

Will Croft Barnes And The Apache Uprising Of 1881:

Adventures Of A Soldier And Versatile Citizen Of The Southwest

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Will Croft Barnes was born in San Francisco on June 21, 1858, and spent his earliest years in Gold Hill, a Nevada mining camp. His father, Enos Rollin Barnes, died when Will was only seven.¹ During the following years he and his mother lived in LaPorte, Indiana, with his grandfather Croft, a carriage-maker; then at Lake Calhoun, Minnesota, on his Uncle Tom Croft's farm; and finally in Indianapolis. In Indianapolis he sang in a choir with James Whitcomb Riley, worked in a music store, and ushered at the Academy of Music during the opera season.²

When he was eighteen, Will accepted an offer to sell sheet music in San Francisco for twenty dollars a week. There the sea and things nautical fascinated him, particularly the revenue service in which he decided he wanted to be a cadet. Hiring a tutor, he studied for a year to prepare for the examination which he took in Washington, D.C. Although he placed ninth out of 103 candidates he failed to win a commission because there were only three vacancies in the service. Not wishing to go back to his old job, he tried for a berth in a sailing ship. In one of those sometimes fateful chance encounters, he met a young man of the Signal Corps (commonly called the Signal Service at that time) and decided that his future lay in the Signal Corps instead of on the sea. Learning, however, that the Signal Corps had no vacancies, Will apparently went to see Senator Newton Booth of California who took him to the office of the Secretary of War, where the way was quickly paved for his enlistment.³

It was July 1, 1879, when twenty-one-year-old Will Barnes--five feet, four inches tall, blue-eyed, and light-haired--enlisted in the U.S. Army in Washington, D.C., for five years. The Army assigned him to the Signal Corps as a second-class private and sent him to the signal school at Fort Whipple, soon to become Fort Myer, on Arlington Heights across the river from Washington.⁴ At Whipple, something of a mud hole in those days, he learned military signaling, which included the use of both wigwag and the electric telegraph, and the rudiments of meteorology.⁵

Barnes qualified as a telegrapher and assistant weather observer by early January 1880, and was assigned for six weeks to construction work on a section of the coastal telegraph lines. Since 1873 the Signal Corps had been building and operating these lines, which were connected to Washington by leased lines in order to link lighthouses and lifesaving stations along the treacherous coast from Sandy Hook southward. Barnes seems to have worked on the sixty miles of line from Delaware Breakwater near Lewes to Chincoteague, Virginia, which Signal Corps enlisted men, using iron poles, constructed between October 18 and November 9, 1879. "Every day," Barnes said of his experience along the Eastern Shore of Maryland, "was a day of hard work and many pleasures."⁶

Barnes' next assignment took him across the continent, for he was now ordered to San Diego, a divisional headquarters of the military telegraph that later moved to Prescott. En route to San Diego he had to go via Pioche, Nevada, "a little played out mining camp," to deliver to the Signal Corps telegraph operator and weather assistant at that place two barometers, one of which Barnes described as a four-foot mercurial instrument that he had to keep in an upright position. He had to leave the Central Pacific and take a narrow-gauge railroad to Eureka, Nevada, and from there, a sleigh, at least part of the way,

to Pioche, where he remained only a short time. On January 13, 1880, while en route to San Diego, Barnes became a first-class private in the Signal Corps.⁸

Upon arriving at San Diego Barnes received orders to report to Fort Apache, Arizona. To get there he left San Diego on February 6, 1880, traveling by steamer to Los Angeles and by railroad to Casa Grande, Arizona, then the eastern terminus of the Southern Pacific, and then on top "of a fine eight-horse stage" to Tucson. From Tucson, which he found to be "a horrible little place," he continued by stage, on top of a "fine coach with six dashing mustangs at the bits," to Point of Mountain, soon to be renamed Willcox, after Orlando B. Willcox, the commander of the Military Department of Arizona. By buckboard he went on to Fort Grant and Camp Thomas and thence the ninety miles to Fort Apache by an Army pack train.⁹

At Fort Grant Barnes learned from the military telegraph operator that the stage he had left at Point of Mountain had been attacked later by Indians and "the two passengers and the driver killed and mutilated." He had to delay his own journey on to Camp Thomas on account of the reported killing of some prospectors by Apaches on the Gila River fifty miles to the north.¹⁰ There is, at this point, an interesting conflict between Barnes's early journal, a contemporary source, and his *Reminiscences*, written late in life and published posthumously.

In the journal, which he began at Fort Apache in late 1880, Barnes described briefly and matter-of-factly the "one incident" that occurred as he traveled with Second Lieutenant Thomas Cruse's pack train from Camp Thomas to Fort Apache. In crossing Ash Creek flat, he said, while quite near the... mountains on its southern side we were startled by half a dozen rifle shots fired in quick succession . . . but they all passed over us . . . As our party was small and we had a big pack train to protect we immediately made for the center of the flat where we could at least be safe from any ambush [.] The shots were undoubtedly fired by hostiles [.] but they did not care to follow us out into the open country. Shortly after that the troops had an engagement with Victorias [sic] band right in that vicinity.¹¹

In his later published *Reminiscences* Barnes not only stated that shots were fired, but added that "shrill war-whoops echoed along-the heights." And when Cruse got the train out "under the shouts and lashings of the packers," he took it into "a round crater-like formation of lava rock," which made a natural corral. "Meantime the Indians had come down to the flat and were riding around the spot in wide circles, but entirely out of rifle range. Nevertheless, everybody blazed away at them, hoping by some bit of luck to hit one." "Can you imagine the thrill I was getting? My first Indian fight! What a joyful experience." Cruse, being advised by his chief packer "that the Apaches never attacked after dark," decided to station a man on a high rock to keep an eye on the Indians while the others rested. "But the Indians were full of ideas," Barnes explained. They set fire to the wild oats that covered the flat in an effort to burn Cruse out. "Driven by a stiff breeze, the billows of flame and smoke came rolling down onto the crater" in which the train had taken refuge, whereupon Cruse set a backfire. That night the mules were loaded and the train continued on to Fort Apache without incident.¹²

Fort Apache, near the junction of the deeply canyoned North and East Forks of the White (or White Mountain) River, which Barnes reached with the pack train in February 1880, had been established a decade earlier as Camp Ord and had undergone several changes in its name.¹³ Situated on the formerly active White Mountain Indian Reservation, Fort Apache was also adjacent to the San Carlos Reservation to the south whose agent, following a policy of concentration laid down in 1875, was responsible for all the Apaches in the area including those who had not been removed to San Carlos. It was thus one of the most important posts in the Department of Arizona.¹⁴

When Barnes arrived, its regular garrison consisted of two companies of the 6th Cavalry¹⁵ and two of the 12th Infantry, together with one company (Company A) of Apache Indian Scouts, but in early August 1880 one of the infantry companies was ordered out to another station. Later, in consequence of the events in the late summer of 1881, there was an increase in the strength of the Fort Apache garrison.¹⁶ The post commander when Barnes reported for duty was Major Melville A. Cochran, a Civil War veteran who had been brevetted "for gallantry and meritorious service" at Chickamauga. Thomas Cruse, who also served under him, thought Cochran was "a very temperamental man at best."¹⁷ Cochran stayed on as second in command when Willcox placed Colonel Eugene A. Carr, the commander of the 6th Cavalry Regiment, temporarily in command of the post in the spring of 1881, thereby forcing Carr to conduct affairs at regimental headquarters at Fort Lowell through his adjutant at Lowell.¹⁸

Unpalisaded as it was, in common with most western posts, Fort Apache, as Barnes found it, was a camp "for housing troops;" it was not a fort "in any sense of the word." Indeed, there was not a single cannon in the place--"not even a 'sunset' gun," although in August 1881 Carr supported Cochran's request for two field pieces and a Gatling gun with ammunition.¹⁹ The buildings laid out in a hollow square, with a four-acre parade ground in its center, were variously of log, log slab, frame, adobe, and other construction, and sometimes of "a construction of all these materials." Barnes thought the one-story log officers' quarters were "extremely primitive as to architecture and finish," while the slab-sided barracks were "roomy and comfortable." The telegraph office was one of two small buildings, the other of which was Barnes' quarters, between the adjutant's office and the commissary on the northeast corner of the post.²⁰

Years later Thomas Cruse wrote that he was "charmed" by the natural setting of the post, with the "cool trout streams" at its door, the "long and grassy" parade ground, and the "snow-capped White Mountains" with their wooded canyons and foothills. Barnes thought the White Mountains were "by far the most beautiful Mountains in the southwest."²¹ Colonel Carr, however, clearly found nothing in the trout streams or the scenery to make up for what he thought were abominable quarters. In the fall of 1881, he complained bitterly but fruitlessly about both his own malodorous, leaky, cold, and generally miserable quarters, as well as about the enlisted quarters, which he said were over-crowded and "full of bugs."²²

When Barnes arrived at Fort Apache in mid-February 1880 his natural curiosity impelled him to dismount immediately at the telegraph office. Private John J. Falvey, whom he had come to replace, and who was in a rush to leave, turned things over to him as quickly as possible and left Fort Apache by the next buckboard out. Consequently, as of February 19, 1880, Barnes had the dual responsibility of post telegrapher and weather observer.²³

The military telegraph, which had been in Arizona only since 1873, when the Quartermaster Corps opened the first line from San Diego to Tucson, had been at Apache only since October 9, 1877. Under legislation and War Department orders of 1874 the Signal Corps had taken over the existing line and gained responsibility for constructing a line in Texas and for the "construction, maintenance, and operation" of various lines. Thereafter the Signal Corps developed a military network that consisted by 1881, of 5,077 miles of telegraph lines in both the Southwest and Northwest, but which then declined in subsequent years as the commercial telegraph took its place. By 1916 a line between Holbrook and Fort Apache would be one of only two military lines remaining in the West, excepting a few connecting loops, the other one being a line between Spofford and Fort Clark, Texas.²⁴

Although Barnes had been a good student telegrapher at Fort Whipple, Virginia, "a bright and shining light," as he put it, he had some qualms about his ability when he found himself the only telegrapher at Fort Apache. For three months, as he said later, he had a hard time keeping up with the old-timers who hammered away at him from distant stations at thirty words a minute, but as time passed he became an expert telegrapher. Fifty years after his last work as a telegrapher in 1883 he could still listen to a telegrapher sounder in a hotel lobby or railroad station and "read every word" that went over the wire.²⁵

As the telegrapher at Fort Apache, Barnes was free of the military routine common to the enlisted men serving in troop units but his duties could be confining and demanding. From February 1880 to October 1881 Barnes seems to have had an assistant weather observer for only a few weeks in January of 1881. Such an assistant, if he were also a competent telegrapher, could spell the operator at the key. Later, in 1883, after requesting an assistant, Barnes finally got one. He turned out to be "a very nice young chap" who took "hold of the work very willingly," but who, to Barnes' disappointment, knew "nothing about telegraphy." At least in 1883 Barnes' sidekick, Sergeant-Major Victor Gomez of the 12th Infantry, evidently at times operated the telegraph for him. Barnes seems to have had a regular repairman much of the time, although subject to orders and, therefore, transfer by the signal officer in charge of the telegraph division.²⁶

There being no other telegraph in the area, the military telegraph served both civilian and military needs, the military of course always having first priority. Barnes' message load for the year ending in 1881 was 4,048, but since some official messages were quite long, the load was probably heavier than it appears.²⁷ "It was no uncommon matter," Barnes recalled, "for a message of a thousand words to be filed by the Commanding Officer for transmission to District headquarters at Whipple Barracks, Prescott. Almost every day some Arizona post reported an Indian scare, with frequent killings by raids of Victorio's band... These raids kept the troops of nearly all the Southern Arizona and New Mexico posts in constant field service. Every raid was reported to each post commander in order that they might all be fully conversant with Indian activities. It was a busy wire An unusually bold raid would bring a general order from the Department Commander keeping every operator at his key constantly until the situation was relieved. Several times I put in thirty-six hours straight time at the key -- not working, of course, but ready at any moment to answer a call."²⁸

The telegraph connecting Fort Apache with the outside in 1880 was "very primitive," as Barnes described it. "The poles were mostly cottonwood saplings, wired to cedar stubs set in the ground, One pole in fifty, perhaps, could be called straight. The rest were as crooked as a ram's horn," and "with trees falling across it and other accidents, the wire was down almost as many days as it was up." Iron poles, which had been used successfully on the Atlantic coastal line, were often used in rebuilding the older lines in Arizona and elsewhere. In any case, to the Apaches, who called the telegrapher "the iron paper chief," the telegraph was "an exceedingly mysterious affair." This, however, did not prevent them, upon occasion, from interrupting service by pulling the wire from the poles with their lassos and pounding it in two, or cutting out substantial pieces, which they threw into a canyon or hid among the rocks.²⁹

In addition to being the post telegrapher Barnes also served as a weather observer, since the Signal Corps had brought Fort Apache into its weather reporting service on June 28, 1878, somewhat less than a year after the arrival of the telegraph at the post. The station there was a so-called "first-class" station, which meant that it was supposed to take "six complete meteorological observations daily," three of which, together with a sunset prediction, were to be telegraphed to the Office of the Chief Signal Officer in Washington. Since the principal observations had to be made according to mean time because they

were taken simultaneously with those at other reporting stations,³⁰ the Fort Apache operator had to make his first daily report long before the crack of dawn. "There could be no fudging on this business," Barnes recalled, for, the instruments had to be read at 3:39, the report made out and put into code all ready for the call signals which came over the wire from El Paso, Texas, at exactly 4 a.m. If you weren't there to answer, you had a painful few moments of wire conference with the Chief Operator, who was a commissioned officer. Yuma was the most westerly station we had, and it sent the first report. Then, each man, listening to his fellows, picked up the report, in his turn, ticked off his ten or fifteen cipher words, signed his initials, got the "O.K." from El Paso and went back to bed.

This happened four times every blessed day, rain or shine, peace or war, Indians or no Indians, unless the line was down; which it often was. Even then, we had to record the weather and make our report by mail. The last word in our code message at 9 p.m. was our prognostication, "fair," or "foul," as to the ruling weather for the next twenty-four hours. Prescott was at one end of a branch wire from the main line, Apache at the other. It was some five hundred miles around that vast U, and about one hundred and fifty across its upper end. I soon discovered that during an average period if it was clear and lovely at Apache, and Prescott predicted "foul" for the next twenty-four hours at that place, it was safe to predict "fair" for Apache that time, but to make it "foul" for the next day's prophecy. Nearly all storms came from the west, and the rule generally held good during the seasons when storms were to be expected.³¹

From the beginning, evidently, Barnes took his telegraphic and meteorological duties seriously, for Second Lieutenant William A. Glassford, who had been a year ahead of Barnes in the Signal School at Fort Whipple, inspected the Fort Apache station in December 1880 and found it "in excellent condition," the "books and records neatly and accurately kept," and Private Barnes himself "very highly spoken of." Years later, after a long friendship, Barnes would do all that he could to help Glassford, who became a colonel in the Signal Corps in 1913, in a fruitless effort to become the Chief Signal Officer.³²

During the summer of 1881 a remarkable Apache shaman, or medicine man, whom Barnes called Nock-aye-de-Klinny,³³ excited the Indians in the Fort Apache area with a series of religious dances and with, according to one version, a doctrine that the dead would return when the white intruders were gone, which would be "when the corn gets ripe." Barnes thought Nock-aye-de-Klinny promised these things "without bloodshed or the making of threats against the whites." Colonel Carr, as commandant at Fort Apache, did not view the medicine man's activities as particularly dangerous, even though the Indians, including the scouts, showed a new truculence and insolence toward the whites,³⁴ but it alarmed or appeared to alarm Joseph C. Tiffany, the Indian agent at San Carlos.³⁵

Tiffany now shaped events by turning insistently to the Army and, in a three-way series of messages transmitted by the military telegraph during the first two weeks of August 1881, succeeded in getting the Army to deal with Nock-aye-de-Klinny, whom he wanted "arrested or killed or both." Then, on August 15, at a critical point, the rickety telegraph line went out between Forts Apache and Thomas, and remained out until early September, isolating Apache. Barnes recalled later that at the end of August he and his repair man, working without an escort, had repaired breaks in the line about ten miles from the post, but could not get the lines to work because of still more distant trouble. Excessive rains, flood waters, and changed orders also combined to isolate the post and to prevent promised reinforcements from reaching Apache. Thanks also to the line's being out, it was not until mail arrived on August 30 and September 1 when it was too late, that instructions came for dealing with the possibility that Carr's Indian Scouts were unreliable--instructions that Carr had requested on August 13 and that he had been telegraphed from Prescott on August 14 and 15.³⁶

Carr's final orders from Willcox, issued on August 13 and received on August 15, were to arrest Nock-aye-de-Klinny. Consequently, on August 29, 1881, feeling that he had no choice, a troubled Carr marched out of Fort Apache to arrest the medicine man, who was at an Indian village on Cibecue Creek³⁷ about forty-five miles northwest of Apache. With him he had two cavalry companies, his company of Indian Scouts, excepting one scout left behind because of illness, and a pack train--altogether a strength of 117, including nine civilians, among whom was his fifteen-year-old son Clark.³⁸

Upon his departure for the Indian Village, Carr left Major Cochran in command at Fort Apache with what Carr reported was an aggregate strength of sixty-nine officers and enlisted men, of whom Barnes was one, and which Cochran described as a "total strength of sixty men," sixteen of whom were sick. In addition, there were also a number of civilians at the post. As soon as Carr's command was out of sight there was unusual activity among the Indians near the post and during the day many of them, armed with rifles and belts of ammunition, were seen riding out on Carr's trail. The Indian women left behind by the scouts packed up and left and the sick scout also disappeared. Cochran, very apprehensive because of these developments, concluded, after talking things over with the other two officers remaining at Apache, that he ought to inform both Camp Thomas and Carr of the possibility that Carr might be cut off from the post, and of the seriousness of the situation in general. This he did by sending out couriers, but, as Cochran later reported, Carr paid little or no attention to the dispatch sent him, which reached him the next morning.³⁹

On August 30 Cochran took steps to prepare the defenses of Fort Apache in case it should have to be defended. Then, about midnight or later (Barnes recalled that it was about four o'clock in the morning of August 31), very disturbing information reached the post through a Mexican or half-breed whom Barnes called Sevriano. It was, in substance, that the Indians had been "fighting the soldiers" and had "killed some of them". After listening to him Cochran sent two couriers, one to Camp Thomas and one to warn persons at a place known as Cooley's Ranch, and dispatched a mounted soldier with a pack mule to Black River to bring in the two soldiers tending the ferry on the road to Camp Thomas. Although the courier got through to Thomas and the other one apparently got through to Cooley's, Indians killed all three soldiers eight miles or so from Apache. Cochran feared an attack on August 31, but none came; however, sometime around eight o'clock in the morning the post trader informed him of a rumor he had heard from Indian sources that five of Carr's officers and most of his soldiers had been killed. When that or a similar story got onto the telegraph wires, perhaps through Tiffany, the Indian agent at San Carlos, the nation's newspapers made it into another Custer massacre.⁴⁰

Cochran sought as best he could to ascertain the truth of the story brought him and concluded that there must be "something in it," but "how much" he could not tell. He therefore "at once sent another courier to Camp Thomas," saying that Carr's command was reported "all" massacred and that reinforcements should be hurried up. There was no time to lose, for the post was "threatened." In fact, "if General Carr had not expected reinforcements in two days he would not have gone out." This dispatch, which Cochran dated "12 PM," that is, at noon, August 31, 1881, he entrusted to Thomas Owens, a civilian mail carrier from Camp Thomas, who volunteered to carry it. Owens, however, never reached his destination, for the Indians killed him only a few miles from Fort Apache.⁴¹

Not knowing what really had happened at Cibecue, hoping that at least some of Carr's command had escaped, and wondering what was going to happen at Fort Apache, placed the little garrison under tremendous, "almost unbearable" strain. Adding to the strain was the fact that there was no vantage point on the post from which one could see more than a mile to the westward from which direction the

Indians or, for that matter, Carr might come. Under these circumstances, as Barnes later related, he volunteered to go alone to the top of a high mesa, a mile north of the post, from which there was a good view in the direction from which danger or returning troops could be seen. From there he could signal to his repairman, whom he had taught to use flag signals.

According to Cruse, who was "greatly helped" by Barnes in preparing his narrative, Barnes had to overcome Cochran's fears that such a mission was too dangerous, but according to Cochran he "sent... Barnes." Cochran put the time at one o'clock, but Barnes remembered it as mid-morning.⁴²

As Barnes rode out toward the mesa, he carried not only arms but binoculars and a signal flag with a jointed staff. He reached the top of the mesa without incident, although there were unfriendly but curious Indians watching his every move. Once on the mesa he scanned the country. Seeing neither Indians nor troops, he signaled to his repairman at the post below a brief message to that effect and continued to examine the country before him. Miles to the west he could see Kelly Butte and wished he were there for the view that he would have. He could also see a few smokes here and there, but could not tell whether they were simply campfires or signals. Once he received a flagged query from the anxious watchers below.

Working around the crest of the mesa so as to cover with his glasses as much of the distant country as he could, Barnes noticed his horse looking downward. His ears were "trained like a rifle" toward a point at the foot of the mesa at which, with his glasses, Barnes could see four or five skulking Apaches on his trail "with no friendly intent." At the same time he heard a bugle call from the post, drawing his attention to a signal warning him of the Indians and advising him to leave the mesa from the other end and return to the post under protection that would be provided. Barnes, with youthful confidence and a foolhardy belief in what he had always been told about the superiority of one white man over a dozen Indians, as he later explained, elected to stay and return under cover of darkness. As he made up his mind, he noticed a cloud of dust along the westward trail, but could not tell what it was, and so signaled this information along with his decision to stay on the mesa. He "built up a little fort" of loose rocks, tied his horse where he could see him, and waited. About three o'clock, by his later calculations (about two by Cochran's reckoning), he saw the dust cloud moving toward him. The Indians had stopped moving upwards and disappeared while moving along the side of the mesa. Using his glasses he could now make out a small file of horsemen with two flankers and realized he was watching the advance guard of Carr's returning troops, at least fifty of whom he could see a half mile behind the guard. They were still ten miles away, as he signaled the news to the post and went out to meet them. As he left the mesa two shots came near hitting him, whereupon he took shelter and returned the fire. After about an hour he proceeded without further trouble and soon met the returning soldiers.

As he rode along with the outriders, Barnes heard a sketchy but not necessarily factual account of what had happened at the Battle of the Cibecue the previous day. The troopers told him that the arrest of Nock-aye-de-Klinny had taken place without any trouble; that the Indians dogging Carr's trail had crowded into camp as it was being prepared for the night; that there had been an incident; that the Indian Scouts with Carr had mutinied; that Captain Edmund C. Hentig had been killed instantly by a shot in the back from one of the scouts; that until dark a battle had raged in which there had been other casualties, including three enlisted men killed instantly and several wounded seriously (and probably that three had been mortally wounded); that Nock-aye-de-Klinny had been killed; and that the dead had been buried on the battleground.⁴³ Probably he heard more later, such as ghastly details of the slaying of the medicine man;⁴⁴ and Carr's early feeling of shame at having used so much force to arrest "one

poor little Indian," as well as his later conclusion that, everything considered, "it was best the arrest was made."⁴⁵

These details and many other things would come out in Carr's and Cochran's official reports,⁴⁶ in the court-martial of several Indian Scouts,⁴⁷ in a court of inquiry in which Carr would be faulted for errors of "judgment only,"⁴⁸ and in memoirs and other writings down to the present.⁴⁹ How much if any of the official documentation Barnes ever saw, other than telegrams he transmitted, is not known. Meanwhile, when he finished talking with the advance guard, Barnes dropped back to the main column and immediately ran into the pack train, the first mule of which bore the body of a trooper who had died on the way back and whose "hands hung idly on one side while on the other his feet dragged through the bushes in the most distressing manner."⁵⁰

Upon his return to Fort Apache on August 31, where he found everyone apprehensive, Carr looked to the defenses of the post, which by nightfall appeared to be surrounded. Early the next morning, September 1, Will Barnes found himself guarding a cemetery detail with Sergeant John A. ("Give-a-damn") Smith when, about noon, they were suddenly fired upon by Indians. Startled by the shots, their untethered horses grazing nearby took off for the post, about a half-mile away, whereupon Barnes and Smith abandoned the gravediggers (who made it in that night) and chased the horses all the way back to the stables, with the Indians shooting at them while soldiers at the post covered their retreat. The two "graveyard guardians," as Barnes called them, were the subject of much conversation for sometime thereafter.⁵¹

The post, meanwhile, came under attack in what was a very unusual tactic for Indians. Barnes thought there were two or three hundred Indians, but much of the firing was at long range and resulted in no serious casualties except for a severe leg wound sustained by First Lieutenant Charles G. Gordon, who had just succeeded to Hentig's command and a close call for Carr when his horse was shot beneath him. Barnes "emptied three or four belts of cartridges and had a great time," as he remembered it. When darkness came, the Indians gave up and most of them seem to have left the immediate vicinity of the post by the next day.⁵²

Carr wanted to get a report to departmental headquarters "as soon as possible," which would have to go by way of Camp Thomas, ninety miles away. Consequently, on the night of September 2, as he states in his official reports, he sent a mail carrier, John Colvig, and his chief packer, Nat Nobles, with a dispatch; but, they returned, saying they could not get through on account of the Indians. The next night, not knowing what the situation to the south might be, and thinking that "another good troop might be needed there," he sent the same dispatch and a postscript with First Lieutenant William Stanton and his cavalry company, who reached Camp Thomas on September 4.

Carr's report is clear and unequivocal concerning this matter of trying to send a dispatch to Camp Thomas on September 2, following the attack on Fort Apache, and then succeeding in sending one on September 3, just as was Cochran's account of October 6, 1881, on sending the dispatch with Owens on August 31. But Barnes' account of how he carried a dispatch to Thomas is so in conflict with the official record as to make the two versions essentially unreconcilable.

According to Barnes, he and Owens left Fort Apache for Camp Thomas on the night of September 2 with identical dispatches but separately and by different routes. Barnes volunteered, as he put it, because as the telegrapher it was his duty to carry dispatches when the telegraph was down. In a chapter of his entitled "A Toss-up with Fate," he presents a detailed account of what happens after he picks out a star

to guide him and rides boldly into the darkness. Hoping, after awhile, to meet up with Owens, he lies down with his ear to the ground, listening intently for hoof beats. Hearing none, he rides to the ferry crossing at Black River, where he decides to reconnoiter the river canyon before crossing. Realizing, however, that the freshly shod feet of his horse make quite a racket on the rocky ground, he recalls that in a dime novel of his youth the hero had wrapped his horse's hooves in blanket strips so as to cross a bridge without noise. This seems like a good idea and the wrapping of his horse's hooves is soon accomplished. His horse thus properly accoutered, he rides to the canyon's edge and peers over, "heart all a-flutter," hearing only "the murmur of the fast-flowing stream." But then he hears a dog, detects "the faint glow of a camp fire," and soon sees a blanketed figure, doubtless an Indian. Concluding that he had better be on his way, he leads his "steed," to the road, "carbine in hand," and then turns left, away from the road, to cross the river above the ford. With his cartridge belt holding his six shooter around his neck, and carrying his carbine, he rides into the swift and icy current in which the horse is soon swimming. As he reaches the bank opposite the Indian camp, the horse blows water from his nose and arouses the Indian dogs. There being no time to lose, Barnes spurs the animal up the "boulder-strewn bank toward the road." The blanket strips now torn from his horse's feet, his flight hurried by shots from the river ricocheting among the rocks, he rides hell bent for leather until he rounds a corner of a mountain and feels safe. On the following morning, September 3, he meets "two troops of cavalry riding hard toward Apache." One of the troopers takes the dispatches to Camp Thomas and Barnes accompanies the cavalymen, arriving with them at Apache early the next day.⁵⁶

There is nothing in this account that fits the facts as set forth officially except the reference to the two cavalry commands, which could have been those of Overton and Perrine. These were reinforcements promised Carr before he left for the Cibecue, which reached Fort Apache from Camp Thomas early Sunday morning, September 4, and which Stanton had missed because of variations in their routes. Even Mazzanovich, who was with Overton, and who claims, in a fuzzy and abbreviated variation of Barnes', account, that Barnes carried a dispatch to Thomas, says nothing about Overton's meeting Barnes on the way.⁵⁷ Indeed, there is rather clear evidence that Barnes was at Fort Apache on September 3, when according to his *Reminiscences* he was someplace between Apache and Thomas. The evidence is in a letter to the Register (probably the Indiana Register, of Indianapolis), datelined Fort Apache, September 3, and signed by the Register's correspondent Sierra Blanca, who was surely Will Barnes. After describing the attack on the post and its isolation, the letter observes that "as dispatches must go through and . . . help obtained, General Carr has decided to send out Troop E, under Lieutenant Stanton, who will, if necessary, fight their way to Camp Thomas."⁵⁸

About all the historian can conclude in the face of contradictions between the official record and the personal record is that distance lends enchantment and that the Will Barnes of the *Reminiscences* simply could not resist an opportunity to spin a good yarn. E.D. Bell, who, as Assistant Secretary of Agriculture in the 1920s, knew Barnes well, may have been more perceptive than he realized when he summoned his recollections in after years: "When it came to twisting a rope and spinning a yarn, or spinning a rope and twisting a yarn, he had even his namesake, Will Rogers, badly handicapped because Rogers only knew what he read in the papers, but Barnes had been there and told yarns of his own experience in his beloved West."⁵⁹ In the second part of his account of "A Toss-up with Fate," which explains its title, Barnes relates that, going out with an armed escort under Overton on September 8 as a guide and to try again to repair the telegraph line, he discovered Owens' body near a spring, "stark-naked and frightfully mutilated." Farther on, he says, the troops came upon the bodies of four Mormon settlers and then, shortly, upon the bodies of three soldiers who had been operating the Black River ferry (but one of those would have been the soldier whom Cochran had sent to bring in the ferry tenders, of whom there were only two). Also discovered was the body of a herder who had been shot

while sitting at the table in his cabin. Barnes further recalls that he repaired two bad breaks in the telegraph line, one near the spring where Owens' body had been found, caused by a missing piece of wire about fifty feet in length that the Indians had cut out with rocks and hidden. After repairing the second break, on September 9, he raised Camp Thomas as well as his own post, much to his pleasure.⁶⁰ Although Mazzanovich writes of going out about that time with Overton and of finding bodies, he does not mention Barnes, the repair of the telegraph line, or finding Owens' body. We do know from the official record, however, that large scouting parties were going out from Apache daily at that time and that the telegraph was reestablished on September 8, if not September 9 as Barnes relates, after the line "had been found cut in several places and the pieces taken away."⁶¹

Barnes' "Toss-up with Fate" is such a good story that it is not hard to understand how the belief arose that it was for the derring-do therein related that he won the Medal of Honor in 1882. Probably Barnes himself came to believe it and certainly his wife and the respected Frank C. Lockwood did. Nevertheless, the hard fact is that nothing can be found in the official record to support Barnes' story that he was poor Owens' successful partner in the Camp Thomas venture and the popular belief that it won him the Medal of Honor.⁶² Such as it is, the official record in Barnes' case shows a commendation by Cochran and a formal recommendation by Carr. Cochran, after briefly describing Barnes' work on the mesa, commended his conduct "during all the trouble" at Fort Apache "in the highest terms," saying that "he was prompt and unhesitating in the discharge of all duties assigned him, more than once being exposed to great danger."⁶³ Carr, writing from Fort Apache, after having recommended at least twelve officers and enlisted men for the Medal of Honor for their recent bravery,⁶⁴ separately recommended Barnes, calling him mistakenly a second-class private, for his gallantry in action in the attack by Indians on the post September 1st 1881. Besides this particular act of gallantry Pvt Barnes is entitled to great credit for good conduct & attention to duty during the trying period, from Aug 29th to Sept 10th, as well as at all times while on duty here, and particularly for going out with one man to repair the line, when it was supposed that Indians were lurking near the road.⁶⁵

This recommendation was not very informative, and when it came up for a decision in Washington, it prompted the comment in the Adjutant General's Office that "the particular act by which this man distinguished himself is not described."⁶⁶ It was even ridiculous, in a way, for by his own testimony September 1, 1881, was the day on which Barnes and "Give-a-damn" Smith had chased the horses back to the barn, abandoning the gravediggers in the post cemetery. Probably in a hurry, Carr did not get things quite straight, but the remainder of the recommendation, although not very specific, makes sense. The time period referred to, August 29 to September 10, embraced Carr's departure for the Cibecue on August 29, the repairs on the telegraph line that Barnes said he and his repairman made at the end of August, and the repairs Barnes recalled making when he went out with Overton's escort on September 8 and 9. The reference in Carr's recommendation to Barnes' having gone out with one man to repair the line perhaps fits the circumstances of the first repairs better than it does those of the latter given the information we have.

Action on Barnes' Medal of Honor was delayed by the Carr court of inquiry,⁶⁷ but on November 8, 1882, General William T. Sherman himself approved it as both the Commanding General of the Army and the Acting Secretary of War. As authorized, the inscription on the medal was to read: "The Congress to 1st Class Private Will C. Barnes, Signal Corps, for bravery in action, September 1st 1881, at Fort Apache, A.T." Barnes received the medal in a retreat ceremony at Fort Apache in the spring of 1883.⁶⁸

Barnes, perhaps, bore silently through life the small cross of the September 1 date, which must have recalled the cemetery episode to him, although he was extremely proud of his Medal of Honor for the

rest of his life.⁶⁹ One small cross he did not bear in silence, however, was the date September 11 that had been entered mistakenly in the record at one point and then corrected before the medal was engraved and sent out, but which got into the published list of holders of the medal. What particularly incensed him was that he was listed there as "William C. Barnes." In a letter to The Adjutant General about these errors in 1927, Barnes, annoyed, pointed out that both the published list and a certificate he had received gave his name as "William which I never was nor want to be and the date . . . September ELEVEN 1881." Can't we get this straight now?" he asked, wondering if his name could not be corrected to "Will C." and the date to September 1, 1881, in the volume and on the certificate as well. He soon received a corrected certificate for his trouble but as recently as 1973 the published list of recipients still called him "William" and still carried the date September 11.⁷⁰

For two months or so after the Battle of Cibecue and the attack on Fort Apache there was a considerable movement and concentration of troops in Arizona, together with warfare of a sort, but "without any great results," as Barnes saw it. "It was not," he thought, "a war to be proud of."⁷¹ During that period the military authorities arrested and brought to trial by court martial five Indian Scouts, four of them in connection with the Cibecue mutiny. Two were sentenced to prison and confined on Alcatraz Island, but were later released. Three, however, were sentenced to death and hanged at Fort Grant in March 1882. Barnes was one of "many in Arizona who questioned... the need for such drastic punishment." "Dead Shot," the oldest of the executed scouts, left two small sons whose mother committed suicide, and for a number of years Barnes assumed the de facto guardianship of these boys. Years later, the son of one of the boys, Dead Shot's grandson, Sinew L. Riley, was a sergeant in the Army's last company of Indian Scouts, which was stationed at Fort Huachuca, where Barnes visited him in 1935. Riley died in 1958 and in 1973 Fort Huachuca named a barracks after him. ⁷²

From time to time young Barnes had an opportunity to meet eminent persons when they stopped over at Fort Apache, among them Frank H. Cushing, the ethnologist, Adolph F.A. Bandelier, the anthropologist and archaeologist, and John Gregory Bourke, the soldier-ethnologist who was George Crook's aide; he got to know Bandelier and Bourke especially well by going on field trips with them.⁷³ In July 1882 he stood in the door of his telegraph office and watched victorious troops return from the battle of Big Dry Wash, which marked a turning point in hostilities with the Apaches and was one of the few cases in which Apaches ever fought a pitched battle. Also, in 1882, after Crook returned to Arizona, replacing Willcox, Barnes saw "more than a hundred Apaches" surrender at Fort Apache and deposit on the porch of the adjutant's office, a veritable museum collection of famous old western guns of every description.⁷⁴

On June 1, 1882, the Signal Corps had promoted Barnes from a first-class private to a sergeant,⁷⁵ but despite occasional diversions, including musicals, and promotion to the noncommissioned ranks, he began to find life at Fort Apache tiresome. The still uncertain telegraph line annoyed him. "This place absolutely stinks with dullness," he wrote in early February 1883. "Line came up last night and was down again this a.m. Good line." Even when there were Indian troubles, as was the case in March 1883, the fact that four troops of cavalry were "sent whooping off to Willcox" made the "post awful dull." It is clear from his journal that Barnes was not enjoying life at Fort Apache by 1883 even though the spring of that year brought him the Medal of Honor.⁷⁶

It was not, however, that Barnes was simply bored, but rather that he had developed a new interest that demanded his attention elsewhere. This interest was cattle, which he and his friend Victor Gomez, in partnership with an officer, had been buying on a small scale for some time. The cattle were strays and sore-footed animals from herds of longhorns, mostly from Texas and New Mexico, driven across the

Apache reservation in 1882 and 1883. At first the partners held their cattle, which at that time numbered about 150, at a spring about eighteen miles from the post, but after a band of Apaches scattered their animals on one occasion, and wrecked their herder's quarters, they decided to relocate on the open range at a site on the Little Colorado River about twenty-five miles west of Holbrook. Here they moved their cattle in mid-February 1883 and here Barnes filed a homestead claim. Although Barnes did not get to see the place until April, when he was able to leave the post for a week, his mind was there much of the time. In fact, he now looked toward a discharge from the Army, despite the fact that his five-year term of enlistment would not be up until the following year. When in February 1883 he heard that an assistant weather observer would be ordered to Apache, Barnes evidently thought he would be discharged by the first of April, but it turned out that he was mistaken.⁷⁷

Judging by his activities in 1883, Barnes was a healthy young man, but in his journal for that period there are a few cryptic references to his health including a reference on March 18 to feeling better and one on May 4 to hearing from "Dr. Lucas" who wrote that "my case is serious, and will cost \$65 to cure." On May 3, Captain Henry M. Kendall, the acting assistant quartermaster, asked the post doctor to grant Barnes a leave of several weeks to go to the ranch. Gomez, who could take care of the telegraph, was to be left at the post. The leave could not be granted, however, until it was approved by Captain George T. Olmsted, the officer in charge of the military telegraph lines in Arizona. When Olmsted wired his approval on May 14, a "dull day" and after Barnes had given "up all hope," Barnes quickly got ready to leave despite the fact that Gomez had gone off to the ranch several days earlier.⁷⁸

Traveling in Arizona in 1883 was not for the weak and faint-hearted, particularly in bad weather. For example, after reaching Holbrook and setting off for his ranch, Barnes found what must have been the Little Colorado on a "big boom" from the previous night's rain. In trying to cross it, his horse went under and Barnes swam out to save himself, only to find that he was on the wrong side of the river, whereupon he was obliged to swim back to the other side.⁷⁹

At the ranch Barnes performed the hardest work possible as he built a cabin and corral and cut and hauled poles and pickets and hauled stone and adobe bricks. Barnes stayed on at the ranch until July 11 when he received an unexpected order to report to Fort Apache at once. He arrived there on July 13, almost exactly sixty days from the time he had left. Under date of July 19, six days later, Dr. C.H. Allen, the acting assistant surgeon at the post, signed a certificate of disability for Barnes' discharge, certifying that Barnes was "incapable of performing the duties of a soldier because of Hyperaemia of the Retina," that he has been "on sick report since the first day of April," that "at present there is no immediate prospect of his being able to perform his duties," and that he considered the "degree of disability to be about one-half." A few days later Barnes was off to the ranch once again, running into such miserable weathered enroute that at one point he and Gomez had to cover the mules to protect them from hail and crawl under the wagon to protect themselves. Back at the post on August 2, Barnes was irritated to discover that Dr. Allen had just sent off his "papers" and had sent them to Washington instead of to Prescott. This, he surmised, would delay his discharge, which, in fact, did not occur until September 15, 1883, ten months before his enlistment was due to expire. In addition to the doctor's declaration of incapacity, the certificate of disability carried the notation that "during the last two months" Barnes had been "unfit for duty 60 days," and that the disability was "incident to the service."⁸⁰

Now out of the Army at the age of twenty-five, a whole new life opened to Barnes, to which his military service was but a brief prelude. From the vantage of his Reminiscences many years later, however, it had been a never-to-be-forgotten experience. Barnes eventually bought out his partners and stayed on as a rancher in Arizona until the turn of the century. The open range and Holbrook, Arizona, as Barnes

knew them at that time, were wild and woolly, replete with rustlers and other desperadoes. As time passed, sheep came from the crowded ranges of New Mexico and cattle appeared on the Arizona ranges in increasing numbers. By 1888 Barnes headed the Esperanza Cattle Company which soon had its brand on thousands of cattle. The summer of 1892, however, was dry and was followed by a terrible winter that badly decimated the herd. Some good years followed, but by the late 1890's the open ranges of Arizona "showed very clearly the effects of over-grazing and abuse." When the bottom dropped out of the market at the close of the century Barnes moved to New Mexico.⁸¹

Meanwhile, as early as 1887 Barnes found himself in public office when the stockmen asked the territorial governor to appoint him to the Arizona Livestock Sanitary Board, which had the oversight of shipments of cattle into and out of Arizona. Except for one short break in service Barnes remained on the board until 1900. In the fall of 1888 he and another cattleman, Albert F. Potter, campaigned for the legislature as the candidates of a local "hybrid affair" called The People's Party. They covered every corner of huge Apache County, Barnes entertaining with cowboy songs and Potter with comic German songs. Sometimes, when they could not recruit local talent, Barnes played a portable organ. Their efforts, however, were unsuccessful, but upon organization of the Republican Party in 1892, Barnes, a Republican by preference, ran successfully for the office of county commissioner and Potter for county treasurer.⁸² In 1893 Barnes went to the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago as vice president of the Arizona fair commission, where he renewed his acquaintance with John Gregory Bourke, who had charge of one of the United States exhibits.⁸³ Elected to Arizona's 18th Territorial Legislative Assembly, Barnes had the political fight of his life in 1895 as the successful leader in a dramatic legislative battle to create Navajo County by splitting Apache County.⁸⁴

On May 4, 1897, about three years before leaving Arizona, and after besieging the lady with letter and verse, Barnes married Edith Talbot of a prominent Phoenix family, who was fifteen years his junior. It was not only a durable marriage, but also apparently a very happy one, although touched by tragedy in its early years when the Barnes' only child, Talbot Croft Barnes who had been born November 13, 1902, died of a spinal ailment.⁸⁵ Barnes' mother Elizabeth, who lived with him for many years, died in New Mexico January 16, 1901, in her sixty-eighth year.⁸⁶

When Barnes left Arizona in 1900 he moved his cattle to a ranch near Dorsey, Colfax County, New Mexico, in the northeastern part of the state, where he leased for ten years seventy-five or a hundred thousand acres of the great Maxwell grant, "the finest grazing land" he had ever seen. Here he fenced in his cattle for his days on the open range were gone forever. In New Mexico he served a term in the territorial legislature and became secretary of the Cattle Sanitary Board of New Mexico, thus to a degree repeating his experience in Arizona.⁸⁷ But in New Mexico things never seemed to go very well for him, thanks particularly to dry summers and hard winters. His correspondence of the period indicates that he did about everything he could think of to keep himself and his cattle business afloat. He sought to borrow money from his Uncle Tom Croft,⁸⁸ and he hit upon the idea of taking in a wealthy partner who would not have to assume any responsibility in return for his investment.⁸⁹ He also at least thought of selling the Taylor wine press,⁹⁰ and he tried to sell the Dandy Mill, a windmill, according to Barnes, that was superior to and consequently more expensive than the Montgomery Ward product.⁹¹ Much more successful, evidently, was his selling of a cattle dehorner, which occupied him for a time.⁹² He also inquired about the Arizona and New Mexico franchise for the sale of "metaphones."⁹³ Success, however, was as elusive as nature was unpredictable. In 1905, after a severe winter, there was a terrible norther on Easter Sunday which created havoc with Barnes' cattle. Despite two seasons of good grass, Barnes, under pressure from his wife, decided to give up ranching and sold out September 1, 1906, almost broken hearted after more than twenty years as a stockman.⁹⁴

At the age of forty-eight, Barnes was now at one of the critical turning points in his life, and, as so often happens, the course he chose was one determined to a degree by chance. At a roundup in Northern Arizona, in 1897, he had met Gifford Pinchot, and in Denver in 1905 Pinchot, then head of the new Forest Service in the Department of Agriculture,⁹⁵ talked to Barnes about a position in Washington in which Barnes could help direct the developing new program of controlled grazing in the national forests. Barnes would be one of a number of practical, experienced Westerners who could understand the problems of the stockmen and persuade them to go along with the program of conservation aimed primarily at the protection of the forests and watersheds. The prospect had held considerable interest for Barnes, not only because of his financial difficulties but because he had come to share Pinchot's views, and, more personally, because his old Arizona friend, Albert F. Potter, had already been recruited as one of Pinchot's key men. When a firm offer had been made in early 1906, however, Barnes had turned it down partly on the grounds that he needed more than the \$1800 a year that it paid. Still interested, nevertheless, he changed his mind after selling out his stock in September and the next year accepted an appointment, effective September 1, 1907, as inspector of grazing at an annual salary of \$1800.⁹⁶

Barnes threw himself into his new work with enthusiasm, spending some of his time in the field, mostly in the West, where he traveled whenever he could by horseback and pack outfit. He and Mrs. Barnes lived in Washington D.C., however, where his work generally required his presence. There he and Mrs. Barnes met many prominent persons and Barnes enjoyed the musical activities of the city and participated in the activities of the Fine Arts Club of which he became president in 1929. For a time the Barnes lived in the Iowa Apartments, 1325 13th Street, N.W., in the Logan Circle area, which, with its neighborhood, Washington's Redevelopment Land Agency is seeking to preserve.⁹⁷

A review of the grazing correspondence of Barnes and his colleagues in the Washington office of the Forest Service illustrates both the variety of his work beyond the routine and doubtless often dull, administrative activities that were a part of his responsibility and the breadth of his knowledge of matters of the range great and small. Subjects that occupied him at one time or another in those years included the conflict between sheep grazing and the preservation of wild game,⁹⁸ the cutting of timber by permit to provide more land for growing food,⁹⁹ the cost of raising sheep as the basis for setting new tariff schedules for wool,¹⁰⁰ and the water rights of grazing permittees.¹⁰¹ Other subjects included the branding of cattle without using a hot iron,¹⁰² the raising of cavalry horses on government land,¹⁰³ forage plants, including buffalo grass,¹⁰⁴ the use of goats instead of fire for clearing land,¹⁰⁵ the problem of alien permittees,¹⁰⁶ the agricultural possibilities of the East,¹⁰⁷ and the offering of more grazing work in the universities.¹⁰⁸ At the heart of Barnes' work, of course, was the control of grazing as a means of conserving the land. Although Barnes and the other Westerners who had gone to work for Pinchot years earlier had won a notable battle in this arena, there arose a complicated and serious controversy in the mid-1920s over certain congressional efforts to raise grazing fees substantially and over the demands of some radical stockmen for freedom from regulation. Barnes, while completely supporting the Forest Service's long policy of controlled grazing, spoke up for the generality of the stockmen as friends of the Forest Service and opposed a sudden and drastic increase in fees.¹⁰⁹

In 1927, not long before he retired from the Forest Service, Barnes became involved, at his initiative, in a unique project to save the famous old Texas longhorn from extinction since commercial considerations had long since favored other cattle. Securing a small appropriation from Congress for the purchase of a small breeding herd, Barnes, with the help of his Forest Service colleague John H. Hatton, traveled "almost 5000" miles in Texas and even into Mexico where they examined perhaps 50,000 cattle in order

to find a select handful, whose progeny now thrive at the Wichita Mountains Wildlife Refuge near Cache, Oklahoma, which in Barnes' day was administered by the Forest Service, and at the Fort Niobrara National Wildlife Refuge near Valentine, Nebraska.¹¹⁰

Barnes enjoyed his work in the Forest Service wherein morale was remarkably high,¹¹¹ and on February 16, 1915, became Assistant Forester and Chief of the Branch of Grazing Management, in which position he remained until retirement. His annual salary rose regularly from \$3,000 in 1915 until it reached \$5,400 by the time of his retirement in 1928, then the salary of a senior administrative officer in the Department of Agriculture. Barnes retired as of July 1, 1928, after reaching his seventieth birthday. The press release announcing his retirement stated, in describing his "varied career as soldier, cattleman, and public official," that, "in recognition of outstanding valor... when he made his way through hostile Indian lines to secure relief for his detachment, he was awarded the ... Medal of Honor in ...1881.¹¹² Looking back on his twenty-one years in the Forest Service he thought of them as "eminently well spent" and of the work as "constructive" and "of the highest possible character." He was "very proud" of having contributed "my humble share to the successful outcome of the present-day system of controlled grazing in the National Forests." Of the stockmen, his old friends, he asserted that they could not afford to forget that the lands in the National Forests "are public property, owned by the whole American people," and therefore not to be used exclusively for the financial gain of the stock interests."¹¹³

Although he retired from the Forest Service in 1928, Barnes agreed to stay in government past the retirement age for civil service employees and serve as secretary of the United States Geographic Board, official arbiter of geographical names, of which he had been a departmental member since the Wilson administration. He spent the next two years at the board's office in the Map Division of the Library of Congress¹¹⁴ and regarded those years, until final retirement July 1, 1930, as "indeed highlights" of his career.¹¹⁵ Several years later, George C. Martin, then the executive secretary of the successor organization, expressed to Barnes his appreciation of "the store of valuable and helpful information which you left in the files."¹¹⁶ Meanwhile, following Barnes' retirement from the Geographic Board, he and Mrs. Barnes made a trip around the world. When they returned, in 1932, they took up residence in Phoenix.

Will Barnes had such talent and so many interests, and was blessed with such energy and vitality, that it is difficult in a brief review to cover even the high spots of his career. He had, for example, a lifelong interest in music that went back at least to his Indianapolis days, and that provided him with one of his principal diversions while at Fort Apache. This interest and evident talent, together with his knowledge of and identification with the cowboy, led him naturally to cowboy songs, which he sang in his early political campaigning and subsequently wrote about. Indeed, Barnes himself says that he revised, wrote several verses of his own, and first published "The Cowboy's Sweet Bye and Bye" (also known by other titles), a version of which he had heard on the Hash Knife Range in Northern Arizona in 1886 or 1887 and had sung when he campaigned with Albert Potter. In any case, in 1895 he had a young cowboy singing it in his short, story, "The Stampede on the Turkey Track Range," although he did not include in the story the chorus that he claimed to have written. This chorus disappears however, in a republication of the story by Barnes in 1920, and is usually included in printed or recorded versions of the song. Soon after its first publication in 1895, the song was borrowed, then reprinted with credit to the first borrower instead of to Barnes, and, according to John I. White, quickly became "one the best known and most mellifluous songs of the American cowboy."¹¹⁸

Of all Barnes' accomplishments, he is most likely to be remembered for his writings, for he was an able and prolific writer. His earliest writings appear to have been the letters written from Fort Apache, some

of them under the sobriquet Sierra Blanca. "Raided by Apaches-A True Story of Cowboy Life," which appeared in the *Youth's Companion* for October 1885, was probably his first contribution to a magazine. When it is considered that Barnes performed much of the work that went into his writing concurrently with his ranching and later employment in the Forest Service, one especially has to admire his industry and literary output, which included books, pamphlets, short stories, and articles.¹¹⁹ It is noteworthy that in 1910 the Forest Service, with the formal approval of Secretary of Agriculture James Wilson, encouraged Barnes to continue to write while he was in its employ. The official rationale for the approval, that since "many of his articles have been along lines . . . connected with his work of the Service, he feels that the study and investigation necessary to enable him to do the writing has better fitted him to perform his official duties," reflected precisely Barnes' view of the matter. The decision as to what was appropriate was left to Barnes "with the understanding that he will be held personally responsible for any articles which refer to official matters or for any violations of the general instructions concerning such matters."¹²⁰ Regularly, through the years, in consequence of this policy, Barnes' promotions in the Forest Service rested partly upon his official and unofficial writings, including his contributions to the *Breeder's Gazette*, of which he was for some time a regular correspondent; his attendance at livestock association meetings; and his addresses before various public groups. This reflected the importance that Pinchot always had attached to public relations and professionalism and the apparently similar views of Secretary Wilson and his successors after Pinchot's dismissal in January 1910.¹²¹

Barnes' earliest book was his unofficial publication *Western Grazing Grounds and Forest Ranges* (1913), which he wrote primarily for young persons interested in a professional career in forestry.¹²² The following year, the Department of Agriculture published his work on *Stock-Watering Places on Western Grazing Lands* (1914).¹²³ In the mid-1920s the Department of Agriculture reprinted *The Story of the Range* (1926), which Barnes had prepared for Senate hearings on the national forests and public domain. Partly historical in content, it is a plea for saving overgrazed and eroded public lands by drawing upon the experience of the Forest Service and by appropriate, timely legislation.¹²⁴

In 1930 Barnes and William MacLeod Raine jointly published *Cattle*, which J. Frank Dobie has described as a "succinct and vivid focusing of much scattered history," but which is also rich in fascinating anecdote. The book seems to have had its origin in a manuscript on "The Romance of the Grasslands," which Barnes had sent to the publisher, who thought it needed the collaborative hand of Raine to make it a commercial success.¹²⁵ Of Barnes' principal works, however, his *Arizona Place Names* (1935), published in his late retirement years after he had labored on it for three decades, was probably his "crowning achievement," as Lockwood says. Nevertheless, because of its supposedly narrow appeal, Doubleday, Doran and Company would not accept it as a commercial venture. According to one story, the University of Oklahoma Press was about to publish it when the University of Arizona agreed to put it out as a bulletin. In 1960, the latter institution put out a revised, enlarged, and handsomely illustrated edition under the editorship of Byrd Howell Granger, but there are some who think the first edition is still the better of the two.¹²⁶ Perhaps nothing more needs to be said about *Apaches & Longhorns*, Barnes' *Reminiscences*, except to repeat that it is a fascinating story, that it was widely and favorably reviewed when it appeared posthumously, and that, in writing Edith Talbot Barnes about it, Gifford Pinchot probably hit the nail on the head with a better blow than he realized: "Brave, modest, able, intelligent, and direct--Will Barnes has put his imprint on the book in a very remarkable way."¹²⁷

Barnes' short stories, such as "The Stampede on the Turkey Track Range," are full of authentic knowledge of horses, cattle, cowboys, and the West in general, and, moreover, are a delight to read. A number of these Barnes republished in book form as *Tales From the X-Bar Horse Camp: The Blue Roan*

"Outlaw" and Other Stories (1920), which he dedicated to his mother "who shared with me many of the dangers and hardships of the old days on the ranges of the Southwest."¹²⁸ Of the many articles that flowed from Barnes' pen through the years, "Wild Horses" is one very good example. First published in McClure Magazine in 1909, it was reprinted in the Atlantic Monthly in 1924.¹²⁹ Surely one of the most gripping and suspenseful of his pieces is "The Black Canyon Stage," published in 1935 in the Arizona Historical Review, of which Barnes had become an associate editor in 1931. Although doubtless the report of an actual experience, it represents the best of the story teller's art.¹³⁰

Given Barnes' unquestioned ability as a writer and his great industry, there is little doubt that he could have made writing his principal life's work and been very successful at it. As it was, no less an authority than J. Frank Dobie ranked him as one of several Arizona writers who were among the leading writers in the western field. ¹³¹

Will Barnes died very suddenly in Phoenix on December 17, 1936, while making "very favorable progress" following a prostatectomy.¹³² His death received considerable attention particularly in Arizona, but also in Washington, D.C., and New York.¹³³ Resolutions honoring Barnes were passed, including one by the Arizona House of Representatives that described him as "one of Arizona's eminent and outstanding citizens" who early in his career had won the Medal of Honor for "his unusual bravery in bringing relief to . . . beleaguered" Fort Apache and who's greatest contribution to the state "has been through his writings."¹³⁴

In 1937 Barnes' ashes were interred at Arlington National Cemetery where the simple marker over his grave bears the inscription: WILL CROFT BARNES / SERGEANT SIGNAL CORPS / UNITED STATES ARMY / 1858-1936 / MEDAL OF HONOR."¹³⁵ Years later, Edith Talbot Barnes, who died at 91, November 29, 1964, was also buried there.¹³⁶

On December 4, 1938, the Maricopa Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, together with the Forest Service, dedicated the Will C. Barnes Butte in Papago Park and Military Reservation at Phoenix. Two bronze tablets were fastened to the solid rock of the butte, one provided by each organization. The Forest Service tablet, the larger of the two, describes Barnes as a soldier and Medal of Honor recipient as well as a "stockman, legislator, forester, author and comrade." Subsequent vandalism caused the removal of these tablets, but in 1954 they were affixed to a monument erected by the state of Arizona beside the road at the foot of the butte.¹³⁷ Military authorities in Arizona also memorialized Barnes when, on May 21, 1955, Fort Huachuca honored Edith Talbot Barnes at an Armed Forces Day parade¹³⁸ and, on January 11, 1958, unveiled a plaque in memory of Barnes at the dedication of the Will C. Barnes Memorial Field House.¹³⁹ The Army again honored Barnes on May 16, 1964, when it named the Army Reserve Center in Phoenix after him.¹⁴⁰ Of the honors bestowed upon Barnes, one honor that surely would have pleased him in a very special way was his election in 1961 to the Hall of Fame of Great Westerners at the National Cowboy Hall of Fame and Western Heritage Center in Oklahoma City.¹⁴¹

NOTES

1. "Death of Mrs. Elizabeth A. Barnes, It clipping of an otherwise unidentified 1901 obituary of Barnes' mother, Will Croft Barnes Papers, WCB-2a, Ariz. Coll., Ariz. State U., Tempe (hereafter cited as AC/ASU). Will had a brother, Thomas F. Barnes, for whom he seems to have had little use in later years. See Ibid.; Reminiscences, p. 121, as cited in the following n.; and Will Barnes to Tom [Barnes], Mar. 24, 1902, an

incomplete letter in W. C. Barnes Ltrbk., 1900-1905, Will Croft Barnes Papers, B261-w135., Ariz. Hist. Soc. Lib., Tucson (hereafter cited as AHSL), the main body of Barnes' papers.

2. I have drawn upon Lockwood's "Introduction" in *Apaches and Longhorns: The Reminiscences of Will C. Barnes*, ed. Frank C. Lockwood (Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1941), hereafter cited as *Reminiscences*, for material on Barnes' early life, and, as will be seen, I have depended upon the "Introduction" and the *Reminiscences* themselves at numerous points in this account. Nevertheless, for reasons that will be explained, Will Barnes' *Reminiscences* must be used carefully. A comparison of Barnes' draft of his *Reminiscences*, about 540 pp. in 4 vols. (B261-w431, -w432, -w433, -w4347-, AHSL, reveals that the published version edited by Lockwood follows the original very closely. I am indebted to Thomas C. Barnes of the Hist. Dept., U. of Ariz., for this comparison. Other published accounts of Barnes' life briefer than the *Reminiscences*, and of varying merit, include *Who Was Who in America* (2 vols.; 1942), 1, 53; W.W. Wheeler, "The Story of Will C. Barnes," *Frontier Times*, VII (Dec. 1929), 117-119, as reprinted w/o illus. from *Farm & Fireside*, Apr 1928, pp. 12-13, 26; "Tribute to a Famous Forester," *Official Record* (of the U.S. Dept. of Agr.), IX (Aug. 7, 1930); Andrew Wallace, "Dedication to the Memory of Will Croft Barnes, 1858-1936," w/"A Chronological List of the Works of Will Croft Barnes," *Arizona and the West*, 11 (Aug. 1960), 203-204, 211-212; and Paul J. Scheips, "Will Croft Barnes, Soldier and Citizen of Arizona," *Ibid.*, pp. 205-211. Harwood P. Hinton, editor of *Arizona and the West*, has very kindly permitted me a free hand in using material from my article on Barnes.

3. Lockwood states that Barnes knew Sen. Booth through the Senator's nephew, Booth Tarkington, a "boyhood friend," but Tarkington, born in 1869, was less than 10 years old when Barnes enlisted in the Army.

4. Oath of Enlist. and Allegiance, *Regist. of Enlistments*, Vol. 78 (A-C, 1878-84), Will C. Barnes, Enlist. Papers, 1798-Oct 31, 1912, Recs. of the AGO, 1780's-1917, Record Group (RC) 94 National Archives (NA), Wash., D.C. All other record groups cited hereafter are also in the National Archives.

5. See Paul J. Scheips "'Old Probabilities': A. J. Myer and the Signal Corps Weather Service," *Arlington Historical Magazine*, V (Oct. 1974), 31-33; and Ann. Rep. of the Ch. Sig.:Off. (hereafter cited as ARCSO), L880, pp. 233-234. The annual reports of the CSO can be found, variously, as separates or as parts of the annual reports of the Sec./War in the Cong. (or Serial) Set, or in a departmental set. When not using separates I have sometimes used one and sometimes another set, and in the interests of simplicity, and because it seems unnecessary, in citing either the ARCSO or a report of the Sec./War, I have not given the details of publication beyond the date of a given report.

6. ARCSO, 1873, pp. 306-307; and Private Journal of Will C. Barnes, 1880-1886 (hereafter cited simply as *Journal*), Dec. 16, 1880, NA Gift Coll., RG 200. This journal, a gift of Edith Talbot Barnes, actually deals with the period 1879-1886, but w/gaps between 1880 and 1883 and the latter year and 1885. There is a good map of the coastal lines in the ARCSO, 1881, following p. 250.

7. *Journal*, Dec 16, 1880, and *Reminiscences*, pp. 3-7. For the Pioche meteorological reports for the period, see Pioche, Nev., Station Reps., Nov. and Dec. 1879 and Jan. 1880, U.S. Weather Bur. Climatological Recs., 1819-1892, Recs. of the U.S. Weather Bur., RG 27, NA Mfm., T-907.

8. OCSO, SO No. 3 Jan. 13, 1880, SC Descript. Bks., 1870-1897 No. 1659, Recs. of the OCSO, RG 111; and Muster Roll, Co. C, SC, 3an./Feb., 1880, Muster Rolls of Reg. Army Organizations, 17841912, RG 94.

9. *Journal*, Dec. 16, 1880; and *Reminiscences*, pp. 22 ff.

10. *Reminiscences*, p. 25.

11. *Journal*, Dec. 16 1880.

12. *Reminiscences*, pp. 29-31.

13. Known as Cp. Mogollon, Cp. Thomas, and Cp. Apache, the post became Ft. Apache on Apr. 5, 1879. Herbert M. Hart, *Old Forts of the Far West* (Seattle: Superior Pub. Co., 1965), p. 162.

14. Ralph H. Ogle *Federal Control of the Western Apaches, 1848-1886* (facs. reprod. of orig. ed., 1940; Albuquerque: U. of N.M. Press, 1970), pp. 156, 157-159, 187; and Joyce E. Mason, *The Use of Indian*

Scouts in the Apache Wars (Ph.D. diss., Ind. U., 1970; Ann Arbor Mfms. , 1975[70-22,83] pp. 107, 112-114. y

15. The use of the term "troop" instead of "company" for the basic cavalry unit did not become official until ordered by Hqs. of the Army, Circ. No. 8, Sept. 8, 1883.

16. Ann. Rep. of the Sec./War, 1880, 1, 2 2-23, and 1881, 1, 60-61; Ft. Apache Post Rtns., Aug., Sept., and Oct. 1881, RG 94, NA Mfm. M-617; Hart, p. 162; and Journal, Dec 16, 1880.

17. Francis B. Heitman, Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army . . . to 1903 (2 vols.; Wash.: GPO, 1903; reprinted Urbana: U. of 111. Press, 1965), 1,313; and Thomas Cruse, Apache Days and After. (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1941), p. 26.

18. On Carr's life and career, see Heitman, 1, 285; Thomas M. Spaulding in the Dictionary of American Biography (DAB), XX, 243; and James T. King, War Eagle: A Life of General Eugene A. Carr (Lincoln: U. of Neb. Press, 1967).

19 Teleg., Carr to AG, Whipple Barracks, Ariz., Aug. 15, 1881, Ltrs. Rec. (LR), Dept. of Ariz. (DA), DA 2859 (1881), Recs. of the U.S. Army Cont. Cmds., 1821-1920, RG 393.

20. Ltr. from "Sierra Blanca," Aug. 26, 1881, doubtless a nom de plume for Will Barnes, published in the (Indiana?) Register, of which there is an otherwise unidentified clipping in Barnes' Journal wherein the young writer declares that "four companies are entirely too few to garrison such an isolated post as this." See also A Report on the Hygiene of the United States Army, with Descriptions of Military Posts (Circ. No. 8, WD, SGO (Wash.: GPV,-1-8-15)) pp--525-531. For an interesting view of the post in the 1870s, by a young Army wife, see Martha Summerhayes, Vanished Arizona: Recollections of the Army Life of a New England Woman, (Reprint Ed.; Glorieta, NM: Rio Grande Press, Inc., 1970), pp. 88-116. Also see Reminiscences, pp. 35-36; King, pp. 196-197; Cruse, p. 32, and various photos, including some of the officers' quarters, facing p. 113, and of the adjutant's office and a part of the telegraph office, as they were in 1879-1881, facing p. 129; and Hart, 162-165, w/diagram and photos.

21. Cruse, P. 32; Journal, Dec. 16, 1880; and Reminiscences, p. 34.

22. Carr to AAG Hqs., Mil. Div. of the Pac., through Hqs., DA (In the Field), Oct. 23, 1881, w/3 ends., LR, AGO, AGO 4327 (1881), RG 94, NA Mfm, M-689. Cy. cited here is App. A to Willcox's charges and specs. made against Carr Jan. 6, 1882. I have quoted Carr's complaint at some length in "Will Croft Barnes, Soldier and Citizen of Arizona," p. 207. Some kind of justice was evidently at work, for Carr's quarters at Apache burned down in mid-Dec. 1880. Teleg. Carr [to AAG, DA], Dec. 15, 1881, LR, DA, DA 4721 (1881), RG 393; and caption on photo in Cruse, facing p. 113.

23. Reminiscences, p. 37; and ARCSO, 1880, p. 117.

24. On the beginnings and subsequent history of the military telegraph in Arizona and other sections down to 1885, see Ludington to Meigs, QMG, Aug. 29, 1874, in Ann. Rept. of the QMG, 1874, pp. 73-74, for which reference I am indebted to a short paper by Orville A. Cochran, "When the Army Telegraph Came to Arizona" (MS, 1967, Ft. Huachuca Museum), and the following: ARCSO, 1874, pp. 519-522, w/Papers 51-54, pp. 596-801; 1875, pp. 104-108, w/Paper 30, pp. 364-365; 1876 pp. 117-121; 1877, 143-147, w/Paper 46, pp. 569-570; 1878-9, Pp. 170-184 (p. 181, reporting completion of the line to Ft. Apache) w/map facing p. 180; 1879, pp. 215-226, w/map following p. 214; 1880, pp. 117, 219-231, pp. 26-37, w/map following 78-82, pp. 31-43, w/map following p. 42; 1883, pp. 12-13, w/App. 60, pp. 603-606; 1884, pp. 23-24, w/App. 5, pp. 80-88; and 1885, pp. 9-11 w/App. 63. pp. 547-549. With these cf. Ibid., 1915, p. 764; and 1916, p. 873. For interesting sidelights-on the early Arizona lines and the Apaches' use of them, see John G. Bourike, On the Border with Crook,(Reprint Ed., Chicago: Rio Grande Press, 1962). pp. 232-234.

25. Reminiscences, pp. 37, 39-40.

26. ARCSO, 1881, p. 281; Journal, entries for Feb. and Mar. 1883, passim-; DA, so-90, JUL. 17, 1880, detailing a repair man, as reported by Ft. Apache Post Rets., Aug. 1880, RG 949 NA Mfm. M-617; teleg., AAG, Hqs., DA, to CO. Opns. in the Field, Cp. Thomas, Aug. 22, 1881, as received at Ft. Apache by mail,

Sept. 19 1881 LR9 AGO, f/w AGO 4327 (1881), RG 94; and the correspondence concerning repairs, LR, DA, f/w DA 4902 (1881), RG 393.

27. ARCSO, 18819 p. 218.

28. Reminiscences, pp. 37-38.

29. Ibid., pp. 40, 42, 43; "Instructions for the Construction and Equipment of Permanent Telegraph Lines," ARCSO, 1881, App. 409 pp. 811-823; 1883, App. 609 pp. 603, 605; 1885, App. 63, p. 548; and cy. of teleg., ASO in Charge, U.S. Mil. Teleg. Lines, Calif. and Ariz. Div., Prescott, Aug. 15, 1881 LR9 DA, f/w DA 4902 (1881), RG 393, concerning installation of 400 iron poles on the line between Ft. Grant and Cp. Thomas under the regular repairman at Ft. Apache.

30. ARCSO, 18819 pp. 217-218; and Instructions to Observers of the Signal Service, United States Army (Wash.: GPO, 1881), p.9.

31. Reminiscences, pp. 38-39.

32. ARCSO, 1881; p. 218; and Glassford to Barnes, June 27, 1931, Barnes Papers B261w-b390, AHSL. There are, Ibid., at least 15 letters from Glassford and others, together with copies of letters written by Barnes, in the period 1909-1913, in support of Glassford's efforts to become the CSO.

33. There are various spellings of this name, but I have chosen to use Barnes' spelling.

34. Teleg., Carr to AG, Whipple Barracks, Aug. 1, 1881, as found in Carr to AAG, Hqs., DA, Nov. 2, 1881 (w/Apps. A-U), App. A, and forwarded by AAG, Hqs., DA, to AAG, Hqs., Mil Div. of the Pac., Nov. 25, 1881, LR, AGO, f/w AGO 4327 (1881), RG 94; Ann. Rep. of the Comm. of Indian Affs. to the Sec.Int., 1881 (Wash.: GPO, 1881), pp. VIII-IX. Cruse pp. 93-100; Reminiscences, pp. 51-53; Mason, pp. 190-193, 205, 267 n. 3), 210 (n. 49); and Dan L. Thrapp, *The Conquest of Apacheria* (Norman U. of Okla. Press, 1967), pp. 217-220.

35. On Tiffany, see Bourke, pp. 438-440, for the grand jury report, and the following: Carr's Oct. 4, 1881, end of ltr. from Tiffany, Oct. 2, 1881 (Regist. of LR, DA, Dist. of Apache, No. 56), Ends., DA, Dist. of Apache, Commencing Sept. 14, 1881, No. 6, RG 393; Ogle, pp. 199-204, and the references cited there; General George Crook: *His Autobiography*, ed., Martin F. Schmitt Norman: U. of Okla. Press, 1960), p. 243; John U. Terrell, *Apache Chronicle* (N.Y.: World Publishing Times Mirror, 1972), pp. 344, 345, and passim; Thrapp, pp. 257-258 and passim; and Robert M. Utley, *Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indian, 1866-1891* ("The Wars of the United States," ed. Louis Morton; N.Y.: MacMillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1973), pp. 371-372.

36. On the general situation at that time, see, Carr to AAG, Hqs., DA, Nov. 2, 1881, together with all apps., LR, AGO, f/w AGO 4327 (1881), RG 94; and Utley, P. 372. Barnes did not recall that the telegraph went out on Aug. 15, as did Carr in his report, but thought it was out when Carr marched to the Cibecue, which was Aug. 29, and was not clear as to when, exactly, he and his repairman attempted to put it in working order, Aug 29 or later. See Reminiscences, pp. 55-57. The meteorological report for Ft. Apache, for Aug 1881, which Barnes kept, shows rain on 18 days for a total of over eight inches for the month. *Monthly Meteor. Rep., Ft. Apache, A.T., 1881*, RG 27.

37. This is the modern, and Barnes', spelling of what Carr and most of his contemporaries called "Cibicu."

38. Carr to AAG, Hqs., DA, Nov. 2, 1881, w/Willcox's instructs. (AAG, Hqs., DA, to Carr, Aug. 13, 1881), App. O, LR, AGO, f/w AGO 4327 (1881), RG 94.

39. Carr to AAG, Hqs., DA, Nov. 2, 1881, LR, AGO, f/w Ibid., and Cochran to AAG, Hqs., DA, Oct. 6, 1881, LR, DA, DA 3826 ZMI), RG 393.

40. Cochran to AAG, Hqs., DA, Oct. 6, 1881, LR, DA, DA 3826 (1881), RG 393, of which there is another, although incomplete, copy, in LR, AGO, AGO 5843 (1881), f/w AGO 4327 (1881), RG 94. The text of Cochran's dispatch to Cp. Thomas, Aug. 31, 1881, as forwarded to Hqs., DA can be found in teleg., J. L. Viven, CO, Cp. Thomas, to AAG, Prescott, A.T., Sept. 1, 1881, LR, DA, DA 3115 (1881), RG 393. Also see Cruse, pp. 119-120; and Reminiscences, pp. 55-56. The

"post trader" was probably Henry E. Lacy, the Ft. Apache postmaster, on whom see John and Lillian Theobald, *Arizona Territory Post Offices & Postmasters* (Phoenix: Ariz. Hist. Found., 1961, p. 99.

41. Cochran to AAG, Hqs., DA, Oct. 6 1881, w/Cochran to CO, Cp. Thomas, Aug. 31, 1881 (the dispatch entrusted to Owens), App. D, LR, DA, DA 3826 (1881), RG 393; and *Reminiscences*, p. 80. There is confirmation of Cochran's official report of sending Owens on this mission to Cp. Thomas in the report of Capt. Harry C. Egbert, AJA, DA. See Egbert, to AAG, DA, Dec. 10, 1881 (prtd. cy., LR, DA, DA 4678 [1881]), pp. 11-12, LR, AGO, f/w AGO 4327 (1881), RG 94. Also in LR, AGO, f/w AGO 4327 (1881), is a MS copy of Egbert's report with a map of the Ft. Apache-Black River ford area in which Owens and others were slain. For confirmation, also see the reference in the proceedings of the Carr court of inquiry to a letter of Dec. 11, 1881, from Capt. Alexander B. MacGowan, the third in command at Apache, who related the details of Owens' mission without mentioning Owens' name (Ct. of Inq. upon Request of Col. E. A. Carr . . . 1882, p. 167, QQ 3410, Recs. of the JAG [Army], RG 153; and King, pp. 204205.

42. Cochran to AAG, Hqs., DA, Oct. 6, 1881, LR, DA, DA 3826 (1881), RG 393; Cruse, pp. 7, 126; and *Reminiscences*, p. 58.

43. *Reminiscences*, pp. 58-64; Cochran to AAG, DA, Oct. 6, 1881, T LR, DA, DA 3826 1881), RG 393; and Cruse, pp. 126-127.

44. W. H. Carter, *From Yorktown to Santiago with the Sixth U.S. Cavalry* (Baltimore: Lord Baltimore Press, 1900), pp. 216, 219; Anton Mazzanovich, *Trailing Geronimo* (3d Ed., Hollywood, Cal.: A Mazzanovich, 1931), pp. 19-20, 92 (photo.); H. B. Wharfield, *Alchesay, Scout with General Crook . . .* (El Cajon, Calif.: H. B. Wharfield, 1969), P. 18, -n. 17; and King, p. 211.

45. Carr to AAG, Hqs., DA, Nov. 2, 1881, LR, AGO, f/w AGO 4327 (1881), RG 94.

46. See Carr's final report, w/apps., as cited *Ibid.*; and Cochran to AAG, Hqs., DA, Oct. 6, 1881, LR, DA, DA 3826 T1881), RG 393. Carr also prepared a hastily drawn preliminary report, for which see Carr to AAG, Hqs., DA, Sept. 18, 1881, Rep. of Opns., Aug. to Sept. 3, 1881, cys. of which are in LR, AGO, f/w AGO 4327 (1881). RG 94. What appears to be the original draft of this preliminary report is among related unfiled papers of the DA, DA 3827 (1881), RG 393. Despite its preliminary nature, Willcox forwarded the report to Hqs., Mil. Div. of the Pac., Oct. 22, 1881, as noted in 3d end., Oct. 28, 1881, to AAG, Hqs., DA, to Willcox in Tucson, Oct. 18, 1881, LR, DA, DA 3936 (1881), RG 393.

47. See Recs. of Gen. Ct. Mart. Convened at Ft. Grant, A.T., under Hqs., DA, SO 125 (1881), QQ 2821, RG 153.

48. See Willcox to AG, Jan. 6, 1882, Charges and Specs. against Col. E. A. Carr, 6th Cav., w/ends. and action, LR, AGO, f/w AGO 4327 (1881) RG 94; and the court of inquiry proceedings cited in n. 41, above, a 310-page typed transcript.

49. See Utley, pp. 372-374 and the refs. cited, particularly those in p. 393, n.7. Utley agrees with Gen. McDowell, who believed that the arrest of Nibck-aye-de-Klinny was unwise.

50. *Reminiscences*, p. 64; and the clipping of Sierra Blanca's itr. of Sept. 3, 1881-, to the [Indiana] Register, n.d., as found in Journal.

51. *Reminiscences*, pp. 65-70. Cf. Carr's account of this incident, in which he says nothing about Barnes and Smith decamping from the cemetery. Ct. of Inq. upon Req. of Col E. A. Carr, 1882, p. 281, QQ 3410, RG 153; and Carr to AAG, Hqs., DA, Nov. 2, 1881, LR, AGO, f/w AGO 4327 (1881), RG 94.

52. Carr to AAG, Hqs., DA, Nov. 2, 1881, LR, AGO, f/w *Ibid.*; Ft. Apache Post Rets., Sept, 1881, RG 94; *Reminiscences*, pp. 8-69; Cruse, pp. 130-133, and Utley, pp. 372-373. Rare as were Indian attacks on western posts, this was the second attack on Apache, there having been one on Jan. 9, 1876 (Carter, p. 183).

53. See Carr to AAG, Hqs., DA, Nov. 2, 1881, LR, AGO, f/w AGO 4327 (1881), RG 94; Carr's preliminary report as cited in n. 46, above. Stanton's mission is not only mentioned in these reports, but also in Ft. Apache and Cp. Thomas Post Rets., Sept. 1881, kG J4, NA Mfm. M-617. For Carr's dispatch of Sept. 2, but

without the postscript he said he added when entrusting it to Stanton, see teleg., CO, Cp. Thomas, to AAG, Whipple Barracks, Sept. 4, 1881, LR, OA, DA 3215 (1881), RG 393.

54. Cochran to AAG, Hqs., DA, Oct. 6, 1881, LR, DA, DA 3826 (1881), RG 393.

55. Also at variance with Carr's official account and with Barnes' account as well, is that of Cruse, pp. 133-134, who relates that Colvig, with an initial escort by Stanton and Cruse, continued on his mission on the night of Sept. 2 until he met Overton 10 miles out of Thomas.

56. Reminiscences, pp. 70-78.

57. Carr to AAG, Hqs., DA, Nov. 2, 1881, LR, AGO, f/w AGO 4327 (1881), RG 94; Cp. Thomas and Ft. Apache Post Ret.s., Sept. 1881, RG 94; Carter, pp. 221, 222; and Mazzanovich, pp. 125-135.

58. Clipping of ltr. from Sierra Blanca, "The Fight at Cibicue Creek," Ft. Apache, Sept. 3, 1881 [Indiana?] Register, n.d., as mounted in Barnes's Journal. Efforts to determine from official records whether Barnes was or was not at Ft. Apache at that time are inconclusive. The National Archives cannot locate any morning reports for Ft. Apache for 1881; and although Barnes' Monthly Meteor. Rep. for Ft. Apache, Sept. 1881, RG 27, shows most of the entries missing for the first three days of the month and some missing for the fourth day, "owing to the serious Indian troubles at this post," the report does not really prove anything as to his whereabouts.

59. E. D. Bell, "Will Barnes in Washington: An Address at the Memorial Service . . . at the Arizona Museum in Phoenix, February 21, 1937," MS, AC/ASU. The view of Barnes as possibly twisting the facts in order to tell the best possible yarn is surely at variance with that of one Barnes partisan, H.B. Wharfield, who solves the problem of the contradictions by accepting Barnes' account not only because Barnes was "one of the participants in the courageous journey, but in later years . . . was an accepted writer for his veracity. Other authors and some of repute . . . list dubious details and name other persons as the couriers." Wharfield, pp. 18-19, nn. 18-19.

60. Reminiscences, pp. 79-86, including a sequel and Barnes' comment that the Indians who perpetrated the atrocities "were far more sinned against than sinning."

61. Mazzanovich, pp. 138-140; Carter, p. 222, who also specifically mentions Overton's burying of 3 soldiers and 5 civilians at that time; Ft. Apache Post Ret.s., Sept, 1881, RG 94; and Biddle to AAAG, DA (In the field), Oct. 13, 1881, LR, AGO, AGO 4327 (1881), RG 94.

62. See, for example, Lockwood's "Introduction" in Reminiscences, p. xiv; the Phoenix radio station KTAR program "Arizona Highlights," Nov. 13, 1947 (typed text, Barnes Papers, C/WCB 2-a AC/ASU); "Arizona Days with Roscoe G. Willson," Arizona Days and Ways Magazine, Feb. 24, 1947 (clipping, Ibid.); and Kitty Smith, "An Arizona Pioneer Troops the Line," Arizona Republic (Phoenix), June 8, 1955, published on the occasion of the award of a scroll to Edith Talbot Barnes at Ft. Huachuca, Ariz. Cf. Cruse, p. 128.

63. Cochran to AAG, Hqs., DA, Oct. 6, 1881, LR, DA, DA 3826 (1881), RG 393.

64. Carr to AAG, Hqs., DA, Nov. 2, 1881, f/w AGO 4327 (1881), RG 94. Ironically, among those recommended for the Medal of Honor, which he did not get, was Pvt. Patrick Donohue of the 6th Cav. who, after being in the fight on the Cibecue, had carried dispatches as a volunteer from Cp. Thomas to Ft. Apache, Sept. B-9, 1881.

65. Carr to AAG, Hqs., DA (In the Field), Nov. 7, 1881, LR, AGO (EB), f/w Medal of Honor Papers, Wm. (Will) C. Barnes, AGO 72 A (1882), RG 94. There are also two typed copies of this letter in Barnes' Personnel File, AG 201 (Will C. Barnes), RG 9-4.

66. Unaddressed and unsigned entry with the query as to whether it should be "now submitted to the General of the Army and the Secretary of War, or filed until called up," on a case form of the AGO, Nov. 7, 1882, LR, AGO (EB), f/w AGO 72 A (1882), RG 94.

67. Ibid.

68. Sherman's approval and official text of the words engraved on the medal, w/related corres., are in LR, AGO (EB), f/w AGO 72 A (1882), RG 94. Barnes gives a slightly different wording of the inscription on his medal. For this, for his humorous account of the events at Ft. Apache in the period just before he

received the medal, and for his account of the presentation of the medal, see *Reminiscences*, pp. 97-105.

69. See, e.g., Barnes' correspondence in 1897 regarding a supply of knots to be worn in lieu of the medal and regarding a new ribbon; and his correspondence in 1908 requesting one of the new medals that had been issued, which he had seen at the New Year's reception at the White House, and which he wanted without having to surrender his old medal--all in LR, AGO (-EB), f/w AGO 72 A (1882), RG 94. Barnes also wanted his tombstone in Arlington to reflect his receipt of the Medal of Honor, on which see the correspondence f/w Recs. of the OQMG (Cem. Recs.), QM 293 AC (1930), Will C. Barnes, RG 92 Among the Barnes papers, B26, w-310, AHSL, is an interesting article by Barnes in MS, entitled "For Bravery in Action. The Congressional Medal of Honor."

70. See corres. f/w Barnes's military personnel records, AG 201 (Will C. Barnes), RG 94. For the continued use of "William" see Medal of Honor Recipients, 1863-1973 (-U.S. Sen. Comm. on Veterans' Affairs, 93d Cong., 1st Sess., Comm. Prt. No. 15, Oct. 22, 1973 [Wash.: GPO, 1973]), p. 277.

71. *Reminiscences*, p. 87; Mason, pp. 212 ff.; King, ch. X; Utley, p. 373; and L&TR, DA, Dist. of Apache, 1881, together w/LR, DA, Sept.-Oct. 1881, RG 393.

72. Recs. of Gen. Ct. Mart. Convened at Ft. Grant, A.T., under Hqs., DA, SO 125 (1881), QQ 2821, RG 153; and various materials bearing on the execution of the scouts f/w AGO 4327 (1881), RG 94. Also see Willcox's report as submitted to McDowell, Ann. Rept. of the Sec./War, 1882, 1, 146; *Reminiscences*, pp. 87-91, 121-127; Will Croft Barnes, "The Battle of Cibecue," *Arizona Highways*, XII (Mar. 1936), 7, 18-20; and Rita Doerner, "Sinew Riley, Apache Scouts," *The Journal of Arizona History*, XIV (Winter 1973), 271-280.

73. *Reminiscences*, pp. xxii, 43-44, 53-55, 105-112; *Journal*, Apr. 1883; and the DAB, as follows Walter Hough on Cushing (1857-1900), IV, 630; Alfred F. Kidder on Bandelier (1840-1914), 1, 571-572; and Hough on Bourke (1846-1896), 11, 483.

74. Will Croft Barnes, "The Apaches' Last Stand in Arizona," *Arizona Historical Review*, III (Jan. 1931), 48; *Reminiscences*, pp. 91-96; and Utley, pp. 376 ff.

75. By OCSO GO 38 (1880), as cited in SC Descript. Bks., 1870-1927, No. 1659, Recs. of the OCSO, RG 111; and SC Co. C, May-June 1882, Muster Rolls, RG 94.

76. *Journal*, Feb. 27; Mar. 24, 28, 1883; and *passim*.

77. *Reminiscences*, pp. 118-120; and *Journal*, Jan.-Feb. 1883. 78. *Journal*, Mar. 18, 24; and May 3, 4, 6, 11, 17, 1883.

79. *Ibid.*, Mar. 31 and May 17, 1883.

80. ID.Ld., May Aug. 1883, there being no entry after Aug. 2, 1883, until Mar. 1885. The certificate of disability, dated July 19, 1883 (although Barnes thought that Dr. Allen had dated the "papers" on July 18 for the next day's mail), is in Barnes' Pension File, XC-2579-351 (Will Croft Barnes), Recs. of the Veterans' Admin., Rg 15. On Barnes' discharge also see his Personnel File, RG 201 (Will C. Barnes, RG 94.

81. *Reminiscences*, pp. 127-163, 171-182; and Joe Pearce, "Pioneer Recalls Days of Danger, Romance, Trail-Driving Longhorns in Old Arizona" (otherwise unidentified and undated clipping, Barnes Papers, AC/ASU), wherein Pearce, formerly a young cowboy with the Esperanza Co., describes the company as English-owned, Barnes as "general manager and range foreman," and the herd as numbering 5,000 cattle, as compared w/Barnes' estimate of "about 7,000."

82. *Reminiscences*, pp. 164-167.

83. *Ibid.*, pp. 117, 167. "Migration of a Saguaro," *Arizona Highways*, XII (Dec. 1936), 13, 23, published the month of Barnes' death, relates his part, and the difficulties involved, in moving and transplanting the giant saguaro cactus from Arizona to Jackson Park, Chicago.

84. *Reminiscences*, pp. 167-168; William [Will] C. Barnes, "Recalls the 18th Legislative Fight, Over Creation of Navajo and the Division of Apache Counties," *Holbrook Tribune*, Mar. 11, 1927 (clipping, Barnes Papers, AHSL); Will C. Barnes, *Arizona Place Names* (U. of Ariz. Bull., Vol. VI, Gen. Bull. No. 3,

Tucson: U. of Ariz, 1935), p. 296; and Jay J. Wagoner, *Arizona Territory, 1863-1912: A Political History* (Tucson: U. of Ariz. Press, 1970), p. 320.

85. There is material on Barnes' courtship and marriage in the Barnes Papers in both the AC/ASU and the AHSL as well as in his *Reminiscences*, pp. 169-170. For references to the child's illness, see Barnes to Ance, Feb. 10; to unknown person (ltr. faded), Mar. 1; and to Manby, Mar. 19, 1905, Ltrbk., 1900-1905, Barnes Papers, B261w-a349,a-373, -a391, AHSL. Also see Barnes' Pension File, XC-2579-351 (Will Croft Barnes), RG 15.

86. "Death of Mrs. Elizabeth A. Barnes," otherwise unidentified clipping in Barnes Papers, AC/ASU.

87. *Reminiscences*, pp. 182-184; and *Who Was Who in America* (1942),

88. Barnes to Uncle Tom [Croft], Nov. 19, 1902, and July 1, 1903 Ltrbk., 1900-1905, Barnes Papers, B261w-a188, -a207 (w/ -a208), AHSL.

89. Idem to Gilbert Shaw, June 8, 1903, B261w-a204, Ibid.

90. Idem to A. M. Hollenbeck. Apr. 30 (and to others, Apr. 30, June 2, and 29), 1903, B261w-a202, -a203, -a205, -a206, Ibid.

91. Idem to H. M. Porter, June 20, and to Challenge Windmill Co., Sept. 15, 1904, B261w-a215, -a246, iLiA.

92. Idem to H. C. Boice, Aug. 30, 1904 (and to others, Dec 28, 1904; Jan. 4, -25, and Mar. 10, 1905), B261w-a241, -a273, -a285, -a311, -a382, Ibid.

93. Idem to Electric Utilities Co., Feb. 2, 1905, B261w-a346, Ibid.

94. *Reminiscences*, pp. 184-187. See also Barnes' "Lament for the Old Time Cowboy" pp. 188-196.

95. For an excellent study of Pinchot's great career as a professional forester, see Harold T. Pinkett, *Gifford Pinchot: Private and Public Forester* (Urbana: U. of Ill. Press, 1970).

96. See, by Barnes, not only his *Reminiscences*, pp. 196-205, but also "Gifford Pinchot, Forester 31" McClure's Magazine, XXXI (July 1908), 319-327; and "The U. S. Forest Service," The West, XXIX (Aug. 1908). 89-109. Also see the following correspondence: teleg. and ltr., Barnes to Pinchot, both Apr. 28, 1906, and ltr., Pinchot to Barnes, May 9, 1906, together w/Barnes' original salary card, all in Graz. Corres. (GZ), Wash. Off., Recs of the Forest Serv., RG 95; and Barnes' original certif. of apptmt., July 22, 1907 (effect. Sept. 1, 1907), Barnes Papers, B261w-422, AHSL.

97. Lockwood's "Introduction" in *Reminiscences*, p. xviii; and Paul Hodge, "Signs Urge Repair by Embarrassment," Washington Post Times-Herald, Apr. 22, 1975, p. C1.

98. C. Hart Merriam to Barnes, Apr. 10; Potter to Barnes, Apr. 14; and Barnes to Potter, Apr. 19, 1909. Graz. Corres. (Gg Supvn.), Wash. Off., RG 95.

99. Potter to Barnes, Aug. 2; and Barnes to Potter, Aug. 7, 1909. Ibid.

100. Barnes was furloughed to the Tariff Bd. for a time after having assisted it on a part-time basis. See teleg. and ltr., Potter to L. F. Kneipp, both May 20, 1911, Ibid.

101. Barnes to Kneipp, June 24; and Kneipp to Barnes, June 28, 1912. Ibid.

102. Howard F. Weiss to W. B. Greeley, Mar 18; Greeley to Weiss, Mar 23; and Barnes to Weiss. Mar. 27, 1914. Ibid.

103. Barnes to H. K. Bush-Brown, Feb. 16; Bush-Brown to Henry S. Graves, Apr. 12; and Barnes to Bush-Brown, Apr. 14, 1916, Graz. Corres. (GZ), Wash. Off., RG 95.

104. D. F. Laughlin to Barnes, Nov. 4; and Barnes to Laughlin, Nov. 10, 1917. Ibid.

105. W. G. Bissell to Potter, Dec. 10; and Barnes to Bissell, Dec. 15, 1917. Ibid.

106. See file on Alien Permittees, Graz. Corres. (G, Supvn.), Wash. Off., 1915-25, RG 95, for the difference of opinion between Barnes and W. B. Greeley, The Forester, on the question of grazing permits for aliens, Barnes' understanding that the regulations required their revocation under certain circumstances and Greeley that the Sec./Agr. wanted them handled on a case-by-case basis. The matter seems to have been decided when the Dept. of Justice concluded that the Secretary had no authority to make regulations discriminating against aliens.

107. Barnes to Eugene H. Grubb, Feb. 15, 1923, Ibid. (GZ).
108. Memo, Barnes to The Forester, Dec. 11, 1924, Ibid. (G, Supvn.).
109. See, e.g., all Ibid., 1922-1927: Barnes to Greeley, Aug. 8, 1925 (w/o encl. memo.; another cy. bearing the notation "my letter about keeping out of the Grazing Fee Row," w/encl., is in the Barnes Papers, B261w-8A, -B, AHSL); idem to idem, Sept. 28, 1925; Greeley to F. A. Phillips, Dec. 5, 1925; Greeley to Henry S. Graves, Nov. 24, 1925; Graves to Greeley, Dec. 7, 1925; Barnes to Graves, Dec. 10, 19, -15; Pinchot (by now Gov. of Pa.) to Greeley, Jan. 8, 1926; memo, Barnes to The Forester, Dec. 6, 1926; Hal G. Evarts to Greeley, Mar. 2, 1925 -1926]; Greeley to Evarts, Mar 9, 1926; Evarts to Greeley, Mar. 25, 1926; Greeley to Evarts, Mar. 31, 1926; S. T. Dana to Greeley, Dec. 2, 1926; Greeley to Dana, Dec. 7, 1926; Dana to Greeley Dec. 14, 1926; "Points on National Forest Range Controversy," w/inked initials "EAS," probably for Edward A. Sherman, Assoc. Forester, n.d.; cy. of Barnes, "Grazing Legislation," an article from the Forest Service Bulletin, Aug. 26, 1926; and Barnes to Dist. Forester (Distr.Ttsl to 6), Mar. 26, 1926, encl. cy. of H. R. 10607 (69th Cong., 1st Sess.), a bill on grazing in the national forests approved by the Sec./Agr.
110. Will C. Barnes, "On the Trail of the Vanishing Longhorn," Saturday Evening Post, CC (Oct. 15, 1927), 9, 121, 122, 127; John H. Hatton, "The Search for the Longhorns," Producer, IX (Nov. 1927), 4-6; John I. White, "Saving the Longhorn," American Heritage, XXV (June 1974), 61-63; clipping of article by Frank Reeves in unidentified and undated Ft. Worth paper, AC/ASU: J. Frank Dobie to Dear Friend [barnes], Oct. 24, 1928, Barnes Papers, B26]w-162, AHSL; and Hatton to E. B. Sparks, Jan. 23, 1940, Graz. Corres. (G, Supvn.), Wash. Off., RG 95. Dobie, years ago, with help from Graves Peeler and Sid Richardson, also assembled a small herd of longhorns, whose descendents can now be seen in several Texas state parks. White, "Saving the Longhorn," p. 62; and Harold C. Woods, L.B. Johnson State Park, to Scheips, Sept. 24, 1975, encl. The Texas Longhorn: a living legend (Austin: Texas Parks and Wildlife Dept., n.d.).
111. Barnes to N. F. Chapman, Oct. 9, 1923, Graz. Corres. (GZ), Wash. Off., RG 95; and Pinkett, pp. 70-71.
112. "Will C. Barnes Retires from Forest Service," U.S. Dept. of Agr. Off. of Inf. Press Service, July 5, 1928.
113. Reminiscences, pp. 205-207.
114. The Board, which Pres. Benjamin Harrison established Sept. 4, 1890, has undergone both name and organizational changes since Barnes' day, and is known today (1975) as the Board on Geographic Names. Some of its organizational history can be traced in the United States Government Manual, 1974-75 (Rev. July 1 and Sept. 1, 1974; Wash.: Off. of the Fed. Regist., NARS, GSA), pp., 282, 607, 721, 722. I am particularly indebted to William J. Heynen of the Carto. Recs. Div., NA, for information on the recent history of the board, including the information that its records, which I have not been able to examine, consist principally of administrative and case files known as the Recs. of the Bd. of Geog. Names, RG 324. Barnes wrote about the Board's history and policy, and gave some idea of the pressures it was sometimes subjected to, in a memorandum prepared while he was still a departmental member, for which see Barnes to Sec. [W.M.] Jardine, May 6, 1925, Graz. Corres. (G, Supvn.), Wash. Off., RG 95.
115. Reminiscences, p. 209. The Forest Service at this time presented Barnes with a bound volume of 200 letters from persons throughout the service, including both persons who knew him well and others who only knew him by reputation. For comment on these ltrs., which are among the Barnes papers AC/ASU, see "Tribute to a Famous Forester," Official Records of the Dept. of Agr.] IX (Aug., 7, 1930), which mistakenly describes them as having been sent on Barnes's 70th birthday.
116. Martin to Barnes, Jan. 8, 1936, Barnes Papers, B261w-b732, AHSL.
117. This was subtitled "A Tale of Cowboy Life of Today" and came out in the Cosmopolitan, XIX (Aug. 1895), 437-444. It was reprinted w/slight changes, in Will C. Barnes, Tales from the X-Bar Horse Camp: The Blue Roan "Outlaw" and Other Stories (Chicago: Breeder's Gazette, 1920), pp. 58-73.
118. Will C. Barnes, "The Cowboy and His Songs," Saturday Evening Post, CXCVII (June 27, 1925), 14-15, 122 125, 128; and John I. White, "Will C. Barnes: Also a Song Plugger," Arizona (Sun. Supp. to Arizona Republic), Jan. 14, 1968, pp. 21-22, 24-25. The latter article, with some revision, forms a chapter in

White's book *Git Along Little Doggies*, scheduled for publication by the U. of Ill. Press in the latter part of 1975 (White to Scheips, May 12, 1975).

119. Lockwood's "Introduction" in *Reminiscences*, pp. xxi-xxii; White, "Will C. Barnes: Also a Song Plugger," p. 24; and Wallace, "A Chronological List of the Works of Will C. Barnes," p. 211. Wallace's list, which is incomplete, should be supplemented by Gerald Ogden, *The U.S. Forest Service: A Historical Bibliography, 1876-1972* (San Francisco, Calif.: Forest History Society, 1973), entries 1616-1660. Much if not all of Barnes' work is preserved among his papers in the AHSL.

120. Barnes to The Forester Apr. 23; and Potter, Assoc. Forester, to Sec./Agr., Apr. 25, 1916, as approved by end of James Wilson, Sec./Agr., n.d., Graz. Corres. (Supvn.), RG 95. Barnes probably felt that formal approval of his continued writing was unnecessary prior to Pinchot's dismissal in Jan. 1910, on which see the references in the following, n.

121. On Pinchot's view on these matters, see Pinkett, pp. 81-88. On his dismissal see *Ibid.*, pp. 114-129; and Barnes to Pinchot, Jan. 12, 1910 (unsigned cy.-., Barnes Papers, B261w-b836, AHSL).

122. Barnes subtitled this work, which the Breeder's Gazette published in Chicago in 1913, as follows: *A History of the Livestock Industry as Conducted on the Open Range of the Arid West, with Particular Reference to the Use Now Being Made of the Ranges in the National Forests*.

123. U.S. Dept of Agr. Farmers' Bulletin 592 (Wash: GPO, 1914).

124. It was published in Washington by the GPO and reprinted for Dept. of Agr. from U.S. Sen., Subcomm. of Comm. on Pub. Lands Surveys, Hearings on Sen. Res. 347, 69th Cong., 1st Sess.

125. The book has an "Introduction" by Harry E. Maule and was published in Garden City, N.Y., by Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1930. The quoted comment is from J. Frank Dobie, *Guide to Life and Literature of the Southwest* (Rev. Ed.; Dallas: South. Meth. U. Press, 1952), p. 114. On the collaboration with Raine, see Raine to Barnes, Apr. 30, and agreement between Raine, Barnes, and Doubleday, Doran & Co., Sept. 13, 1929, providing for an equal sharing of royalties by the authors (Barnes Papers, B261w-b250 and B-261w-423, AHSL).

126. The first edition is cited in full in n. 84, above. The revised edition was illustrated by Anne Merriman Peck and published in Tucson by the U. of Ariz. Press, 1960. Lockwood's comments are in his "Introduction" in *Reminiscences*, p. xxi. On Barnes's difficulty in finding a publisher, see Maule, of Doubleday, Doran and Co., to Barnes, Jun. 10, Feb. 28, 1933, Barnes Papers, B261w-b474, -b507, AHSL; and Lloyd C. Henning to Roscoe Willson, Aug. 24-, 1951, Barnes Papers, AC/ASU. Also see, concerning preparation of the revised edition, Granger to Mrs. Barnes, June 13, 1955, C/WCB 2-a, *Ibid.*

127. Pinchot to Mrs. Barnes, Nov. 24, 1941, Barnes Papers, AC/ASU. There are at least a dozen reviews of *Apaches & Longhorns* including reviews by Edward Everett Dale, Don Russell, James A. B. Scherer, and Paul I. Wellman, among the Barnes Papers, AC/ASU, all of them very favorable. In a letter to Lockwood, Jan. 24, 1942, enclosing an undated copy of his review in the *Chicago Daily News*, Russell described *Apaches & Longhorns* as "one of the outstanding books about the west, and certainly as readable as any that have appeared. But somehow Will Barnes never got the recognition that he deserved." The small first edition of this book was exhausted and out of print by 1947, Mrs. Barnes making almost nothing on it (Caroline B. Anderson [Mrs. Gregg], Ward Ritchie Press, to Mrs. Barnes, Jan. 17, -1947, Barnes Papers, AC/ASU).

128. Other facts of publications are given in n. 117, above.

129. McClure's Magazine, XXXII (Jan. 1909), 285-294; and Atlantic Monthly, CXXXIV 9 Nov. 1924), 616-623.

130. Arizona Historical Review, VI (Apr. 1935), 49-5. It is also quoted in John and Lillian Theobald, pp. 50-53.

131. "Arizona Writers on Western List," otherwise unidentified and undated clipping of item reporting a lecture by Dobie at Ariz. State Coll., Barnes Papers, AC/ASU.

132. Barnes apparently died from a cerebral embolus, which the necropsy suggested but did not prove. His "death was very sudden, interrupting what seemed to be very favorable progress following a prostatectomy done 34 hours before." [Necropsy Report of] Willard Smith, Phoenix, Ariz. D for State Bd. of Health, Barnes' Pension File, XC-2579-351 (Will Croft Barnes), RG 15.

133. The article "Will C. Barnes, Noted Arizona Pioneer Dies," Arizona Republic, Dec. 18, 1936, was typical of the newspaper stories published following Barnes' death, of which there are clippings in the Barnes Papers, AC/ASU.

134. "A Resolution on the Death of Will Croft Barnes," H. Res. No. 4, Mar. 1, 1937, as encl. w/Vernon G. Davis, Speaker of the Ariz. H. of Rep., to Mrs. Barnes, Mar. 2, 1937, Barnes Papers, AC/ASU. Also see, cys of other resolutions honoring Barnes of such diverse organizations as the Ariz. Cattle Growers' Assoc. and the Arts Club of Wash., D.C.

135. The inscription on Barnes' headstone is from a photo among the Barnes Papers, AC/ASU. Correspondence relating to Barnes' burial at Arlington, including correspondence reflecting his disagreement with a policy of uniformly-sized headstones for enlisted men, is among the Recs. of the OQMG (Cem. Recs.), QM 1293 AC (1930), RG 92.

136. "Daughter of Former Phoenix Mayor Dies," Arizona Republic, Nov. 30, 1964, p. 36 (clipping), Barnes Papers, AC/ASU.

137. Program of Services in . . . Dedication of Will C. Barnes Butte in Memory of Will Croft Barnes (Dec. 4, 1938); "Plaques " Arizona Republic, Placed in Memory of Will C. Barnes, Pioneer, Dec. 8, 1938; and Roscoe G. Willson, "Barnes Butte--State Restores Honor to Pioneer Arizonan" (otherwise unidentified clipping, Feb. 14, 1954), together w/related material, Barnes Papers, AC/ASU.

138. Kitty Smith, "An Arizona Pioneer Troops the line," Arizona Republic, June 8, 1955; teleg., Barry Goldwater to Mrs. Barnes, May 2 11955], c/o Brig. Gen. Emil Lenzner (Barnes Papers, AC/ASU); and Edith T. Barnes to Lenzner, June 9. 1955 (cy. in Barnes file, U.S. Army Mil. Hist. Res. Coll., Carlisle Barracks, Pa.).

139. "Field House Opens Saturday," Huachuca Scout, IV (Jan. 9, 1958), 1.

140. Maj. Gen. Andrew R. Lolli, Cmdr., XV Corps, to Mrs. Barnes, May 18, 1964; "Dedication Tomorrow," Arizona Republic, May 15, 1964; "Armory Dedicated" (.photo.), ibid., May 17, 1964; and clippings of other items on same subject. Barnes Papers, AC/ASU.

141. Glenn W. Faris to Mrs. Barnes, Apr. 27 1961; and "Will Barnes Elected to Hall of Fame," Arizona Republic, May 31, 1961, together w/clipping of another item on the same subject. Barnes Papers, AC/ASU.

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