sheridan directed Crook to send troops from the Department of the Platte because of the relative proximity of Fort Steele and the Union Pacific railhead. His order to Pope was that the Department of Missouri "need not take any action in reference thereto."²¹ With orders issued to Thornburgh's command on 16 September, 1879, Sheridan recommended to General Pope:

...no action in so far as the military are concerned, except simply to quell the existing disturbances and then to await such final decision as may seem best by the Indian Bureau.²²

On 21 September 1879, Major Thornburgh departed Fort Steele with E Company 3d Cavalry, D and F Companies 5th Cavalry, and B Company from his own 4th Infantry. Included with the column as it left Rawlins, Wyoming were 33 supply wagons and 220 pack mules, a line which was strung out over several miles. The force carried with it rations for thirty days and forage for fifteen days, which in the words of a later report by General Sherman "was considered by everybody as sufficient for the purpose."²³ For the next seven days with about 200 men, Thornburgh marched toward the agency while reporting his progress to General Crook.

Progress to the agency was slow. Despite being the nearest military installation, the trail to the agency was a difficult one. Numerous rivers and streams plus the continental divide had to be negotiated enroute. After crossing the divide, Thornburgh left the Infantry company and 25 wagons at Fortification Creek to serve as a supply base for his command. It had taken until the 24th to arrive at Fortification Creek where Thornburgh rested the column and sent a messenger to the agency with details of his mission.

On the 26th with no news from the agency the column resumed its march. As Thornburgh continued his march toward the agency, the Utes became very agitated. Chief Douglas confronted Meeker about his role in calling for troops. Meeker denied any knowledge of the troops, but assured Douglas that he would intercede and halt the advance short of the agency boundary--Milk River.²⁴ The message dispatched to Meeker from Thornburgh had already arranged this course of action. On 26 September 1879, Thornburgh reported from the Bear River (now known as the Yampa River) to the Department of the Platte:

Have met some Ute chiefs here. They seem friendly and promise to go with me to agency. Say Utes don't understand why we have come. Have tried to explain satisfactorily. Do not anticipate trouble.²⁵

The Utes perceived that the march of the troops meant that war had been declared on them. Emmissaries met with Major Thornburgh twice during his movement, but in spite of his best efforts, the fears and concerns of the Utes were not allayed. On September 28th, Thornburgh changed the plan that he had previously communicated to Meeker. Concerned about the prospect of being separated from his command if trouble ensued, he decided to push beyond the Milk River boundary. He

wrote Meeker:

I have, after due deliberation, decided to modify my plans as communicated in my letter of the 27th instant in the following particulars:

I shall move with my entire command to some convenient camp near, and within striking distance of your agency, reaching such point during the 29th. I shall then halt and encamp the troops and proceed to the agency with my guide and five soldiers...

Then and there I will be ready to have a conference with you and the Indians, so that an understanding may be arrived at and my course of action determined. I have carefully considered whether or not it would be advisable to have my command at a point as distant as that desired by the Indians who were in camp last night, and have reached the conclusion that under my orders, which require me to march this command to the agency, I am not at liberty to leave it at a point where it would not be available in case of trouble. You are authorized to say for me to the Indians that my course of conduct is entirely dependent on them. Our desire is to avoid trouble, and we have not come for war.²⁶

As the column resumed its march on September 29th, it soon descended into a small valley that contained the Milk River. As the troops moved into the valley, soldiers noticed that the grass was burning along the bottom land. They also noted the presence of a large number of Indian horse tracks.²⁷ Thornburgh halted the column along the river long enough to water the stock. As he was now preparing to violate the agency boundary, Thornburgh sent a lieutenant and ten troopers to scout ahead as the command resumed its movement into Ute territory.

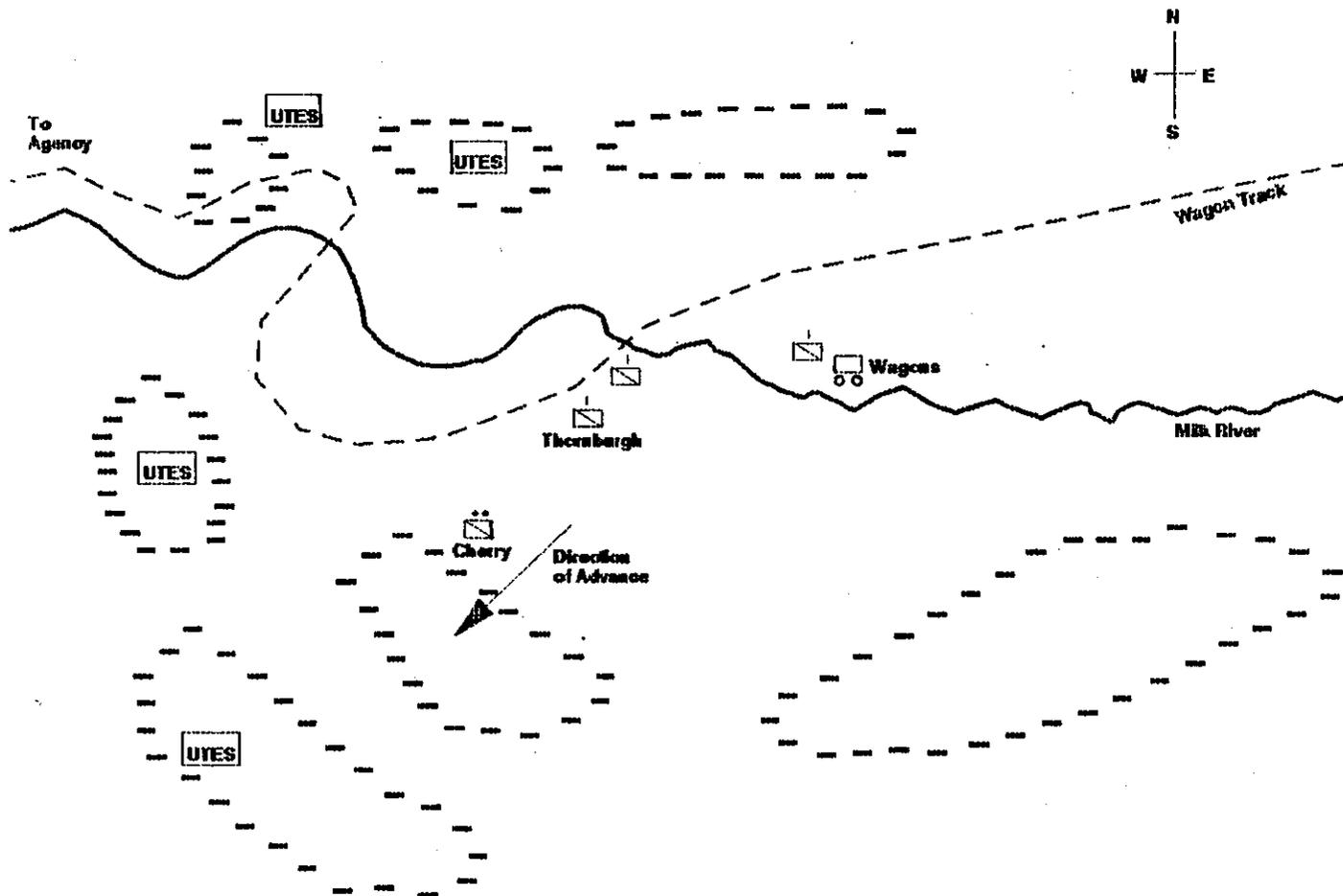
The advance guard of the formation, under the command of Lieutenant S.A. Cherry, crossed the Milk River and took up position between half to three quarters of a mile in front of the main body. Instead of following the dirt track that followed the course of the river to the agency proper, Cherry began climbing a low ridge to the south of the track. At the top of the ridge, Cherry saw three Indians

disappear over the next ridge line. He dropped down into a small gully and began to climb the second ridge. His concern of ambush heightened, Thornburgh and the main body followed the route of the advance guard and bypassed the river track. As Cherry topped the second ridge he observed:

I discovered the Indians on top of the second ridge, I saw them lying down with their guns in their hands behind the ridge. I was within a hundred yards of the Indians, and I could see them lying down, occupying not more than a yard of space each; was near enough to see that they were packed as close as they could be, their line extending at least 400 yards.²⁸

Upon observing the dismounted force of between 300 to 400 Utes, Cherry turned and rode hellbent for Thornburgh at the lead of the main body. Thornburgh had deployed the two lead companies, D and F of the 5th Cavalry, along the first ridge line as he saw the frantic ride of his advance guard. The remaining company was still near the Milk River with the wagons. The Utes saw the two lead elements deploy, and based on their previous service with the army, immediately assumed that this meant a charge was imminent.

The advance guard arrived at Thornburgh's position and Cherry made his report. Thornburgh sent Cherry with orders to the two lead companies to "dismount and hold fire until he gave the order."²⁹ Thornburgh gave Cherry further instructions--once the orders were delivered to the companies, Cherry and his advance party were to advance and attempt to parley with the Utes. Cherry delivered his orders and proceeded with the second half of his mission. Shortly after Cherry began his ride toward the second ridge, he encountered a small group of Utes. He waved his hat and was met by a hail of bullets that cut down a trooper ten feet from him.³⁰



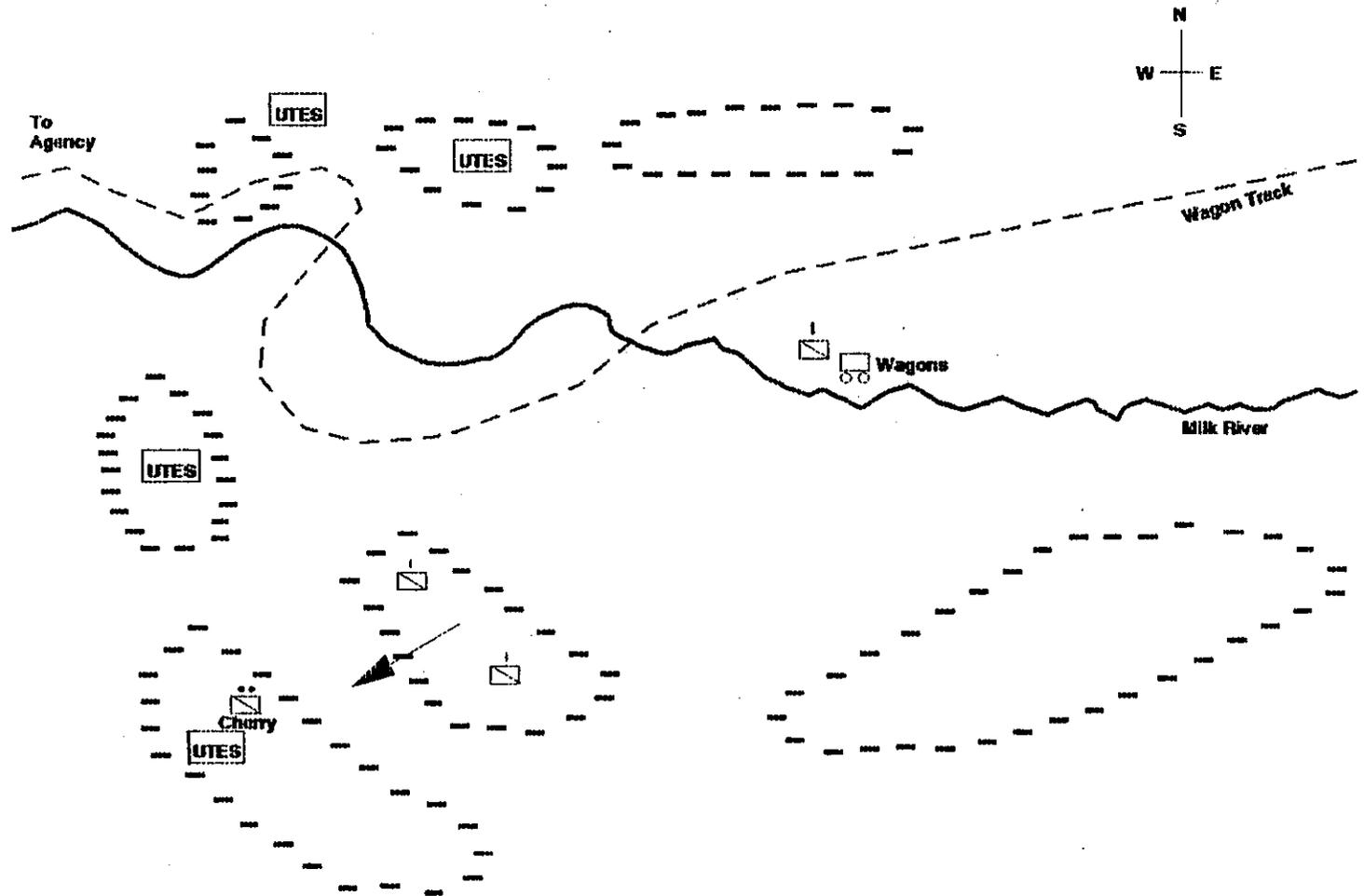
81

29 SEPTEMBER 1879: INITIAL ADVANCE
 (Adapted from Dawson, The Ute War)
 Figure 9

Cherry's party came tumbling back to the skirmish lines formed by the two companies, as rifle fire erupted from both sides. Thornburgh had successfully avoided the Ute ambush set for his command along the river track, but was now taking a heavy volume of rifle fire in his current position. He was in danger of being cut off from his supplies and his third company along the Milk River as mounted Utes were attempting to envelop his position. Thornburgh executed a slow dismounted withdrawal back to the northside of the river, to the relative safety of the wagons. At one point during the withdrawal, Thornburgh observed the Utes concentrating for a mounted attack and quickly executed a spoiling attack with one of his companies.³¹ As the command was falling back to the river in a swirling battle of rifle fire, Thornburgh was killed and command succeeded to Captain Payne of the 5th Cavalry.

Payne assumed command as the three cavalry companies arrived at the wagons on the north side of the river. The command began using the wagons, grain sacks, dead horses, and dirt to establish temporary breastworks and a corral for the surviving animals. Meanwhile, the Utes occupied the high ground both to the north and south of the river. Using this advantage and the superior range of their rifles, they kept up steady pressure on the troops with constant sniping. As the roll was called on the night of September 29, twelve of the command were dead. Forty three were wounded, including all but one of the officers.³²

Affairs at the agency took a marked turn for the worse with the outbreak of fighting. Ute messengers rode back with news of the engagement and the tension that had been building for months burst



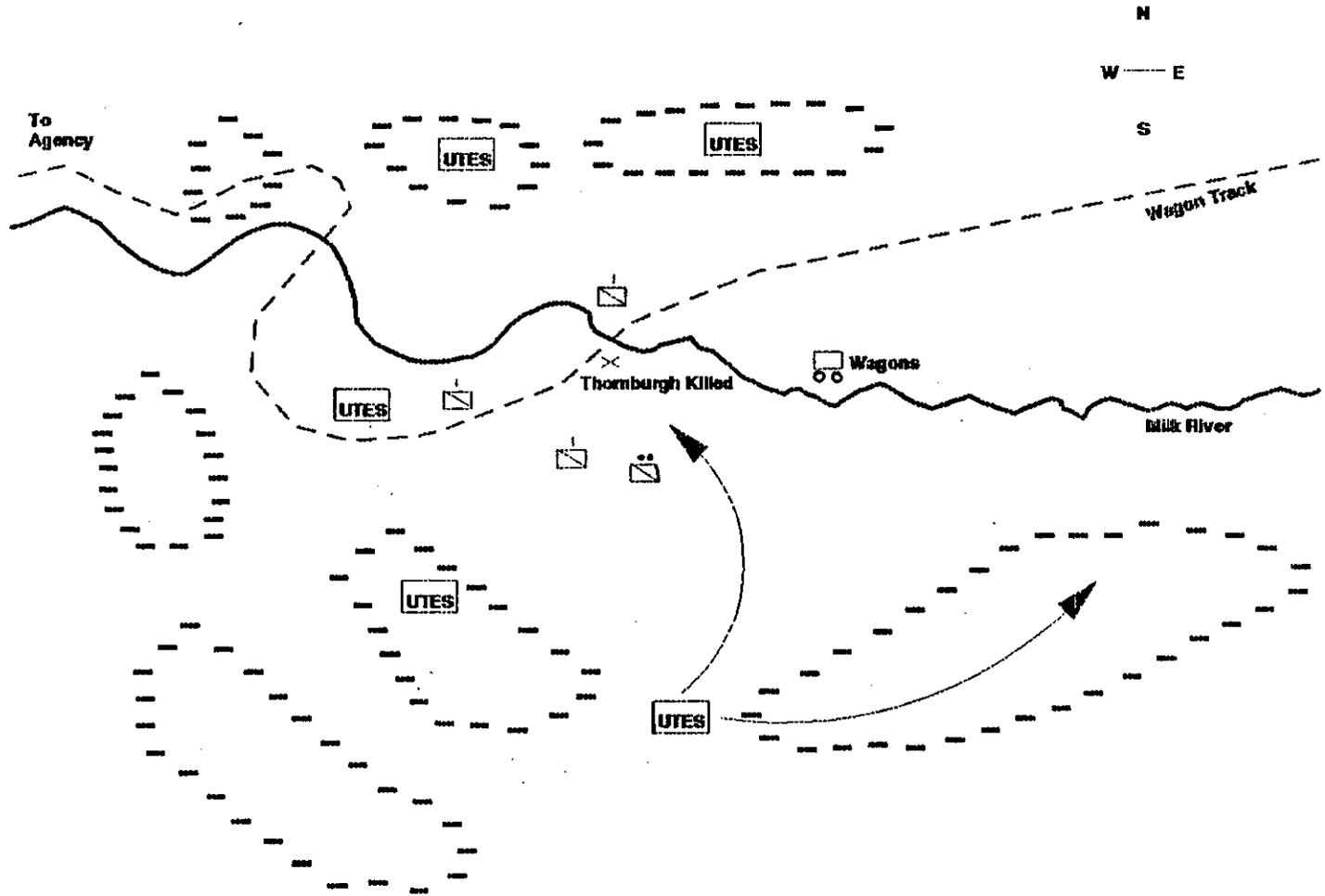
83

29 SEPTEMBER 1879: CHERRY MAKES CONTACT
 (Adapted from Dawson, The Ute War)
 Figure 10

forth in a wild orgy of violence that resulted in the murders of eight white male employees of the agency. Included in this number was Meeker, who was later found by troops with his skull smashed, a logging chain around his neck, and a barrel stave driven through his mouth and skull.³³ The four white female residents of the agency were taken captive. These included Meeker's wife and daughter.

The besieged troops fought off one attempt to overwhelm their defenses the night of September 29, but their situation remained desperate. The Utes, continuing the harassing fire, had succeeded in killing all of the horses and mules. Any movement within the breastworks drew well placed fire from the invisible snipers. The problem of sustaining the defense was compounded by the soldiers' lack of water. The distance from the defensive position to the river was approximately 200 yards. Attempts by the troops to reach the Milk River during daylight were impossible. The Utes moved up to the river at night to interdict resupply. Compounding the water problems, the Utes set fire to the surrounding vegetation, as the troops sought to conserve ammunition to fight off more attacks.³⁴

At approximately midnight on September 29th and 30th, Payne sent out four volunteers to go for assistance.³⁵ On 1 October, one courier met D Company, 9th Cavalry, which was enroute to the agency. Captain Francis Dodge rode with his company toward the besieged command and sent out messages reporting the situation. The troops at Milk River continued to suffer from the effects of the siege, including attempts by the Indians to draw out foolhardy soldiers. The Utes had



29 SEPTEMBER 1879: DELAY BACK TO WAGONS
(Adapted from Dawson, The Ute War)
Figure 11

taken up positions along the river bottom and began taunting the soldiers:

Come out, you sons-of-bitches, and fight like men---Utes kill 'oor 'orse and mool and kill oo.³⁶

The morning of the 2d of October, the spirits of Payne's troops were raised by the arrival of the company of the 9th Cavalry. Unfortunately for them, the additional company did not change the situation, except bringing proof that a messenger had succeeded in getting word to the outside world. The company of the 9th arrived undetected by the Utes and ran the gauntlet of the last 600 yards under heavy fire. Reaching the breastworks the additional company settled into the defense and awaited further reinforcement.

At noon on October 2d, the relieving force that Payne's command was waiting for swung into action. From Fort D.A. Russell, Colonel Wesley Merritt, commanding the 5th Cavalry Regiment, departed for the Milk River battle with eight additional companies, or a force of about 500 men.³⁷ The rate of march of Merritt's command stands in sharp contrast to the march of the original expedition to the White River agency. Over a distance of 170 miles, Merritt's force travelled 30 miles on October 2d, 50 miles on the 3d, and with a nonstop march, completed the last 70 miles on the morning of 5 October 1879.³⁸

At 0500 on the 5th, the weary troops on Milk River heard the strains of a bugle sounding "Officer's Call," announcing the end of their ordeal. The advance elements of Merritt's force soon reached the breastworks. The Utes had detected Merritt's column and had retreated south into the confines of Ute territory. Merritt's troops were not the only force riding to the sounds of the guns.

General Sheridan had dispatched troops from the Department of Texas, as well as troops from the Department of the Missouri to the scene. Colonel Merritt soon found himself in control of three converging columns. Six companies of the 4th Cavalry, under Colonel Ranald S. Mackenzie from Fort Clark, Texas, and five additional companies of the 9th Cavalry, under Colonel Hatch from Forts Garland and Union, were rapidly moving to White River. Merritt's combined force would number over 1500 men.

The size and speed of the army's response had an effect on the Utes akin to being doused by a bucket of cold water. The emotions that had driven them to attack their agent were now replaced by fear and apprehension. The White River Utes retreated deep into the mountains to await the expected onslaught of the army.

ENDNOTES

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5. Congress, House, Committee on Indian Affairs, Testimony in Relation to the Ute Indian Outbreak, 46th Cong., 2d sess., 15 January 1880, 102.
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7. U.S. Congress, House 1880, 60.
8. Congress, House, Extinguishment of Indian Title, 46th Cong., 1st sess., Congressional Record, vol. IX, part 1, 21 April 1870, 615.
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26. Sherman, Annual Report of Secretary of War (1880), 10.
27. Fred H. Werner, Meeker: The Story of the Meeker Massacre and Thornburgh Battle, September 29, 1879 (Greeley: Werner Publications, 1985), 50.
28. Congress, House, Testimony in Relation to the Ute Indian Outbreak (1880), 64.
29. Ibid., 65.
30. Ibid., 65. The signal of "waving the hat" is contentious. The Utes later testified that Cherry's action was to signal his troops to begin firing, while Cherry insists it was an attempt to arrange a parley with the Indians.
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32. Ibid., 27-28.
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CHAPTER 5

AFTERMATH AND CONCLUSIONS

The 5th Cavalry never got the opportunity to directly avenge their fallen comrades. The campaign was instead concluded through a negotiated settlement that would lead to the removal of the majority of the Ute tribe from the state. The culmination of the Ute campaign illustrates that in spite of the misgivings about the national Indian Policy, the army had linked the design and conduct of its operational strategy to this policy. Political reality, patterns of economic development, limited budget and manpower resources all served to shape the conduct of the Ute campaign.

After resting his force and dealing with the dead and wounded, Colonel Merritt pushed on to the White River Agency. Arriving at the Agency on 11 October 1879, Merritt buried the bodies of the victims of the "massacre" and made preparations for a pursuit to the south. While still at White River, reinforcements sent from the Departments of the Platte and Missouri arrived, bringing his strength to about a thousand effectives.¹

On 14 October, Merritt began his pursuit to overtake the Utes and to rescue the female hostages. In addition to Merritt, the 4th Cavalry under Mackenzie had been reinforced to about 1500 men and was preparing to depart Fort Garland, Colorado.² Hatch's 9th Cavalry, with a complement of 450 men, had been ordered to Fort Lewis, Colorado,

near the southern Ute Agency.³ The plan was relatively simple--the 4th and 9th Cavalry Regiments would strike to the west and north, splitting the White River Utes from the southern Ute bands. Merritt's 5th Cavalry would push south, trapping the Utes against the other columns.

The campaign would be conducted in winter, due to demands for immediate action from the state, and the advantages winter offered army forces. The demand for logistical support of the troops in the theater would change little whether they remained as currently deployed, or took the field against the Utes. The rugged area of operations would certainly challenge the Army's ability to sustain operations because of the limited railroad structure, but the Ute's sustainment problem was drastically more difficult in the winter. The prospect of the alternative--namely waiting for the snow to melt the following June--and then having to chase a highly mobile force through the mountains was far less appealing.

Before Merritt crossed the first range of mountains, climbing out of the valley created by the White River, the columns were called to a halt. Upon arriving in Denver, Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz intervened, in an attempt to save the hostages and defuse the crisis. He designated Charles Adams as a special envoy because he was known and trusted by Ute Chief Ouray. Adams was authorized to negotiate for the release of the hostages. As early as 2 October, Ouray had sent messengers north, urging the White River Band to release the women and to cease fighting.⁴ On 9 October, Ouray and Agent William M. Stanley of the southern Ute Agency at Los Pinos, Colorado, reported to Schurz that the White River Band "...will fight no more unless forced to do so."⁵

Schurz, sensing an opportunity to avert a costly fight, warned Ouray that "the troops are now in great force, and resistance would result in great disaster to the Indians."⁶ Schurz telegraphed General Sherman with news of the ongoing efforts to mediate the conflict. On 14 October, Merritt received the the following dispatch sent through General Sheridan from General Sherman:

The honorable Secretary of the Interior has, this 10.30 a.m., called with a dispatch, given length below, which is communicated for your information, and which should go for what is worth to Generals Crook and Merritt. The latter, on the spot, can tell if the hostiles have ceased fighting. If so, General Merritt should go in every event to the agency to ascertain the actual condition of facts. All Indians who oppose must be cleared out of the way if they resist. If they surrender their arms and ponies, they should be held as prisoners, to be disposed of by superior orders.

The Secretary of the Interior will send a special agent at once to Ouray, who is believed to be honest and our friend. He may prevent the southern Utes from being involved, and the Interior Department can befriend him afterward by showing favor to some of his special friends. But the murderers of the agent and servants must be punished, as also those who fought and killed Major Thornburgh and men.⁷

Merritt returned to the encampment at White River and along with the other troops in the state, set about preparing for the onset of winter, while awaiting news of the Adams mission. Emotions within the state were explosive. Apprehensive at the prospect of a full scale Indian War, citizens from areas throughout the state overwhelmed the Governor's office with requests for arms and troops. Two companies of the Colorado militia were called up to patrol the Uncompahgre Valley, near the Southern Ute Band. John C. Bell, a member of the Pitkin Guards from Lake City, Colorado, later recalled:

The Governor called them into service, and war-order No. 1 was bring in, dead or alive, all hostile Indians found off the reservation...consider all Indians off the reservation hostile, and bring them in, dead or alive, and we will determine their docility afterward.⁸

The ultimatum that Adams brought to the White River Utes consisted of two demands: First, release the hostages unharmed, and second, surrender the individuals responsible for the murders at the White River Agency. If the Utes agreed to these conditions, military action would be forestalled and hearings on Indian grievances would be held at a later date. On 21 October, Adams returned to Ouray's camp with the unharmed hostages.⁹ Adams reported that the second condition had not been agreed to by the Utes, and that he was returning for further discussions. On 24 October Sherman, growing anxious at the delay, sent the following message to his field commander:

...Let all preparations proceed, and be ready the moment I give the word to pitch in. Should Agent Adams fail in his mission I understand that the civil authorities will stand aside and military will take absolute control of this whole Ute question and settle it for good and all. Meantime, humanity to the captive women and the friendly Utes, even of White River, justifies this seeming waste of time.¹⁰

Sherman was tiring of the lack of progress in the negotiations. He saw the situation as the direct result of the lack of army control in establishing policy. His view that the management of Indian affairs should reside in the War Department was the source of his frustration in handling the Ute problem. As Sherman wrote to Sheridan:

...as the Govt [sic] of the U.S. and if the Christian policy has failed it had not been for want of effort but because the problem is insoluble--unless the Indian will change his nature and habits, select his spot on earth, and become as a white man he is doomed. It is not because the white man is cruel, inhuman and grasping but because it is the Law of Natural Change and Development--the wrong began at Plymouth Rock and will end in the Rocky Mountains.¹¹

Four days later, on the 29 October, Adams reported that the Indians appeared willing to surrender the guilty parties, if the accused would be afforded the same treatment as "whites" under

similar circumstances. On 10 November 1879, twenty chiefs of the White River Utes, including Chiefs Douglas and Jack, accepted the government terms.¹² A commission was immediately created and began at once to sort out the details of the events leading up to the uprising.

The commission hearings lasted for another year and ultimately failed to address the problems surrounding the events of 1879 to the satisfaction of Colorado citizens or the Utes. The Army remained in force in Ute country for the next two years. By July 1880, Merritt's cavalry at White River was replaced by six companies of the 6th Infantry Regiment, and the 4th and 9th Cavalry Regiments were likewise relieved by companies from the 4th, 7th, 9th, and 14th Infantry Regiments.¹³ The Infantry Regiments established a new series of forts which tied in with the expanding rail network through the Ute territory.¹⁴ The development of this line of posts, beginning at White River and extending south to Bayard, New Mexico, with the corresponding development of the new railroads, was the culmination of the "small fort" system in the west. As Department of the Missouri Commander, General Pope remarked:

This line of military posts begins to reach the settlements of Utah and Arizona and the extreme points occupied by the military forces advancing from the west, so that with the line through Colorado and New Mexico the military system of defense south of the 40th parallel would appear to be completed.¹⁵

The results of the 1879 campaign were mixed. The Indian policy changed emphasis in the years following the Ute uprising. This change reflected the realization that the reservation system and the resulting segregation of the Indian was a bankrupt policy. While a direct correlation of this shift in policy to the events of the Ute uprising is not a reasonable deduction, the personal involvement of Carl Schurz

in the events of 1879 and his subsequent role in shaping a new policy cannot be discounted. The events surrounding the Ute crisis, coupled with the earlier Nez Perce uprising, added weight to the arguments of Eastern humanitarians who favored a new direction in policy. The remaining years of the Hayes administration saw a new emphasis on the assimilation of Indians into mainstream "white" culture. In his 1881 message to Congress, President Hayes stated that "...the time has come when the policy should be to place the Indians as rapidly as practical on the same footing with the other permanent inhabitants of our country."¹⁶

The attitude within the state of Colorado took a decidedly different turn. The events of 1879 provided, in the view of Colorado citizens, that the Utes were both dangerous and an impediment to progress. With the results of Schurz's commission still unresolved, Governor Pitkin established three military districts associated with each of the three Ute agencies. Even with the release of the hostages, Pitkin commented to the press:

It will be impossible for the Indians and whites to live in peace hereafter...This attack had no provocation and the whites now understand that they are liable to be attacked in any part of the state...My idea is that, unless removed by the government they must necessarily be exterminated.¹⁷

The Utes, largely through the efforts of Chief Ouray, tried to stop the momentum towards removal as best they could. Ouray managed to halt the proceedings of the commission by successfully appealing to Secretary Schurz that the Utes could not receive a fair hearing within the state. A second problem that confronted the initial commission was that Ouray refused to accept the testimony of the only survivors of the White River massacre because they were women. The hearings received a

change in venue to Washington D.C., and concluded with the July 1880 Treaty that forced the removal of the Utes to new areas in Utah. The demands for justice were soon mitigated, as it became apparent the Utes would indeed leave the state. Only one Ute, the veteran of Crook's Sioux campaign--Chief Jack, was punished by imprisonment at Fort Leavenworth for a period of one year. On 7 September 1881, escorted by the Army, the last band of Utes crossed the Grand River into Utah Territory. General Pope wrote of the occasion:

...the whites who had collected, in view of [the Utes] removal were so eager and unrestrained by common decency that it was absolutely necessary to use military force to keep them off the reservation until the Indians were fairly gone...¹⁸

With the Ute issue concluded, did the campaign serve to illustrate an overall operational strategy, and was military action against the Utes the only available alternative? In the aftermath of the Ute campaign, the Army changed little. The period of large scale Indian wars had ended, even before 1879. The conduct of the campaign followed what had become the standard operational pattern of the Army. This pattern was not developed as part of a large centralized plan, but came about instead as the result of changing conditions and policies. While it may be judged an ad hoc strategy that evolved over time, it probably represents the only practical alternative to the times. The lack of clarity and consistency in the national Indian policy left the Army with the difficult task of formulating strategies in a rapidly changing environment.

The network of forts that were utilized to support Army operations had been established to support the expansion of the national objective--the economic development of the west--and to

control white and Indian transgressions. Fort Steele, Wyoming Territory, represents an example of the former, while Fort Lewis, Colorado, represents the latter. The employment of troops by Generals Pope and Crook from these two installations suggests that the military was serious in its efforts to act as an disinterested mediator in disputes between white and Indian, in support of the national Indian Policy.

Army leadership publicly expressed frustration with the handling of Indian affairs by the Department of the Interior, but the army, nevertheless, continued to conduct operations in support of national policy. This is not to suggest that the national policy was a singular coherent document; rather it was vague and disjointed in its construct and execution. From this amorphous strategic setting, the Army attempted to bring uniformity and purpose.

In this effort, the army benefitted from the lengthy terms of its senior leaders. The lack of physical documentation of strategic and operational plans and goals was offset by the long tenures of senior leaders, which maintained a central purpose to the conduct of operations. The views of Sherman and Sheridan would determine the national military strategy during the period, and the construct of this strategy would set the framework that produced the operational design.

The primary goal of the national strategy was the support of economic settlement of the west, with the supplementary goal of supporting the national Indian policy. With these being the central themes of the national strategy, the operational strategy which came

about revolved around the establishment of a series of forts that would quite naturally correspond with the construction of the chief economic vehicle of the period--the railroad.

Given the political demands for troops throughout the west and faced with an austere manpower and budget picture, the operational design quickly evolved toward a large series of small garrisons that would be massed for field operations and proximity to the rail system. The drawback in this system was the location of the Indian. As the reservation system was developed, it became a natural result to place them in areas that were not desirable to whites--namely places that would not likely attract the development of a railroad. Because of this, the army was not in position to deter outbreaks as they arose, but instead was forced to react to events after the fact.

The alternative of positioning the army alongside the Indians, while seemingly attractive, fails on two counts. First, it was not practical in terms of the size of the army at the time; second, it remains unlikely that the army could have successfully constrained all the bands as the reservation system was arrayed. In addition, if the troops had been located with the reservation, they would not have been in position to defend the centers of white population and economic development.

The other feature of operational design that was central to the conduct of Indian campaigns in general, and the Ute campaign specifically, was the use of converging columns. The use of this method owes itself to the relative positioning of troops and to the nature of the threat. Given the large number of small garrisons scattered over a large area, the quickest means to get them into the

field was to mass them at several different points. Also, by doing this the limited rail network was not over-taxed in supporting operations from a central point. The advantage held by the Indian, in terms of tactical mobility, was also central to the use of converging columns. Having succeeded in using this method on some occasions, it remained the army's answer to counter Indian mobility.¹⁹

These methods served as the army's primary operational tools for combatting the Utes and the other Indian tribes. The Army did receive criticism for not formalizing the lessons of the Indian campaigns through the military education system or other means.²⁰ As historian Robert Wooster laments:

Those strategic debates that did occur almost always concerned conventional warfare more applicable to the battlefields of Europe than to those of the American West. The absence of routine meetings, regular correspondence, or open discussion of military strategy toward Indians also discouraged individual initiative.²⁰

The arguments expressed by Wooster demonstrate more his own lack of knowledge in the understanding of a military organization, than in proving a failure on the part of the American Army. It is precisely because of this lack of formal discussion of Indian tactics that initiative became a survival skill for tactical leaders. Any attempts by the army to draw any centralized doctrinal lessons from the Indian campaigns might have been more damaging, as this assumes that one was fighting a common enemy. It is likely that such efforts might have produced an outcome similar to General Crook's fate in his futile attempt to transfer lessons from the Red River Campaign to his Rosebud Campaign. The use of a few central operational methods provides enough commonality when fighting a divergent enemy over a wide area.

The focus on fighting a European-style war is largely explained as a means to examine the most dangerous potential threat to the nation. The military view is always to prepare for the most dangerous enemy, and at no time was the nation seriously challenged by any group, or groups, of Indians. The object of the Indian wars remained limited insofar as the national government was concerned. Certainly in the view of many Indians, the policy of the government and its execution by the army resembled total war. The initial operations of the Spanish-American War vindicates the attention to "conventional war." The focus of the army remained on the defense of the nation and did not become consumed by what can be categorized as an "economy of force" mission.

This argument has probably the most enduring value for the currently serving officer. As in the Indian-fighting army, the challenge today is to sort out priorities during a period of constrained resources. It would be very easy to become focused on smaller, more pressing, issues and to lose sight of the overall purpose of the army--namely the defense of the nation. The period between wars has always been characterized by debate about how best to prepare for the next conflict. While it is always tempting to be caught up in the transitory "policy du jour", it is essential that the army strive to maintain central themes which define its purpose and missions.

It is doubtful that any change in the Indian policy, or of the army's role in supporting its execution, would have made any difference in the ultimate outcome, when taken in the context of the times. The primary lesson, in terms of the army, is the value of early involvement in the structuring of national strategy and a continual assessment of

the government's commitment to that policy. Again, if this fails to mediate the views of our political leaders, it appears that the words of Sherman, as he awaited the result of Agent Adams' mission to the Utes will echo again:

...we are left in the heart of the mountains with our hands tied and the danger of being snowed in staring us in the face. I am not easily discouraged, but it looks as though we had been pretty badly sold out in this business.²¹

ENDNOTES

1. War Department, "Report of the General of the Army," in Annual Report of the Secretary of War (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880), 11.
2. Ibid., 12.
3. Ibid., 12.
4. Department of the Interior, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1879), xxxiv.
5. Ibid., xxxiv.
6. Ibid., xxxiv.
7. Sherman, Annual Report of Secretary of War (1880), 11.
8. John H. Nankivell, History of the Military Organizations of the State of Colorado: 1860-1935 (Denver: W.H. Kistler Co., 1935), 61.
9. Interior, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1879) xxxv. The condition of the women returning from captivity was not dwelled on by the authorities. It was believed that reports of the violation of these women would inflame the issue. Concern about the womens reputation led inquiries to avoid the subject.
10. Sherman, Annual Report of the Secretary of War (1880), 12.
11. John F. Marszalek, Sherman: A Soldier's Passion for Order (New York: The Free Press, 1993), 399-400.
12. Interior, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1879) xxxv.
13. War Department, "Report of General Pope," Annual Report of the Secretary of War (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880), 84.
14. War Department, "Report of General Sheridan," Annual Report of the Secretary of War (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880), 55.
15. Pope, Annual Report of the Secretary of War (1880), 84.
16. Philip Weeks, Farewell, My Nation: The American Indian and the United States, 1820-1890 (Arlington Heights: Harlan Davidson, 1990), 218.

17. Jan Pettit, Utes: The Mountain People (Boulder: Johnson Books, 1990), 124.
18. P. David Smith, Ouray: Chief of the Utes (Ridgeway: Wayfinder Books, 1986), 192.
19. The alternative means to combat the advantages of Indian mobility was the use of Indian scouts or auxiliaries. Used with varying degrees of success it was not largely accepted because it implied the Army proper was incapable of dealing with the problem.
20. Robert Wooster, The Military and United States Indian Policy: 1865-1903 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 207.
21. Ibid., 180.

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