

# REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE

Form Approved  
OMB No. 0704-0188

Public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden, to Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington, VA 22202-4302, and to the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reduction Project (0704-0188), Washington, DC 20503.

1. AGENCY USE ONLY (Leave blank)	2. REPORT DATE <p style="text-align: center;">31 May 02</p>	3. REPORT TYPE AND DATES COVERED <p style="text-align: center;">Master's Thesis 1 Aug 01--31 May 02</p>	
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE  Selfless Service: The Cavalry Career of Brigadier General Samuel M. Whitside from 1858 to 1902		5. FUNDING NUMBERS	
6. AUTHOR(S)  MAJ Samuel L. Russell			
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) U.S. Army Command and General Staff College ATTN: ATZL-SWD-GD 1 Reynolds Ave. Ft. Leavenworth, KS 66027-1352		8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER	
9. SPONSORING/ MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)		10. SPONSORING/MONITORING	
11. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES			
12a. DISTRIBUTION/AVAILABILITY STATEMENT  Approved for public release; distribution is unlimited.		12b. DISTRIBUTION CODE  A	
13. ABSTRACT (Maximum 200 words) The careers of the senior Army officers at the end of the nineteenth century were highlighted by extreme self-sacrifice and devotion to duty and country, but history has largely forgotten these patriots. One of these officers was Brigadier General Samuel M. Whitside, a distinguished cavalry officer who faithfully served his nation from 1858 to 1902. He commanded at every level from platoon to department for thirty-two of his forty-three years in service, including Army posts, such as Camp Huachuca, Jefferson Barracks, and Fort Sam Houston, the Departments of Eastern Cuba and Santiago and Puerto Principe, Cuba, a provisional cavalry brigade, the 10th and 5th Cavalry Regiments, a squadron in the 7th Cavalry Regiment, and a troop and platoon in the 6th Cavalry Regiment. The pinnacle of his career was serving as the Commanding General of the Department of Eastern Cuba before retiring in June 1902 as a Brigadier General in the U.S. Army. Despite his many contributions to the Army during his forty-three years of service, most history books record only two events during his career: the founding of Fort Huachuca, Arizona, and his role as a battalion commander at the Battle of Wounded Knee Creek. While these two events are arguably the most noteworthy in Whitside's four decades in the U.S. cavalry, a look at his entire career provides an insight into the great personal sacrifices that the officers and their families made in the frontier Army in the later half of the nineteenth century. This thesis will show that a century after his retirement from the Army, Brigadier General Samuel M. Whitside's lifetime in uniform stands as a hallmark of selfless service to not only his descendants, but more importantly, to all military officers serving and yet to serve.			
14. SUBJECT TERMS Career of Samuel M. Whitside, Leadership, Senior Army Officer, Cavalry Officer, Army Service		15. NUMBER OF PAGES <p style="text-align: center;">174</p>	
		16. PRICE CODE	
17. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF REPORT <p style="text-align: center;">UNCLASSIFIED</p>	18. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION <p style="text-align: center;">UNCLASSIFIED</p>	19. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF ABSTRACT <p style="text-align: center;">UNCLASSIFIED</p>	20. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT <p style="text-align: center;">UL</p>

SELFLESS SERVICE: THE CAVALRY CAREER OF  
BRIGADIER GENERAL SAMUEL M. WHITSIDE  
FROM 1858 TO 1902

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

MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE  
Military History

by

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Fort Leavenworth, Kansas  
2002

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MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE

THESIS APPROVAL PAGE

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The opinions and conclusions expressed herein are those of the student author and do not necessarily represent the views of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College or any governmental agency. (References to this study should include the foregoing statement.)

## ABSTRACT

**SELFLESS SERVICE: THE CAVALRY CAREER OF BRIGADIER GENERAL SAMUEL M. WHITSIDE FROM 1858 TO 1902**, by MAJ Samuel L. Russell, 166 pages.

The careers of the senior Army officers at the end of the nineteenth century were highlighted by extreme self-sacrifice and devotion to duty and country, but history has largely forgotten these patriots. One of these officers was Brigadier General Samuel M. Whitside, a distinguished cavalry officer who faithfully served his nation from 1858 to 1902. He commanded at every level from platoon to department for thirty-two of his forty-three years in service, including Army posts such as Camp Huachuca, Jefferson Barracks, and Fort Sam Houston, the Departments of Eastern Cuba and Santiago and Puerto Principe, Cuba, a provisional cavalry brigade, the 10th and 5th Cavalry Regiments, a squadron in the 7th Cavalry Regiment, and a troop and platoon in the 6th Cavalry Regiment. The pinnacle of his career was serving as the Commanding General of the Department of Eastern Cuba before retiring in June 1902 as a Brigadier General in the U.S. Army.

Despite his many contributions to the Army during his forty-three years of service, most history books record only two events during his career: the founding of Fort Huachuca, Arizona, and his role as a battalion commander at the Battle of Wounded Knee Creek. While these two events are arguably the most noteworthy in Whitside's four decades in the U.S. cavalry, a look at his entire career provides an insight into the great personal sacrifices that the officers and their families made in the frontier Army in the later half of the nineteenth century. This thesis will show that a century after his retirement from the Army, Brigadier General Samuel M. Whitside's lifetime in uniform stands as a hallmark of selfless service to not only his descendants, but more importantly, to all military officers serving and yet to serve.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The first people that I must recognize, with humble gratitude, are my wife, Kim, and children, Michael, Virginia, and Caroline. It is trite to say this thesis would not have been possible without my family's support, but I sincerely could not have produced this labor of love without my family sacrificing and affording me the time to research, write, and rewrite. Their patience and understanding were instrumental in bringing this project to fruition. Kim's constant encouragement to "go write" kept me from abandoning my work when the mountainous task seemed insurmountable. My parents, Tom and Ann Russell, sparked my interest in Brigadier General S. M. Whitside long ago when, as a six-year-old boy, they dragged me to the Fort Huachuca Museum and "introduced" me to the cavalry officer for whom I was named. I would never have conceived of such a project had they not filled me with a sense of family heritage and appreciation of military tradition. *My* selfless service was born through their parenting. Additionally, my mother provided photographs, and other primary source material to assist in my research. I must also thank a number of other relatives that provided a wealth of information, photographs, letters, etc. that aided materially in advancing my research: Robert L. Whitside of Simcoe, Ontario, who has been a continual source of genealogical data, and John W. Samouce, Warren A. Samouce, Gregory K. Miller, Janet M. Simkins, and Robert W. Burns, Jr., who kindly took time to respond to my queries. I would next like to thank my thesis committee, Dr. Brown, Dr. Coats, and Mr. Reichely, who provided invaluable feedback and kept me focused. Finally, I would like to thank Mr. James Finley of the Fort Huachuca Museum and Mr. John Manguso and Lieutenant Colonel (retired) William Medar of the Fort Sam Houston Museum, who each graciously put up with my requests for information and always responded with timely, pertinent research material.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

The careers of the senior Army officers at the end of the nineteenth century were highlighted by extreme self-sacrifice and devotion to duty and country, but history has largely forgotten these patriots. One of these officers was Brigadier General Samuel M. Whitside, a distinguished cavalry officer who faithfully served his nation from 1858 to 1902. He commanded at every level from platoon to department for thirty-two of his forty-four years in service, including Army posts such as Camp Huachuca, Jefferson Barracks, and Fort Sam Houston, the Departments of Eastern Cuba and Santiago and Puerto Principe, Cuba, a provisional cavalry brigade, the 10th and 5th Cavalry Regiments, a squadron in the 7th Cavalry Regiment, and a troop in the 6th Cavalry Regiment. Pictured in figure 1 is General Whitside in Manzanillo, Cuba, in 1901 while serving as the commander of the District of Santiago, his final assignment before retiring in June 1902 as a brigadier general in the U.S. Army.<sup>1</sup>



Figure 1. Brigadier General Samuel M. Whitside, U.S. Volunteers, 10 June 1901.  
Source: Photograph by Lamarque, Manzanillo, Cuba, 1901, courtesy of  
Mrs. Ann S. Russell of Cornwall, New York.

Despite his many contributions to the Army during his forty-four years of service, most history books record only two events during his career: the founding of Fort Huachuca, Arizona, and his role as a battalion commander during the Battle of Wounded Knee Creek. While these two events are clearly the most noteworthy in Whitside's four decades in the U.S. cavalry, a look at his entire career provides an insight into the great personal sacrifices the leaders and their families made in the frontier Army in the later half of the nineteenth century. By looking at General Whitside's life and times during his nearly half-century of service to the nation this thesis will attempt to show that he and his peers were extraordinary officers whose personal sacrifices stand as an example of selfless service to today's military members.

There are historical works documenting Whitside's contributions in establishing Fort Huachuca. Similarly, there are numerous texts that analyze the Battle of Wounded Knee, and in so doing, detail Whitside's involvement. There is, however, no single concise historical documentation that adequately details General Whitside's entire military career. The significance of this thesis is to provide a detailed accounting of Whitside's service from his enlistment as a private in the General Mounted Service in 1858 to his retirement as a brigadier general in 1902 and frame his career in terms of the times in which he served. In the process of detailing Whitside's career, the author will attempt to show that the men who served in the U.S. Army during the later half of the nineteenth century epitomized the concept of selfless service.

It must be recognized up-front that the author is a direct descendant of General Whitside. As a part time genealogist and a grandson twice removed of S. M. Whitside, the author has conducted research on this subject for more than six years. Additionally, the author has contacted several of Whitside's living descendants and obtained some primary source information in the form of personal letters and photographs. Despite a direct relationship to the subject, albeit four

generations removed, the author will attempt to present this thesis in an objective and unbiased manner.

The author developed this thesis using a combination of primary and secondary sources. The primary sources include official reports and correspondence, diary entries, personal letters, memoirs, and other firsthand accounts. Where secondary sources fail to document details of Whitside's career, the author has used regimental histories and monthly post and regiment returns. The author has also contacted the Fort Huachuca Museum and obtained photocopies of pertinent Whitside documents and electronic images of several Whitside photographs archived at the Museum.

As the basis of this thesis is to demonstrate whether or not General Whitside's four decades in the cavalry provide an example of selfless service to today's officer corps, it is imperative to establish a common understanding of selfless service. The Army's latest edition of its field manual on leadership defines selfless service as "doing what's right for the nation, the Army, your organization, and your people--and putting these responsibilities above your own interests. The needs of the Army and nation come first." Selfless service clearly is not a new concept. General of the Army Omar N. Bradley stated, "The nation today needs men who think in terms of service to their country and not in terms of their country's debt to them." Perhaps the most famous and enduring quote on selfless service is from President John F. Kennedy's inaugural address. "And so, my fellow Americans, ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country."<sup>2</sup>

An ethics course taught at the United States Military Academy provides a lengthy definition of selfless service that takes this Army value to the nth degree.

The concept of service is central to a principled understanding of officership. It holds that the profession serves the American people by providing a socially useful and necessary function: defending Americans and their interests by being schooled in war and hence able to apply effectively protective violence at their request. . . . [T]his meeting of a societal need creates the moral dimension of the Army's professionalism as

well as the noble character of the individual officer's service to his fellow citizens. Embodied explicitly in the commission and implicitly in the unwritten contract with society, this moral obligation requires of the officer unlimited liability, including life, as well as the moral commitment always to put service before self. . . . To the officer, self is always to be abnegated to the higher calling through the disciplined application of moral or physical courage. *A self-abnegating officer has no legacy save the character and quality of his or her service, and to attempt to create or maintain such a legacy would violate the basic concept of service inherent to the profession and to a principled understanding of officership.*<sup>3</sup>

Before there were definitions in field manuals, courses on military ethics, or quotes from twentieth century generals and presidents outlining what is expected of the nation's soldiers and citizenry, there were men who epitomized selfless service, not through their words, but through their actions, devoting their careers and their lives to the service of their nation. This thesis intends to show that General Samuel M. Whitside was one of these men.

Perhaps more than ever, the officer corps today is in need of historical examples of selfless service in times of war and peace. In this post-Cold War military, each of the services is faced with an increased rate of officers leaving active duty. The Army Research Institute surveyed company grade Army officers in 2000 and found that thirty-five percent of lieutenants and captains intended to leave the Army at the end of their current obligation, almost equal to the thirty-six percent that planned to remain until retirement. These statistics highlight a disturbing trend when compared with responses given by company grade officers in 1991, when only twenty-two percent intended to leave versus fifty-two percent that planned to retire.

Chief of Staff of the Army, General Eric K. Shinseki, asked the officers attending the Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, to provide their thoughts on why junior officers were leaving active duty in larger numbers. The "report," which unwittingly made its way into the mainstream media in April 2000, indicated a lack of selfless service in not only the officers exiting the military, but in the Army's senior leadership.<sup>4</sup> When asked what his perception of the Army's senior leadership was, one student officer answered, "The General Officers in the US Army would gain much from having instruction and developing an

understanding on ‘selfless service’ versus ‘selfish service.’ Most are preoccupied with their careers.”<sup>5</sup> An instructor that facilitated discussions within a staff group summarized the officers’ sentiments.

Many believe their needs to be a clean sweep of senior leadership before the rest of the Army follows. Many pointed out that they were not talking about moral ethics but PROFESSIONAL ethics--selfless service, honesty to subordinates, courage of their convictions, etc.<sup>6</sup>

In October 2000, Lieutenant General Timothy J. Maude, the Army’s deputy chief of staff for personnel, briefed his fellow general officers at a commanders’ conference on some disturbing trends concerning increased attrition rates among the officer corps. The data he provided confirmed the Army Research Institute’s survey, that fewer company grade officers were opting to make the Army a career and were instead leaving active duty at the completion of their initial service obligation.<sup>7</sup>

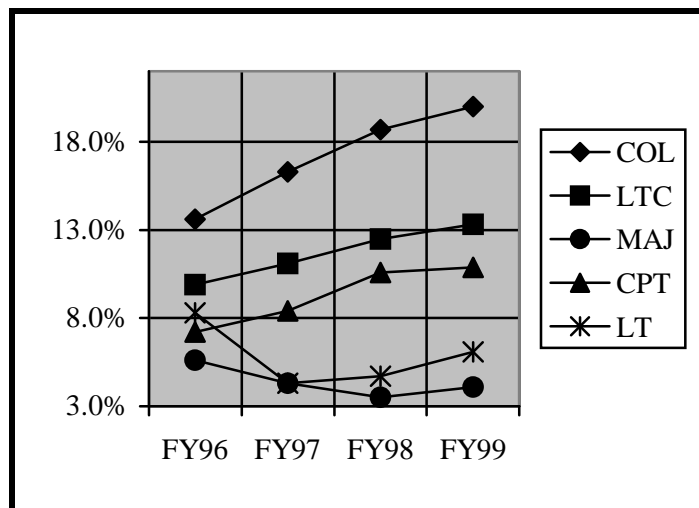


Figure 2. Officer loss rates from fiscal years 1996 to 1999.  
 Source: Commanders’ Conference, 19 October 2000,  
 Lieutenant General Timothy J. Maude, Deputy Chief of Staff  
 for Personnel.

Of even greater concern was that the increased attrition rates were not limited to junior officers. General Maude indicated that career officers, colonels and lieutenant colonels, were retiring an average of one to two years earlier than in 1998. Additionally, he provided data that showed a significant increase in the number of those senior officers that declined to command battalions and brigades for which they had been hand picked by an Army central selection board. In the case of most of these officers command is a prerequisite for promotion eligibility, and declining a command billet indicates that the officer intends to retire at his or her current rank. These statistics are far more disturbing, as those field grade officers selected for command are ranked in the upper fifty percent of their respective year groups based on performance and potential. The decisions of these senior officers to decline command, for whatever reason, likely influences the decisions of junior officers who look to them for examples of leadership, to include selfless service.<sup>8</sup>

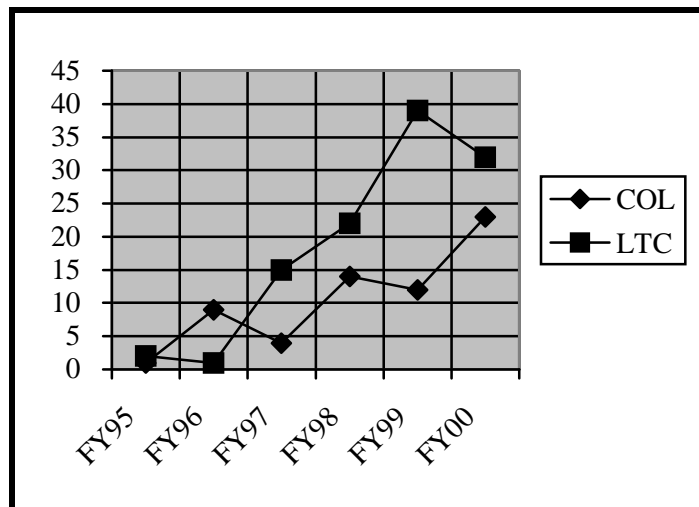


Figure 3. Number of officers declining command from fiscal year 1995 to 2000. Source: Commanders' Conference, 19 October 2000, Lieutenant General Timothy J. Maude, Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel.

General Maude did not go so far as to indicate that the higher attrition rates and increased command declinations highlight a lack of selfless service among these officers. However, there is increasing anecdotal evidence from the Officer Personnel Management Directorate, U.S. Total Army Personnel Command, that suggests selfless service maybe lacking in some cases. Assignment officers indicate that with increasing frequency junior officers are resigning, and senior officers retiring, rather than accepting assignments that do not meet their personal desires. Knowing that the Army is short captains, some junior officers go so far as to indicate their intention to resign if they are not assigned to a particular location, believing the Army will actively recruit them to come back on active duty a year later and assign them anywhere they want to go. Far from selfless service, such sentiments reflect self-centered service, that is to say, officers that are willing to serve only under their conditions. Noticing the trend toward higher attrition rates, one assignments branch chief addressed the issue with the officers within his branch in a professional bulletin.

I'm concerned that we are beginning to show indications of . . . officers not practicing Selfless Service. . . .

. . . [A]s officers we often need to relook why we are serving. Is it for a paycheck? Are we, as professional military officers, committed to serving the nation? Any time, any location? Are we riding to the sounds of the guns? Do we want the tough jobs?<sup>9</sup>

For forty-three years S. M. Whitside literally rode “to the sounds of the guns.” This thesis will show that General Whitside’s service to the nation, thirty-seven years of which was at battalion level or below, stands out to today’s officer corps as an example of selfless service.

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<sup>1</sup>Adjutant General’s Office, “Statement of Service,” (on file at the Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, Pension Application # 819.916, Certificate # 587.095, “Whitside Box”). Hereafter referred to as AGO, “Statement of Service.” These records are contained in one box including correspondence between Whitside and the Adjutant General’s Office and several statements of service with medical records and efficiency reports.

<sup>2</sup>Headquarters, Department of the Army, *Field Manual No. 22-100, Army Leadership*, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1999), 2-6; David C. Whitney and Robin Vaughn Whitney, *The American Presidents: Biographies of the Chief Executives from Washington*

*through Clinton, Eighth Edition*, (Nelson Double Day, Inc., 1967; reprint, Pleasantville: The Reader's Digest Association, 1996), 309 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

<sup>3</sup>Don M. Snider, John A. Nagl, and Tony Pfaff, "Army Professionalism, The Military Ethic, and Officership in the 21st Century," (West Point: Department of Social Sciences).

<sup>4</sup>Thomas E. Ricks, "Younger Officers Quit Army at Fast Clip," *Washington Post*, 17 April 2000."

<sup>5</sup>Defense and National Interest, "Chief of Staff of the Army's Leadership Survey," ([http://www.defense-and-society.org/fcs/leadership\\_comments.htm](http://www.defense-and-society.org/fcs/leadership_comments.htm), accessed 6 April 2002).

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup>Ricks, "Younger Officers Quit Army;" Timothy J. Maude, "Commanders' Conference: 19 October 2000, LTG Timothy J. Maude, Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel," (Briefing on-line; Defense and National Interest Website: [http://www.defense-and-society.org/maude\\_com\\_conf/index.htm](http://www.defense-and-society.org/maude_com_conf/index.htm), accessed 5 April 2002), slide 3. Lieutenant General Timothy J. Maude served as the DCSPER of the Army until his death on 11 September 2001 when a group of terrorists crashed a hijacked airliner into a section of the Pentagon that included General Maude's office.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, slides 25--27.

<sup>9</sup>James Lewis Kennon, "Officer Branch Chief Notes," *Quartermaster Professional Bulletin*, Spring 1997, 58.



## CHAPTER 2

### SERVICE IN THE CIVIL WAR

In writing about the forty-three year military career of General Whitside and detailing the personal sacrifices he made in serving his nation, it is necessary to look at how his career started and why he chose the path he did. Why did men like Whitside enlist in a small constabulary Army in antebellum America? As the fledgling United States entered its most cataclysmic event, what opportunities did the massive expansion of the Army provide to the officers and soldiers of the regular Army, and what were their first experiences of combat like? Why were some junior officers propelled to more senior leadership positions in volunteer units while others served at the level of their regular ranks functioning as aides and staff officers? In Whitside's case what effect did disease and illness, rampant in both the Union and Confederate forces, have on his Civil War service? Each of these questions goes to the heart of identifying how the formative years of this future general officer would shape his career.

#### Recruiting

On the eve of the Civil War the regular Army was small and spread throughout the United States and its expanding territories. The Army consisted of 1,100 officers and slightly more than 15,000 enlisted men that were divided among nineteen regiments: ten of infantry, four of artillery, two each of dragoons and cavalry, and one of mounted riflemen. These regiments were comprised of 197 companies, 179 of which were spread out over seventy-nine isolated posts in the western territories. The other eighteen companies were manning ten garrisons in the east, primarily along the Atlantic coast and the Canadian border. It was into this Army that Samuel Marmaduke Whitside, a nineteen-year-old bookkeeper from New York, enlisted in the General Mounted Service on 10 November 1858 at Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania.<sup>1</sup>

The majority of the men in the enlisted ranks during the 1850s were immigrants. A comprehensive survey of 5,000 soldiers that entered the Army between 1850 and 1859 revealed that sixty percent were born outside the United States. Whitside was no exception. Although there is some discrepancy as to where he was born, it clearly was not in the United States. According to military records he was born 9 January 1839 in Toronto, Canada, but genealogical research reveals that he may actually have been born in Ireland and moved at the age of four to Canada with his father and brothers. Whitside may have indicated at the time of his enlistment in the U.S. Army that he was born in Toronto because that is where he grew up and because he may have wished to avoid a real or perceived prejudice against Irish Americans in the United States that was prevalent in the mid-1800s.<sup>2</sup>

Like most men enlisting in the Army in 1858, Samuel Whitside's primary incentive was most likely the economic conditions of the time. Just as today, recruitment in the peacetime army during the 1850s was directly affected by the ups and downs of the economy. In an 1856 survey on recruitment an Army doctor indicated, "Where there is, as a general rule, ample and remunerating employment for mechanics and laboring men, there is but little inducement to enter a service where the pay is small, and the duties both arduous and dangerous." The economy was good at the time the doctor made this statement, but within a year the Panic of 1857 signaled the onset of depression and swelled the ranks of the unemployed to 200,000. The depressed economy and high unemployment rate had a positive effect on army recruitment as the number of men enlisting in the service almost doubled from 1857 to 1858.<sup>3</sup>

Since economics was the primary reason men enlisted in the Army, as they were unable to obtain employment elsewhere, it comes as no surprise to learn that many of these men were illiterate. While illiteracy rates improved in the Army from the 1820s to the 1850s, still twenty-five percent of enlisted men were unable to read or write in 1858. Whitside was not one of these men. As a child he attended Normal School in Toronto and also indicated at the time of his

enlistment that he attended Careyville Academy in New York. His education was a likely factor in his being promoted to corporal in 1859 just a year after enlisting in the Army while serving as permanent party at Carlisle Barracks.<sup>4</sup>

Whitside's reason for entering the mounted arm of the Army may have stemmed from some equestrian experience obtained at military school or, perhaps, like many recruits in the General Mounted Service, he preferred the notion of riding to battle versus walking. In either case Whitside found his niche and spent his first two-and-a-half years at Carlisle Barracks in an assignment that would prepare him well for a life in the cavalry. In March 1833 Congress re-established mounted forces in the U.S. Army by authorizing one regiment of dragoons. The War Department followed this up by creating the General Mounted Service to provide recruits for the dragoons and later for the mounted riflemen and cavalry. In 1835 the Army designated Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, as the cavalry training school under the command of Captain Edwin Sumner. This School for Dragoons was disbanded in 1842 following the Seminole War but was revived in 1847. It was there in 1858 that Whitside attended his initial six-week training and where he would remain as permanent cadre. His initial duties consisted of caring for the horses that were used for training new recruits in the basics of horsemanship. After promotion to corporal in 1859, Whitside instructed recruits in basic riding skills, marksmanship, and the care of weapons. Whitside's duties in the recruiting service took him to several places in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Kentucky, and Ohio from 1859 to 1860 and provided bedrock experience in both recruiting and training new troopers on which he would draw during the expansion of the Army at the onset of the Civil War.<sup>5</sup>

### Expansion of the Army

With the outbreak of war the federal government began activating state militias and expanded the regular Army. On 3 May 1861, two weeks after the fall of Fort Sumter, President

Lincoln issued a proclamation directing the expansion of the regular Army by adding ten new regiments: eight infantry, one artillery, and one cavalry. Interestingly, this was the only expansion of the regular Army during the duration of the Civil War; all other Union forces came from state militias and volunteer regiments. The Adjutant General's Office followed up the president's proclamation the next day with General Order 16, which detailed the organization of the new regiments with the cavalry being comprised of two companies per squadron, two squadrons per battalion, and three battalions in the regiment. In this new regimental structure, squadrons and battalions were formed on an ad hoc basis with the senior captain from the two companies commanding the squadron, and one of the regiment's three majors commanding a battalion.<sup>6</sup>

On 18 June 1861 the AGO issued General Order 33 establishing the 3rd Regiment of Cavalry, assigning officers under the command of Colonel David Hunter, and directing the headquarters be established at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, for the purpose of recruiting soldiers for the regiment. The formation of the 3rd Cavalry was confirmed by act of Congress on 29 July, and on 3 August Congress further specified that the regiments of cavalry, dragoons, and mounted riflemen should all be known as cavalry. In compliance with this congressional act the AGO issued General Order 55 on 10 August prescribing that "The six mounted regiments of the army are consolidated in one corps, and will hereafter be known as follows: The 1st Dragoons as the 1st Cavalry, the 2d Dragoons as the 2d Cavalry, the Mounted Riflemen as the 3d Cavalry, the 1st Cavalry as the 4th Cavalry, the 2d Cavalry as the 5th Cavalry, and the 3d Cavalry as the 6th Cavalry."<sup>7</sup>

With this expansion of the Army promotions came rapidly for both officers and enlisted soldiers. General Order 16, which detailed the organization of the new regiments, also directed that one-third of the officers in each regiment should be taken from among the sergeants on the recommendation of the regimental commander and approved by the brigade commander. In June

when the AGO assigned officers to the 3rd Cavalry, later redesignated the 6th Cavalry, four of the second lieutenants were commissioned from the enlisted ranks: First Sergeant Spangler from Company H, 2nd Cavalry, First Sergeant McGrath from Company I, Mounted Rifles, First Sergeant McQuade from Company F, Mounted Rifles, and Sergeant McLellan from Company H, 2nd Cavalry. Corporal Samuel Whitside was assigned on 27 July to the 3rd Cavalry to fill a vacant noncommissioned officer position, and on 1 August he was promoted to sergeant major of the regiment. His assignment to the new regiment and promotion to sergeant major were likely due to his experience in recruiting and training new troopers, experience that was indispensable to an as yet unformed regiment mobilizing for war.<sup>8</sup>

Following the Union defeat at the Battle of Bull Run on 21 July 1861, the federal government realized that the War of the Rebellion would last much longer than most Americans originally speculated. Not lost on the Union military leaders was the devastating effect that Colonel J.E.B. Stuart's Black Horse Cavalry had on the retreating federal lines at Bull Run. An editorial in *The New York Times* a month and a half earlier predicted that, "should a fight between the two [North and South] be prolonged . . . the South has one reliance in reserve of which the North is almost destitute . . . a well-trained cavalry." The Union would spend the next year playing catch-up. The new commander of the Army of the Potomac, General George B. McClellan, sent correspondence to President Lincoln requesting twenty-eight regiments of cavalry manned with 25,500 troopers. The federal government, which had opposed greatly expanding this most expensive arm of the military, relented to McClellan's request, and recruitment into the cavalry began in earnest.<sup>9</sup>

As at the beginning of most wars, patriotism among the American populace was high, and enthusiasm for military service, the cavalry in particular, quickly swelled the ranks of newly formed units. The 6th Cavalry Regiment recruited troopers in the same manner in which volunteer regiments were raised, except that the officers were appointed by the Adjutant

General's Office rather than elected from among the ranks. Recruiting for cavalymen began immediately following Regimental Order No. 1, which assigned officers to companies and companies to squadrons. With the regimental headquarters at Pittsburgh, the 6th Cavalry officers began recruiting throughout Pennsylvania, Ohio, and western New York. In less than a month the 6th Cavalry recruited more than 600 men, and on 12 September moved to Bladensburg, Maryland, where it trained and received its mounts. Sergeant Major Whitside, a mere twenty-two years old, was, nonetheless, well suited for the work at hand after training recruits in the General Mounted Service at Carlisle Barracks for the previous thirty months. As the sergeant major, Whitside was at the head of the non-commissioned officers, from whom he exacted implicit obedience. Due to the experience of the regular Army officers and non-commissioned officers such as Sergeant Major Whitside, the 6th Cavalry did not face many of the difficulties that volunteer cavalry regiments faced in trying to train new recruits and fresh horses in the details of cavalry tactics. After filling the ranks of the majority of companies and completing a basic level of training, the regiment moved on 12 October 1861 to a camp established east of Washington, D.C.<sup>10</sup>

On arrival in the nation's capital, Lieutenant Colonel Emory, then commanding the regiment, began filling some additional officer vacancies. Several of the officers originally assigned to the new cavalry regiment declined their appointments to accept higher positions in the U.S. Volunteers, including Colonel Hunter, the regimental commander. This opened up additional promotions to soldiers from the ranks. On 25 October four new second lieutenants were assigned to the regiment, and on 1 November three more sergeants were offered commissions; among these was Sergeant Major Samuel M. Whitside. He accepted his appointment as a second lieutenant in the 6th U.S. Cavalry on 4 November 1861 and assumed the duties of a platoon leader in Company K. Each cavalry company was authorized one captain, one

first lieutenant, and one second lieutenant. His commander was Captain Charles R. Lowell and the company's first lieutenant was James F. Wade.<sup>11</sup>

As a newly commissioned officer with no formal training for such an appointment, Whitside likely consulted the Army's latest doctrine to ensure he understood and was complying with the duties of his new position. One source he may have consulted was Baron Von Steuben's "Blue Book" written more than eight decades earlier as a means of instilling discipline in the Continental Army. Although out of print since the War of 1812, this document was considered a landmark manual for training raw recruits in unit tactics and drill, and was utilized by many new militia and volunteer regiments mobilizing for the Civil War. In his regulations, Von Steuben detailed the duties of each regimental officer and non-commissioned officer, and although nearly a century had passed since the Prussian first issued his manual, many of the instructions would still be applicable to Second Lieutenant Whitside.

He [the lieutenant] should endeavour to gain the love of his men, by his attention to every thing which may contribute to their health and convenience. He should often visit them at different hours; inspect their manner of living; see that their provisions are good and well cooked, and as far as possible oblige them to take their meals at regulated hours. He should pay attention to their complaints, and when well founded, endeavour to get them redressed; but discourage them from complaining on every frivolous occasion.

He must not suffer the soldiers to be ill treated by the non-commissioned officers through malevolence, or from any pique or resentment; but must at the same time be careful that a proper degree of subordination is kept up between them.<sup>12</sup>

Perhaps of even greater value to the newly commissioned lieutenant was the Army's latest manual governing cavalry regiments. Written by Colonel Philip St. George Cooke, *Cavalry Tactics: or, Regulations for the Instruction, Formations, and Movements of the Cavalry of the Army and Volunteers of the United States* was issued by the War Department at about the time Whitside was commissioned. According to *Cavalry Tactics*, Whitside as the junior lieutenant was likely assigned as the commander of the fourth platoon. This manual was his primary source of instruction, and he undoubtedly became conversant in its scope, for it dictated that, "Every officer should be at least able to command according to his rank. No one will be considered fully

instructed unless he can also explain and execute all that is contained in this book.”<sup>13</sup> The new second lieutenant and the newly formed 6th U.S. Cavalry would receive their “baptism of fire” during General McClellan’s Peninsular campaign the following spring.



Figure 2. Above is Second Lieutenant Samuel M. Whitside sitting at a desk at 6th Cavalry Headquarters in 1862. When first commissioned, Lieutenant Whitside served as the acting adjutant of the regiment, which may reflect his level of education and administrative skills, the same skills for which he was likely commissioned.

Source: Photograph courtesy of the Fort Huachuca Museum .

### *The Peninsular Campaign*

Major General George B. McClellan began his much anticipated Peninsular campaign on 17 March 1862 when twelve divisions embarked by transport to Fort Monroe. The 6th Cavalry Regiment, then under the command of Major Lawrence A. Williams, was attached from the cavalry reserve to 1st Brigade, Cavalry Division, in the Army of the Potomac where it would serve during the duration of the campaign. On 10 March the 6th Cavalry departed their winter quarters in the nation’s capitol and marched to Fairfax Court House where it was assigned to



General Cooke's cavalry division. It conducted a reconnaissance of Centerville, Manassas, and Bull Run then embarked from Alexandria for Fort Monroe, arriving on 30 March. On 4 April the Army of the Potomac moved up the Peninsula with the 6th Cavalry in advance armed with sabers and pistols in the role of light cavalry.<sup>14</sup>

McClellan approached Yorktown with 112,000 Union troops. Despite his efficiency as a great military administrator, he would prove overly cautious as a field commander. The Confederates at Yorktown held an eight-mile front with fewer than 17,000 men. Rather than attack, McClellan overestimated the enemy's strength and settled into a month long siege. On 3 May Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston, now with 60,000 men, abandoned Yorktown for better prepared defensive positions closer to Richmond. General J.E.B. Stuart's cavalry covered the Confederate withdrawal, and General Stoneman's Union cavalry division, led by the 6th Cavalry Regiment, attacked at Williamsburg.<sup>15</sup>

This was both the regiment's and Whitside's first action in combat. A squadron from the 6th Cavalry commanded by Captain William P. Sanders came under severe fire from enemy cavalry while crossing a ravine. The squadron pushed across, and the enemy followed in pursuit up a hill. Sanders quickly turned his squadron around by platoons and charged, driving the enemy back into the ravine. Lieutenant Whitside was leading his platoon in a squadron led by Captain Charles Lowell. As Lowell was commanding the squadron Lieutenant Wade was likely commanding the company, in which case Whitside would be leading the first platoon with the most senior non-commissioned officer taking over the fourth platoon. Lowell, on Sanders' flank, wheeled his squadron around in support of Captain Sanders' charge. Several of the troopers from the 6th Cavalry in Sanders' squadron were unhorsed in the deep ravine and were subsequently captured, resulting in the unit's first combat casualties. The result of this engagement was little more than an insignificant rear guard action in which the Union Army suffered greater casualties than the Confederates, but it began the Union advance toward Richmond.<sup>16</sup>

The 6th Cavalry departed Williamsburg on 7 May and continued to pursue the enemy towards Richmond. On the afternoon of 9 May the regimental commander received a report that an element of about twenty Confederate cavalymen were in the vicinity of Slatersville. Major Williams dispatched Captain Sanders' company of thirty-two men and Captain Lowell's squadron of fifty-five men, including Lieutenant Whitside's platoon. Soon after departing, Captain Sanders' company discovered a vedette, a mounted sentinel stationed in advance of pickets, in the woods to their right. Sanders wheeled his company about and moved into the woods. Lowell, who was in advance of Sanders, had his squadron take up a gallop and led the charge. The Confederates retreated toward some buildings and poured a heavy volume of fire into Lowell's men as they came into view. As Captain Sanders' company emerged from the woods a previously concealed Confederate squadron approached on his left. Sanders immediately charged the enemy squadron, which outnumbered his company. The Confederates retreated, and yet another enemy squadron appeared and advanced on the small company. Sanders again wheeled his company about and charged the second squadron, causing them to also retreat. Now greatly outnumbered, Captain Sanders rallied his men and began to signal a withdrawal. By this time Captain Lowell had pursued the enemy through the town and could not hear the bugler now sounding recall. Realizing the Confederates had a vastly larger force, Lowell managed to turn his squadron about and withdraw before the enemy realized it opposed such a small force. Following the engagement, Lieutenants Whitside, Hutchins, and Coats were commended for their good conduct during the affair. During the remainder of May, Lieutenant Whitside led his platoon of troopers in battle at New Bridge on the 20th, Ellison's Mills on the 23rd, and Hanover Court House from the 27th to the 29th as the Army of the Potomac fought toward the Confederate capitol.<sup>17</sup>

On 31 May Confederate General Johnston was wounded, and President Jefferson Davis named General Robert E. Lee as the commander of the Army of Northern Virginia. In

preparation to assume the offense, General Lee directed that General J.E.B. Stuart conduct a cavalry raid to the rear of McClellan's right flank in order to obtain critical intelligence on the Union rear operations. Stuart's reconnaissance humbled McClellan and the Union cavalry when the flamboyant officer led 1,200 Confederate troopers on their famous ride around the Army of the Potomac. After General "Stonewall" Jackson linked up with General Lee, the Confederate commander took the offensive with the Seven Days Battles. During this period in the campaign, Lieutenant Whitside led his platoon of troopers at Black Creek on 26 June where the 6th Cavalry and a platoon of artillery successfully defended against several attempts to force a passage. However, the tide of the campaign shifted to the Confederates as the Federals withdrew back toward Norfolk. Whitside led his platoon in the final engagement of the campaign at Malvern Hill on 5 August.<sup>18</sup> After the campaign, General Alfred Pleasanton made the following comment in his report of the operation, which covered the withdrawal from the peninsula.

I respectfully request of the General commanding that an appreciation of the gallant bearing of the men of this command may be evinced by permitting the following named regiments and batteries to inscribe on their colors "Malvern Hill, August 5th, 1862": the Sixth Regular Cavalry, the Eighth Pennsylvania Cavalry, the Eighth Illinois Cavalry, Robertson's battery of horse artillery and Benson's battery of horse artillery. These were the only troops that were actually engaged with the enemy on that day; the only troops that followed in pursuit, and that were the last to leave the field when the army was withdrawn. They victoriously closed the fighting of the Army of the Potomac on the Peninsula.<sup>19</sup>

Malvern Hill was the last engagement of the campaign and also the last time Lieutenant Whitside led troops in combat during the war. It would be more than twenty-eight years before Whitside would again lead troops in battle, at a place called Wounded Knee. On 31 August 1862 the 6th Cavalry embarked from Yorktown and returned to Alexandria, Virginia. Shortly after its arrival in Washington, D.C., *The New York Times* concluded, "that the War Department has at length found out the mistake [of not having an effective mounted arm], and if Stuart and his men have been influential in opening their eyes, let us be thankful for it."<sup>20</sup>

### Aides and Staff Officers

A continual problem in the regular Army units throughout the war was the absence of officers. A number of officers obtained temporary promotions to higher commands in the Volunteers yet remained on the roles of their regular Army units. For an example one need look no further than the colonel of the 6th Cavalry Regiment. Colonel David Hunter was assigned as the regimental commander in June 1861 when the regiment was originally established. He was serving as a paymaster at the time and was also offered a generalship in the Volunteers, which he accepted. In June 1865 Hunter was still assigned as the regiment's colonel but was serving as a major general in the Volunteers and had never served a day in the 6th Cavalry Regiment.<sup>21</sup>

Still others were detached from their units to serve as aides-de-camp or fill additional staff positions. These assignments were often at the expense of the regiment, which was deprived of these much-needed junior officers, and the officers themselves, who were put into positions that did not advance them professionally. In January 1861 Lieutenant Colonel Emory, who was commanding the 6th Cavalry in Colonel Hunter's absence, expressed his exasperation in a letter stating:

The unremitted instruction given this regiment is all in vain without the presence of officers to retain and enforce the instruction. . . .

The best old cavalry requires more officers in proportion to the men than are with this, a regiment of a few months standing. Without proper officers, no effort can make good cavalry, and all military authorities agree that bad cavalry is worse than useless.

It is not only the positive inconvenience resulting from the absence of these officers, but it is the discontent fastened in the minds of those left behind, who are equally desirous of obtaining high commands in the volunteer forces.<sup>22</sup>

Lieutenant Whitside was one such officer. During the Peninsular campaign, he served briefly as an acting aide-de-camp to General George McClellan. Following that campaign, he was assigned in September 1862 as an aide-de-camp to General Nathaniel Banks. Later he would serve as an aide on the staff of General Martindale and again as an aide to General Pleasanton.

Although he would remain on the 6th Cavalry Regiment's roles throughout the Civil War, he would not serve with the regiment again until after the war in 1865.<sup>23</sup>

#### Aide to General Banks

Nathaniel Banks had been a U.S. Congressman and was the governor of Massachusetts at the outset of the war. His political appointment as a major general in the U.S. Volunteers succeeded in rallying support for the war effort. However, as a field commander he was sorely lacking. As the commander, Department of the Shenandoah, he was routed by General Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson and dubbed "Commissary Banks" by the Confederates for his enormous loss of supplies. Jackson defeated Banks again at Cedar Mountain and he made a poor showing at the Second Battle of Bull Run as a corps commander in General Pope's Army of Virginia. Major General Banks took command of the Military District of Washington in September 1862 when Lieutenant Whitside joined his staff. A month later Banks was appointed commander of the Department of the Gulf and Whitside continued to serve as his aide during the Red River campaign of 1863.<sup>24</sup>

General Banks and his staff arrived at New Orleans, Louisiana where he assumed command of the Department of the Gulf on 17 December 1862. Lieutenant Whitside was the junior of seven aides-de-camp on Banks' staff. As an aide, Whitside's duties were probably similar to those of another cavalry lieutenant, George A. Custer, who was commissioned six months prior to Whitside and had served as McClellan's aide during the Peninsular campaign. Custer guided engineering parties, mapped the country, and rode between column formations carrying messages while on the march. During the upcoming Red River campaign Whitside was also engaged in reconnoitering the countryside for supplies and crops, at one point reporting "1,000 bales of cotton at Barre's Landing."<sup>25</sup>

General Banks' instructions were to assist in opening the Mississippi. To this end he garrisoned 20,000 men at New Orleans and occupied Baton Rouge with an additional 10,000 soldiers. The Confederates countered in January 1863 by sending Lieutenant General Edmund Kirby Smith from Tennessee to command the Department of Louisiana and Texas. Confederate Major General Franklin Gardner held Port Hudson, Louisiana with 15,000 men. General Banks was unwilling to move against Port Hudson until after he had cleared the west bank of the Mississippi River, and spent most of the Spring moving from Baton Rouge to Alexandria during his Red River campaign of 1863.<sup>26</sup>

Union General Ulysses S. Grant crossed the Mississippi in early May just below Vicksburg. His instructions were to cooperate with Banks in taking Port Hudson and then launch a combined offensive against Vicksburg. However, General Banks had not yet reached Port Hudson. Grant laid siege to Vicksburg rather than wait for Banks, a decision that went against the advice of his subordinates and violated his order, a decision that would "elevate him to the ranks of the great captains." On 18 May General Banks' chief of staff, Brigadier General George Andrews, reported to Banks that, "The indications respecting Port Hudson are that the garrison there has been much diminished, but how much is uncertain; probably the garrison does not now exceed 4,000 men. . . . It is reported that they have only a picket at Bayou Sara." On 23 May at the suggestion of General in Chief Henry Halleck, General Banks finally crossed the Mississippi and began operations against Port Hudson. He launched several bloody assaults at the Bayou Sara Road on 27 May, 11 June, and 14 June. Banks continued to hold Port Hudson under siege until the defenders finally capitulated on 9 July 1863, five days after Vicksburg fell. Conditions for the defenders of Port Hudson may have been more desperate than at Vicksburg. According to one defender, he and his fellow Confederates ate "all the beef -- all the mules -- all the Dogs -- and all the Rats" they could find. Whitside was not present when Port Hudson surrendered as he was ill and had been reassigned to the Military District of Washington the previous week.<sup>27</sup>

## Illness and Disease During the War

As in any war predating modern medicine, disease was the number one cause of casualties for both Confederate and Union forces during the Civil War. Summer months were especially difficult with the onset of typhoid, malaria, dysentery, and other maladies. In Surgeon General William A. Hammond's annual report for 1861--1862 he boasted that the previous year had been "remarkably excellent" as there were no epidemics on a large scale; this was a year in which five percent of the Union Army died of disease. During the course of the war, the average soldier became ill more than twice each year.<sup>28</sup>

Samuel Whitside had more than his share of illnesses during the war. At the conclusion of the Peninsular campaign he was placed on sick leave on 15 August 1862. The cause of his illness, which lasted more than a month, is not recorded in his medical records, but he seemed to recover as he reported to duty on the staff of General Banks on 22 September. He was taken ill again a year later during Banks' Red River campaign of 1863 in Louisiana. He was unable to perform field duty and was assigned on 2 July to light duty as an aide on the staff of General John H. Martindale who commanded the Military District of Washington. Whitside's records indicate that he originally suffered from "congestion of the spleen and sympathetic pain affecting the heart." On 5 October 1863 he was declared unfit for duty "on account of severe injury received, affecting the chest and left side, and also suffering the affects of intermittent fever." Apparently his condition worsened for on 10 November of that same year Whitside was diagnosed with smallpox. Regulations required that recruits be vaccinated against smallpox, and it is likely that Whitside was vaccinated when he originally entered the Army five years earlier. Revaccination was an accepted practice after the middle of 1862, but many physicians used human vaccination scabs rather than animal virus to revaccinate soldiers. Many soldiers became ill after receiving vaccinations and this may have been the cause of Whitside's bout with smallpox. He appeared

before an examining board, and was placed on sick leave from 14 November 1863 to 26 January 1864. His health had apparently improved to the point that he was reassigned to duties as an aide. His assignment to another staff position may indicate that Whitside was not yet fully recovered and fit for field duty with his regiment.<sup>29</sup>

#### Aide to General Pleasanton

Whitside was promoted to first lieutenant on 25 January 1864, and the following day was assigned as aide-de-camp to Major General Alfred Pleasanton, who four days earlier had been relieved from his post as commanding general of the Cavalry Corps, Army of the Potomac. General Pleasanton graduated from West Point in 1844 and was assigned to the dragoons. He fought in Mexico and against the Seminoles in Florida. A captain at the start of the Civil War, he was promoted to major in the regular army in 1862. Despite an unimpressive combat record and a reputation for failure in gathering intelligence, he moved up steadily through the senior command positions in the cavalry, first as a brigadier and later a major general in the U.S. Volunteers. On 12 February 1864 General Pleasanton was reinstated as the commanding general of the Cavalry Corps, and Whitside continued to serve as his aide.<sup>30</sup>

As the corps commander, General Pleasanton opposed what became known as the Kilpatrick-Dahlgren Raid. The raid attempted to free Federal prisoners of war held in overcrowded Richmond prisons and distribute amnesty proclamations among the Confederates. Brigadier General Judson Kilpatrick, commanding general of the 3rd Division of Pleasanton's Cavalry Corps, and Colonel Ulric Dahlgren led the raid on 28 February. Kilpatrick, with 3,600 specially selected cavalymen, was able to penetrate General J.E.B. Stuart's pickets and reached the Richmond fortifications by 1 March but found them too strong to assault and withdrew toward Norfolk where he linked up with General Benjamin F. Butler's forces at New Kent Court House. In a separate engagement Colonel Dahlgren was killed, and the Confederates found



papers on his body detailing intent to burn Richmond and kill Confederate President Jefferson Davis and his cabinet. Despite the failure of the Kilpatrick-Dahlgren Raid, many backers of the operation greatly resented General Pleasanton's opposition to the raid, and he was again relieved of command of the Cavalry Corps on 25 March when General U. S. Grant reorganized the Army of the Potomac.<sup>31</sup>

Lieutenant Whitside was not there to see his commanding general relieved as he had been reassigned from General Pleasanton's staff on 11 March and was again under medical treatment in Washington, DC. Apparently he had a relapse from his earlier illness. Perhaps because Whitside was still not fit for field duty, he was assigned to Providence, Rhode Island, where he served as the mustering and dispersing officer until February 1865. He spent the remainder of the war mustering units into and out of federal service.<sup>32</sup>

### Downsizing

On 23 and 24 May 1865 President Andrew Johnson and throngs of onlookers watched excitedly as 130,000 Union soldiers passed in review down Pennsylvania Avenue in the nation's capitol. There were more than a million men in blue, and work had already begun to formally beat their swords into plowshares. To this end, Lieutenant Whitside was assigned in March 1865 as chief commissary of musters for the Army of the Shenandoah in West Virginia and Virginia where he mustered more than 30,000 Union soldiers out of service. The rapidly shrinking Army immediately turned its attention to the duties of reconstruction in the South and pacification of the Indians in the West while Congress wrestled with the size of the peacetime Army.<sup>33</sup>

In July 1866 Congress detailed the number of units authorized in the Army from which the War Department came up with an end strength of just over 54,000. This was more than three times the size of the Army of 1860, but downsizing would continue for almost a decade. In 1869 Congress reduced the number of infantry regiments from forty-five to twenty-five, which brought

the end strength to 37,000. The following year more sweeping changes eliminated the ranks of general and lieutenant general, reduced the number of major generals to three and brigadier generals to six, and limited the army to no more than 30,000 enlisted men. The drawdown ended in 1871 when Congress prohibited the expenditure of funds to recruit more than 25,000 enlisted men. Including officers, the Army's authorized end strength was just over 27,000 soldiers assigned among forty regiments: twenty-five infantry, ten cavalry, and five artillery. Although this final end strength was seventy-five percent larger than the Army prior to the Civil War, the larger number of regiments meant that there was now an average of 675 soldiers per regiment as compared to 850 per regiment in 1860. Despite having fewer soldiers per unit, each regiment still had to man the "staff Army," that is headquarters staffs, recruiting depots, and West Point, resulting in even fewer soldiers and officers per regiment. Additionally, the Army rarely fielded more than 20,000 soldiers, less than eighty percent of their authorization.<sup>34</sup>

During this turbulent downsizing when hundreds of units were deactivated and thousands of soldiers mustered out of the service, the regular regiments such as the 6th Cavalry experienced an equally turbulent time period as they reorganized and prepared for duty on the frontier. Regular Army regiments were greatly under strength at the end of the war primarily because volunteer regiments paid handsome bounties for recruits, leaving the regular regiments unable to compete for manpower. At one point following heavy losses, the troopers of the 6th Cavalry Regiment were consolidated into two provisional companies, and as the Army of the Potomac pressed the Confederates toward Appomattox, the reserve brigade of the Cavalry Corps, to which the 6th Cavalry belonged, had fewer than 500 soldiers, half of what one regiment was authorized. An examination of the list of officers on the roles of the 6th Cavalry in June 1865 reveals that of the thirty-five officers assigned, only eight were actually performing duty with the 6th Cavalry, and no second lieutenants were assigned to the regiment. Over the summer of 1865 the regiment received hundreds of recruits, many having just been mustered out of volunteer units. In

September Lieutenant Whitside rejoined the regiment as the first lieutenant of Company A. The regiment was headquartered at Frederick, Maryland, and was preparing for duty in the Department of Texas. On 15 October the regiment loaded on rail cars and moved to Battery Barracks, New York, and then embarked aboard the steamship *Herman Livingston* for New Orleans and ultimately for Texas where it would take on the duties of reconstruction and protection of settlers from hostile Indians.<sup>35</sup>

Lieutenant Whitside's initial assignment in the General Mounted Service at the Cavalry School at Carlisle Barracks prepared him well for the duties encountered in standing up a new regiment in 1861, and also set the tone for the remainder of his career. Whitside would be detached from his regiment on several occasions for duty in the recruiting service. His service during the Civil War saw him promoted rapidly through the ranks to the status of a commissioned officer, a position that was probably unimaginable to him as a corporal in 1860. As a junior officer he experienced firsthand the horrors of combat and led his platoon effectively in battle during the five-month Peninsular campaign. As an aide to a general at the department level during a campaign through Louisiana, Whitside observed how the senior levels of command operated in wartime. The devastating effect of illness and injury took Whitside out of action during the latter half of the Civil War. Yet despite being declared unfit for duty, Whitside refused to accept a medical discharge and eventually recovered fully. It would be eleven years before he would again find himself encumbered by illness. The experiences of the first seven years of Whitside's career helped to mold him into an effective cavalry leader, but as trying as those times were, the next two decades on the western frontier would be personally and professionally more demanding, less glamorous, extremely turbulent, and require far greater personal sacrifice.

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<sup>1</sup>Herman Hattaway and Archer Jones, *How the North Won: A Military History of the Civil War* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983), 311; AGO, "Statement of Service."

<sup>2</sup>Edward M. Coffman, *The Old Army: A Portrait of the American Army in Peacetime, 1784--1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 141; AGO, "Statement of Service;" Robert L. Whitside, "Samuel Marmaduke Whitside 1839--1904." <http://www.whitside.com/history/samul4.htm>, accessed 6 Jan 2002. Hereafter this source will be cited as R. L. Whitside, "S.M.W. 1839--1904." Samuel Whitside's parents, William H. Whitside and Martha Murray, were married in Liverpool, England, but were probably living in Cavanboy, Ireland before immigrating to Simcoe, Toronto, Canada. Samuel had three older brothers, James, William, and David, who were all born in Ireland, and one younger sister, Sarian, who may have been born in Canada. Samuel's mother, Martha, died in 1841 possibly while in childbirth with Sarian. Canadian immigration records indicate that William Whitside immigrated to Canada in 1843 with his five children and married his second wife, Harriet Sheperd, that same year. It is likely that Samuel was actually born in Ireland and moved at the age of four to Canada with his father and brothers. A less plausible explanation for the discrepancy of where Samuel was actually born is that William moved his first wife, Martha, to Canada in the 1830s and visited her before immigrating himself in 1843 two years after her death.

<sup>3</sup>Coffman, *Old Army*, 139--140.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 141; R. L. Whitside, "S.M.W. 1839--1904."

<sup>5</sup>Coffman, *Old Army*, 156--160; Stanley Silton Graham, "Life of the Enlisted Soldier on the Western Frontier, 1815--1845," (PhD diss., North Texas State University, Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1972), 67; Robert O'Neill, "Federal Cavalry Operations in the Peninsula Campaign," in *The Peninsula Campaign, Yorktown to the Seven Days*, Volume 3, ed. William J. Miller (Campbell: Savas Publishing Company, 1997) 81; War Department, The Adjutant General's Office, "Official Statement of Service of Samuel Marmaduke Whitside," (Washington D.C., 8 March 1939).

<sup>6</sup>Lieutenant Colonel W. W. Carter, *From Yorktown to Santiago with the Sixth U.S. Cavalry*, (Baltimore, the Lord Baltimore Press, 1900) 10--11.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 10--15; Fredrick H. Dyer, *A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion*, (Dayton: The National Historical Society in cooperation with The Press of Morningside Bookshop, 1979), 1692.

<sup>8</sup>Carter, *Sixth Cavalry*, 11--13; Dyer, *War of the Rebellion*, 1692; AGO, "Statement of Service."

<sup>9</sup>LTC Mark Mayo, Boatner, III, *The Civil War Dictionary*, (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1959), 99--101; O'Neill, "The Peninsula Campaign," 80--85.

<sup>10</sup>Carter, *Sixth Cavalry*, 14--16; AGO, "Statement of Service;" Baron Fredrich Wilhelm Ludolf Gerhard Augustin Von Steuben, *Regulations for the Order and Discipline of the Troops of the United States*, (Philadelphia: Styner and Cist, 1779), 144; quoted in Joseph R. Riling, *Baron Von Steuben and His Regulations*, (Philadelphia: Ray Riling Arms Books Co., 1966).

<sup>11</sup>Carter, *Sixth Cavalry*, 14; AGO, "Statement of Service;" *Huachuca Illustrated, a Magazine of the Fort Huachuca Museum*, Vol. 6, *The Founding of Fort Huachuca*, (1999), 24;

National Archives Microfilm Publications, "Returns from Regular Army Cavalry Regiments: 1833--1916," Microcopy No. 744, (Washington: The National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, 1970), Roll 61, "Sixth Cavalry, Aug. 1861--Dec. 1867."

<sup>12</sup>Von Steuben, *Regulations*, 143.

<sup>13</sup>Philip St. George Cooke, *Cavalry Tactics: or, Regulations for the Instruction, Formations, and Movements of the Cavalry of the Army and Volunteers of the United States*, (New York: D. Van Nostrand Publisher, 1861), 2 and 17.

<sup>14</sup>Boatner, *Civil War Dictionary*, 632; *War of the Rebellion*, 282; Captain William H. Carter, "The Sixth Regiment of Cavalry," *Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States*, Volume 15 (1894), 428--430.

<sup>15</sup>Boatner, *Civil War Dictionary*, 633 and 928--929; Carter, *Sixth Cavalry*, 29.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*; Cooke, *Cavalry Tactics*, 2.

<sup>17</sup>Carter, *Sixth Cavalry*, 30--32; AGO, "Statement of Service;" Dyer, *War of the Rebellion*, 1692.

<sup>18</sup>Richard Harwell, *Lee: An Abridgment in One Volume of the Four-Volume R. E. Lee by Douglas Southall Freeman*, (Birmingham: Oxmoor House, Inc., 1982), 182--185 and 192--195; Dyer, *War of the Rebellion*, 1692; Cater, "Sixth Regiment," 430.

<sup>19</sup>Cater, *Sixth Cavalry*, 54.

<sup>20</sup>O'Neill, "The Peninsula Campaign," 139.

<sup>21</sup>Carter, *Sixth Cavalry*, 19 and 132.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, 19--20.

<sup>23</sup>AGO, "Statement of Service;" Guy V. Henry, *Military Record of Army and Civilian Appointments in the United States Army*, (New York: D. Van Nostrand, Publisher, 1873), 219; L. R. Hamersly and Company, *Records of Living Officers of the United States Army*, (Philadelphia: L. R. Hamersly and Company, 1884), 160.

<sup>24</sup>Stewart Sifakis, *Who was Who in the Civil War*, (New York: Facts on File Publications, 1988), 30--31.

<sup>25</sup>Robert N. Scott, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, (Gettysburg: National Historical Society, 1971), Series I--Volume XV, 611 and Series I--Volume XXVII Part 1, 493--494; Jay Monaghan, *Custer, The Life of General George Armstrong Custer*, (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1959), 83 and 86.

<sup>26</sup>Scott, *The War of the Rebellion Official Records*, Series I--Volume XV, 611.

<sup>27</sup>Boatner, *Civil War Dictionary*, 684--685, and 871--877; Scott, *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Series I--Volume XXVVI Part 1, 493--494; Boatner, *Civil War Dictionary*, 663; AGO, "Statement of Service."

<sup>28</sup>George Worthington Adams, *Doctors in Blue: The Medical History of the Union Army in the Civil War*, (New York: Henry Schuman, Inc., 1952), 219--225

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., 219--225; Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Life of Billy Yank--The Common Soldier of the Union* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986), 125; AGO, "Statement of Service."

<sup>30</sup>Ibid.; Sifakis, *Who was Who*, 510--511.

<sup>31</sup>Boatner, *Civil War Dictionary*, 460--461 and 656.

<sup>32</sup>AGO, "Statement of Service;" Henry, *Military Record*, 219.

<sup>33</sup>Coffman, *Old Army*, 215; Henry, *Military Record*, 219; National Archives, "Whitside Pension Application."

<sup>34</sup>Henry, *Military Record*, 219; Coffman, *Old Army*, 218; Robert M. Utley, *Frontier Regulars--The United States Army and the Indian, 1866--1891*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1973) 15--16.

<sup>35</sup>Carter, *Sixth Cavalry*, 131--134; AGO, "Statement of Service."

## CHAPTER 3

### SERVICE ON THE FRONTIER

The twenty-five years following the Civil War were difficult ones indeed for the men and their families who served in the shrinking Army, which functioned as little more than a constabulary force in the South and West. The period from 1865 to 1887 was perhaps the most demanding of Whitside's career. With the exception of three years of recruiting service in the East and mid-West, Whitside spent the next twenty-five years at various frontier posts in the Departments of Texas, Missouri, Arizona, and Dakota. During this period, he married and raised a family under circumstances that caused many men to cut short their military careers. Yet despite many hardships he continued to serve his nation selflessly.

#### Department of Texas

Following the Civil War the regular Army began replacing volunteer units in the South and took up the undesirable mission of reconstruction. Additionally, the Army focused on its pre-war mission of opening up the vast western frontier and protecting settlers from hostile Indians. Robert M. Utley, perhaps the preeminent historian of the frontier military, described the post-Civil War Army in this manner:

In a sense this new Regular Army became two armies, one serving the Congress in the Reconstruction South, the other serving the Executive in the frontier West. Although personnel and units moved easily between the two armies, only in Texas, where the frontier and South merged, did they overlap.<sup>1</sup>

Texas, where the duties of reconstruction and western pacification merged, is where the 6th U.S. Cavalry would serve for the next six years. Recently rearmed, refitted, and reorganized at Frederick, Maryland, the 6th Cavalry, now commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Samuel D. Sturgis, disembarked at Galveston, Texas, on 12 November 1865 following a two-week cruise by steamship from Battery Barracks, New York, with a two day stop at New Orleans. The voyage

was not without incident as the regiment was forced to throw some of its horses overboard to lighten the vessel during a violent storm off the coast of Cape Hatteras. The regiment arrived at its final destination, Austin, where, on 29 November, it established Camp Sanders, named in honor of Brigadier General William P. Sanders, who had commanded a company and squadron in the 6th Cavalry during the Peninsular campaign and was mortally wounded at Campbell's Station, Tennessee, during the siege of Knoxville while serving as chief of cavalry, Department of the Ohio.<sup>2</sup>

While the 6th Cavalry headquarters remained in Austin, the line companies were spread throughout the Texas frontier. First Lieutenant Samuel Whitside continued to serve in Company A, 6th Cavalry at Austin for four months. Then in March 1866 the company was ordered to western Texas to protect settlers there and reestablish a military presence that had all but disappeared during the Civil War. Company A went to Lockhart, then Sherman, and finally established a post at Jacksboro where Whitside served as the post quartermaster.<sup>3</sup>

Major General Philip H. Sheridan, commanding the Fifth Military District, which included the states of Florida, Louisiana, and Texas, highlighted in his annual report to the secretary of war in 1867 the state of affairs with the Comanche, Kiowa, and Arapaho Indians in western Texas.

A few Indian depredations occurred on the frontier of Texas, arising principally from the adventurous character of the extreme frontier settlers, who, pushing out towards the Indian territory, thereby incurred the risk of coming in contact with hostile Indians; for there were no treaties with the Indians as far as the Texan border was concerned, and the extreme line of frontier settlements was regarded as the "dead line," below which, if an Indian came, he was killed if overtaken, and above which, white men were treated in the same manner by the Indians.<sup>4</sup>

In an attempt to protect settlers along this "dead line" Major General Charles Griffin, commanding the Department of Texas, began reinforcing this line of frontier settlements in 1866 and 1867 through western Texas by creating three new military posts, Camps Richardson, Wilson, and Concho, and linking them with existing posts, Forts Belknap, Cooper, and



Chadbourne. Elements of the 6th Cavalry under the command of Lieutenant Colonel S. D. Sturgis established Camp Wilson in July 1867 and named the post in memory of Second Lieutenant Henry H. Wilson, who died six months earlier while serving with the 6th Cavalry and was the son of Senator Wilson from Massachusetts. General Griffin briefly succeeded Major General Sheridan as the commander of the Fifth Military District but died of yellow fever in 1867. Camp Wilson was renamed Griffin in memory of the late commanding general.<sup>5</sup>

### Brevets, Promotions, and Pay

On the 6th U.S. Cavalry Regiment return for February 1867, Lieutenant Whitside was listed as the first lieutenant of Company A with a brevet of major. Lieutenant Whitside's official statement of service indicates that he was awarded brevets to captain and major "for faithful and meritorious services" on 13 March 1865. It is likely that bestowal of those honors took two years before receiving Congressional approval, and many of the brevets awarded to officers following the Civil War have the same date, 13 March 1865.<sup>6</sup>

Lieutenant Colonel Sturgis began annotating officers' highest brevet ranks on the monthly regimental returns nine months earlier, a practice that the Army eventually adopted formally by modifying the format of the regimental returns to include a column for brevet ranks. On the May 1866 return when Sturgis first began annotating brevets, twenty of the thirty-eight officers in the 6th Cavalry held brevet ranks, including two major generals, one brigadier general, four colonels, five lieutenant colonels, four majors, and four captains. One of the officers holding a brevet of major general was Colonel David Hunter, who had been listed as the colonel of the regiment since its inception five years earlier but had never joined or commanded the 6th Cavalry. Sturgis, the lieutenant colonel of the regiment, held a brevet of brigadier general and had been commanding the 6th Cavalry since joining it in October 1865. Captain August V. Kautz, the B Company captain, was listed as a brevet colonel, but two months later held the

brevet rank of major general. Such honors were common at the end of the war, and were expected. The Civil War veteran that could not boast of a brevet came to be regarded as having failed in his duty. Historical accounts show that more than 2,200 regular army officers were awarded 4,000 brevets.<sup>7</sup> James Fry, the Army's authority on brevets, wrote in 1877 that:

The government appeared not to know where to stop in the bestowal of these military honors, and no one who had earned reward, even in the smallest degree, was knowingly overlooked. Brevet shoulder straps were showered down 'as thick as leaves in Vallambrosa!'<sup>8</sup>

While no additional pay came with brevet appointments, officers were permitted to wear the insignia, be addressed in formal circles and in official correspondence, and even to be assigned to commands according to their brevet rank. At times an officer's brevet rank would take precedence over another officer who was senior in regular rank. An officer's diary entry in 1869 highlights the confusion brevet appointments caused.

Brevet Colonel and Captain Richard C. Lay inspected and mustered the whole command at this post [Fort Lyons, Colorado] this afternoon. It was interesting to see him require General William H. Penrose to march his company past him in review, he (Penrose) wearing the uniform of a Brigadier-General and Colonel Lay only the straps of a Captain.<sup>9</sup>

Congress attempted to eliminate the confusion by mandating that officers wear the insignia of their regular rank. Officers who earned their brevets by courage under fire understandably resented that such distinction was cheapened at the end of the war as thousands of brevets were doled out for meritorious staff work performed miles from any field of battle. Eventually Congress required that brevet appointments could only be bestowed for distinguished conduct in the face of the enemy.<sup>10</sup>

Unlike brevet appointments, promotions in the post Civil War Army came excruciatingly slow to the officers who continued to serve despite the lack of advancement. In this respect Whitside was fortunate, as he was promoted to captain in the 6th Cavalry in May 1867, three months after receiving his brevet appointment to major. He filled a vacancy left in B Company

when Captain and Brevet Major General August V. Kautz was promoted to lieutenant colonel and transferred to the 34th Infantry Regiment in 1866. Promotions at the company grade, second lieutenant through captain, were based on seniority within a particular regiment. The principle behind this promotion system was to favor the officers of regiments engaged in combat by filling from within, vacancies left by officers killed in battle. Apparently it took the regiment almost seven months to process Whitside's promotion paperwork, but when finally completed, the effective date of his promotion was backdated to 20 October 1866. The delay in the promotion was due in part because Lieutenant Henry Tucker was the senior first lieutenant in the regiment when Kautz was transferred, but Tucker died in December 1866 while on leave. Thus, Lieutenant Whitside, as the next ranking first lieutenant, was promoted when Lieutenant Tucker died. However, it would be eighteen years before Whitside's next promotion.<sup>11</sup>

Field grade promotions, major through colonel, were based on seniority within each arm of the Army, that is to say, cavalry, infantry, and artillery. General officer promotions were by presidential appointment. Based on an analysis conducted in 1877, it would take an average of twenty-five years for a new second lieutenant to reach the rank of major and an additional eight to twelve years to reach colonel. Whitside's promotion timeline bears this analysis out, as it took him twenty-five years to make major and thirteen more years to make colonel.<sup>12</sup>

In addition to a stagnant promotion system brought about by the downsizing of the military following the war and the subsequent influx of militia veterans entering the regular Army, soldiers and officers were also faced with inadequate pay. Congress revoked the extra pay that officers drew during the Civil War and some officers, including those in the cavalry, actually received less pay than they did in 1860. The pay was further cheapened as the cost of living had increased seventy-five percent since the beginning of the war. Additionally, soldiers were paid in greenbacks, but the accepted currency in most areas was coin; the exchange rate to coin further reduced the value of their pay. Congress revamped the pay scales in 1870 after more than 1,300

officers signed a petition complaining of their inadequate wages. Whitside's promotion to captain increased his pay from \$880 dollars a year to \$1080, including \$4 a month for rations and \$16 a month to pay wages for the one servant he was authorized as a company grade cavalry officer. The pay increase in 1870 almost doubled his annual income to \$2000.<sup>13</sup>

Officers continued to complain that this increase was not enough, particularly for those serving in the West where the cost of living was higher. However, Congress did not raise the pay for another twenty-eight years and threatened to reduce military wages almost every year. Fortunately for the men in uniform, the nation's economy was in a steady decline. In the first decade following the war the cost of living declined fifty percent, and continued to drop another twenty in the next decade. By 1885 the cost of living was equal to what it had been in 1860. The economy declined another six percent in the next decade.<sup>14</sup>

The officer corps' financial complaints decreased over the years as the relative value of their income increased. Many officers were able to save enough money for investments. In 1879 Whitside invested in the Copper Queen Company in the Arizona Territory, and owned a copper claim in the Huachuca Mountains that he asserted could yield sixty percent metal.<sup>15</sup>

### Marriage

The newly promoted captain took command of his company, which was at Fort Belknap, in May 1867. The next month B Company was recalled to Austin where it would serve along with the regimental headquarters through the end of 1868. While assigned at Austin, Whitside served on a board for purchasing horses in San Antonio, Texas, from November 1867 to January 1868. It was most likely during this time that Whitside met and began courting a twenty-three-year-old southerner named Caroline P. McGavock. Whitside returned to command of B Company at Austin in January but was fortunate to again be assigned to San Antonio as a member of a military commission in August of the same year where he continued his courtship.

The detached service kept him in San Antonio for more than three months, and before returning to his company in Austin, Brevet Major S. M. Whitside married Carrie McGavock on 24 November 1868 at the home of Dr. Dallas Bache in San Antonio, ministered by Reverend Benjamin A. Rogers of St. David's Church.<sup>16</sup>



Figure 3. Captain Whitside, circa 1868, and Carrie P. McGavock, circa 1866  
Source: Photographs courtesy of the Fort Huachuca Museum.

Carrie McGavock was born on 22 May 1845, the daughter of Dr. David Turner McGavock and Eliza Caroline Pugsley of Nashville, Tennessee. The McGavocks were considered to be one of the first families of Tennessee, as Carrie McGavock's grandfather, David McGavock, settled in the Franklin, Tennessee area in 1786. Dr. McGavock studied medicine under his father-in-law, Dr. Charles Pugsley, an English physician who settled in Nashville in

1830. Carrie McGavock was accustomed to an affluent life style; her father was valued at one million dollars in 1858 and owned a mansion in Nashville. His fortune was made in part by selling portions of the land he inherited from his father. The McGavocks' lifestyle, if not their fortune, was clearly affected by the Civil War. Following the Battle of Nashville in December 1864, she assisted in treating the many wounded brought to Dr. McGavock's plantation.<sup>17</sup>

In some circles, Miss McGavock's marriage to Captain Whitside may have been considered beneath her social strata, in part because he was a Yankee and an immigrant, but also because of his modest background. His father, William H. Whitside, became a shoemaker after immigrating to Canada and apparently drank himself to death in 1856. However, her marriage to Captain Whitside probably did not create much of a stir, as both of her parents were also deceased, her mother in December 1863 and her father in January 1866. It is likely that Carrie McGavock moved to San Antonio or Austin, Texas, after her father's death.<sup>18</sup>

For Carrie McGavock, marrying an Army officer was probably a logical choice. Her family proudly boasted of their military heritage. Miss McGavock's great grandfather, James McGavock, who emigrated from Ireland in 1750, served in the French and Indian War under Colonel Francis Nash, and was a lieutenant in the Virginia Militia during the American Revolution where he supplied the Continental Army for six years from his homestead at Fort Chiswell in western Virginia. Carrie McGavock also spoke of her grandfather-twice-removed, Vice Admiral Sir George Rooke, who was an officer in the British Navy knighted for gallantry for capturing Gibraltar during the war of Spanish Succession in 1704. In addition to her heritage, Miss McGavock was likely attracted to the glittering social life of the Army. The pageantry of retreat parades and the glamour of military balls were probably the closest semblance to the antebellum lifestyle she enjoyed as a teenager at her parents' mansion in Tennessee. Carrie was not the only McGavock attracted to an officer; in 1879 her younger sister, Ella, married Major Frank M. Coxe, an Army paymaster.<sup>19</sup>

Whitside took seven days of leave in order to marry Miss McGavock and had scarcely returned to Austin when B Company was ordered to Fort Richardson, Texas, where the regimental headquarters, now under the command of Colonel James Oakes, had recently relocated. His company hardly had time to settle into quarters at its new post when it was ordered from the duties of protecting settlers from hostile Indians on the Texas frontier to reconstruction duties in eastern Texas.<sup>20</sup>

### The Military Post at Livingston, Texas

In a detailed regimental history Lieutenant Colonel William H. Carter describes the reconstruction duties that the officers and soldiers of the 6th U.S. Cavalry faced in Texas.

After the close of the Civil War the country was over-run with desperadoes and outlaws who were even worse than the hostile Comanches, and the officers and men were continually called upon to guard the courts of justice, assist revenue officers, aid in executing convicted criminals, supervise elections, pursue outlaws and murderers, and in general to institute lawful proceedings where anarchy reigned. Many soldiers were assassinated for their devotion to law and order, and nothing but incessant vigilance and unflinching courage prevented the guerilla community from controlling the border counties of that State.<sup>21</sup>

H. H. McConnell, a trooper in the 6th Cavalry, further explained in his memoirs, *Five Years a Cavalryman*, the state of lawlessness in Texas during this same period.

Of course, in the days I write of, the times were more or less out of joint; the civil law was almost a dead letter; the country was filled with the disbanded armies of the collapsed Confederacy, and many of the men returning to find homes destroyed and family ties broken became reckless, if not lawless.<sup>22</sup>

These reconstruction duties brought Captain Whitside and his company to a remote post in eastern Texas. The military post of Livingston was typical of a small one-company post. Established in October 1868 by Captain George W. Ballantine, commanding Company A, 15th Infantry Regiment, the post was located on the west side of the small town of Livingston in eastern Texas about seventy-five miles north of Houston. In the post's first monthly return Captain Ballantine states that the nearest railroad station and steamboat landing were fifty-eight

miles away at Liberty, Texas. Ballantine also indicated that there was no telegraph communications and that mail was very irregular. Ballantine established the post headquarters and hospital in two small 'A' frame buildings near the town courthouse but was unable to secure buildings for barracks. Most likely the soldiers were housed in tents with framed sides.<sup>23</sup>

In March 1869 Captain Whitside, commanding B Company, 6th Cavalry Regiment, arrived at the military post of Livingston and, as the ranking officer, assumed command of the camp. With Whitside's promotion to captain and assignment as commander of B Company came greater responsibilities. According to Von Steuben, "A captain cannot be too careful of the company the state has committed to his charge. He must pay the greatest attention to the health of this men, their discipline, arms, accoutrements, ammunition, clothes and necessaries."<sup>24</sup> Far greater still was Whitside's responsibilities in commanding a military post, for he would solely be responsible for his troopers' living conditions, quality of life, training, and discipline. Each of these elements went to the heart of one of the Army's greatest problems--desertions. Secretary of War Redfield Proctor estimated that between 1867 and 1891 the Army's desertion rate was almost fifteen percent. Army leaders had always speculated as to the reasons soldiers deserted. In Coffman's book *Old Army, A Portrait of the American Army in Peacetime, 1794--1898*, he indicates that some causes were "the inordinate demands on soldier labor, poor quarters, poor or inadequate food, lack of recreation, harsh noncoms or officers, low pay and lengthy intervals between paydays, drunkenness, poor quality of recruits, lack of understanding of the difference between the enlistment oath and an ordinary job contract, and the indifference if not outright hostility of society." During Whitside's tenure as commander at Livingston his desertion rate was three percent, while the 6th Cavalry's rate during the same period was about two and half percent.<sup>25</sup>

In June elements of the 15th Infantry Regiment departed Livingston leaving only B Company with two officers, a post surgeon, and just over fifty troopers. In addition to the



reconstruction duties at this eastern Texas post, the cavalry company also dealt with the protection of friendly Indians. In an essay titled "Alabama-Coushatta Indians," Howard N. Martin details Captain Whitside's role with the Native Americans while assigned at Livingston.

[A]nother effort was made to give the Indians federal protection, and in 1870 they were placed under military jurisdiction. Capt. Samuel M. Whitside, commander of the federal Military Post of Livingston, reported that the Polk County Indians needed an agent for their protection and volunteered to serve in the role until other arrangements could be made.<sup>26</sup>

On 30 March 1870 Texas was readmitted to representation in Congress, and many of the civil duties that military commanders were executing under the reconstruction laws were turned over to civil authorities on 16 April. After transferring authority, various small posts in the interior of Texas were discontinued and the troops sent to the frontier. In June the Fifth Military District discontinued the military post of Livingston, Texas, and Captain Whitside and his company were ordered to Fort Griffin. While his tenure as post commander at Livingston lasted little more than a year, this assignment provided a base of experience from which he would draw eight years later when he established and commanded Camp Huachuca in the Arizona Territory.<sup>27</sup>

Moving his company west toward Fort Griffin, Whitside was challenged with marching his company on horseback 365 miles across Texas accompanied by his wife who was eight months pregnant. Shortly after arriving at Fort Griffin, she gave birth to their first child, McGavock, on 26 July. Whitside took leave in August for a week, and he, Carrie, and the infant likely traveled back to Tennessee with their first-born. Whitside extended for thirty days, as his new child was not faring well. His leave up at the beginning of October, Whitside returned to Fort Griffin, Texas. However, the child's health did not improve and it died on 7 October and is probably buried in Nashville, Tennessee.<sup>28</sup>

In the five years he was stationed in Texas Whitside served at eight posts throughout the state and relocated his company four times. During their first two years of marriage, he and his wife lived at four different posts and buried their first-born child on the Texas frontier at Fort

Griffin. However, the Whitsides' tribulations in the Lone Star State came to an end in January 1871 when the cavalry captain was detached for recruiting service at the St. Louis Depot in Missouri. As was the practice of the day, Whitside remained on the rolls of the 6th Cavalry as the B Company captain during the next two years while he performed recruiting service, first at St. Louis and then at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. While stationed at Philadelphia, Mrs. Whitside gave birth to their second child, Samuel Marmaduke, Jr., on 20 August 1872. Six months later the thirty-four year old captain, his wife, and their new baby headed west again and linked up with B Company, which was now at Fort Riley, Kansas.<sup>29</sup>

#### Department of the Missouri

The 6th Cavalry Regiment left duty in Texas in 1871 not long after Whitside had departed for recruiting service. The regiment was assigned to the Department of the Missouri in Kansas where their duties focused almost exclusively on scouting for hostile Indians. A combination of rapidly dwindling buffalo herds and advancing settlers sorely tested the patience of the Indians. Not surprisingly, the war parties became bolder with each passing season, and in response, the cavalry patrols became more frequent.<sup>30</sup>

By the time Captain Whitside, Carrie, and Samuel, Jr., arrived at Fort Riley on 2 February 1873, where the captain again assumed command of B Company, the 6th Cavalry was regularly dispatching troops to the field to locate Indian raiding parties. The only organization at Fort Riley was the 6th Cavalry headquarters and five of its twelve line companies. Whitside's first lieutenant was Adam Kramer, who was absent on recruiting duty in Cincinnati, Ohio; his second lieutenant was a recent West Point graduate, Robert Hanna, who was at that time on special duty commanding H Company. The necessity for cavalry troops scouting the plains barely afforded the Whitsides an opportunity to settle into life at their latest post before moving again. The regiment and all its line companies, save a small detachment left at Fort Riley to

guard public property, marched west to Fort Hays in April where they set up camp. In June Whitside received a new first lieutenant, Hiram F. Winchester, who was transferred from C Company. Winchester was a Civil War veteran that served at the end of the war as a first lieutenant in the 1st Maryland Cavalry. After being mustered out of service in June 1865, he declined an appointment in one of the newly formed colored regiments, the 10th Cavalry. He later accepted a regular commission as a second lieutenant in the 6th Cavalry in September and had served with the regiment since that time. The regiment remained under canvas near Fort Hays for what was termed "Summer Camp" through September. With the majority of the regiment based near Fort Hays, scouting parties began to thoroughly patrol the Saline, Solomon, and Republican Rivers. Whitside and his company participated in scouting along the Saline River in September. By the beginning of fall the Department of the Missouri decided the 6th Cavalry was in an optimal location at Fort Hays for scouting and sent the 3rd Infantry Regiment to permanently replace the 6th Cavalry at Fort Riley. The mounted regiment recalled its rear detachment at Riley and moved into more permanent quarters at Fort Hays.<sup>31</sup>

The Whitsides' time at Fort Hays was also short lived. While at the central Kansas post, they were blessed with their third child, Effie, on 20 April 1874. Captain Whitside had less than two weeks to get acquainted with his daughter, as he was detached on 3 May to serve as a member of a board for purchasing horses in Kansas City, Missouri, until 6 September. At the beginning of September Captain Whitside was placed on sick leave for the first time since his bout with smallpox eleven years earlier during the Civil War. According to the surgeon's certificate of disability Whitside was suffering from chronic rheumatism. Apparently sixteen years of riding horses in the cavalry was taking its toll on the thirty-five year old captain. His bout of rheumatism likely stemmed from an injury he suffered during the Civil War, in which he broke his collarbone and two ribs after falling from his horse. However, the 6th Cavalry afforded Whitside ample time to recover. He was periodically reevaluated and allowed to continue on sick

leave for more than a year. His chronic rheumatism did not, however, affect his ability to travel, and the Whitsides spent several months in Colorado Springs, Arkansas, then traveled to her hometown of Nashville, Tennessee, and finally to his hometown in Ontario, Canada.<sup>32</sup>

In September 1875 the 6th Cavalry was ordered from Kansas to the Department of Arizona to relieve the 5th Cavalry Regiment. Whitside's latest medical evaluation stated that he was still suffering from "chronic rheumatism, principally affecting the shoulder, knee and ankle joints. . . a late development of symptoms shows a tendency [*sic*] to the transfer of the disease to the meninges of the spine." However, the Army apparently felt Whitside had been given enough time to recover from his maladies, and on 29 September ordered the captain to conduct recruits from Newport Barracks, Kentucky, to California and Arizona. Carrie remained in Toronto, as she was again eight months pregnant, and gave birth to their fourth child (third still living), Warren Webster, on 2 November 1875.<sup>33</sup>

#### Department of Arizona

On 15 January 1876 Captain Whitside finally rejoined his company at Camp Lowell, Arizona Territory, and his wife and their three children joined him there. Camp Lowell was located outside of Tucson just south of Rillito Creek. The camp had been redesignated from the Post of Tucson to Camp Lowell in August 1866 in memory of Brigadier General Charles R. Lowell, who was wounded several times at Cedar Creek, Virginia on 19 October 1864, and died the following day. This was the same Charles Lowell who had served as Whitside's company commander when the 6th Cavalry stood up in 1861, and as his squadron commander during the Peninsular Campaign of 1862. Although Camp Lowell was originally established as a supply depot for southern Arizona, by 1876 the Army was basing operations against Apache Indians, and providing military escorts from the camp. The camp was designated Fort Lowell in April 1879.<sup>34</sup>

On 13 April 1876 B Company was sent from Camp Lowell to scout the Santa Cruz Valley for hostile Chiricahua Indians and protect settlers in that part of the country. Whitside led his company to Old Camp Crittenden where they camped on 30 April. The captain continued to scout as far east as Old Camp Wallen, and returned to Camp Lowell on 3 May having covered over 290 miles.<sup>35</sup>

On 26 May Whitside was detached to serve on a board purchasing horses until 24 September. While the captain was absent, Mrs. Whitside traveled with the children to Ontario, Canada, to visit with her husband's family at Wellington Square. Tragedy struck again when their two-year-old daughter, Effie, died on 7 August. Carrie Whitside expressed her sentiments in an obituary; "Sweetly, gently she passed away, From earth's dim twilight to endless day."<sup>36</sup>

Three months after burying their second child, Captain Whitside was detailed to conduct convicts to Alcatraz Island at San Francisco, California, leaving Camp Lowell on 14 November. Not wanting to leave his wife alone to mourn their daughter, Whitside brought Carrie and their two sons with him. The Whitsides were in route back to Arizona when their eldest child, four-year-old Samuel, Jr., was suddenly taken ill. The cavalry captain took his son to the nearest post, Fort Yuma, California, to seek medical treatment for the boy, but he died on 29 January 1877 of consumption of the brain, leaving Captain and Mrs. Whitside with just their one-year-old, Warren. One can only imagine the devastation they must have felt having to bury their second child in less than five months at an Army fort in Indian country. Despite their profound loss, the Whitsides must have felt blessed for each day they had with their child, for their son's obituary counted the time they had with him, "four years, five months and nine days." Arriving back at Camp Lowell on 10 February, the cavalry captain would have little time to mourn the loss of his namesake, for he was about to be sent on a mission which would secure his place in U.S. Army history.<sup>37</sup>

In late 1876 and early 1877 raiding parties of Chiricahua Indians from the Warm Springs Reservation in New Mexico committed several depredations throughout the Arizona Territory. On 5 February the commanding officer at Camp Lowell received a report that raiding parties had killed ten men in the Sonoita Valley. In response he ordered B Company, 6th Cavalry, to scout for the Indians in that location. Whitside was still at Fort Yuma following the death of his eldest son, and First Lieutenant Winchester was on sick leave. Command of B Company fell to Second Lieutenant Robert Hanna, who led the scouting mission out of Camp Lowell on 6 February. He headed into the Sonoita Valley then scouted toward San Rafael Rancho, and established his camp at Old Camp Crittenden covering over 300 miles. Lieutenant Hanna was unable to catch the raiders, but found the initial report exaggerated; only two men, rather than ten, had been killed. The raiding party was estimated at between fifteen and thirty Apaches. Over the course of their entire raid through the San Pedro, Sonoita, and Santa Cruz Valleys, the marauding Chiricahuas killed seven Mexicans and wounded four, and captured or killed eighty-five horses, mules, and cattle. On 8 February the raiding party dispersed, with a portion returning to the Warm Springs Reservation and others escaping across the Sonora line into Mexico.<sup>38</sup>

The numerous raids and depredations the Apaches were committing prompted Major General August V. Kautz, commanding the Department of Arizona, to direct a camp be established in the Huachuca Mountains to protect the settlers in the San Pedro and Santa Cruz Valleys. On 12 February he ordered M Company, 6th Cavalry, from Fort Grant to link up in the vicinity of Old Camp Wallen with B Company, which was still in the field, and establish the new camp.<sup>39</sup>

Captain William A. Rafferty, commanding M Company, and his second lieutenant, Louis A. Craig, left Fort Grant on 18 February and arrived at Old Camp Wallen on the 21st, where Lieutenant Hanna and B Company were already bivouacked. They remained there a week setting up camp when Captain Whitside arrived on 1 March. Whitside, who had been promoted to

captain a year earlier than Rafferty, assumed command of the operation. Captain Whitside was familiar with the area, having scouted for Indians there the previous spring. He probably knew that Camp Wallen had been abandoned in 1869 because of an excessive rate of malaria among the troops stationed there. The soldiers, in their haste to abandon Wallen that October, left the area in a state of disarray. More than seven years later the old camp was still littered with battered boxes, worn out equipment, broken bottles, pieces of crockery, cans, and kitchenware. There were Mexican shepherders and employees of the San Ignacio del Babocomari Ranch living in the adobe ruins whose walls were crumbling.<sup>40</sup>

Dissatisfied with the condition of Camp Wallen, on 3 March Whitside led the two companies, consisting of four officers and 127 troopers, approximately nine miles up into the Huachuca Mountains where they encamped near a spring in a heavily wooded area that offered excellent observation over the valleys below. Whitside realized this was the perfect location for the new camp. On 4 March, he ordered initial entries in a journal, identifying their location as “Camp Huachuca, Huachuca Mountains, Arizona Territory, Captain S. M. Whitside Commanding Officer.”<sup>41</sup>

Whitside established observation posts at strategic locations outside the camp and initiated a system of patrols that, together, provided security for settlers in the area. Captain Rafferty and Lieutenant Craig headed up patrols in April while Captain Whitside set about the business of establishing the new camp. In the April 1877 Post Return Whitside details the patrols he sent out.

Capt. W.A. Rafferty and 41 enlisted men left Camp April 16, proceeded to Camp Crittenden and Valley of Santa Cruz and Whetstone Mountains and along San Pedro River in pursuit of hostile Indians. Distance marched 235 miles. Lieut. Craig left Camp April 17 with detachment from B Co., 6 Cav. (12 enlisted men) and returned April 24, scouting around the Huachuca Mts.”<sup>42</sup>

Whitside designated Lieutenant Craig as the assistant adjutant and post quartermaster, and in late March Doctor Otis J. Eddy arrived as the post surgeon. In late May the 6th Cavalry

augmented Camp Huachuca with Company D, Indian Scouts. The new company was comprised of thirty-six Hualpai Indians and Lieutenant Hanna was placed in command. Whitside wasted no time in directing Hanna and his company of Indian Scouts to scour the surrounding area for hostile Indians. The new company was on patrol pursuing marauding Apaches for most of the months of June and August. Despite the absence of troopers scouting on numerous patrols, the fledgling post began to take shape, so much so that the Arizona Star reported in July that settlers from the upper San Pedro had visited the new post and were astounded at the progress the soldiers had made.<sup>43</sup>

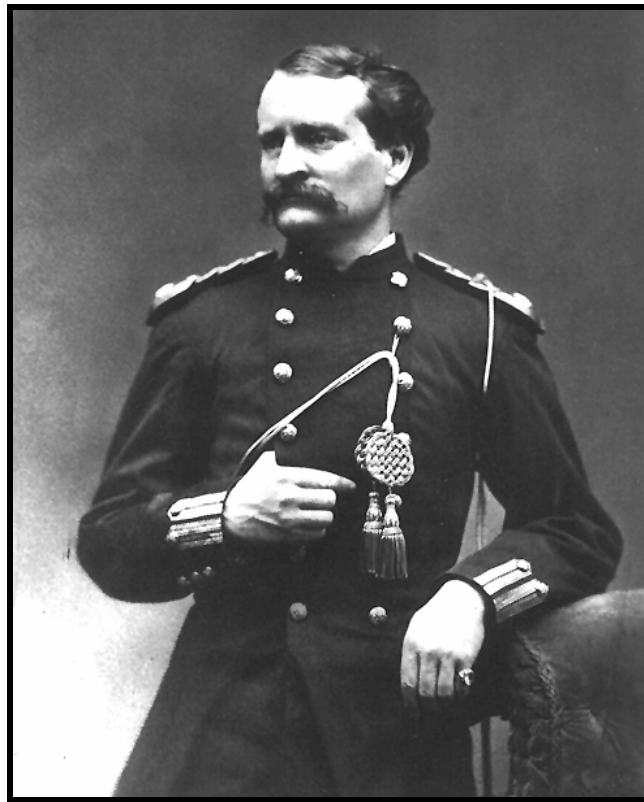


Figure 4. Captain S. M. Whitside, circa 1876.  
Source: Photograph courtesy of the Fort Huachuca Museum.

The typical day in the life of a trooper at the new camp is reflected in the schedule of bugle calls Whitside published on 25 March.



5:00 a.m. First call for Reveille. . . . Day Break. Reveille. . . 10 minutes after. Assembly. . .  
. 5 minutes after that. Stable Call. . . immediately after. Mess. . . 7 a.m. Drill Mounted . . .  
7:15 a.m. Target Practice. . . 7:15 a.m. Fatigue. . . 7:30 a.m. Recall from Drill. . . 8:15  
a.m. Recall from Fatigue. . . 11:30 a.m. Mess. . . 12 noon. Orderly. . . 12 noon. Fatigue. . .  
1 p.m. Stable. . . 4:30 p.m. Recall from Fatigue. . . 5:00 p.m. 1st Call for Guard Mount . . .  
. 5:40 p.m. Assembly (Guard Detail). . . 5:50 p.m. Adjutants Call . . . 5:55 p.m. Sick Call  
. . . 6:00 p.m. Mess. . . 6:00 p.m. 1st Call for Review . . . 5 minutes before sunset. Retreat  
. . . Sunset. Drill (Dismounted). . . Immediately after & during twilight. 1st Call for  
Tattoo. . . 8:25 p.m. Assembly. . . 8:35 p.m. Taps . . . 9:00 p.m. Sunday Morning  
Inspection.<sup>44</sup>

Captain Whitside's wife was the first woman to arrive at the post bringing their eighteen-month-old son, Warren, with her. Lieutenant Craig's wife, Georgiana, also arrived at Camp Huachuca with their son, Malin, who was the same age as Warren. The two toddlers were playmates for the next year and a half. More women would arrive in November when Whitside established "soapsuds row," which housed five laundresses who washed and ironed the soldiers' uniforms.<sup>45</sup>

General Kautz wrote to the Secretary of War in his annual report for 1876--'77 indicating his desire to make Huachuca a permanent camp.

I am of the opinion that the Camp in the Huachuca mountains, as well as Camp Thomas, will both require to be kept up, and I would therefore earnestly recommend that an appropriation for quarters and storehouses be made in order that the troops kept there may be made more comfortable. The camp in the Huachuca mountains will be needed for the protection of the border against that class of lawless characters which finds its greatest safety near a boundary line between two foreign states.<sup>46</sup>

Kautz followed up his report by changing Camp Huachuca's status from a temporary to a permanent camp. This cleared the way for supplies to be ordered and shipped in bulk to the new post and for construction to begin on more permanent facilities. On 6 April 1878 Captain Whitside submitted the following report to the Adjutant General:

In reply to a communication from your office, dated February 21st, 1878, I have the honor to submit the following report. A temporary camp was established at this place March 3rd, 1877 . . . for the purpose of giving protection to the settlers residing in Southeastern Arizona. The garrison was composed of Companies "B" and "M," 6th Cavalry. May 29th, 1877, Company "D" Indian, commanded by 2nd Lieut. R. Hanna, reported for duty. Jan'y 21st 1878. This place was declared a permanent camp by the Department Commander and supplies were ordered to be sent here in bulk for issue;

Previous to this time monthly supplies were furnished from Camps Grant and Lowell. The Camp is located on the north side of the Huachuca Mountains, about eight miles south east from Old Camp Wallen. The nearest Post Office and Telegraph station is Tucson. The mail is carried on horseback by soldiers twice a week, leaving here on Sundays and Wednesdays, and arriving on Thursdays and Fridays. I enclose a small map showing the location of the Camp and the country in its immediate vicinity. I am, Sir Very respectfully your obedient servant, signed S. M. Whitside, Captain, 6th Cavalry, Commanding Post.<sup>47</sup>

The first two years at the new camp would prove to be difficult ones. With the increase in supplies, adobe buildings gradually replaced the tents that initially comprised the soldiers' quarters. However, much of the trooper's work was destroyed during the rainy season as Captain Whitside recorded on 3 September 1878 in a letter to the Assistant Adjutant General, Department of Arizona:

The . . . rainy season started early in July and it has rained almost daily since. . . . [A]ll buildings in this post have been constructed of 'dobe and covered with earth and were considered good buildings until the rainy season set in. . . . [T]he roofs last season gave ample protection but within the last 60 days 30 to 40 inches of water has fallen. . . . [R]oofs are now saturated and give no protection whatever. . . . [T]he commissary store has been flooded and perishable supplies more or less damaged. . . . [W]e have pitched tents and filled them with what perishable supplies we could save. . . . [E]very possible means have been adopted to protect the government property. . . . Q.M. store room roof allows the water to pour through but we have covered all we could with wagon sheets. . . . Capt. Rafferty's and Lieut. Craig's quarters have been undermined and have fallen down. . . . [A]ll quarters occupied by officers were built at their own expense and the loss has been considerable. . . . [A]ll fire places in the squad rooms have been washed away. . . . [P]art of B company's stables fell down and three horses were killed. . . . I have moved out of my quarters and am hourly expecting to see them tumble down. . . . [C]onditions are very tiring and discouraging . . . all officers are now under canvas. . . . [T]he past 16 months we have labored constantly getting out material and erecting buildings all of which are now washed away or rendered uninhabitable.<sup>48</sup>

Apparently Captain Whitside was able to turn things around. In his annual report for 1879, Whitside details the buildings and supplies contained at the camp. He also states "there are no Indians located within about one hundred miles of the Post. No depredations are known to have been committed by Indians within forty miles of the Post since its establishment. . . . The site is everything that could be desired for a permanent Military Post and by far in every respect,

the most desirable point for one in all Southern Arizona.”<sup>49</sup> The Department Inspector General, Major Hall, seemed to agree as he reported in 1879:

[Brevet] Major Whitside was detailed for duty here two and one-half years ago. He found the whole region deserted; but one man near his intended camp, owing to the border and Indian troubles. By his vigor, courage, sound judgment and alertness he has quieted the border, corralled the troublesome Apache, and brought into the district two thousand pioneers and workers; the result of which is the opening of mines, starting of towns, the erection of mills, etc. It (Camp Huachuca) lies at the base of the greatest mountain peaks of the range, where the gorge between them widens into a grassy valley winding through which a sweet stream flows, affording water supplies for the camp, and over which oak trees grow. . . . Officer’s quarters are built in neat style of adobe brick, and are very homelike, especially at Major Whitside’s, where the hand of a good wife has come to the rescue with exquisite taste in simple home adornments. The hospital tents were clean and cheerful, and the mess room, built of lumber was large enough for eighty Soldiers; the tents of troops were fixed upon baseboards three feet high; the reading or “loafing” room was large, clean and provided with paper, etc., while the whole camp was clean, bright, embowered and attractive. . . . About the camp were contractors and a few Mexican families who worked for them. . . . [A]round this one spot there is wood, water, and grass in abundance for scores of settlers.<sup>50</sup>

On 16 January 1879 Captain Whitside broke his leg and sprained his ankle. He was evacuated to Camp Lowell, but returned to Huachuca in February where he was listed on light duty. Following a relapse, he was placed on sick leave on 15 March. Lieutenant Winchester assumed command of the post, and the Whitsides traveled to Los Angeles, California, where the captain could fully recuperate. Carrie again was traveling eight months pregnant but made it to California safely where she delivered their fifth child, Dallas, (second still living) on 22 April.<sup>51</sup>

Eager to get back to the business of establishing Camp Huachuca, Whitside returned early from sick leave in July. In September construction began on the first permanent structure, the post hospital, which was completed the following spring. This was an eight-bed facility constructed at a cost of just under \$1,300 and still stands today. The hospital had six large rooms and a shingle roof. A post office was constructed in November and Huachuca received its first postmaster, Fredrick L. Austin. By the beginning of 1880 Huachuca had telegraph communications, daily stagecoach runs from Benson, and the Southern Pacific Railroad now stopped at Tucson near Fort Lowell, just forty-seven miles distant.<sup>52</sup>

One of the unexpected difficulties that coincided with the arrival of a new postmaster was the sale of liquor on the camp. In addition to serving as the postmaster, Austin also ran a sutler's store from which he sold whiskey. Whitside was sternly against intoxicants on the camp and attempted to curb, if not shut down, Austin's business. Unaffected by the post commander's protestations, Austin had the audacity to complain to Whitside that his troopers were slow in paying for spirits bought on credit. Whitside summoned his senior noncommissioned officer and told him to "take care of it . . . and let the ladies of the post know about it also." The ploy worked, and Austin left the post all but penniless seven months after arriving.<sup>53</sup>

One of the troopers who imbibed of Austin's whiskey was Captain Whitside's second in command, First Lieutenant Hiram F. Winchester. In addition to obtaining liquor at the sutler's store, Winchester could also be seen drunk in the saloons of Tombstone, located twenty miles east of Camp Huachuca. The lieutenant's intemperance caught up to him in the summer of 1880 when he was court-martialed for being absent without leave displaying "loud and indecent behavior . . . in company with a prostitute." Winchester was incarcerated at Fort Yuma, California, for nine months. Apparently after completing his sentence in May 1881 and prior to reporting to his unit, Winchester returned to Tombstone where he turned up dead on 29 May of a "disease unknown."<sup>54</sup>

Captain Whitside's ability to provide efficient administration of Camp Huachuca is perhaps reflected in the desertion rate at the post. During the four years he commanded the camp, desertions at the post were 0.9 percent, slightly lower than the regiment's 1.1 percent. More significantly, in B Company, desertions were 0.8 percent. A detailed analysis of the desertions at Camp Huachuca indicate that the more difficult the times were at the post, the better Whitside was able to control desertions. During the first twelve months of the camp's existence, B Company did not have a single desertion, a statistic almost unheard of in the frontier Army. Four troopers deserted from B Company over the course of the second year, and five during the third

year. The final year of Whitside's command of Camp Huachuca, when life at the post was more settled, desertions in B Company jumped to fourteen. Perhaps this increase was due to the establishment of towns in the vicinity of the camp, which brought greater temptations to the troopers.<sup>55</sup>

In late 1880 one of the Whitsides' remaining two children was taken ill with pneumonia. Their twenty month old, Dallas, succumbed to the illness on 28 December, and was buried in a makeshift cemetery. The infant's grave was later moved along with fourteen other graves to the post cemetery's current location. In the first eleven years of marriage spent at various Army posts throughout the South West, Samuel and Carrie Whitside had buried four of their five children.<sup>56</sup>

Perhaps overcome with the loss of his fourth child and the responsibilities of establishing and commanding a post for the past four years, Whitside submitted a request for one year of leave with permission to "go beyond the sea." His request was approved, and on Sunday, 20 March 1881, Whitside's troops turned out for him in review one final time. His company departed a week later taking up station at Camp Thomas. Less than a year later Camp Huachuca was designated a permanent fort, and is today the only active installation of the more than sixty-five posts established in the Arizona Territory between 1851 and 1885.<sup>57</sup>

After briefly conducting some official business in Tucson, the Whitsides began their much-deserved leave on 26 March, but a potential Apache uprising later that summer brought Whitside back six months earlier than expected. In August the White Mountain Indians from the San Carlos Indian Reservation began to show signs of disaffection. They were stirred up by Noch-ay-del-Klinne, a medicine man who promised to raise up dead warriors and eliminate white men from their country. In late August, Major General Orlando B. Wilcox, commanding the Department of Arizona, ordered all available troops to stand in readiness at putting down any uprising that might occur. The agent at the reservation demanded that the medicine man be

brought before him “dead or alive.” General Wilcox ordered Colonel Eugene A. Carr, the commander of the 6th Cavalry Regiment, to comply with the agent’s request. Carr led seventy-nine troopers and twenty-three Indian scouts on the trail to Cibicu Creek where they were able to arrest Noch-ay-del-Klinne without incident on 30 August. However, that evening while setting up camp, the Indian scouts treacherously attacked their own regiment in an attempt to free the medicine man. During the fight, the 6th Cavalry lost seven men including one captain. Carr had the medicine man executed rather than allow him to escape. For several days rumors filtered in that Carr and his command had been massacred. By the time they returned to Fort Apache, General Wilcox had the entire regiment scouting in the field. The troopers, coming from Forts Lowell, Grant, Apache, McDonald, and Bowie, and Camps Thomas, Huachuca, and Hualpai, scoured the southern Arizona Mountains. Whitside was recalled from leave and on 29 September joined his troop, which was scouting along the San Carlos River. The regiment remained in the field through the end of October until all the Indians returned to the reservation. Whitside then led B Troop back to Camp Thomas.<sup>58</sup>

When Captain Whitside returned to the Arizona Territory early from his leave, Mrs. Whitside remained behind in Washington, DC with their son, Warren, for she was again pregnant and delivered their first daughter, Madeline, in January 1882. That same month, Captain Whitside was detached to conduct prisoners to Alcatraz Island in California, and was then authorized to continue the remainder of his leave. Presumably, he linked up with Carrie, Warren, and their new daughter in the Nation’s capitol, which was his next duty station. After five months leave, Whitside took charge of the recruiting rendezvous in Washington, DC from July 1882 to June 1883, and was then placed in charge of the recruiting rendezvous in Rochester, New York, through November 1883.<sup>59</sup>

Following recruiting duty, the Whitsides returned to the Arizona Territory, where the forty-five-year-old captain rejoined B Troop on 21 January 1884 and commanded it at Fort

Apache, Arizona, the unit's new duty location. The Whitesides spent little time at Fort Apache before B and F Troops received orders to relocate to Fort Lewis, Colorado, which was in the jurisdiction of the Department of the Missouri. The two troops departed Fort Apache on 19 May with Whitside commanding the march to Colorado. This venture to Fort Lewis was the first time that complete units from the regiment traveled by train in the West. The route traveled is annotated in the record of events on the 6th Cavalry Regiment Return for May 1884.

The Troop . . . left Fort Apache, A.T. [Arizona Territory] on May 19th, '84 for Fort Lewis, Col. . . . Marched May 19th to Camp near Farrells ranch 18 miles. May 20th to Farrells ranch 4 miles. May 21st to camp on [illegible] 9 miles. May 22nd to Coolie Ranch 9 miles. May 23rd to Snowflake, A.T. 22 miles. May 24th to Woodruff, A.T. 17 miles. May 25th to Holbrook, A.T. 11 miles. From Holbrook, A.T. the troop was shipped by rail on same day to Durango, Col. arriving at this later place on the 29th. Marched from Durango, Col. On same day to Ft Lewis, Col. 12 miles. Distance traveled by rail from Holbrook to Albuquerque, N.M. 252 miles, from Albuquerque, N.M. to La Junta, Col. 347 miles, from La Junta, Col. To Pueblo, Col. 63 miles, from Pueblo, Col. to Durango, Col. 330 miles. Total distance traveled by rail 992 miles. Total distance marched 102 miles. Distance from Ft Apache, A.T. to Fort Lewis, Col. 1094 miles.<sup>60</sup>

The detail pertaining to distances marched reported on this return is typical of the records kept at that time. During the nine years the 6th Cavalry was in Arizona, each troop marched an average of more than 6,400 miles, not including long journeys with Indian scout companies, and escorts with public funds, mails, paymasters, and other officers. The miles marched by individual soldiers was much longer. Mathias "Joe" Burch, a trooper assigned to Whitside's command in Arizona, recorded in a notebook the miles he traveled on horseback during his five years with B Troop. He claimed to have marched 15,691 miles with more than half of those scouting for Apaches.<sup>61</sup>

While at Fort Lewis, Colorado, B Troop was still engaged in scouting for Indians. In July Whitside sent Second Lieutenant B. K. West and thirty-four men in pursuit of hostile Ute Indians. The troop was out for two weeks covering more than 400 miles. Apparently West encountered the Indians on 15 July. Scant details of the engagement are listed in the monthly return, save that of one casualty: a horse killed during the pursuit. In addition to scouting for

Indians, Whitside also supervised cavalry target practice at the post. The Whitsides remained at Fort Lewis for ten months before moving on to their next frontier post.

After eighteen years as a captain and almost twenty-four years with the 6th U.S. Cavalry, S. M. Whitside was promoted on 20 March 1885 to major and transferred to the 7th U.S. Cavalry Regiment. Major Whitside bid farewell to B Troop, 6th Cavalry, a unit he had commanded off and on for sixteen years. With his wife Carrie, son Warren, and daughter Madeline, the new major took leave and headed to his next duty station, Fort Meade, Dakota Territory.<sup>62</sup>

#### Department of Dakota

Major Whitside arrived at Fort Meade in the Dakota Territory on 26 May 1885 and joined his new regiment, the 7th U.S. Cavalry. The regimental commander was Colonel Samuel D. Sturgis. Whitside had previously served under Sturgis when he was the lieutenant colonel in the 6th Cavalry in Texas after the Civil War. Sturgis had been commanding the 7th Cavalry for eighteen years since joining the regiment in June 1869. He was assigned as the colonel of the regiment but was serving as the Superintendent of the General Mounted Recruiting Service in St. Louis, when the ill-fated cavalry unit, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel George A. Custer, lost 250 troopers at the Little Big Horn during the Sioux campaign of 1876. At sixty-three years of age, Sturgis was a year away from mandatory retirement.<sup>63</sup>

In September 1886 Whitside was listed as sick in his quarters through the middle of October. His ailment must not have improved as he was placed on sick leave for a month and later extended for an additional three months. The surgeon's certificate authorizing Whitside an extension of sick leave indicates that he was "suffering from the effects of a cerebral congestion, a sequela of a sunstroke." Perhaps he had experienced heat exhaustion or heat stroke earlier in September. While it may not be clear exactly what was ailing the major, there can be no doubt that at the same time Mrs. Whitside was suffering from the effects of the third trimester of her



seventh pregnancy at the age of forty-one. Now on sick leave, it appears that the Whitsides traveled back to Nashville, Carrie's hometown, for the birth of their next child. If that was their final destination, they didn't quite make it to Tennessee, as Carrie delivered Victor M. on 25 October 1886 while still in Kentucky. The Whitsides returned to Fort Meade on 17 January 1887.<sup>64</sup>



Figure 5. Major S. M. Whitside, 7th U.S. Cavalry, circa 1885. Whitside grew his beard while at Camp Huachuca, probably while on sick leave recuperating from a broken leg. He kept the whiskers for most of the time that he was with the 7th Cavalry Regiment. Source: Photograph courtesy of the Fort Huachuca Museum.

While Whitside was with the 7th Cavalry in the Dakota Territory, the troops were occasionally involved in scouting patrols for potential Sioux marauders, but most of the troop movements seem to have been for training purposes. One such example is highlighted on the regiment's monthly return in October 1886, when the department shuffled six troops of the 7th Cavalry among various posts. G Troop marched 223 miles from Fort Keogh to Fort Meade

where it relieved A Troop, which subsequently retraced G Troops trail to Fort Keogh. E and H Troops marched more than 200 miles from Fort Meade to Fort Yates and relieved B and D Troops, which returned to Fort Meade.<sup>65</sup>

The War Department, realizing that Indian depredations were now rare occurrences and believing that the Sioux Nation had accepted its fate of life on the reservations in the Dakota Territory, began consolidating regiments at larger posts and deactivating smaller ones. A portion of the 7th Cavalry was ordered to Fort Riley, Kansas, at the end of June 1887. On the 28th Colonel James W. Forsyth, who replaced the aged Sturgis as the regimental commander the previous summer, led the field and staff, band and troops C, D, G, and M on a 736 mile march by horseback that took more than five weeks to complete. The regiment traveled with all its personnel, equipment, supplies, and forage, and also transported the troopers' families and personal belongings. On the march to Fort Riley, Major Whitside commanded his battalion, which consisted of the four line troops. Forsyth and Whitside were the only field grade officers who relocated to Fort Riley. Lieutenant Colonel Joseph C. Tilford took command of the remainder of the regiment at Fort Meade along with Majors John W. Bacon and Daniel Madden. By the following summer, the entire regiment had departed the Dakota Territory and taken up station at Fort Riley, Kansas, and Fort Sill, Indian Territory.<sup>66</sup>

As the Indian Wars seemed to have come to a close and the people living in or moving through the western frontier no longer feared the depredations of hostile Indians, the lives of the officers and soldiers became more stable. Major and Mrs. Whitside, their sons, Warren and Victor, and daughter, Madeline, settled into quarters at Fort Riley where they remained for the next six-and-a-half years. This more settled lifestyle was a far cry from the previous twenty-two years. From the time Whitside arrived in the Department of Texas until he departed the Department of Dakota, he had served at twenty different military posts spending an average of ten months at any one location, not counting the time he spent on leave. During those two decades in

the unsettled west, Carrie delivered seven children, and with a grieving heart buried one in Tennessee, one in Ontario, and two in the Arizona Territory at Camps Lowell and Huachuca. Whitside had commanded a post in Texas and established and commanded a camp in southern Arizona that greatly aided in settling that area of the frontier. He led his company as a captain and his battalion as a major on numerous scouting patrols throughout Texas, Kansas, the Arizona Territory, Colorado, and the Dakota Territory, pursuing hostile Comanche, Kiowa, Arapaho, Apache, Ute, and Sioux Indians. The cavalry major was, no doubt, pleased that the conflicts with Native Americans were in the past. That is until the Ghost-Dance religion stirred up the Teton division of the Sioux Nation in the fall of 1890 and brought the 7th Cavalry back to Dakota.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Utley, *Frontier Regulars*, 14.

<sup>2</sup>Carter, *Sixth Cavalry*, 14 and 134--135; National Archives, "Regiment Returns," Roll 61, "Sixth Cavalry, Aug. 1861--Dec. 1867;" Boatner, *Civil War Dictionary*, 719--720.

<sup>3</sup>National Archives, "Regiment Returns," Roll 61.

<sup>4</sup>Library of Congress, "The House of Representatives During the Second Session of the Fortieth Congress, 1867--'68, Volume 2: Report of the Secretary of War," (Washington, DC: The Library of Congress Photoduplication Service, 1981) 378--380.

<sup>5</sup>Carl Coke Rister, *Fort Griffin on the Texas Frontier*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956), 62--65; Herbert M. Hart, *Old Forts of the Southwest*, (New York: Bonanza Books, 1964), 152--153; Library of Congress, "Secretary of War," 203; Boatner, *Civil War Dictionary*, 360--361; Robert B. Roberts, *Encyclopedia of Historic Forts: The Military, Pioneer, and Trading Posts of the United States*, (New York: MacMillan Publishing Company, 1988), 64.

<sup>6</sup>National Archives, "Regiment Returns," Roll 61.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*; Utley, *Frontier Regulars*, 13 and 37.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, 37, n13.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, 39, n55.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup>National Archives, "Regiment Returns," Roll 61; Utley, *Frontier Regulars*, 19; AGO, "Statement of Service."

<sup>12</sup>Utley, *Frontier Regulars*, 19; AGO, “Statement of Service.”

<sup>13</sup>Coffman, *Old Army*, 264--266; Utley, *Frontier Regulars*, 19; Thomas M. Exley, comp., *A Compendium of the Pay of the Army from 1785 to 1888*, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1888), 38--41. According to Exley's pay charts, Whitside's initial pay as a private was \$12 a month. His promotion to corporal increased his pay to \$14 a month. Upon being assigned to the 6th Cavalry and promoted to sergeant major, Whitside received a 50 percent pay increase to \$21 a month. His pay increase was even more substantial when he was appointed a second lieutenant; he received \$53 dollars a month plus \$4 for rations and an additional \$13 a month to pay wages for the one servant he was authorized as a mounted officer. First lieutenants were paid the same as second lieutenants and, other than slight fluctuations in the amount of servants' wages, his pay was unchanged until he was promoted to captain. Whitside's basic monthly wages were increased to \$70 a month as a captain plus rations and servants' wages. The 1870 pay increase changed officers' compensation to a standard salary system vice monthly wages plus rations, servants' wages, forage, etc. Captain Whitside's pay was increased to \$2,000 a year paid proportionally each month, assuming the paymaster was on schedule. Whitside's next pay increase was fifteen years later when promoted to major; his salary increased by 25 percent to \$2,500 a year. Ten years later Whitside's promotion to lieutenant colonel brought a 20 percent increase to \$3,000 a year. As a colonel three years later Whitside received an additional \$500 a year bringing his salary to \$3,500. Whitside's promotion to brigadier general coincided with his retirement; so, he likely never saw the significant 57 percent increase that would have brought his salary to \$5,500. However, as a retired general officer Whitside would still see an increase over his colonel's salary, receiving 75 percent of a brigadier general's salary meant he received \$4,125 a year until he died two and half years after retiring.

<sup>14</sup>Coffman, *Old Army*, 264--266; Utley, *Frontier Regulars*, 19.

<sup>15</sup>Cornelius C. Smith, Jr., *Fort Huachuca--The Story of a Frontier Post* (Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1976), 32; Patricia L. Lage, “History of Fort Huachuca, 1877--1913,” (MA thesis, University of Arizona, 1949), 9.

<sup>16</sup>National Archives, “Regiment Returns,” Roll 61 and 62; Certificate of Marriage, Samuel. M. Whitside to Carrie McGavock, 24 November 1868, Bexar County, Texas, (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, Pension Application # 819.916, Certificate # 587.095, “Whitside Box.”). According to family lore, Whitside met Carrie McGavock in Tennessee when the 6th Cavalry bivouacked on her father's front lawn while marching from Maryland to Texas. However, according to the regiment's monthly returns, the entire regiment, including Whitside, traveled to Texas via steamship vice over land. Therefore, Whitside could not have met McGavock in Tennessee.

<sup>17</sup>Rev. Robert Gray, *The McGavock Family: A Genealogical History of James McGavock and his Descendants from 1760 to 1903* (Richmond: Wm. Ellis Jones, Book and Job Printer, 1903), 30--31 and 70; Herschel Gower, ed., and Jack Allen, ed., *Pen and Sword: The Journals of Randall W. McGavock, Colonel, C.S.A.* (Nashville: Tennessee Historical Commission, 1959), 329 and 495; Smith, *Fort Huachuca*, 23. Smith writes that “During the terrible Battle of Nashville in December 1864, Carrie McGavock, as a nineteen-year-old girl, saw her father's plantation converted into a hospital with the sick and dying overflowing the rooms of the place and out upon the wide veranda.” Family lore has always indicated that this event

occurred at the Carnton Plantation just outside of Nashville following the Battle of Franklin on 30 November to 1 December. The Battle of Franklin raged around the Carnton Plantation, and a number of wounded were treated in the house and on the veranda, including several Confederate Generals. The Carnton Plantation was built by Carrie McGavock's great-uncle and owned by her cousin, John McGavock. Following the battle, Caroline Winder McGavock--wife of Caroline P. McGavock's cousin, John--treated the wounded and helped bury the dead. After consulting with historian Brian Allison at the Carnton Plantation, it appears that Carrie P. McGavock was not at Carnton following the Battle of Franklin. Cornelius Smith's reference is probably to the Battle of Nashville on 15 and 16 December, in which wounded may have been brought to Carrie McGavock's father's home in Nashville similar to the event that occurred two weeks earlier at the Carnton Plantation. This is a likely scenario as her father, David T. McGavock, was a trained--although not a practicing--physician. According to Brian Allison, another alternative is that when Carrie McGavock Whitside moved to Camp Huachuca, she may have talked about her cousin, Carrie Winder McGavock, and how she aided the wounded at Carnton after the Battle of Franklin. Perhaps in later years, people who knew Carrie Whitside simply confused her with her cousin, the other Carrie McGavock.

<sup>18</sup>R. L. Whitside, "S.M.W. 1839--1904;" Marquis Who's Who, Inc., *Who Was Who in American History--The Military*, 634; Gray, *McGavock Family*, 30--31 and 70--71. The Marquis' *Who Was Who in American History--The Military* indicates that Whitside's father, identified only by the initials W. H. W., was a U.S. Consul. Mr. R. L. Whitside, through his genealogical research, was unable to find any data supporting this claim, and states that the 1852 census data lists William Whitside as a shoemaker from Simcoe, Canada. R. L. Whitside further states that a local newspaper, *The Candian Chirsitian Advocate*, records on 15 October 1856 William Whitside's untimely demise. "A few days since an inquest was held at Simcoe, on the body of Wm. Whitside, who had been found dead in the rear of the Old Baptist Chruch. It appears from the evidence that the deceased had long since been of intemperate [*sic*] habits, abandoned [*sic*] himself to drink during the few days previous to his death."

<sup>19</sup>Gower, ed., and Jack Allen, ed., *Pen and Sword*, 11--13; Gray, *McGavock Family*, 31; Virginia General Assembly, "Interim Special Report: Revolutionary War Veteran Gravesites in Virginia, House Document No. 91," (Richmond: Joint Legislative Audit and Review Commission of the Virginia General Assembly, 2000), D-70. This report by the Virginia General Assembly identifies the gravesites of all known Revolutionary War veterans in Virginia. James McGavock is listed as buried in 1812 in a family cemetery at Fort Chiswell along Peppers Ferry Road, just off Interstate 81, twelve miles east of Wytheville. His grave indicates that he was a lieutenant and is marked with a plaque from the Daughters of the American Revolution.

<sup>20</sup>National Archives, "Regiment Returns," Roll 62.

<sup>21</sup>Carter, *Sixth Cavalry*, 135.

<sup>22</sup>H. H. McConnell, *Five Years a Cavalryman; or, Sketches of Regular Army Live on the Texas Frontier, Twenty Odd Years Ago*, (Freeport: Books for Libraries Press, 1970), 44.

<sup>23</sup>National Archives Microfilm Publications, "Returns from U.S. Military Posts: 1800--1916," Microcopy No. 617. (Washington: The National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, 1965), Roll 640, "Livingston, Tex. October 1868--June 1870."

- <sup>24</sup>Von Steuben, *Regulations*, 138.
- <sup>25</sup>Coffman, *Old Army*, 371--372.
- <sup>26</sup>Howard N. Martin, "Alabama-Coushatta Indians," *The Handbook of Texas Online* (<http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/view/AA/bma19.html>, accessed Sep 6 2001).
- <sup>27</sup>Library of Congress, "The House of Representatives During the Third Session of the Forty-First Congress, 1870--'71, Volume 2: Report of the Secretary of War," (Washington, DC: The Library of Congress Photoduplication Service, 1981) 41; National Archives, "Livingston, Texas."
- <sup>28</sup>National Archives, "Regiment Returns," Roll 62; Gray, *McGavock Family*, 70--71.
- <sup>29</sup>National Archives, "Regiment Returns," Roll 62.
- <sup>30</sup>Carter, *Sixth Cavalry*, 158--160.
- <sup>31</sup>National Archives, "Regiment Returns," Roll 62; National Archives, "Post Returns," Roll 1013; William H. Powell, *List of Officers of the Army of the United States from 1790 to 1900*, (New York: L. R. Hamersly & Co., 1900.), 682.
- <sup>32</sup>National Archives, "Regiment Returns," Roll 62; National Archives, "Whitside Pension Application;" R. L. Whitside, "S.M.W. 1839--1904;" Gray, *McGavock Family*, 70--71.
- <sup>33</sup>National Archives, "Regiment Returns," Roll 63; AGO, "Statement of Service;" War Department, The Adjutant General's Office, "Official Statement of Service of Samuel Marmaduke Whitside," (Washington DC, 8 March 1939).
- <sup>34</sup>Roberts, *Encyclopedia of Historic Forts*, 42; Boatner, *Civil War Dictionary*, 494--495.
- <sup>35</sup>National Archives, "Regiment Returns," Roll 63.
- <sup>36</sup>*Army and Navy Journal*, 9 September 1876. Family lore indicates that Captain Whitside returned in September 1876 and was back for several days when he inquired where Effie was. Carrie responded that the child had died while he was gone, but she had not told him earlier because she didn't want to upset him.
- <sup>37</sup>Gray, *McGavock Family*, 70--71. National Archives, "Regiment Returns," Roll 63; AGO, "Statement of Service;" *Army and Navy Journal*, 3 March 1877.
- <sup>38</sup>National Archives Microfilm Publications. "Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General (Main Series) 1871--1880," Microcopy 666, (Washington: The National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, 1966), Roll 387, "1877 Annual Reports;" National Archives, "Regiment Returns," Roll 63.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid.; National Archives, "Post Returns," Roll 490; Smith, *Fort Huachuca*, 15--18.

<sup>41</sup>National Archives, "Regiment Returns," Roll 63; Smith, *Fort Huachuca*, 15--18.

<sup>42</sup>National Archives, "Post Returns," Roll 490.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid.; Smith, *Fort Huachuca*, 27.

<sup>44</sup>*Huachuca Illustrated*, Vol. 6, 15.

<sup>45</sup>Smith, *Fort Huachuca*, 23--26.

<sup>46</sup>National Archives, "Letters Received by Adjutant General," Roll 387, 2.

<sup>47</sup>National Archives, "Post Returns," Roll 490.

<sup>48</sup>Thelma T. Gorham, "Whitside's Pride Began Epic History as a Cavalry Outpost," *Apache Junction (Arizona) The Apache Sentinel*, 16 July 1943; Smith, *Fort Huachuca*, 24. Smith incorrectly lists the date of this report as 3 September 1877. Gorham reports the date as 3 September 1878 and provides a more complete quote in which Whitside states "the past 16 months we have labored constantly. . . ." This report could not have been written in 1877, as the camp had been established just six months earlier.

<sup>49</sup>Samuel M. Whitside, "Annual Report for Camp Huachuca, 1879," (Fort Huachuca Records, loose-leaf collection in the Fort Huachuca Museum archives), 17--18.

<sup>50</sup>Lage, "History of Fort Huachuca," 8--9.

<sup>51</sup>National Archives, "Post Returns," Roll 490; Lage, "History of Fort Huachuca," 10; AGO, "Statement of Service;" Smith, *Fort Huachuca*, 23. Smith reports that Dallas Whitside was born at Fort Huachuca. However, Dallas's date of birth coincides with the time period when Whitside was recuperating in Los Angeles, California. Additionally, the 1880 Arizona Census for Pima County states that Dallas was born in California.

<sup>52</sup>Smith, *Fort Huachuca*, 28--32; Lage, "History of Fort Huachuca," 12.

<sup>53</sup>Smith, *Fort Huachuca*, 43.

<sup>54</sup>National Archives, "Regiment Returns," Roll 64; *Huachuca Illustrated*, Vol. 6, 16.

<sup>55</sup>National Archives, "Regiment Returns," Roll 63.

<sup>56</sup>Gray, *McGavock Family*, 70--71; *Huachuca Illustrated*, Vol. 6, 33.

<sup>57</sup>National Archives, "Post Returns," Roll 490; Smith, *Fort Huachuca*, 34--36; Hart, *Old Forts*, 9--17. The only other active Army installation in Arizona today is Yuma Proving Grounds, which was established in 1942 as a training base.

<sup>58</sup>Lage, "History of Fort Huachuca," 15--19; National Archives, "Regiment Returns," Roll 64; Carter, *Sixth Cavalry*, 210--228. The June 1881 Sixth Cavalry Regiment Return is the first time that the units are referred to as troops as opposed to companies.

<sup>59</sup>National Archives, "Regiment Returns," Roll 64.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid.

<sup>61</sup>Carter, *Sixth Cavalry*, 239--240; *Huachuca Illustrated*, Vol. 6, 195.

<sup>62</sup>AGO, "Statement of Service."

<sup>63</sup>National Archives, "Regiment Returns," Roll 73.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid.; AGO, "Statement of Service;" Adjutant General's Office, *Official Army Register, December 1, 1918*, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918), 249.

<sup>65</sup>National Archives, "Regiment Returns," Roll 73.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid.

<sup>67</sup>James Mooney, "The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," of the *Fourteenth Annual Report (Part 2) of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Smithsonian Institution, 1892-93*, by J. W. Powell, Director, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1896; Republication, *The Ghost-Dance Religion and Wounded Knee*. New York: Dover Publications, Inc, 1973), 817 (page citations are to the republication).



## CHAPTER 4

### THE SIOUX CAMPAIGN OF 1890--'91

Selfless service demands of professional officers that they perform to the best of their abilities wherever they are required. In the fall of 1890, Major Samuel M. Whitside's nation required his services in South Dakota to help quell a potentially catastrophic Indian uprising. His participation in putting down that uprising was clearly the most controversial period in his career, and it had a lasting impact on the remainder of his service. As such, a thorough analysis of Whitside's career and his selfless service to this nation must include a review of the Sioux campaign of 1890--'91 and highlight the actions of Whitside and the 7th Cavalry Regiment.

Twenty-five years removed from the Civil War, the Army's seniority based promotion system had produced an aging officer corps. Some of the first lieutenants had been in the Army for more than a decade, captains two decades, majors three decades, and the lieutenant colonels and colonels were holding out for retirement at the age of sixty-four. By the summer of 1890 Major Whitside, aged fifty-one, had been a field grade officer in the 7th Cavalry for five years.

Whitside likely found his current rank and position a bit less exciting than the previous two decades in which he was in command almost continually. For as a junior major in a regiment, command came only on an ad hoc basis when three or more troops were deployed to the field with a major assigned as a battalion commander. With the Indian troubles in the past, such opportunities occurred just once or twice a year when units took to the field for a few weeks at a target range, or on a practice march. In October 1890 Whitside had just finished one such practice march in which the regiment covered almost 170 miles traveling from Fort Riley to Lawrence, Kansas, and back again. At the same time the 7th Cavalry was completing their march, the attention of the Army, and the entire nation, was again turning toward the Indians, as disturbing reports began filtering in from the agents at the Sioux reservations in North and South Dakota. Soon Whitside would again be in command of a battalion in the field, this time on an

Indian campaign in which his unit would do the majority of the fighting and suffer the majority of the Army's casualties along the Wounded Knee Creek.<sup>1</sup>

### The Sioux Outbreak of 1890

In the fall of 1890 many of the tribes of the Lakota--the Teton division of the Sioux Nation--left their reservations without permission, headed into the Bad Lands of Dakota to participate in the Ghost-Dance religion, and defied the orders of their agents to return. A mixture of ancient Indian culture and Christianity, this new religion, which had swept through most of the western Indian tribes, promised that if the Indians abandoned the white men's ways and danced the Ghost-Dance the messiah would bring back the buffalo, raise up their dead warriors, and remove the white man from their lands. Of all the Indian nations to adopt this religion, the Sioux version took on a more militant tone, especially among the Lakota. The Sioux believed that the messiah would not merely remove the white man but "with the coming of the next spring (1891) he would wipe the whites from the face of the earth."<sup>2</sup>

On 12 October 1890, Daniel F. Royer, the newly appointed agent at the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota, reported that nearly 3,000 of his Sioux Indians were participating in the Ghost-Dance religion, his Indian police could not control them, and he needed military assistance. At the same time P. P. Palmer, who had also recently been appointed as an Indian agent, was reporting difficulties in controlling Chief Big Foot's band from "dancing" at the Cheyenne River Indian Reservation 110 miles north of the Pine Ridge Agency. When Palmer dispatched his Indian police lightly armed with revolvers to halt the ghost dancers, Big Foot's band met them with Winchester repeating rifles and refused to comply. The newspapers, fueled by exaggerated reports from the agents, fed the flames with their yellow journalism to the point that settlements in northern Nebraska were convinced that behind every tree lurked a fanatical Sioux ready to scalp any white person that came near. The American public cried out for

government action to subdue the Sioux before they went on the warpath and began perpetrating depredations on the local populace.<sup>3</sup>

On 13 November President Benjamin Harrison directed that Secretary of War Redfield Proctor “assume responsibility for the suppression of any threatened outbreak, and take such steps as necessary to that end.” Major General Nelson A. Miles, commanding general of the Division of the Missouri, initially felt that the new Indian agents’ pleas for military assistance were exaggerated, but he finally was moved to action after another frightful appeal in which Royer stated, “we need protection and we need it now. . . . Nothing short of 1000 soldiers will settle this dancing. The leaders should be arrested and confined in some military post.” On 17 November, General Miles ordered his immediate subordinate, Brigadier General John R. Brooke commanding the Department of the Platte, to deploy his troops to the Pine Ridge and Rosebud Agencies as the government employees at both locations were clearly in danger.<sup>4</sup>

The Division of the Missouri consisted of the Department of Dakota, commanded by Brigadier General Thomas H. Ruger, and the Department of the Platte, commanded by General Brooke. The Department of Dakota consisted of the states of Minnesota, Wisconsin, Montana, and North and South Dakota, and the Sioux outbreak occurred within this department. General Ruger had 3,900 troops within his department but little more than 1,000 at Forts Yates, Bennett, Sully, and Meade that were in the area of the outbreak. General Miles combined the forces of both of his departments by ordering General Brooke to relocate his headquarters from Omaha, Nebraska, to the Pine Ridge Agency with as many troops as could be made available. Secretary Proctor authorized Miles to deploy troops from the Department of the Missouri, which was separate from his Division of the Missouri. As tensions continued to escalate Miles was further authorized to call up troops from the Departments of Arizona, California, and Texas. In all, the campaign would involve over 5,100 soldiers of the regular Army--nearly a quarter of the entire field Army. Elements of seven of the Army’s ten cavalry regiments were deployed amounting to

thirty-six percent of all the cavalry forces. Similarly, portions of eleven of the twenty-five infantry regiments were involved in the campaign consisting of twenty-one percent of the Army's infantry. Additionally, the Nebraska National Guard and the South Dakota Militia were called to serve. This was clearly the largest massing of American military forces since the Civil War.<sup>5</sup>

Colonel and Brevet Brigadier General James W. Forsyth, the fifty-four year old commander of the 7th Cavalry Regiment, which was part of the Department of the Missouri, received telegraphic instructions on 23 November to deploy his elements at Fort Riley, Kansas, to the Pine Ridge Agency. After spending the day preparing for movement, the regiment's field and staff, Troops A, B, C, D, E, G, I and K, and Battery E, 1st Artillery, departed by rail.<sup>6</sup> Troops L & M were not manned as they were, according to one officer in the 7th Cavalry, "skeletonized" two months earlier with the six officers assigned to those units either on leave or detached service.<sup>7</sup> In the summer of 1890 Congress reduced the size of cavalry units for the first time since the Civil War. In addition to disbanding Troops L and M in every cavalry regiment, the number of privates in each troop was reduced to forty-four, little more than half of what was previously authorized. Colonel Forsyth and Major Whitside were the only field grade officers that deployed with the regiment. Lieutenant Colonel Caleb H. Carlton was stationed at Fort Sill with Troops F and H, Major Theodore A. Baldwin, also assigned at Fort Sill, was on leave for four months, and Major John M. Bacon was serving as General Brooke's acting inspector general. Bacon, as the senior major in the regiment, normally commanded 1st Battalion, but Whitside had been commanding the battalion since Bacon began working for General Brooke two months earlier. Charles L. Ilsley was a fifty-three year old captain who had been commanding Troop E since 1871. As the senior captain in the regiment, Forsyth placed him in command of the 2nd Battalion.<sup>8</sup>

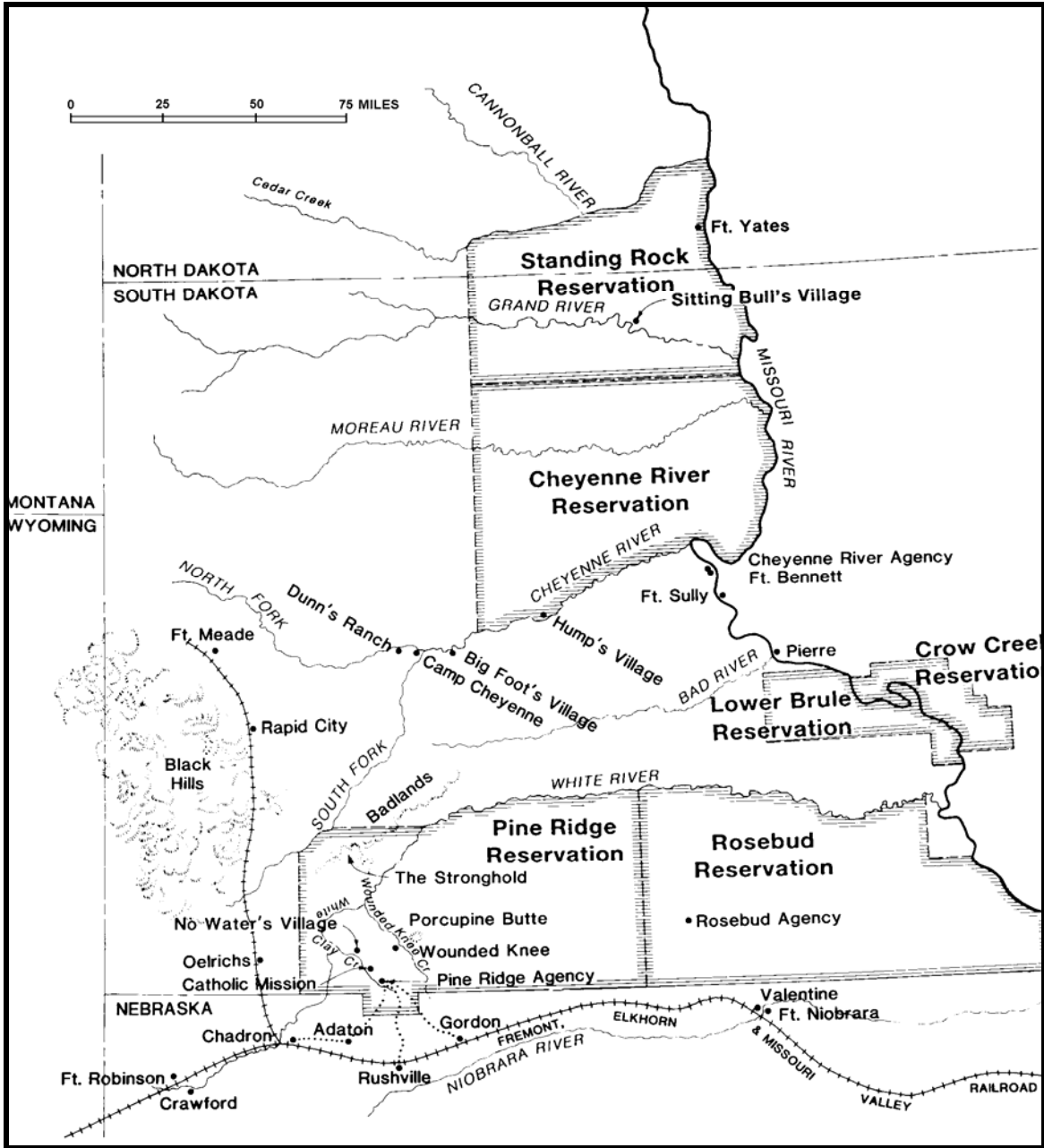


Figure 6. Map of the Sioux reservations during the campaign of 1890--'91. This map is adapted from the map that Major General Nelson A. Miles included in his annual report for 1891 to the Secretary of War.

Source: Richard E. Jensen, R. Eli Paul, and John E. Carter, *Eyewitness at Wounded Knee*, (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln & London, 1991), ix.

### 7th Cavalry at Pine Ridge

Three years earlier it had taken the regiment five weeks to march by horseback from Fort Meade in the Dakota Territory to Fort Riley. The use of rail reduced their trip back to the Dakotas to less than four days. The regiment detrained at Rushville, Nebraska, on 26 November and on the 27th, marched twenty-five miles to Pine Ridge where they set up camp. Whitside began writing letters to his wife back at Fort Riley describing the regiment's routine in camp at Pine Ridge and his understanding of the situation with the Indians. Excerpts from these letters are cited in Appendix A of this thesis.<sup>9</sup>

In the middle of December the regiment received sixty-seven new troopers straight from the recruiting depots. These new recruits filled each troop above their authorized forty-four privates. However, it was a mixed blessing, as eighteen percent of the regiment's privates were now fresh recruits with little training. Major Whitside's 1st Battalion, which consisted of Troops A, B, I, and K, received thirty-nine of the sixty-seven new cavalymen, comprising almost a quarter of the privates in his battalion. K Troop received the most, thirteen, which meant that more than thirty percent of the company's privates were green troopers. Wanting to ensure that his battalion was prepared for any eventuality and concerned over the lack of experience of the recruits, Whitside set about training his battalion by requiring every trooper, less cooks, to turn out every other day for skirmish drills for one and a half hours.<sup>10</sup>

General Miles' strategy was "to anticipate the movements of the hostile Indians and arrest or overpower them in detail before they had a chance to concentrate in one large body, and . . . to secure, if possible, the principal leaders and organizers, namely, Sitting Bull and others, and remove them for a time from that country." With such an overwhelming concentration of military forces--nearly a quarter of the line Army--Miles felt that the Sioux would be overawed and the whole affair could be resolved without the firing of a single shot. Major General John M. Schofield, Commanding General of the Army, disagreed. In a letter to Miles, Schofield stated, "It

will matter little what becomes of Sitting Bull or of any other Indian who is not an actual military leader; while the arrest of individuals at this time would probably not aid you but might deter the warriors from voluntary surrender.” However, Schofield could only advise and not direct. Miles proceeded with his plans.<sup>11</sup>

There were several thousand Indians in camp at the agency. However, General Brooke’s concern was the 2,000 Indians under Chiefs Two Strike, Kicking Bear, and Short Bull who refused to come into the agency and were still out in the Bad Lands hold up in a natural fortification known as the Stronghold. Two Strike and Short Bull met with General Brooke on 6 December and promised to bring their tribes into the agency, but as the days passed, it became evident that the Indians had no intention of returning.<sup>12</sup>

On 15 December, when Two Strike showed up at the agency with only half of his band, the rest remaining in the Stronghold with Short Bull, General Brooke felt he had met the intent of President Harrison’s order to “avoid war and bloodshed” and prepared his troops to move on the Bad Lands, surround the hostile Indians, and march them back to the agency. The 7th Cavalry made preparations for the march by issuing extra rations, covering wagons previously being used to haul wood, and loading up pack mules. They received orders that afternoon to move out of camp at 0800 the following morning with twelve companies of cavalry, one battery of artillery, and three detachments of Indian scouts, more than 700 soldiers in all. But, the march was canceled that night when General Miles sent General Brooke word that after being arrested, Chief Sitting Bull had been killed at the Standing Rock Agency when some of his Hunkpapa followers attempted to rescue him.<sup>13</sup>

Following the arrest and death of Sitting Bull, the Indian chief on the top of General Miles’ list of hostiles to arrest was Chief Big Foot. Big Foot and his band had embraced the Ghost-Dance in October and November, but the old chief had become disillusioned with the new religion in early December. His younger warriors, however, clung to the hope that the messiah

would come and eradicate the white man from their lands, repopulate the buffalo, and restore the Lakota to their rightful position as the superior Indian race.<sup>14</sup>

Lieutenant Colonel Edwin V. Sumner and his 8th Cavalry were in the vicinity of Big Foot's band. Sumner received ambiguous instructions from General Miles indicating that they may want to arrest Big Foot and remove him to Fort Meade. Sumner convinced Big Foot to bring his band into Camp Cheyenne. The tribe followed Sumner as far as their cabins then refused to go on. Many of the young warriors began showing signs of hostility by painting their faces, brandishing their weapons, and racing their steeds. Sumner believed Big Foot was the stabilizing element in the tribe and felt it would be folly to arrest him. The cavalry colonel was faced with the choice of allowing the Indians to remain in their homes or risk a battle by forcing them to go with him. As Miles had not actually directed him to arrest Big Foot, Sumner permitted the Minikāñzus to stay at their cabins if their chief promised to come to Camp Cheyenne the following morning. Big Foot agreed to come in the next day, and the 8th Cavalry continued on to Camp Cheyenne. That night Big Foot and his band decided to head south toward the Pine Ridge Reservation rather than surrender at Camp Cheyenne. General Miles was furious that Big Foot had eluded capture and unequivocally ordered his arrest.<sup>15</sup>

Concerned that Big Foot might be trying to reinforce Short Bull and Kicking Bear in the Stronghold of the Bad Lands, on 25 December General Brooke ordered Major Guy V. Henry and his battalion of buffalo soldiers from the 9th Cavalry Regiment to patrol along the White River about fifty miles north of the Pine Ridge Agency and guard all approaches east of the Stronghold. Around noon on the 26th General Brooke received word that Big Foot's band was now south of the White River somewhere near Porcupine Creek and was either heading into the agency or maneuvering around Henry's battalion to reach the Stronghold from the south. All of the information available to Brooke indicated that Big Foot and his band were one of the more militant groups of the Lakota. Brooke felt that if Big Foot made it to the Agency, peaceful



negotiations would break down. Additionally, Miles wanted the Minikañzu chief arrested. Based on these assertions Brooke ordered Colonel Forsyth to send a battalion of his regiment with two Hotchkiss steel mountain rifles to Wounded Knee Creek and link up with Major Henry's battalion. Brooke stated they must "prevent any Indians joining those in the Bad Lands from that direction, and if any be seen to capture them and hold them prisoners."<sup>16</sup>

In a series of telegraphs to General Brooke on 26 December, General Miles expressed his anxiousness to have Big Foot and his band captured.

4:00 P.M.: . . . I hope you will round up the whole body of them, disarm and keep them all under close guard . . . Big Foot is cunning and his Indians are very bad.

5:50 P.M.: It is very important to secure the men with Big Foot with as little delay as possible.

6:48 P.M.: I have no doubt your orders are all right, but I shall be exceedingly anxious till I know they are executed; whoever secures that body of Indians will be entitled to much credit. They deceived Sumner completely, and if they get a chance they will scatter through the entire Sioux camp or slip out individually.<sup>17</sup>

### Wounded Knee

Major Whitside received his marching orders at noon, and led his battalion out of the Pine Ridge Agency a few hours later. By evening he arrived at the post office crossing along the Wounded Knee Creek with 234 men, including a platoon from Battery E, 1st Artillery, and a detachment of Indian Scouts. By mid morning the next day, his soldiers had set up a line of heliographs from the cavalry camp at Wounded Knee to the department headquarters at the agency.<sup>18</sup> Later that afternoon General Brooke's aide-de-camp sent Whitside additional instructions from the commanding general.

Big Foot's party must be in your front somewhere . . . you must make every effort to find him and then move on him at once, and with rapidity. . . . Find his trail and follow, or find his hiding place and capture him. If he fights destroy him.<sup>19</sup>

The following morning Whitside's scouts reported that they had located Big Foot's band about ten miles east of their camp. Whitside led his battalion in columns of four and after

marching at a trot for eight miles, spotted the Indian caravan lumbering over a ridge two miles in the distance. Whitside moved his command up another mile, and the Indians quickly formed a battle line. Some of the warriors tied their ponies' tails in preparation for hostilities while others raced their steeds and brandished their Winchesters. Whitside gave the command to form a skirmish line placing the two Hotchkiss rifles in the front center of his formation. The troopers dismounted, and the horse-holders led the animals to the rear. Whitside requested to speak with Big Foot. The Indian chief, who was suffering from pneumonia, was brought up in a wagon. While negotiating with Big Foot, 120 warriors, all well armed with two thirds mounted and the rest dismounted, began advancing in a line toward the soldiers. Several Indians tried to get around one of the flanks and Whitside ordered that they return to the band; the warriors reluctantly complied. The cavalry commander demanded the Indians surrender, and the chief agreed stating that he had no food and was coming in. Whitside informed Big Foot that they were his prisoners and that he was taking them to Wounded Knee to camp for the night.<sup>20</sup>

Based on the Indians' agitated state, Major Whitside reached the same conclusion Lieutenant Colonel Sumner had reached a week earlier, that attempting to disarm the Indians there would likely result in a battle. After counting the Indians, Whitside drafted a message for General Brooke "requesting that the 2nd Battalion, 7th Cavy., be sent as re-enforcement to my command to arrive before daylight the following morning to assist in the disarming of the Indians, as I did not consider it safe to make the attempt to disarm them with my command."<sup>21</sup> By that evening, a message had been relayed by telegraph to Washington, DC. "Major Whiteside [*sic*] reports capture of Big Foot, one hundred and twenty men, two hundred and fifty women and children."<sup>22</sup>

Whitside had one of his ambulances brought forward, and some soldiers carefully moved the ailing chief to the Army wagon, which was equipped with springs and provided a more comfortable ride. After organizing the Indians, the column moved out toward Wounded Knee

with two troops in the lead, two troops and the artillery in the rear, and the ambulance wagon and the band of Indians in the center.<sup>23</sup>

The column arrived at the cavalry camp in the late afternoon. Whitside directed the Indians set up their camp south of his bivouac site and had his soldiers issue the Indians Army rations. He ordered Captain Myles Moylan to take Troop A and I and establish a cordon of sentinels around the south side of the Indian camp, keeping a third of their troops in reserve to serve as roaming guards throughout the night. Next, Whitside directed Second Lieutenant Harry L. Hawthorne to emplace his platoon of artillery with their two Hotchkiss rifles in an enfilade position on a small hilltop overlooking the Indian camp from the northwest.<sup>24</sup>

Meanwhile, up on the White River one of Major Henry's scouts reported that Short Bull and Kicking Bear had vacated their camp and were returning to the Pine Ridge Agency. Brooke had sent a delegation of friendly Indians to the Stronghold in an attempt to convince the Ghost-Dancers to come into the agency peacefully, and the negotiations were apparently successful. General Miles telegraphed General Schofield, “. . . that the hostile Indians camp[ed] in the bad lands are breaking and going in to surrender. The prospects look favorable for getting all the Indians under control.”<sup>25</sup>

Back at the Pine Ridge Agency, General Brooke ordered Colonel Forsyth to take the remainder of the 7th Cavalry Regiment and join Whitside at Wounded Knee. Brooke later testified that his instructions to Forsyth were “To disarm Big Foot's band, take every precaution to prevent the escape of any; if they fought to destroy them.” Still convinced that Big Foot and his band were hostile, Brooke was adamant that the Minikañzus must not be permitted to interfere with the Brulés under Short Bull that were returning to the agency peacefully.<sup>26</sup>

Colonel Forsyth marched out of Pine Ridge that afternoon and arrived at Whitside's camp at 8:30 P.M. taking a circuitous route to avoid being seen by the Indians.<sup>27</sup> Colonel Forsyth assumed command with about 500 troops, including the artillery and Indian Scouts. He sent a

message back to General Brooke, "Found everything in perfect condition. The Comdg Gen'l's orders will be carried out in the morning, or as soon thereafter as possible. I will report back to him, with the battalion I brought out with me." After emplacing two additional Hotchkiss rifles on the hilltop, Forsyth's men bivouacked on the north side of Whitside's camp.<sup>28</sup>

Early the next morning, General Brooke's aide-de-camp sent two messages to Major Whitside.

I am directed by the Commanding General to tender to you and the Officers and men of your Command his congratulations on the successful accomplishment of the capture of Big Foot and his Band.

The capture simplified the settlement of the Indian [sic] difficulty in this section, and will aid materially in so doing.<sup>29</sup>

The second message detailed instructions for Whitside after disarming the Indians.

The Comdg Genl. directs that you proceed with your Battalion and the Indian prisoners to Gordon, Neb., where you will transfer the Indians to Colonel Frank Wheaton, 2d Infantry, on Dec. 30th, if possible. The ponies and wagons will not accompany the Indians further than Gordon, and you will bring them with you on your return to this place, which will begin as soon as you transfer the Indians to Colonel Wheaton.<sup>30</sup>

Following reveille, Colonel Forsyth explained to Major Whitside and Captain Ilsley where he wanted them to deploy their units while the soldiers issued the Indians more rations. Troops B and K were formed dismounted in front of the cavalry camp to the north of the Indians. Troop E was mounted and placed just west of the artillery on the hilltop. Troop G was mounted and positioned east of the Agency road facing the Indian camp. Troops A and I continued to form a cordon around the west, south, and east sides of the Indian village. The sentinels on the south were separated from the Indians by a deep ravine. The remainder of A and I Troops formed dismounted at the base of the hilltop upon which the artillery was set. The Indian Scouts were mounted in a line behind the dismounted sentinels from A and I Troops on the south side of the ravine. Finally, Troops C and D were mounted and placed in a line about fifty yards south of the Indian Scouts.<sup>31</sup>

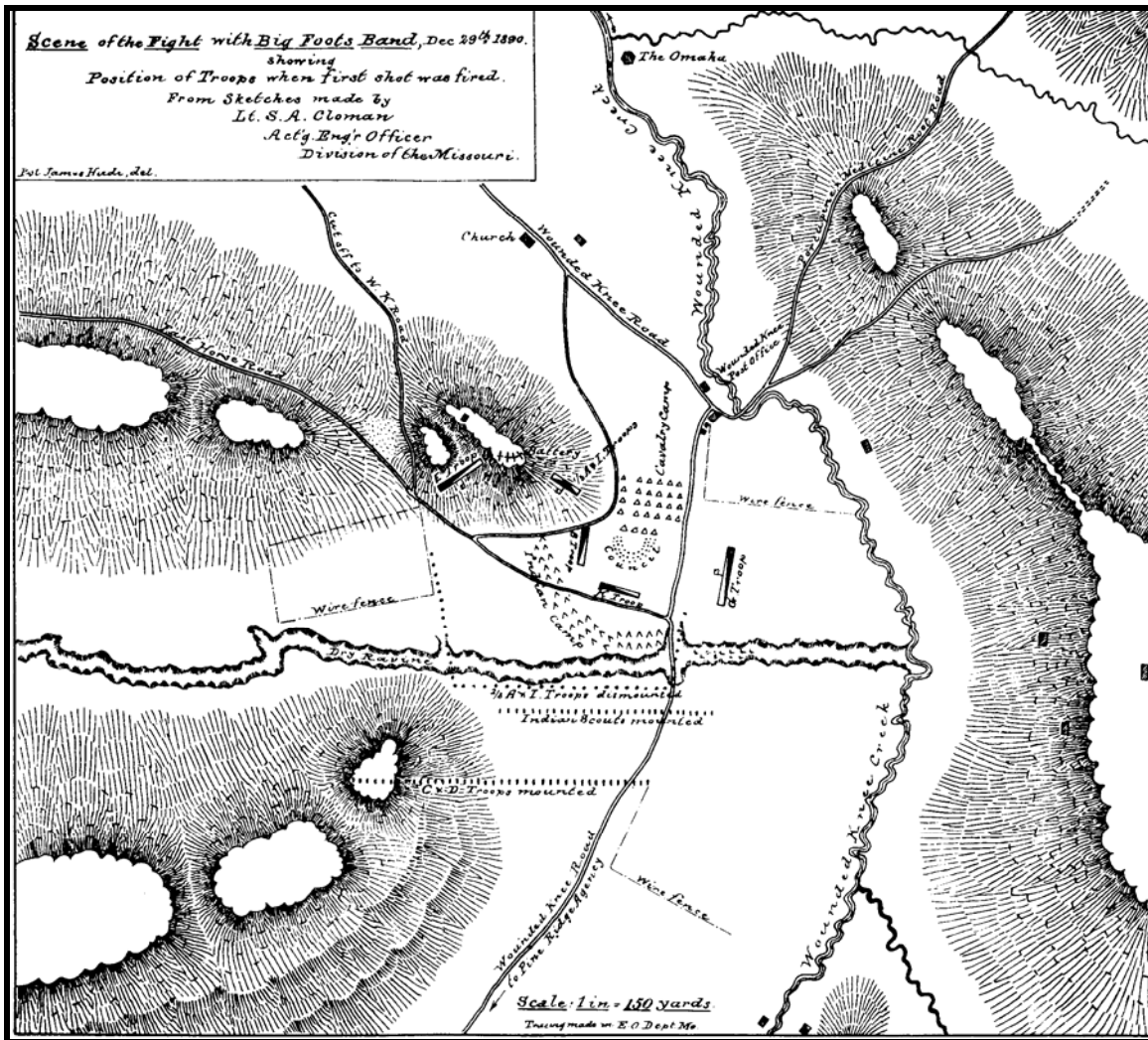


Figure 7. Map of the Wounded Knee Battlefield depicting troop positions when the Sioux fired the first shot. This map is from Major General Nelson A. Miles' annual report for 1891. Source: Jensen, Paul, and Carter, *Eyewitness at Wounded Knee*, 100.

After the troops were in position, 106 male Indians were directed to form a semi-circle between the Indian and cavalry camps in front of the tent where their ailing chief, was resting. Forsyth explained to the Indians that since they had surrendered they must give up their weapons. After discussing the situation with Big Foot, the Indians retrieved two broken carbines from the village and indicated that they were the only weapons they had. Whitside explained to Forsyth that when he captured the warriors the previous day they were “fully armed,” and he suggested

that they bring Big Foot out of the tent and direct him to demand the Indians relinquish their weapons. Big Foot indicated that the two broken rifles were the only weapons they had, as they had burned the remainder of their weapons on the Cheyenne River when they surrendered to Lieutenant Colonel Sumner. Forsyth and Whitside realized they were getting nowhere and decided to search the Indian camp.<sup>32</sup>

To keep the Indians from returning to their village, Whitside recommended B and K Troops form a dismounted line between the council and the Indian camp to keep the warriors from leaving the council area. Forsyth agreed. Captain Charles A. Varnum placed his B Troop on the west side of the council and Captain George D. Wallace positioned K Troop south of the council forming an 'L' shape. Next Whitside formed two details that began searching the village from the east and west. The search recovered knives, hatchets, axes, war clubs, and bows and arrows, but little of the Winchester repeating rifles that Whitside had seen the previous day.<sup>33</sup>

While the two details were searching the village, a medicine man decorated in war paint and wearing a ghost shirt was dancing around the council, throwing dirt in the air and telling the young warriors, "I have made medicine of the white man's ammunition. It is good medicine, and his bullets can not [*sic*] harm you, as they will not go through your ghost shirts, while your bullets will kill."<sup>34</sup>

Forsyth felt the search of the village was "fruitless," and now deduced that the Indians must be carrying their weapons hidden under the blankets they had draped over their shoulders. He ordered the Indians be searched one by one. Major Whitside took Captains Varnum and Wallace and a six-man detail to the west side at the front of the council. They instructed the Indians to come forward one at a time to be searched. Several old men complied and the search revealed just two weapons. The young warriors refused to be searched and remained seated.<sup>35</sup>

First Lieutenant James D. Mann of K Troop sensed trouble and backed up his line of troops on the south side of the council. Captain Ilsley's adjutant, Lieutenant W. W. Robinson,

who was mounted on a horse just inside the council, saw a medicine man and eight to ten warriors quickly move away from the troopers behind several Indians. He spurred his horse forward to try and intercept the Indians, which he felt were going to break from the council. Robinson motioned for the Indians to move back. Several Indians threw aside their blankets, raised their rifles above their heads, and then leveled them at the troopers. Mann thought to himself “The pity of it! What can they be thinking of?” He drew his revolver and stepped into the line with his troops. Robinson yelled to the men in B Troop “Look out, men, they are going to fire.” Varnum turned to Whitside and said “By God they have broken.” Whitside looked up and saw a medicine man throw dirt in the air, which the major interpreted as a signal to the warriors, for almost immediately an Indian fired a shot. The remaining warriors stood, threw off their blankets, and according to Whitside, fired a volley of “at least fifty shots” into B and K Troops. Mann ordered his men to fire and stated, “The reports were almost simultaneous.” Whitside saw twenty to thirty Indians fall.<sup>36</sup>

In the melee that ensued, the Indians advanced toward the troops firing their repeating rifles. The officers and men of the troops stationed at various positions around the two camps watched helplessly as the Sioux crashed into their fellow cavalymen, unable to fire on the Indians for fear of fratricide. The Indian village was behind B and K Troops, and each round the warriors fired that did not hit a soldier, flew lethally toward the women and children in the camp. Some of the women grabbed their children and fled south toward the protection of the ravine. The warriors threw themselves on the troopers, and after bitter hand-to-hand fighting, broke through into their village. Some of the Indians took refuge in their tents and continued firing on the soldiers from concealed positions in the village. Others fled on foot toward the ravine behind their women and children, all the while firing back at the troops. As the troopers returned fire, they brought down warriors, women, and children alike, unable to distinguish between combatants and non-combatants.<sup>37</sup>



Figure 8. The Opening of the Fight at Wounded Knee, by Fredrick Remington.  
Source: *Harper's Weekly*, Vol. XXXV.

On the hilltop, Captain Allyn Capron controlled his artillerymen, who were eager to rain steel on the treacherous Indians. He directed one of his soldiers, who was grasping the lanyard on one of the Hotchkiss rifles, to remove the friction primer to ensure the weapon wasn't accidentally discharged until the troopers were clear of the Indians. Once Capron determined the soldiers were a safe distance away, he ordered all four artillery pieces to open up on any group of Indians that were firing on the cavalrymen.<sup>38</sup>

As the Indians fled south, Captain Henry J. Nowlan, commanding the cordon of sentinels on the opposite side of the ravine, ordered his soldiers, "Don't fire, let them go, they are squaws." Once the non-combatants reached the ravine, Nowlan yelled to the men from Troops A and I, "Here come the bucks; give it to them." Nowlan directed his men to fall back as they continued



to fire. Lieutenant Taylor's Indian scouts, who were just behind the sentinels, also fell back until both commands linked up with mounted soldiers of Troops C and D commanded by Captains Edward S. Godfrey and Henry Jackson. In the protection of the ravine most of the Indians moved west out of the line of fire, but some of the Indians emerged from the ravine and continued running south. Fire from the Hotchkiss rifles still fell amongst the Indians, following them as they continued moving south. Captain Godfrey realized the artillery was falling just in front of his line and moved the men back behind a hill. Godfrey dismounted his troops and prepared them to fight.<sup>39</sup>

As soon as the Indians crossed the ravine, perhaps two hundred yards distant, and attempted to escape on the Agency road, I gave the command, 'Commence firing!' . . . . They [the troopers] fired rapidly but it seemed to me only a few seconds till there was not a living thing before us; warriors, squaws, children, ponies and dogs--for they were all mixed together--went down before that unaimed fire, and I don't think anything got nearer than a hundred yards. I believe over thirty bodies were found on our front.<sup>40</sup>

The main battle lasted twenty minutes with skirmish fire continuing for another hour. Colonel Forsyth felt his orders from General Brooke compelled him to prevent any Indians from escaping. As Indians continued to resist, the soldiers fired on them. However, they were able to take some women, children, and injured warriors captive. Major Whitside rode up to Captain Jackson south of the ravine and ordered him to round up some Indian ponies about two miles northwest of their position. Jackson moved out with C and D Troops and while pursuing the ponies, captured about twenty-four Indians from the ravine. While waiting for a wagon to transport the prisoners, 150 warriors rode up, apparently from the Pine Ridge Agency, and opened fire on the troopers from three sides. Jackson and his men fell back about 400 yards, losing their prisoners during the fight. Captain W. S. Edgerly rode up with G Troop, and the Indians broke contact.<sup>41</sup>

Back at the camp, the physicians were caring for wounded soldiers and Indians while the troopers assessed the casualties on both sides. Captain Wallace, the K Troop commander, lay

dead along with twenty-four soldiers. Thirty-seven soldiers and two civilians were wounded. Forsyth reported ninety warriors killed, and six warriors and twenty-seven women and children wounded.<sup>42</sup>

Late in the afternoon, Forsyth received a message from General Brooke intended for Major Henry, 9th Cavalry, who was still on the White River. The message indicated that the Brulés Indians under Chief Two Strike had left the agency and were on the warpath. Based on this information and the earlier attack on Jackson's troop by agency Indians, Forsyth felt his command was in danger of being attacked during the night and decided to return to the Pine Ridge Agency. The regiment packed up their camp, collected as many Indian wounded as could be found, and headed back down Agency Road arriving at Pine Ridge around 10:00 P.M.<sup>43</sup>

During the trek back to the agency, three more soldiers died of their wounds. Another trooper died the following day, and three more within two weeks, two of whom died following major amputations. Major Whitside's battalion suffered the brunt of the casualties with twenty-eight soldiers dead or dying and twenty-one more wounded. Eighty-five percent of the regiment's soldiers that were killed in action or died of wounds received, and eighty-one percent of those wounded in action, were from the 1st Battalion, including the one officer killed, Captain Wallace. Of the 234 men Whitside originally brought with him to Wounded Knee, twenty-one percent were casualties. The following day brought little respite as General Brooke again called on the 7th Cavalry.<sup>44</sup>

#### Drexel Mission Near White Clay Creek

About the time that the 7th Cavalry bugler was sounding reveille the following morning, Major Guy V. Henry arrived with his battalion of 9th Cavalry troopers at the Pine Ridge Agency after conducting a night march from his camp on the White River near the mouth of Wounded Knee Creek. His troopers were exhausted, as they had marched over ninety miles in the past

twenty-four hours with no sleep. A messenger rode into the agency right behind the buffalo soldiers and reported that the 9th Cavalry's supply trains, which were still on their way into the agency under the guard of I Troop, were under attack. Colonel Forsyth saddled his command, and the 7th Cavalry, including Lieutenant Preston's Indian scouts, rode to their aid finding the wagon trains circled in a defensive perimeter. The hostile Indians scattered upon arrival of the relief column, and the 7th Cavalry escorted Henry's wagon trains back to the agency.<sup>45</sup>

After withdrawing from their assault on the 9th Cavalry's supply trains, the same Indians moved north toward the Drexel Catholic Mission in White Clay Valley and set fire to a schoolhouse. Smoke from the burning building could be seen at the agency four miles away, and General Brooke ordered Forsyth to "save the 'Mission,' should the Indians be trying to destroy it." Brooke indicated to Forsyth that he was trying to entice the Indians into returning to the agency peacefully and to not provoke a fight unnecessarily. He authorized Forsyth to take Henry's battalion with him. Forsyth directed Henry to get his battalion ready to accompany the 7th Cavalry, but Henry replied that his troopers needed rest after marching all-night and requested they remain at the agency unless there was fighting involved. Forsyth agreed and marched out toward Drexel Mission intending to summon Henry if they encountered hostile Indians.<sup>46</sup>

Upon arrival at the Mission, Forsyth discovered that the church was not burning; rather the Indians had fired a vacant school and two other buildings in the vicinity. Forsyth sent back a message to Brooke that the Mission was safe, the Indians who lit the fires had departed hours earlier, and he was returning to the agency with his command. Just as the regiment was preparing to leave, an Indian scout named Little Bat reported gunfire in the distance down the White Clay Valley. Forsyth knew that Lieutenant Colonel G. B. Sanford's Leavenworth Battalion was off in that direction. Seeking to determine if his fellow cavalymen were under attack, Forsyth decided to conduct a reconnaissance in the direction of the gunfire.<sup>47</sup>

Colonel Forsyth directed Lieutenant Taylor to report with his Indian scouts to Major Whitside who was commanding the 1st Battalion and leading the regiment on the reconnaissance. Whitside positioned Taylor with his scouts in advance of his advance guard. As the regiment headed toward the sounds of the guns, they entered a valley bordered on both sides by bluffs and ravines. The scouts moved north and just after passing the advance guard they spotted an Indian concealed in some brush. A few moments later the scouts, according to Taylor, “utterly stampeded” to the rear reporting that the hills were alive with Indians. Whitside later indicated that this first contact involved approximately 100 Indians.<sup>48</sup>

The initial contact resulted in long range skirmishing in which one private was wounded in the foot. Forsyth sent a messenger to report the encounter to Brooke. Concerned that agency Indians might come out and attack from his rear, as they had done the previous day at Wounded Knee, Forsyth requested Brooke send Henry with his battalion. Whitside maneuvered his battalion into a position where they were able to disperse the Indians over the bluffs on either side of the valley. Remembering that Brooke’s guidance was to avoid unnecessary contact with the Indians, Forsyth decided to withdraw his regiment and head back to the agency.<sup>49</sup>

The colonel ordered Major Whitside’s battalion, still in advance, to “mount and retire.” As the major was moving his unit, a considerable number of Indians attacked from the south in the direction of the agency. Whitside indicated that, “The skirmish was one in which the Indians constantly shifted their positions, thus necessitating corresponding changes in our own, which were always promptly made.” The number of Indians with whom they were engaged increased to about 400.<sup>50</sup>

Forsyth was unsure from which direction the Indians had the greater force and grew anxious that the 9th Cavalry had not yet arrived. He ordered Lieutenant Preston to find Major Henry and tell him to hurry. After firing and maneuvering against the Indians for a half hour, Whitside reported that the warriors were attempting to occupy the bluffs across the creek, which

dominated a narrow crossing, over which the regiment would have to withdraw. Forsyth ordered Whitside to withdraw beyond the crossing and continue south until he was able to move up on the ridges overlooking the bluffs and keep the Indians from occupying them while the remainder of the regiment withdrew.<sup>51</sup>

With 2nd Battalion supporting by fire, Whitside crossed the creek with three of his troops. As he headed south to a point where he could get on the ridges, Major Henry rode by with his battalion and immediately directed his K Troop to sweep the ridge that Whitside was also heading toward. Whitside's men followed Henry's K Troop, and the Indians gave up their attempts to secure the bluffs. Forsyth sent his adjutant to direct that Henry dispatch two troops to sweep the opposite ridge while the 2nd Battalion withdrew. Henry kept his final troop in reserve with his Hotchkiss mountain rifle, which began shelling the retreating Indians.<sup>52</sup>

An hour and a half before dark, the exhausted cavalymen broke contact with the Sioux warriors and headed back to the Pine Ridge Agency. Most of Forsyth's men had not eaten in thirty-six hours, and Henry's men had managed little or no sleep in the past day and a half. Casualties were light with one private killed and seven wounded. Five of the wounded were from Whitside's battalion and one of them was Lieutenant Mann of K Troop, which had lost their commander, Captain Wallace, the previous day. Mann was eventually evacuated to Fort Riley with the other wounded, but died from an infection of his wounds two weeks after the skirmish.<sup>53</sup>

#### Military Investigation

General Miles telegraphed General Schofield on 30 December, detailing all that he knew of the battle at Wounded Knee Creek. In his message, Miles does not appear to be displeased with the 7th Cavalry's performance or the outcome of the battle indicating that, "their [the warriors'] severe loss at the hands of the 7th Cavalry may be a wholesome lesson to the other Sioux. . . . Their getting so near the Pine Ridge Agency just at this time has complicated the

surrender of all the hostiles in the Bad Lands, which would have been consummated before this had it not occurred; still the severity of their loss at the hands of the troops may possibly bring favorable results.” Schofield replied, “Your dispatch . . . further encourages my hope and belief that you will soon master the situation. Give my thanks to the brave 7th Cavalry for their splendid conduct.”<sup>54</sup>

On the same day, Miles wrote a letter to his wife in which he did not hide the displeasure he felt toward his subordinates. “Two nights ago I thought I had the whole difficulty in my hand, and without the loss of a single life [apparently he was overlooking the death of Sitting Bull, seven of his followers, and six Indian police]. But all my efforts to prevent a war appear to have been destroyed by the action of Lt. Col. Sumner and Col. Forsyth.”<sup>55</sup>

General Miles’ ire turned exclusively toward Forsyth as the newspapers began circulating stories that sensationalized the battle and voiced severe criticism of the killing of non-combatants, some characterizing the affair as a “slaughter of innocents.” Many of these same papers leveled their criticism directly at the commanding general. For an ambitious man such as Nelson Miles, any negative publicity of his campaign was a personal attack on his character, an unjust attack for which he felt James Forsyth’s actions were to blame. By the first of the new year, Miles was sure that Forsyth’s handling of the entire incident was inexcusable, if not criminal.<sup>56</sup>

On 1 January 1891, Miles telegraphed Schofield.

Your telegram of congratulations to the 7th Cavalry received, but as the action of the Colonel commanding will be a matter of serious consideration, and will undoubtedly be the subject of investigation, I thought it proper to advise you. In view of the above fact, do you wish your telegram transmitted as it was sent?<sup>57</sup>

The next day General Schofield concurred with Miles’ recommendation stating, “. . . please withhold it until further advised by me.” Later the same day, Schofield passed Secretary Proctor’s instructions on to Miles.

He [the president] hopes that the report of the killing of women and children in the affair at Wounded Knee is unfounded, and directs that you cause an immediate inquiry to be

made and report the results to the Department. If there was any unsoldierly conduct, you will relieve the responsible officer, and so use the troops engaged there as to avoid its repetition.<sup>58</sup>

Miles wasted no time in preparing for an investigation into Forsyth's actions, and in fact had already set the wheels in motion the previous day by instructing Captain F. A. Whitney, 8th Infantry, to examine the battlefield and determine how many Indians were killed and wounded. Miles sent orders late on the night of 2 January for Major Whitside to accompany a burial party to Wounded Knee and assist an engineer in making a detailed map of the battleground showing exact troop positions. Whitside spent the next two days with Lieutenant S. A. Cloman, Acting Engineer Officer for the Division of the Missouri, detailing every aspect of the battlefield. While Whitside and Cloman surveyed the ground, a burial party went about the gruesome work of collecting the frozen Indian corpses and dumping them unceremoniously into a ditch where they were buried at a rate of two dollars a body.



Figure 9. Chief Big Foot's frozen body on 3 January 1891. Major Whitside is pictured in the background, third from the left accompanied by Lieutenant Cloman and a surveying party.

Source: Photograph donated by Ann S. Russell of Cornwall, New York.

Captain Whitney reported the number of Indian casualties remaining on the battleground on 3 January, five days after the incident.<sup>59</sup>

I have the honor to report that I have examined the ground where the fight with Big Foot's band occurred, and counted the number of Indians killed and wounded, also number of ponies and horses with the following result: 82 bucks and 1 boy killed, 2 bucks badly wounded, 40 squaws killed, 1 squaw wounded, one blind squaw unhurt; 4 small children and 1 papoose killed, 40 bucks and 7 women killed in camp; 25 bucks, 10 women and 2 children in the canon [*sic*] near and on one side of the camp; the balance were found in the hills; 58 horses and ponies and 1 burro were found dead.

There is evidence that a great number of bodies have been removed. Since the snow, wagon tracks were made near where it is supposed dead or wounded Indians had been lying. The camp and bodies of the Indians had been more or less plundered before my command arrived here.<sup>60</sup>

In all the burial party interred 146 Indians at a cost to the government of \$292. All the while, photographers recorded for posterity, the horrifying images of dead Indians frozen in their death throws.

Whitside returned to the agency the following evening only to discover that he was now commanding the regiment. Miles' aide-de-camp had delivered an order to Colonel Forsyth earlier in the day. "By direction of the President, you are hereby relieved from your present command, pending the inquiry to be made concerning the affair on Wounded Knee." Miles also issued orders establishing a board of inquiry to look into three charges against Forsyth: whether the disposition of troops was judicious so as not to endanger fellow soldiers, whether any non-combatants were unnecessarily injured or destroyed, and whether Forsyth violated orders prohibiting officers from allowing their commands to be mixed up with hostile Indians.<sup>61</sup>

Miles notified Schofield the following day that he had relieved Forsyth, and inquired if his proposed inquiry met the President's intentions. After discussing the matter with Proctor, Schofield fired back a message stating, "I am directed by the Secretary of War to inform you that it was not the intention of the President to appoint a court of inquiry. . . . You were expected yourself first to inquire into the facts and in the event of its being disclosed that there had been unsoldierly conduct, to relieve the responsible officer."<sup>62</sup>



Despite the obvious blunder in relieving Forsyth before determining the facts, Miles was not about to reinstate the cavalry colonel unless explicitly directed. On 6 January, the day before the investigation began, Miles privately aired his low opinion of Forsyth in a letter to his wife. “Forsyth’s actions [are] about the worst I have ever known. I doubt if there is a Second Lieutenant who could not have made better disposition of 433 white soldiers and 40 Indian scouts, or could not have disarmed 118 Indians encumbered with 250 women and children.”<sup>63</sup>

Many in the military circles believed the action Miles was taking against Forsyth was unjustified. Major Whitside wrote to his wife, Carrie, “The settlement of the Indian trouble has been a failure according to the plans arranged by Gen. Miles, and now some one must shoulder the responsibility and be sacrificed and from appearances Gen. F[orsyth] is the man selected, for other people to unload on.” Some of the criticism came closer to Miles’ own home. The retired Commanding General of the Army, William T. Sherman, wrote on 7 January to his niece, who was also Miles’ wife, “If Forsyth was relieved because some squaws were killed, somebody had made a mistake, for squaws have been killed in every Indian war.”

On 7 January at 9:00 A.M., the investigation began when Major Whitside was called as the first witness. Over the next six days, every available officer that was present at the battle provided sworn testimony. In addition to the officers, an interpreter, two Indian survivors, and a catholic priest that was wounded during the battle also testified. The officers, to a man, stood by their commander and his actions at Wounded Knee. The investigating officers, Major J. Ford Kent and Captain Frank D. Baldwin, concluded their investigation on 13 January, and in their findings detailed little fault in Forsyth’s conduct. Miles was not satisfied and in a move that was clearly undue command influence, gave his investigating officers further instructions. Major Whitside intimated to his wife, Carrie, his doubts in the inquiries ability to come to an objective opinion. “The investigation developed nothing to his [Forsyth’s] discredit but as one of the officers of the Board was the confidential advisor of Gen. Miles, the report of the Board will

probably be in accordance with the will or desires of Gen M. instead of the facts in the case as shown by the evidence adduced.”<sup>64</sup>

The two officers reopened their inquiry on 17 January by taking testimony from Brigadier General Brooke. Again Kent and Baldwin provided their findings, this time concluding that, “. . . it appears, in answer to the requirements of the Division Commander, Colonel Forsyth’s command was not held at a safe distance, and the attack of the Indians resulted in a surprise to the troops.” This mild censure was the only substantial criticism leveled by the investigators at the regiment’s commander.<sup>65</sup>

By the time Kent and Baldwin were summarizing their findings, the last of the hostile Indians had surrendered, and General Miles was now planning the redeployment of troops. Before sending the regiments back to their home stations, Miles resolved to stage a grand review involving more than 3,000 soldiers, the likes of which had not been seen since the end of the Civil War. Miles intimated to the Indians that they should view the troops passing in formation as an end of the campaign rather than as action directed against them. The soldiers formed up on 21 January and correspondent Charles G. Seymour captured the martial display for *Harpers Weekly*.<sup>66</sup>

General Miles was not in uniform as he sat astride a big coal black horse, which stood on the crest of a knoll on the right flank of the advancing column of soldiers. Even his three-starred epaulets, the only evidences of his rank, were beneath a great overcoat which was buttoned almost to his ears. Just as the column, with screaming trumpets, began to pass General Miles, a furious sand-storm swept through the valley.

. . . . And when the black scowling faces of the Ninth Cavalry passed in close lines behind the glittering carbines held at a salute, General Miles waved his gloved hand to Colonel Henry, whose gaunt figure was almost lost in the folds of his buffalo overcoat. Three weeks before, these black troopers rode 100 miles without food or sleep to save the Seventh cavalymen, who were slowly being crushed by the Sioux in the valley at the Catholic Mission. Then they dashed through the flanks of the savages, and after sweeping the ridges with carbine and pistol, lifted the white troopers out of the pocket with such grace that after the battle was over the men of both regiments hugged one another on the field.

When the trumpeters of the Seventh Cavalry got in front of General Miles they blew a shrill blast, and passed on into the blinding storm. Then the musicians from Angel Island played “Garryowen.” This was Custer’s charging music, and as the famous

regiment came over the yellow knolls in company front and carbines at a salute, the horses began to dance to the irresistible melody. Major Whitside was in command. He had no sword, but waved his hand. General Miles's emotion was now so intense that he hung his hat on the pommel of his saddle, and let the storm toss his gray hair as far as it pleased. The capes of the troopers were flung back, exposing the lemon-colored linings, and the fur caps were tied in such a way under the chin that they gave the wind-tanned faces a peculiarly grim expression. The scars of three days fighting were plainly visible in this grand regiment.

There were men missing in every troop, and poor Captain Wallace and brave Lieutenants Mann and Garlington were also gone. A second lieutenant, with a bandaged head, was the only officer of little K Troop; and bringing up the rear was B Troop, with one-third of its men either in graves or hospital cots.

The column was almost pathetically grand, with its bullet-pierced gun carriages, its tattered guidons, and its long lines of troopers and foot-soldiers facing a storm that was almost unbearable. It was the grandest demonstration by the army ever seen in the West; and when the soldiers had gone to their tents, the sullen and suspicious Brules were still standing like statues on the crests of the hills.<sup>67</sup>



Figure 10. The Sioux War--Final Review of General Miles's Army at Pine Ridge--The Cavalry--  
Drawn by Frederic Remington.  
Source: *Harper's Weekly*, Vol. XXXV.

Two days later, the first soldiers to redeploy boarded the trains at Rushville, Nebraska. They were the men of the 7th Cavalry Regiment. Just as the campaign had been most eventful for this regiment, so too was the trip home. On 26 January, the 2nd Battalion's train collided with a passenger train on the Union Pacific Railway near Florina, Kansas. One sergeant from the 1st Artillery and one private from the 7th Cavalry were killed. Additionally, Captains Ilsley and Godfrey were injured along with fifteen enlisted men. A tragic conclusion to a hard fought campaign for the 7th Cavalry.<sup>68</sup>

The day the regiment departed Pine Ridge, General Miles ordered his inspector general, Colonel E. M. Heyl, to investigate Forsyth's actions on 30 December near the Drexel Catholic Mission. As all of the 7th Cavalry officers had already redeployed and thus, were unavailable to provide testimony, Colonel Heyl relied principally on the testimony of Major Henry, who was only present at the end of the skirmish.<sup>69</sup>

In the days following the fight at Drexel Mission, the press had praised the 100-mile ride Henry's battalion made in answer to Forsyth's request for assistance. However, the news media embellished the battle, indicating that the 7th Cavalry was on the verge of being annihilated at the hands of the Sioux, just as they had been fourteen years earlier at the Little Big Horn. The Chicago Inter-Ocean wrote a fantastical piece that was widely circulated through many papers.

After two hours' fighting it was found that the host of savages, estimated by many as not less than 1,800 had completely surrounded the brave but weary boys of the 7th Cavalry. Half an hour more and the massacre of 1876 would have been repeated. But at the critical moment the untiring but almost exhausted [Brevet] Col. Henry with his valiant Buffalo Soldiers of the 9th attacked the Indians in the rear, and turned certain defeat and annihilation into safety.<sup>70</sup>

A week after the fight, Henry wrote to Forsyth in response to the fanciful media coverage.

General: Will you please say to your officers that my officers and myself do not feel the service rendered your regiment, during the Mission engagement, as entitled to the consideration which it seems to be accorded us by the Newspapers. No such catastrophe as indicated seemed imminent, and we certainly are not desirous of gaining a little glory

at the expense of our comrades. The entente cordiale between the officers of the 7th and ours is perfect and we hope the newspaper statements may not change the same.<sup>71</sup>

However, Henry's official report of the Mission fight dated 17 January and his testimony provided to Heyl on 24 January did little to dispel the papers' accounts of the battle. Correspondingly Heyl's investigation was highly critical of Forsyth's actions in that engagement.<sup>72</sup>

General Miles forwarded on 31 January the findings of the Kent and Baldwin investigation along with a two-page endorsement in which he was far more critical of Forsyth than either of the investigators. Four days later, after thoroughly reviewing all of the testimony in the Kent and Baldwin report and Miles' endorsement, General Schofield forwarded the report to the Secretary of War with an endorsement of his own, which stood in stark contrast to that of Miles'.

The interests of the military service do not, in my judgment, demand any further proceedings in this case, nor any longer continuance of Colonel Forsyth's suspension from the command of his regiment.

. . . . In my judgment the conduct of the regiment was well worthy of the commendation bestowed upon it by me in my first telegram after the engagement.<sup>73</sup>

Perhaps sensing that Schofield and Proctor may not agree with his assessment, on 4 February Miles forwarded Heyl's investigation of the Drexel Mission fight along with another scathing endorsement as an addendum to the Wounded Knee investigation. Schofield forwarded this report on to Secretary Proctor indicating, "This investigation having been made in the absence of Colonel Forsyth, it is recommended that these papers be referred to him for any reply he may desire to make."<sup>74</sup>

However, Proctor was already wrapping up his report on Wounded Knee, concluding with a complete exoneration of both Colonel Forsyth and the 7th Cavalry.

[T]he conduct of both officers and men through the whole affair demonstrates an exceedingly satisfactory state of discipline in the 7th cavalry. Their behavior was characterized by skill, coolness, discretion and forbearance, and reflects the highest possible credit upon the regiment.

. . . . It is easy to make plans when we look backward, but in the light of actual conditions, as they appeared to the commanding officer, there does not seem to be anything in the arrangement of the troops requiring adverse criticism on the part of the Department.

. . . . By direction of the President, Colonel Forsyth will resume the command of his regiment.<sup>75</sup>

Proctor similarly disposed of the Drexel Mission investigation stating, “These papers having been forwarded . . . in connection with the Wounded Knee Affairs, and that matter having been disposed of, it is not deemed advisable that any further action should be taken at this time.”<sup>76</sup>



Figure 11. Officers of the 7th Cavalry Regiment at Pine Ridge Agency, South Dakota, following the Battle of Wounded Knee. Seated from left to right are: Capt. W. S. Edgerly, Capt. H. J. Nowlan, unidentified, Capt. C. A. Varnum, Col. J. W. Forsyth, Maj. S. M. Whitside, Capt. M. Moylan, Capt. E. S. Godfrey, unidentified, unidentified.  
Source: Courtesy of the Fort Huachuca Museum.

After resuming command of his regiment, Colonel Forsyth recommended, “Major S. M. Whitside be given a brevet of Lieutenant Colonel for the admirable and efficient manner in which he accomplished the capture of Big Foot's Band of Hostile Indians near the Porcupine Butte, South Dakota . . . and that he be given a brevet of Colonel, for conspicuous gallantry displayed in

the Battle of Wounded Knee, December 29th 1890.”<sup>77</sup> Forsyth also recommended four other officers for brevets. Unfortunately, the recommendations required the endorsement of General Miles, who in October, rather forcefully replied, “The recommendations for brevets or for honorable mention for such field officers is, in the opinion of the department commander, an insult to the memory of the dead, as well as the brave men living.”<sup>78</sup> In almost contradictory fashion, Miles did recommend approval of Forsyth’s recommendations for Medals of Honor for a number of his troopers. Fourteen 7th Cavalry soldiers received the nation’s highest award for their actions at Wounded Knee, three for their actions at Drexel Mission on the White Clay Creek, one for actions in both battles, and two for their conduct during the entire campaign. Additionally, two artillery soldiers who manned the Hotchkiss steel mountain rifles at Wounded Knee received the Medal. Of these twenty-two soldiers, four were officers.<sup>79</sup>

Much has been written during the past 111 years since the first shots rang out near the crossing over the Wounded Knee Creek. The news-starved press immediately picked up the story and sensationalized it to one of two extremes, both of which persist to this day. Most of the western press viewed the battle as a glorious victory of the Army’s seasoned cavalry over treacherous Indians bent on destroying the white man. The eastern press viewed Wounded Knee as not merely a tragedy, but a massacre in which the surviving members of Custer’s regiment sought vengeance for their annihilation at the Little Big Horn and wantonly slaughtered unarmed, cold, starving Indian women, children, and old men who were merely trying to express their freedom of religion.<sup>80</sup>

The debate continued in the press, in professional military journals, and even in Congress as the Lakota lobbied for reparations for their survivors and the Army continued to justify their actions. In the most recent Congressional hearings on Wounded Knee, Senator James Abourezk, Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, introduced legislation in February 1976 “to award compensation to descendants of survivors of the Army’s massacre of Sioux Indians at Wounded

Knee Creek” calling for “\$3,000 to be paid to descendants.”<sup>81</sup> This was the third time such legislation had been proposed, and the third time it had been defeated. The hearings produced almost 600 pages of invaluable testimony from expert historians such as Robert M. Utley, Dee A. Brown, and Rex A. Smith. At one point the hearings went to great pains in defining “massacre” and “battle” in attempts to properly describe the events at Wounded Knee by introducing definitions from numerous dictionaries. One definition read “the indiscriminate, merciless killing of human beings. . . .” Dr. Utley, whose 1963 landmark work, *The Last Days of the Sioux Nation*, more than qualified him as an expert historian, provided testimony that perhaps went the furthest in putting Wounded Knee into a proper context.

I am fully aware that contemporary evidence can be extracted from the vast body of original sources to support almost any interpretation one wishes to place on Wounded Knee or any other controversial historical event, for that matter. Sound history, however, is careful synthesis of all the evidence, in which corroboration of individual testimony is sought and the possible and the probable and the credible carefully weighed. Studied as a whole, rather than in isolated bits and pieces, the historical evidence, from both white and Indian sources, does not substantiate Wounded Knee as a massacre in terms of premeditation or lack of discrimination between combatants and noncombatants.

Assuredly it was a terrible, lamentable tragedy. But it seems to me that we should be a mature enough people to view it not in terms of the easy, conventional stereotypes of good guys and bad guys but in terms, rather, of decent, ordinary people caught up in the passions and insanities of an armed conflict that none of them intended or anticipated.<sup>82</sup>

This latest legislation to be defeated in the Senate by no means ended the historical debate of whether Wounded Knee was more accurately described as a massacre vice a battle. Major Samuel M. Whitside’s selfless service placed him in the center of this controversy, and his role as the commander who captured Chief Big Foot’s band and brought them to Wounded Knee had a profound influence--both positive and negative--on the remainder of his career.

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<sup>1</sup>National Archives, “Regiment Returns,” Roll 73.

<sup>2</sup>Mooney, *Ghost-Dance Religion*, 817--820.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, 848; Robert M. Utley, *The Last Days of the Sioux Nation*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), 96--97.



<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 111--112.

<sup>5</sup>National Archives Microfilm Publications, "Annual Reports of the War Department, 1822--1907," Microfilm Publication No. 997, (Washington: The National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, 1983), Roll 64, "1890, Vols. I and II (pt. 1)," 69--89 and roll 68, "1891, Vols I and II (pt. 1) 179--181. National Archives Microfilm Publications, "Reports and Correspondence Related to the Army Investigations of the Battle at Wounded Knee and to the Sioux Campaign of 1890--1891," (Washington: The National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, 1975), 422 (Memorandum listing units ordered to the Division of the Missouri dated 4 December 1890). These primary source documents hereafter cited as, "National Archives 'Sioux Campaign, 1890-91,'" were an invaluable source of information for this research. These documents provide a firsthand account in the form of sworn testimony of participants, both soldier and Indian, taken just days after the battle. They include the testimony of Major Whitside and every available officer in the 7th Cavalry.

<sup>6</sup>National Archives, "Regiment Returns," Roll 73.

<sup>7</sup>Ernest A. Garlington, "The Seventh Regiment of Cavalry," *Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States*, (Volume XVI (1895)), 662.

<sup>8</sup>National Archives, "Regiment Returns," Roll 73; Mary Lee Stubs and Stanley Russell Connor, *Army Lineage Series, Armor-Cavalry, Part I: Regular Army and Army Reserve*, (Washington, DC: Office of the Chief of Military History, United States Army, 1969), 23. Kenneth Hammer, *Men with Custer: Biographies of the 7th Cavalry, June 25th 1876*, ed. Ronald H. Nichols, (Custer Battlefield Historical & Museum Association, Inc., 1995), 173. Captain Charles S. Ilsley was three years older than Major Whitside. He enlisted in the New York Militia in April 1861, and was appointed a captain in the 15th Maine Infantry in December of the same year. Following the Civil War, he was mustered out of service in March 1865, and a year later accepted an appointment into the regular Army as a first lieutenant in the 16th Infantry. Ilsley transferred to the 7th Cavalry in December 1870 and had served with that regiment ever since. He was on detached service in June 1876 and, thus, was not present at the Battle of Little Big Horn.

<sup>9</sup>National Archives, "Regiment Returns," Roll 73.

<sup>10</sup>National Archives, "Regiment Returns," Roll 73; Appendix A, 140. The numbers of recruits are based on figures reported on the 7th Cavalry's monthly regiment return for December 1890. Utley records that eighty-one troopers in the 7th Cavalry were recruits and thirty-eight of them joined the regiment in December. His numbers do not coincide with the numbers reported on the regiment's monthly return.

<sup>11</sup>Peter R. DeMontravel, *The Career of Lieutenant General Nelson A. Miles from the Civil War through the Indian Wars*, (PhD diss, St. John's University, Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1983), 348 and 352.

<sup>12</sup>Appendix A, 138.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., 137; National Archives “Sioux Campaign, 1890-91,” 556 and 1682. General Brooke reported on 15 December that, “All the Indians who can be brought in are now here or near here, leaving about two hundred bucks in the Bad Lands who refuse to listen to any one or anything. Against these I will send a sufficient force to capture or fight them. All has been done that can be done. The Indians now out have a great many stolen horses and cattle with them. I hope to be able to end the matter now.”

<sup>14</sup>Utley, *Sioux Nation*, 173.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., 173--186.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., 191; National Archives “Sioux Campaign, 1890-91,” 757; Mooney, *Ghost-Dance Religion*, 1059. James Mooney defines the divisions and subdivisions of the Sioux Nation and lists the spelling of the tribe of Indians residing on the Cheyenne River reservation as “Minikañzu.” Utley spells it “Miniconjou.”

<sup>17</sup>National Archives “Sioux Campaign, 1890-91,” 742 (Brooke’s testimony).

<sup>18</sup>Utley, *Sioux Nation*, 193 and 194.

<sup>19</sup>National Archives “Sioux Campaign, 1890-91,” 753 (Order from Brooke to Whitside).

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., 656--664 & 822--823 (Whitside’s testimony and report); Utley, *Sioux Nation*, 195--196.

<sup>21</sup>National Archives “Sioux Campaign, 1890-91,” 823 (Whitside’s report).

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., 626 (Telegram from Miles to the AGO).

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., 656--664 & 822--823 (Whitside’s testimony and report); Utley, *Sioux Nation*, 195--196.

<sup>24</sup>National Archives “Sioux Campaign, 1890-91,” 656--664 & 822--823 (Whitside’s testimony and report); Hammer, *Men with Custer*, 250. Captain Myles Moylan was an Irish immigrant, a month older than Whitside, and had enlisted in the Army a year before him. Moylan served in the 2nd Dragoons, which became the 2nd Cavalry in 1861. Of all the officers in the 7th Cavalry at Wounded Knee he was the most experienced Indian fighter and could boast the oldest engagement with hostile Indians: Blackwater Springs, Kansas, in July 1860. He was engaged in a number of battles during the Civil War, but was dismissed from the service for being in the city of Washington without permission in October 1863 six months after being commissioned a second lieutenant. Moylan then enlisted in the 4th Massachusetts Cavalry under the alias of Charles Thomas, and rose to the rank of a Brevet Major in the U.S. Volunteers. He was mustered out of the service in November 1865, but enlisted in the General Mounted Service the following January. He was appointed a corporal and transferred to the newly formed 7th Cavalry in August 1866. The next month he was appointed sergeant major and a first lieutenant by the end of the year. He was promoted to captain in March 1872. In addition to the engagement at Blackwater, his experiences in the Indian wars included the Washita campaign in 1868, the Yellowstone expedition in 1873, the Black Hills expedition in 1874, the Sioux campaign in 1876, the Nez

Perce campaign in 1877, action against the Crow Indians in Montana Territory in 1887, and the Sioux campaign of 1890--'91. During the Battle of the Little Big Horn, he fought under Major Reno in the valley and hilltop fights. Moylan was promoted to Major and transferred to the 10th Cavalry in April 1892 and retired the following year under his own application after thirty-five years of service. In 1894 he was awarded the Medal of Honor for his actions against the Nez Perce. He died at the age of seventy in his home in California on 11 December 1909.

<sup>25</sup>Utley, *Sioux Nation*, 191--192; National Archives "Sioux Campaign, 1890-91," 616.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., 745 (Brooke's testimony).

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., 818 (Forsyth's report).

<sup>28</sup>Utley, *Sioux Nation*, 199.

<sup>29</sup>National Archives "Sioux Campaign, 1890-91," 755--756.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid.

<sup>31</sup>Utley, *Sioux Nation*, 201 and 204.

<sup>32</sup>National Archives "Sioux Campaign, 1890-91," 658--659 (Whitside's testimony).

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., 658, 659 and 667 (Whitside's and Varnum's testimony); Utley, *Sioux Nation*, 211. Hammer, *Men with Custer*, 354, 355, and 362. Captains Wallace and Varnum, both forty-one years old, were the junior captains in Whitside's battalion, and had both been serving in the 7th Cavalry since graduating from West Point in 1872. As second lieutenants, they fought at the Battle of the Little Big Horn under Major Reno.

<sup>34</sup>Frazer Arnold, "Ghost Dance and Wounded Knee," *Cavalry Journal* 43 (May--June 1934), 20. Frazier quotes a memorandum that Lieutenant James D. Mann, K Troop, 7th Cavalry, dictated to his brother after being evacuated to Fort Riley for wounds received at White Clay Creek on 30 December. Mann died of his wounds on 15 January 1891.

<sup>35</sup>National Archives "Sioux Campaign, 1890-91," 659 and 818 (Whitside's testimony and Forsyth's report).

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., 659, 668, 693, 694, and 712 (testimony of Whitside, Varnum, Robinson, and Wells); Arnold, "Ghost Dance," 20.

<sup>37</sup>National Archives "Sioux Campaign, 1890-91," 662--725.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., 695 and 698--700 (testimony of Robinson and Capron).

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., 676, 682, and 701 (testimony of Nowlan, Taylor, and Godfrey); Hammer, *Men with Custer*, 129, 174, and 262. Captain E. S. Godfrey was forty-seven years old and had been with the 7th Cavalry since June 1867 upon graduation from West Point. He commanded Company K as a first lieutenant in Captain Benteen's battalion at the Battle of Little Big Horn,

and had been commanding Company D upon appointment to captain in December 1876. Godfrey received the Medal of Honor in 1894 for his gallantry at the Snake Creek Fight in 1877. He retired as a brigadier general in 1907.

Captain H. Jackson was fifty-three years old and perhaps the most experienced officer in the regiment. He had served as a second lieutenant in the British Army during the Crimean Campaign from 1853 to 1856. Having sold his commission and immigrated to the United States in 1863, Jackson enlisted as a private in the 14th Illinois Cavalry. After serving as the sergeant major of the 5th U.S. Colored Infantry, he joined the 7th Cavalry as a second lieutenant in November 1866. He was on detached service during the Sioux Campaign of 1876, and was appointed captain of C Company effective 25 June filling the vacancy created when Captain Tom Custer was killed. Jackson was promoted to brigadier general upon his retirement in 1901.

Captain H. J. Nowlan was also fifty-three years old and had almost as much experience as Captain Jackson. Nowlan graduated from the Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst and served as a lieutenant in the Crimea where he was decorated for gallantry at the siege of Sebastapole. He also sold his commission and entered the 14th New York Cavalry as a first lieutenant in 1863. After being mustered out of service, he accepted an appointment as a second lieutenant in the 7th Cavalry in 1865. He was on detached service during the Battle of the Little Big Horn and was appointed captain of I Company on 25 June 1876 filling the vacancy created by the death of Captain Myles Keogh. Nowlan died in 1898 while serving as a sixty-one year old major, still in the 7th Cavalry.

<sup>40</sup>Edward S. Godfrey, "Cavalry Fire Discipline," *Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States*, (Volume XIX, 1896), 259.

<sup>41</sup>National Archives "Sioux Campaign, 1890-91," 687--689, and 760 (Forsyth's report dated 31 December 1890, and Jackson's testimony); Hammer, *Men with Custer*, 100. Captain Winfield Scott Ederly was forty-four years old. He joined the 7th cavalry in June 1870 after graduating from West Point. As the second lieutenant of D Company, Ederly fought in Captain Benteen's battalion at the Battle of Little Big Horn. He was appointed the captain of G Company in 1883. He ultimately retired as a brigadier general in 1907.

<sup>42</sup>National Archives, "Regiment Returns," Roll 73; National Archives "Sioux Campaign, 1890-91," 760--763 (Forsyth's report dated 31 December 1890).

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., 760--763 and 1687 (Forsyth's report dated 31 December 1890 and Brooke's report dated 2 March 1891); Utley, *Sioux Nation*, 199; Mooney, *Ghost-Dance Religion*, 1059. James Mooney defines the divisions and subdivisions of the Sioux Nation and lists the spelling of tribe of Indians residing on the Rosebud reservation as "Brulés." Utley spells it "Brulé."

<sup>44</sup>National Archives "Sioux Campaign, 1890-91," 788 and 1767 (telegram from General Miles to the AGO on 3 January 1891 listing names of casualties and Report of the Medical Director of the Department of the Platte); National Archives, "Regiment Returns," Roll 73.

<sup>45</sup>Utley, *Sioux Nation*, 236.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., 236--237; National Archives "Sioux Campaign, 1890-91," 1688 (Brooke's report dated 2 March 1891), 10, 11, and 19 (Forsyth's report to Secretary of War Lamont dated 21 December 1896).

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., 11, A-1 and A-2 (Forsyth's report to Secretary of War Lamont dated 21 December 1896); National Archives, Roll 68, "War Department Annual Reports, 1891," 179. The Leavenworth Battalion was an ad hoc unit comprised of four cavalry troops from four different regiments that were at Fort Leavenworth for training. At the outset of the campaign, the troops were placed under command of the Lieutenant Colonel G. B. Sanford, 9th Cavalry, and designated the "Leavenworth Battalion."

<sup>48</sup>National Archives, "Sioux Campaign, 1890-91," 26, A-5 (Forsyth's report to Secretary of War Lamont dated 21 December 1896).

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., A-6 and A-7 (Forsyth's report to Secretary of War Lamont dated 21 December 1896).

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., 15 and 26 (Forsyth's report to Secretary of War Lamont dated 21 December 1896); United States Government Printing Office, *The Medal of Honor of the United States*, (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1948), 237; Hammer, *Men with Custer*, 354 and 355. During the withdrawal, Captain C. A. Varnum, commanding B Troop, gallantly led his troop under fire and was awarded the Medal of Honor six years later. His citation reads, "While executing an order to withdraw, seeing that a continuance of the movement would expose another troop of his regiment to being cut off and surrounded, he disregarded orders to retire, placed himself in front of his men, led a charge upon the advancing Indians, regained a commanding position that had just been vacated, and thus insured a safe withdrawal of both detachments without further loss." Varnum fought with the 7th Cavalry again in Cuba during the Spanish American War and was later awarded a silver star for gallantry in action. He was promoted to major in 1901, lieutenant colonel in 1905, and retired in 1907 for disability. He was promoted to colonel from the retired list in 1918. He died at the age of eighty-six in 1936.

<sup>51</sup>National Archives "Sioux Campaign, 1890-91," 15 (Forsyth's report to Secretary of War Lamont dated 21 December 1896).

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., 792 (Miles report to AGO dated 3 January 1891) and 13 and 22 (Forsyth's report to Secretary of War Lamont dated 21 December 1896).

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., 36 (Forsyth's report to Secretary of War Lamont dated 21 December 1896); Appendix A, 145.

<sup>54</sup>National Archives "Sioux Campaign, 1890-91," 635, 636, and 641.

<sup>55</sup>DeMontravel, *Lieutenant General Nelson A. Miles*, 360.

<sup>56</sup>National Archives, "Sioux Campaign, 1890-91," 7 (Forsyth's report to Secretary of War Lamont dated 1 September 1895).

<sup>57</sup>Ibid.

<sup>58</sup>DeMontravel, *Lieutenant General Nelson A. Miles*, 359.

<sup>59</sup>National Archives, "Sioux Campaign, 1890-91," 824 (Whitney's report dated 3 January 1891); Appendix A, 144.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid.; National Archives, "Sioux Campaign, 1890-91," 653 and 8 (Special Orders No. 8 dated 4 January 1891 and Forsyth's report to Secretary of War Lamont dated 1 September 1895).

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., 828 (telegram from Schofield to Miles dated 6 January 1891).

<sup>63</sup>DeMontravel, *Lieutenant General Nelson A. Miles*, 360--361.

<sup>64</sup>National Archives, "Sioux Campaign, 1890-91," 656--729 (telegram from Schofield to Miles dated 6 January 1891); Appendix A, 145.

<sup>65</sup>National Archives, "Sioux Campaign, 1890-91," 730--750 (telegram from Schofield to Miles dated 6 January 1891).

<sup>66</sup>Richard E. Jensen, R. Eli Paul, and John E. Carter, *Eyewitness at Wounded Knee*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991), 165.

<sup>67</sup>Charles G. Seymour, "The Sioux Rebellion, The Final Review," *Harper's Weekly*, 35 (February 7, 1891), 106.

<sup>68</sup>National Archives, "Sioux Campaign, 1890-91," 1025 and 1752 (telegram from General Merritt to AGO dated 28 January 1891 and report of the Office of the Chief Quartermaster, Department of the Platte).

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., 1081--1096, 8 (Inspector General, Division of the Missouri, 28 January 1891 and Forsyth's report to Secretary of War Lamont dated 21 December 1896).

<sup>70</sup>Ibid., 23 (Forsyth's report to Secretary of War Lamont dated 21 December 1896).

<sup>71</sup>Ibid.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., 1083 and 1792 (Henry's report dated 17 January 1891 and Testimony dated 24 January 1891).

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., 766--768 (Miles' and Schofield's endorsements to Wounded Knee investigation).

<sup>74</sup>Ibid., 1077--1080 (Miles' and Schofield's endorsements to Drexel Mission investigation).

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., 1130--1132 (Proctor's report dated 12 February).

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., 1080 (Proctor's endorsement to Drexel Mission investigation).

<sup>77</sup>James W. Forsyth to Adjutant General, United States Army, 17 February 1891, Official extract copy, (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, Pension Application # 819.916, Certificate # 587.095, "Whitside Box").

<sup>78</sup>Jerome Green, "The Medals of Wounded Knee: Revised," (<http://www.dickshovel.com/MedalsG.a.html>, accessed 29 Jul 2001).

<sup>79</sup>US Government Printing Office, *The Medal of Honor*, 235--237.

<sup>80</sup>Shaw, Dennis Edward, "The Battle of Wounded Knee: Myth Versus Reality," PhD diss, University of Miami, (Ann Arbor: University Microfilm International, 1981), 58--65.

<sup>81</sup>United States Congress, House Committee on the Judiciary, *Wounded Knee Massacre: Hearings before the Committee on the Judiciary United States Senate, Ninety-fourth Congress, Second Session, on S. 1147 and S. 2900 to Liquidate the Liability of the United States for the Massacre of Sioux Indian Men, Women, and Children at Wounded Knee on December 29, 1890, February 5 and 6, 1976*, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1976), 1.

<sup>82</sup>*Ibid.*, 42 and 43.

## CHAPTER 5

### THE LAST DECADE IN UNIFORM

In 1882 Congress enacted legislation enabling officers to request to be placed on the retired list following the completion of forty years of honorable service. By 1891 Major S. M. Whitside was less than eight years away from that mark, and twelve years from mandatory retirement at age sixty-four. As eligibility for retirement neared, Whitside undoubtedly debated whether to remain in service. But as his final decade in uniform would show, regardless of the ups and downs of his assignments, Whitside would continue to serve selflessly for as long as his nation would allow.<sup>1</sup>

#### From Fort Riley to Fort Sam Houston

A few weeks after returning from Pine Ridge, South Dakota, and just days after President Harrison reinstated Colonel Forsyth as commander of the 7th Cavalry, six troops of the regiment traveled by train to St. Louis, Missouri, where they participated in funeral ceremonies for General William T. Sherman. Forsyth departed on leave from St. Louis, and Major Whitside assumed command of the regiment as they returned to Fort Riley, Kansas. Whitside continued in command of both the regiment and the post until May when Forsyth returned from leave.<sup>2</sup>

Looking again at Von Steuben's instructions to officers during the formation of the American Army, one can gain a sense of the duties that were devolved upon Whitside as a major in the 7th Cavalry.

The major is particularly charged with the discipline, arms, accoutrements, cloathing [*sic*], and generally, with the whole interior management and economy of the regiment.

He must endeavor to make his regiment perform their exercise and manoeuvres [*sic*] with the greatest vivacity and precision, examine often the state of the different companies, making the captains answer for any deficiencies he may perceive, and reporting the same to the colonel.<sup>3</sup>



For the next year-and-a-half the regiment was engaged in normal garrison activities. Major Whitside was occupied with commanding a battalion in the field on the occasional target range, performing courts martial duties, commanding the post and the regiment whenever Colonel Forsyth was not present, and on one occasion, serving as a judge of drills for the Knights of Pythias. The department inspector general, Major P. D. Vroom, recorded in 1891 that Whitside was “a thoroughly competent officer; his battalion is exceedingly well drilled and instructed.”<sup>4</sup>



Figure 12. Major S. M. Whitside outside his quarters at Fort Riley in 1893.  
Source: Photograph donated by Mrs. Ann S. Russell of Cornwall, New York.

However, as the Army’s focus shifted to training and doctrine, so to did the focus at Fort Riley. In November 1892, the Army entrusted Colonel Forsyth with the responsibility of establishing the U.S. Cavalry and Light Artillery School. Major Whitside initially served as the

director of the Cavalry Sub-School, but in February 1893, Whitside became ill. He suffered a relapse in May and in June was diagnosed with “chronic irritation with congestion of the membranes of the spinal cord and probably the base of the brain,” what likely was a relapse of the rheumatism he suffered from almost two decades earlier. The major was placed on sick leave for the next nine months. Apparently Colonel Forsyth thought that Whitside might still receive an early promotion to lieutenant colonel based on his actions at Wounded Knee, and did not believe the major would return to Fort Riley. As Whitside departed on leave, Forsyth provided him a letter expressing “my high appreciation of your services as Major of this regiment under my personal command for the past seven years, and to make due acknowledgement that in all the work which has fallen to my hands, as commanding officer of the regiment, I have invariably received loyal support and aid from you.”<sup>5</sup>

When Whitside did finally return from sick leave it was only long enough to gather some of his belongings before traveling to his next assignment, Fort Myer, Virginia, arriving in May 1894. Duty at an eastern post, particularly Fort Myer, was viewed throughout the Army as an assignment in reward for faithful and gallant service. The troops at Fort Myer served as a showcase for the Army and performed at ceremonies in the nation’s capitol, much as the 3rd Infantry Regiment--the Old Guard--does today. Major Guy V. Henry, a Medal of Honor recipient and arguably the most renowned Indian fighter since General Custer, had lobbied for the position of commander of Fort Myer in January 1891 while on the Sioux campaign following his famous 100-mile ride that culminated in the fight on White Clay Creek near the Drexel Catholic Mission. Henry’s bid for the position was successful, and more significantly, he was able to get one of his troops from the 9th Cavalry assigned to the installation, the first time buffalo soldiers took up station at the eastern post. Ironically, while commanding Fort Myer, Henry was transferred to the 7th Cavalry Regiment upon promotion to lieutenant colonel in January 1892.<sup>6</sup>

In the summer of 1894, it appears that the Army intended to swap the two field grade officers, sending Whitside to command Fort Myer and Henry to fill the lieutenant colonel billet at Fort Riley. However, preferring a drier climate, Henry requested assignment to Fort Sam Houston as the lieutenant colonel of the 5th Cavalry Regiment instead. During the summer, Henry commanded his troops one final time in the field while Whitside commanded the post, and in August Henry headed to Texas. Shortly after Henry's departure and after only four months since arriving in the nation's capitol, Major Whitside received orders to Fort Stanton, New Mexico.<sup>7</sup> The major was obviously dismayed as he wrote to the Adjutant General on 20 September:

Early in May last, without any solicitation on my part, I was relieved from duty at Fort Riley, Kansas and assigned to Fort Meyer [*sic*], Virginia, and given to understand, that this selection was made in consideration of my long and active service, with troops in the Western Country, and as a recognition of my services, in the Sioux War, in South Dakota. . . . I am now in receipt of an order, coming within a period of five (5) month[s], to be executed by the first of the coming month, sending me to a one Company Post, at Fort Stanton, New Mexico with no Railroad connection, nearer than one hundred (100) miles. While I have always endeavored to obey all orders without a question, demurer or hesitation, as a soldier, and without regard to convenience or privation, and hold myself ever ready to do so, I must frankly confess to a great disappointment, and chagrin, on receipt of this order, and do most earnestly, but respectfully, pray that the Honorable Secretary of War will, with his characteristic, justness and consideration, reconsider and revoke this order, sending me to Fort Stanton. . . .

My assignment to Fort Meyer, is the first recognition of my services rendered on that occasion [referring to the Battle of Wounded Knee], and if after a review of facts herewith submitted, I may be permitted to remain at Fort Meyer, at least a year or two, I would be most grateful - or if I must be assigned elsewhere, may I ask to be sent to Fort Sheridan, Illinois, where there is a squadron of my regiment, who served under my immediate command, at Wounded Knee, and during the campaign of 1890 & 1891, and who were put on duty there, as a reward for their services.

I have the honor to be, Very respectfully, Your obedient servant,  
S. M. Whitside  
Major, 7th Cavalry.<sup>8</sup>

Apparently the Secretary of War did intervene on Whitside's behalf, as his orders to Fort Stanton were revoked, and he and his family were permitted to remain in Washington, DC until the Army could find a suitable assignment for the cavalry major. After awaiting orders for eight months, the Army finally assigned Whitside to Fort Clark, Texas, in May 1895 where he very

briefly worked for Colonel S. Ovenshine, 23rd Infantry. While Fort Clark was larger than the “one company post” at Fort Stanton, G Troop was the only 7th Cavalry unit at his new duty station. Whitside arrived on 4 June and was there less than six weeks when he was promoted to lieutenant colonel and transferred to the 3rd Cavalry, which was headquartered at Jefferson Barracks, Missouri. Despite having to move again in less than two months, Whitside must have been greatly pleased with the new position, for the colonel of the regiment, Anson Mills, had been on detached service with the Mexican Boundary Commission for more than a year and was not expected to return to his post in the near future. The new lieutenant colonel arrived at Jefferson Barracks and assumed command of the regiment and the post. It is difficult to comprehend why the Adjutant General would assign Whitside to Fort Clark knowing that he was the senior major in the cavalry and soon to be promoted. What is even more difficult to understand is why the AGO transferred Whitside to the 3rd Cavalry Regiment.<sup>9</sup>

Early in 1895 the War Department made plans to expand Jefferson Barracks and wanted a senior officer to command the post. Colonel Mills was detached from the regiment and his second in command, Lieutenant Colonel G. A. Purington--the officer Whitside eventually replaced--was scheduled to retire in July. General Schofield offered command of the post to Colonel James F. Wade, the regimental commander of the 5th Cavalry at Fort Sam Houston, Texas. Wade declined the position, but recommended his lieutenant colonel, Guy V. Henry. Based on Schofield’s recommendation, Secretary of War Daniel Lamont assigned Henry to command Jefferson Barracks just two months after Whitside took command of the regiment and the post.<sup>10</sup>

Lieutenant Colonel Henry arrived in October, still assigned to the 5th Cavalry, and ready to take command of the post and the 3rd Cavalry Regiment, effectively relieving Lieutenant Colonel Whitside of his position. With no assignment instructions or details as to why he was being relieved, Whitside was understandably furious and requested a formal court of inquiry,

indicating that Henry's assignment "can only be received by the public at large and throughout the Army... as a reflection upon [my] ability and official conduct in the management of military affairs of the post of Jefferson Barracks." The controversy created ill feelings throughout the Army, as many officers felt that General Schofield, who retired the previous week, was bias toward Henry because he was an academy graduate, whereas Whitside had been commissioned from the enlisted ranks. Whitside also was likely tired of the credit that was showered upon Henry and his buffalo soldiers, both in the media and Army circles, for their role in the Sioux campaign of 1890--'91--a campaign in which Whitside's battalion did the majority of the fighting and dying. Before the controversy was settled, Whitside preferred charges against Henry for allegedly making inappropriate comments.<sup>11</sup> However, the department commander dismissed the charges and the War Department denied the court of inquiry, stating:

In making the assignment . . . there was intended no reflection upon your ability, your personal conduct or your official conduct in the management of the military affairs of the post recently under your command.

As a finding of a court of inquiry could not be more favorable to your record than this official statement of the Department, such a court is not deemed necessary in order to defend you against possible "aspersions to your character" on the part of malicious or ill-informed persons.<sup>12</sup>

The affair was finally settled when the Department of War swapped the two officers' assignments, transferring Henry to the 3rd Cavalry and Whitside to the 5th Cavalry at Fort Sam Houston. Whitside reported to his new regiment in Texas on 4 November, his fourth new duty station in eighteen months. Despite the controversial manner in which he was assigned, Whitside likely was pleased to be working for Colonel Wade, for the two had served together as lieutenants in K Company, 6th Cavalry, during General McClellan's Peninsular campaign thirty-three years earlier. Colonel Whitside likely found his duties at Fort Sam Houston similar to those at Fort Riley. He commanded a squadron on practice marches and target ranges, he commanded the regiment and the post in Colonel Wade's absence, and commanded troops while working with the Texas Volunteer Guards. According to the department inspector general, Lieutenant Colonel

Lawton, Whitside's performance in command was exemplary; "Lt. Col. Whitside should be commended for his zeal and interest in the practical instruction of his command, and for efficiency of his command in the exercises witnessed by the inspector."<sup>13</sup>

In the summer of 1897, Colonel Wade was promoted to brigadier general and took command of the Department of Texas from the retiring Major General Z. R. Bliss. The day prior to relinquishing command General Bliss took the opportunity to personally thank Lieutenant Colonel Whitside for his services.

I desire to express to you my appreciation of the able manner in which you have performed the varied and important duties that have devolved upon you as temporary commander of the post of Sam Houston, and the battalion of Cavalry and Infantry both on marches in the field and in the encampment at Tyler, Texas, when you were in camp with the Texas militia.

Your efficiency has always commanded my approval and praise, and your genial disposition and personal accomplishments have endeared you to all, both civil and military, with whom you have been brought in contact. I sincerely hope that you may soon receive increased rank, and I am certain that your troops will be proud to serve under you, and the government will be fortunate in having so experienced, able, and just a commander of one of its regiments.<sup>14</sup>

Following Wade's promotion, Whitside continued to command the regiment and post for six months until the 5th Cavalry's new commander, Colonel Louis H. Carpenter, arrived in October. As soon as the new colonel reported for duty, Whitside departed on leave for four months travelling with his family to Nashville, Tennessee. By the time Whitside returned from leave on 24 February 1898, war with Spain appeared evermore likely.<sup>15</sup>

### The Spanish American War

When the United States declared war with Spain on 25 April Congress passed the Hull bill calling up 125,000 volunteers and more than doubling the size of the regular Army by increasing the enlisted authorization to 61,000. As troops began mobilizing for war, Colonel Carpenter was promoted to brigadier general in the U.S. Volunteers, and Lieutenant Colonel Whitside, then fifty-nine years old, again assumed command of the regiment.<sup>16</sup> Von Steuben's

instructions to commandant's of regiments in the Continental Army aptly apply to Whitside almost a century and a quarter later as he prepared the 5th Cavalry for war.

The state having entrusted him with the care of a regiment, his greatest ambition should be to have it at all times and in every respect as complete as possible. . . .

In a word, the commanding officer of a regiment must preserve the strictest discipline and order in his corps, obliging every officer to a strict performance of his duty, without relaxing in the smallest point; punishing impartially the faults that are committed, without distinction of rank or service.<sup>17</sup>

Whitside, who rarely wrote personal letters, found time to pen a response on 5th U.S. Cavalry stationary to his niece, Nellie Whitside Heath, in Ontario, Canada. His letter provides great insight into the lieutenant colonel's feelings on the War with Spain, the mission of his regiment, his desires for his eldest son to not enter the Army, and his intentions to retire when eligible.

Fort Sam Houston  
San Antonio, Texas  
May 4, 98

Dear Nellie;

Our country has now embarked on a war with a fourth rate barbarous and cruel country for humanity sake and the blowing up of one of our battle ships in the peaceful harbor of Havana destroying the valuable lives of two hundred and sixty of our sailors. There can be but one result which will be victory after victory with our forces, and the humiliation of the proud and haughty [*sic*] Spanish nation. It may be that after one or two more of their naval fleets are destroyed in the same manner as the one at Manilla [*sic*] May 1st they may then realize the inevitable which would induce the Queen to come down off of her perch and give the Cubans their freedom with certain indemnity to us for the destruction of the Maine & the expense of the war. We will say go in peace and call off your dogs of war. In all of our trouble with Spain, old England has done beautifully and sustained our government in every particular. It is my opinion that England & America united we can defeat the world in battle.

Your Aunt Carrie is at her home in Nashville, Tennessee. She has been here with me, but had to leave as the climate did not agree with her. Our youngest child Victor a fine boy eleven years old is with his mother going to school. Madeline our only daughter and a very sunny lovely girl sixteen years of age is attending a school in Philadelphia. Warren who was born (unfortunately) in Canada, now past twenty two, is a student at Washington and Lee University at Lexington, Virginia, will graduate and take his degree in a few days. I had a letter from him yesterday in which he informs me that it is his intention to respond to the President's call and enter the Volunteer Army at once. I am distressed that he had decided on such a course as I am desirous for him to engage in business or select some profession in civil life as one member of a family at a time is enough to be in the Army.

My regiment has been left on duty here to guard the Mexican border & prevent raids into Texas by Spanish people from the Mexican side, as you know the Mexicans are Spanish decedents [*sic*] & many of them sympathize with Spain and will probably try to raise red in some of the small Texas towns near the border. Should the war continue any length of time & it is found necessary to send any large force over into Cuba, I will undoubtedly go with my regiment and assist in driving the Spanish forces out of Cuba. I have requested to command the first cavalry to land in Cuba as I feel confident with my regiment of twelve hundred finely trained Cavalrymen I could easily ride down any Spanish Cavalry I would encounter in Cuba.

I am in command of my regiment & this station which is one of the largest & finest in the Country. I am rapidly growing old but am in the best of health and if necessary ride a horse fifty miles daily for a month or more. . . . I am still in active service, too young to go on the retired list, but hope to do so in about two years more. I would enjoy so much to be with you all again & trust to visit you soon after we balance accounts with Spain. . . .

With best wishes and a great deal of love yours affectionately,  
S. M. Whitside.<sup>18</sup>

Just ten days after writing his niece, Whitside began deploying his troops from their various posts throughout Texas to New Orleans, Louisiana, per department instructions. The regiment formed part of a provisional cavalry brigade in the Fourth Army Corps and remained in New Orleans for little more than a week. On 24 May the regiment moved into camp at Mobile, Alabama, but again was there for just eleven days when it was ordered to Tampa Florida to be transported originally to Cuba and then to Puerto Rico. However, the Army's ability to rapidly move large numbers of troops by rail created a bottleneck at ports where there were insufficient ocean-going vessels available for troop transport. The 5th Cavalry remained in Tampa for two months. With the war quickly coming to a close in Cuba, Lieutenant Colonel Whitside was hopeful in getting his regiment to Puerto Rico before the fighting also concluded there. Whitside's frustration at not being able to get his regiment into the war is evident in an exchange of correspondence with the Adjutant General.<sup>19</sup>

Tampa, Fla.  
July 25, 1898

Adjutant-General, U.S. Army, Washington, DC:

One troop Fifth Cavalry left on 'Morgan' for Porto Rico to-day. The regiment is in readiness to embark as soon as transports arrive. Require two large ships to transport regiment, 1,000 men and horses and 250 mules and wagons. This is the third time the regiment has been under orders to embark on transports, and in behalf of the officers and



men I urgently request that the steamer 'Michigan' and one other large transport expected to reach Port Tampa to-morrow may be assigned to take us to Porto Rico without further delay.

Whitside, Lieutenant-Colonel, Fifth Cavalry, Commanding.<sup>20</sup>

Adjutant-General's Office  
Washington  
July 27, 1898 - 10.40 p.m.

Lieutenant-Colonel Whitside, Fifth Cavalry, Tampa, Fla:

Secretary of War has requested General Miles to return to Port Tampa transports 'Mohawk' and 'Mobile.' When they reach Tampa they will carry your regiment and siege artillery to Porto Rico. The transport 'Michigan' is a refrigerating ship, and will run only between Tampa and Santiago.

H.C. Corbin, Adjutant-General.<sup>21</sup>

Tampa, Fla.  
July 31, 1898

Adjutant-General U.S. Army, Washington, DC:

On account of the rapid increase of typhoid and malarial fever in this regiment, I urgently recommend that the first suitable transports arriving at Port Tampa be assigned to transport the regiment to Porto Rico, as an immediate change of climate is necessary to prevent the spread of the fever. The regiment is fully equipped as in every particular ready and anxious for active service, and to keep us here longer is an injustice to as fine a mounted regiment as can be found in the world.

Whitside, Lieutenant-Colonel, Commanding Fifth United States Cavalry.<sup>22</sup>

The Spanish signed an armistice on 12 August, relinquishing their sovereignty over Puerto Rico and Cuba. Unable to transport the regiment overseas in time to actively participate in any of the campaigning, the 2nd Division, Fourth Army Corps, ordered the 5th Cavalry into camp at Huntsville, Alabama. Lieutenant Colonel Whitside arrived at Camp Wheeler on 18 August with 870 men "thoroughly prepared and equipped for field work." Four days later Whitside assumed command of the Provisional Cavalry Brigade.<sup>23</sup>

On 11 October the 10th Cavalry Regiment arrived in camp at Huntsville, fresh from the war in Cuba. Three months earlier these same buffalo soldiers witnessed the surrender of General Toral as Old Glory was run up the flagpole over Santiago. On their return from the campaign, President McKinley ordered the regiment to detrain in Washington, DC where he personally reviewed the troops. Five days after the 10th Cavalry arrived at Camp H. G. Forse in Huntsville, Samuel M. Whitside was promoted to colonel and transferred to this proud regiment. Having just

completed his fortieth year of active service, the new colonel was eligible to be placed on the retirement list if he so desired. However, Whitside had no intentions of relinquishing this pinnacle of command in the cavalry for which he had strived so diligently the previous four decades to reach.<sup>24</sup>

Whitside's new regiment remained in Huntsville for three months at which time they were ordered to Texas where the 10th Cavalry headquartered at Fort Sam Houston and took up the mission of guarding the southern border of the United States by stationing troops at Forts Bliss, Clark, Ringgold, McIntosh, Brown, and Eagle Pass.<sup>25</sup>

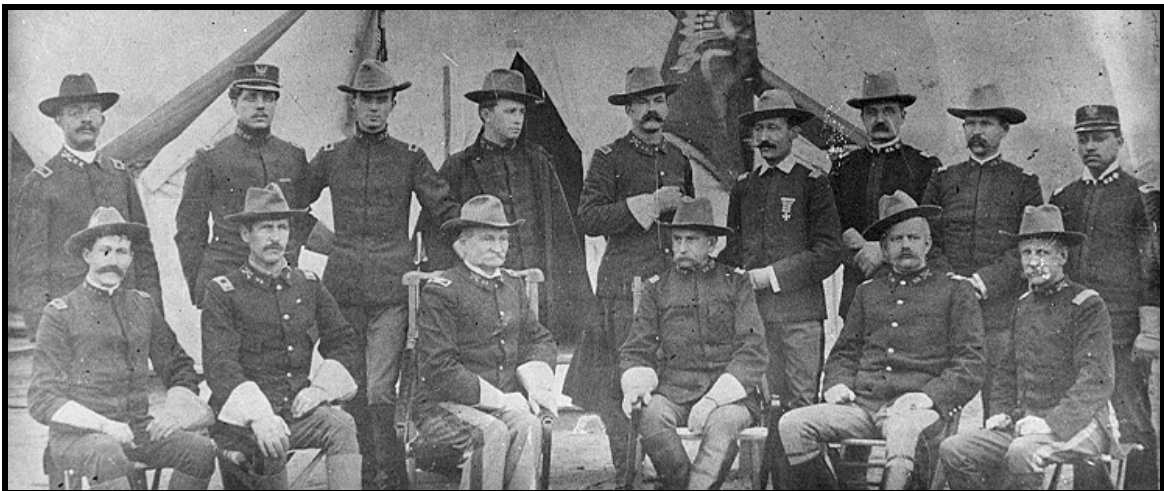


Figure 13. Officers of the 10th Cavalry Regiment in camp at Huntsville, Alabama, 4 January 1899. Seated from left to right: unknown, Capt. J. Bigelow, Col. S. M. Whitside, Maj. T. J. Wint, Capt. C. G. Ayres, Capt. L. P. Hunt. Standing from left to right: Chaplain Anderson, 2nd Lt. P. Reisenger, 2nd Lt. T. A. Roberts, 2nd Lt. H. C. Whitehead, unknown, unknown, unknown Capt. S. D. Freeman, unknown.

Source: Photograph courtesy of the Fort Huachuca Museum.

### Military Occupation in Cuba

The buffalo soldiers had little time to settle into their quarters when the 10th Cavalry was ordered back to Cuba to serve with the Army of occupation. The War Department created the Military Division of Cuba in December 1898 with Major General John R. Brooke commanding.

Initially the Division of Cuba consisted of seven Departments with 24,000 U.S. forces. The number of soldiers occupying Cuba continued to increase to a peak of 45,000, but by the end of 1899 troop strength had been reduced to 11,000. The departments within the Division of Cuba were consolidated so that by the end of 1899 there were three: the Department of Matanzas and Santa Clara, the Department of Western Cuba (Havana and Pinar del Rio), and the Department of Santiago and Puerto Principe. Brigadier General Leonard Wood commanded the latter department.<sup>26</sup>

The 10th Cavalry arrived in May 1899 and the troops were based at several locations within General Wood's department with the headquarters originally located at Manzanillo and later Bayamo, Cuba. In addition to commanding his regiment, Whitside also commanded the District of Santiago within Wood's Department. The sixty-year-old regimental commander likely found it awkward working for Wood, a thirty-nine year old brigadier general in the U.S. Volunteers that still held a captaincy in the regular Army. Wood couldn't help but notice the age difference as well, for his rating of Whitside in 1899 stated, "An excellent officer but too old for service in Cuba." Apparently General Wood's opinion of Colonel Whitside's abilities improved with time. On 20 December 1899 Wood replaced Brooke as the Military Governor of Cuba and was promoted to major general in the U.S. Volunteers. A week later Whitside succeeded Wood as commander of the Department of Santiago and Puerto Principe while continuing on the roles as colonel of the 10th Cavalry Regiment.<sup>27</sup>

The government in Cuba during the occupation was essentially two distinct organizations, one military and the other civil, with the military governor serving as the head of both and answering only to the Secretary of War and the President of the United States. As military governor, General Wood instituted a system of public reforms aimed at establishing adequate public schools, overhauling the Cuban judicial system and local governments, attacking tropical diseases, and carrying out a comprehensive program of public works, which included

building roads, dredging harbors, stringing telegraph wires, paving streets, and installing sewers. The department commanders executed authority over all U.S. troops within their respective districts and supervised civil and municipal authorities as well, making them ultimately responsible for the preservation of law and order in their departments.<sup>28</sup>

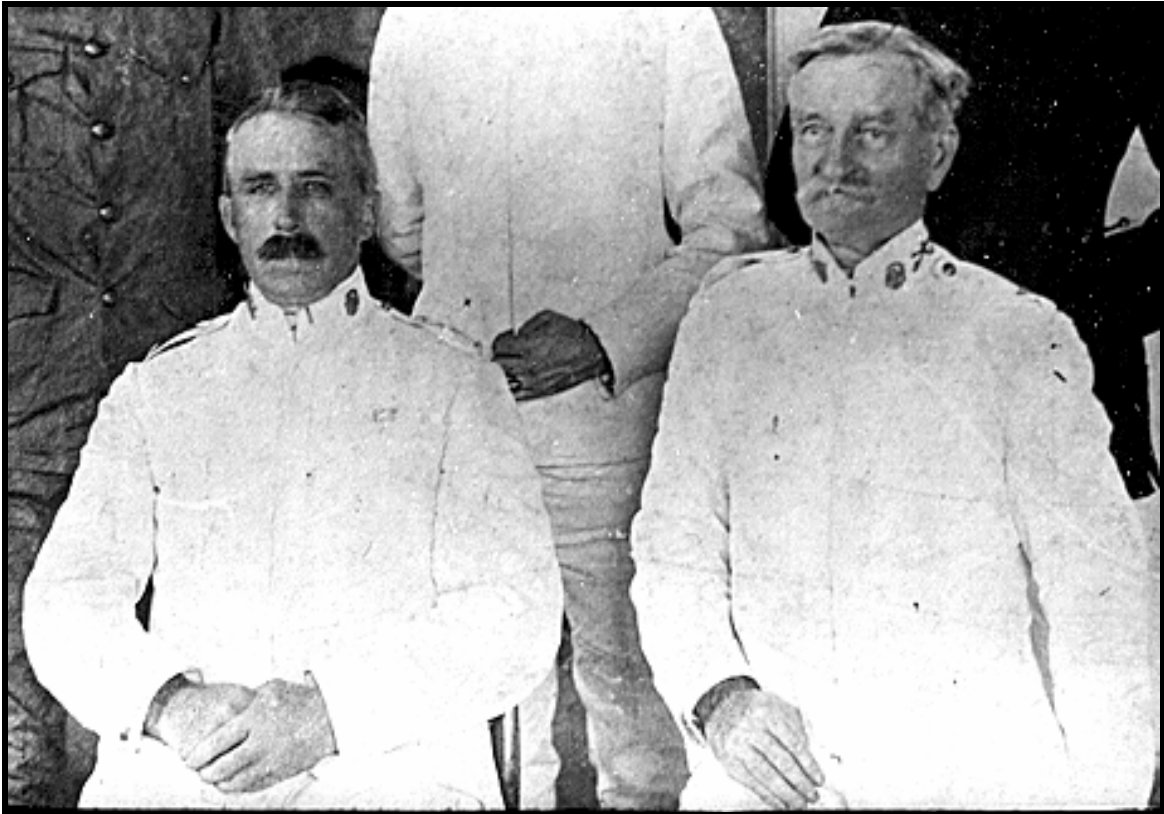


Figure 14. Major General Leonard Wood and Colonel S. M. Whitside in Cuba, circa 1900.  
Source: Photograph courtesy of the Fort Huachuca Museum.

A month after assuming command of his department, Colonel Whitside embarked on a personal inspection of all the posts in his jurisdiction. From February to June Whitside traveled by sea on the U.S. Transport *Wright*, and in the interior by rail, ambulance, and horseback. His inspections assured him “that the troops are efficient and well instructed; that transportation

service is satisfactory; that public property is properly cared for, and that due economy is exercised in all public expenditures.”<sup>29</sup>

Colonel Whitside could not help but notice that his fellow department commanders were brigadier generals in the U.S. Volunteers, and that his predecessor had held that same rank while commanding the department now entrusted to him. Additionally, many of Whitside’s peers were wearing general officers’ stars. One fellow officer that was a year junior in regular rank was Colonel Adna R. Chaffee, who was serving as General Wood’s chief of staff with the rank of brigadier general in the Volunteers. In June Whitside wrote to the adjutant general formally requesting that he be appointed a brigadier general in the Volunteers stating that his “loyal performance of duty for over forty years, in war and peace, from early manhood to nearly the age for retirement, must constitute my claim for the promotion which I ask.”<sup>30</sup> Writing on behalf of oneself, to solicit a promotion would certainly be viewed in today’s Army as self-serving. However, such actions by senior officers were routine in the frontier Army and continued through the turn of the century. As there were no formal promotion boards, officers that did not take their careers into their own hands stood little chance of receiving a presidential appointment. A number of prominent individuals wrote to President McKinley on behalf of Colonel Whitside, among those was his commander, Major General Leonard Wood.

Col. Whitside has had a long and distinguished career, characterized by faithful, honorable and highly meritorious services. Of his services during the past year and a half, I can speak from personal observation and knowledge. He has discharged with singular ability and success the difficult and arduous duties devolving upon the commanding officer of the Department of Santiago and Puerto Principe. His administration of affairs in this province, since he succeeded me in command, has been successful in every way. A condition of excellent order has prevailed, life and property have been secure and steady progress has been made in all directions. The discipline of officers and men has been excellent. The work entrusted to him has been of a difficult character and any lack of judgment, ability or of strict attention of duty would have been followed by more or less trouble in the province. I sincerely recommend him for the promotion referred to.<sup>31</sup>

Whitside continued to write the adjutant general to “request that it [his application to brigadier general] be laid before the President for his consideration. . . . I request that rank commensurate with my responsibilities be accorded me.” During the summer and fall the Division of Cuba underwent several reorganizations that initially increased Colonel Whitside’s span of control. In July the region in his department was enlarged and his command redesignated the Department of Eastern Cuba, but later that fall his bid for a generalship was weakened when the Division of Cuba was downgraded to a department, and the departments likewise downgraded to districts, which were normally commanded by the senior colonel in the region rather than a general officer. However, on 3 January 1901, President McKinley granted Whitside’s request.<sup>32</sup> Word of Whitside’s promotion to the flag rank was well received among the local populace within his district as attested by an article in the *Army and Navy Journal*.

There will be few to cavil at the recent appointment to be Brigadier General of Volunteers of Col. S. M. Whitside, 10th Cav. General Whitside has a splendid record as a cavalry officer and his administration at Santiago, Cuba, for some time past, has excited much admiration. The news was received at Santiago with much rejoicing and many congratulations have been tendered. The sanitary officials there have presented him with a silver service.<sup>33</sup>

One of the officers on General Whitside’s staff was his son, Second Lieutenant Warren W. Whitside. Lieutenant W. W. Whitside had accepted a commission in the infantry on 10 April 1899, contrary to his father’s desires for him to go into civil business. Likely at the request of his father, Lieutenant Whitside was transferred to the 10th Cavalry the following month. When the elder Whitside ascended to command of the Department of Santiago and Puerto Principe, he placed his son in a departmental staff position as the superintendent of charities and corrections. When S. M. Whitside was appointed a brigadier general he designated his son, Warren, as his aide-de-camp, not an unheard of practice for that era. Lieutenant Whitside continued to serve on his father’s staff until the general retired.<sup>34</sup>



Figure 15. Brigadier General Samuel M. Whitside, U.S.V.: Commander, District of Santiago de Cuba, and his son and aide-de-camp, First Lieutenant Warren W. Whitside, 10th Cavalry, 1901. Source: Photograph courtesy of Mr. Gregory K. Miller of Grass Valley, California, a great grandson of S. M. Whitside.

January 1901 brought more than just a promotion to celebrate in the Whitside family. General Whitside's son, Warren, was married on 10 January in Manzanillo, Cuba, to Miss Lillian

Rigney, the twenty-one year old daughter of Joseph and Teresa Rigney. The Rigneys were one of the wealthiest residents on the island and had befriended the Whitside's the previous year. The matrimonial festivities were a tremendous affair for the entire Province of Santiago with the 10th Cavalry band performing during the ceremonies, which occurred at Mr. and Mrs. Rigney's estate.<sup>35</sup>

Three weeks after receiving his generalship in the Volunteers, Whitside again wrote to the adjutant general requesting, "that the President appoint me a Brigadier General in the regular army of the United States." In summarizing his career, Whitside went on to state, "There are but two line officers in the army who, exclusive of cadet service, have as long a record of continuous service." Continuing, he pointed out that, "Only two brigadiers of the regular service . . . rose from the enlisted ranks of the regular army." Whitside concluded by stating, "I retire in less than two years by operation of law, and my promotion will thus interfere with the advancement of no younger man."<sup>36</sup>

General Whitside likely knew that Secretary of War Elihu Root was pressing to disband the U.S. Volunteers, a move that would return Whitside to the rank of colonel. Whitside wrote to Secretary Root in March submitting an "unsought" letter from Major General Wood and requesting, "you lay it before the President with such recommendation as you from personal acquaintance or observation during your recent inspection can make." Wood echoed his earlier remarks basing his recommendation "upon General Whitsides [*sic*] age, his rank in the regular service, his length of service, his excellent record in the past and his able and efficient services in Cuba." In June the War Department did disband the Volunteers, honorably discharging all officers and reverting them to their rank in the regular Army. General Wood was more fortunate than most, as the president had promoted Wood from a captain to a brigadier general in the regular Army several months earlier, ensuring that the military governor maintained seniority over his district commanders. Most of the Army's senior leaders, and many in the civilian



community were astounded that President McKinley would promote a company grade physician to general over 509 more senior officers. An editorial that ran in the *New York Evening Post* summed up the feelings of many officers.<sup>37</sup>

We do not believe that any other service in the world would reward an army doctor with the rank of brigadier-general because of military duties comprising, in all, eight weeks in the command of a volunteer cavalry regiment. Whatever may have been Gen. Wood's services in Santiago and Cuba, they have been civilian, diplomatic, and administrative, and have in no way fitted him for the military position to which he is now appointed . . . We have yet to hear of an officer who does not regard his advancement as a slap at the service and a premium upon military ignorance and incapacity.<sup>38</sup>

Unknown is Whitside's feelings toward General Wood's promotion. One can understand if Whitside was chagrined at the meteoric rise of this medical captain who now wore the star of a regular Army general after only fifteen years of service when he, as one of the senior colonels in the cavalry, had over forty-two years of continuous service and only recently was adorned with a brigadier's star, and that in the U.S. Volunteers. If Whitside did harbor any resentment, he kept it to himself, for in September General Wood, at Whitside's request, wrote a letter to the new President "cordially" recommending him for "favorable consideration."<sup>39</sup>

By January 1902 Colonel Whitside, just a year from mandatory retirement, was now the senior officer in the cavalry. The previous February the citizens of his district presented the general with a testimonial of gratitude for the "able, calm and liberal control of the District of Santiago de Cuba." He continued in command in Santiago remaining in the good graces of the Cuban citizenry as evidenced by a letter Whitside wrote to his niece.<sup>40</sup>

The citizens here gave me a very large reception & ball on the evening of December 28th in honor of my return [from leave]. It was the grandest entertainment given since we came to Cuba. The people here regardless of their political views have the warmest and kindest feelings for me, which feelings I highly appreciate as I have always tried to be just to all persons, who I have had any dealings with.<sup>41</sup>

However, Whitside's command came to an end in May when the United States Government dissolved the Department of Cuba and turned the island nation over to self-rule. The officers of the Military Government of Cuba were reassigned to Washington, DC where they

concluded any unfinished business from their former positions. As Colonel Whitside returned to the United States, he held out one last hope to again hold the rank of a general officer. The War Department was promoting Civil War veterans both in recognition of their long and honorable services, and as a way of inducing these aging officers to retire of their own accord. General order number nine, dated 6 February 1901, announced a congressional act designed to “increase the efficiency of the permanent military establishment of the United States.” This law authorized the President to “select from the brigadier-generals of volunteers two volunteer officers, without regard to age, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appoint them brigadier-generals, United States Army, for the purpose of placing them on the retired list.” On 2 June the senate confirmed Whitside’s nomination for promotion to brigadier general in the regular Army filling a vacancy left when Brigadier General Abraham A. Harbach retired on 29 May less than a week after being promoted himself. In perhaps General Whitside’s first and only official duty as a flag officer in the regular Army, he presented President Roosevelt with a large Cuban battle flag on behalf of the officers of the 6th Guantanamo Regiment.<sup>42</sup>

General Whitside realized that his promotion was due in part to his agreement to retire, and on 9 June he wrote to the adjutant general. It is evident from Whitside’s request for retirement that he still desired to serve his nation as a general officer for as long as he could.

Having been appointed a Brigadier General I most respectfully request that I may be allowed to continue on the active list until January next, when I will be sixty four years old.

In the event, however, that my application . . . is not favorably considered by the President, I request to be retired, having served more than forty three years.<sup>43</sup>

Whitside received a response from the adjutant general’s office the same day. “By direction of the Secretary of War, the retirement from active service by the President, June 9, 1902, of Brigadier General Samuel M. Whitside, U.S. Army, at this own request . . . he having served more than forty years, is announced.”<sup>44</sup>

## Retirement

S. M. Whitside moved to Bethesda, Maryland, with his wife, Carrie, and their fifteen-year-old son, Victor. However, the retired general likely found his new life rather sedentary after forty-three years in the cavalry, and within two years, Whitside again answered the call to serve his country. In 1904 he traveled to the Isthmus of Panama with the House Committee for Interstate and Foreign Commerce, chaired by the Honorable William P. Hepburn. The committee sailed out of New York on the U.S. Army Transport *Sumner* traveling first to Santiago de Cuba where they were royally received. Whitside no doubt reveled in his return to the island nation where he had commanded at the zenith of his military career, and was certainly well received by the Cuban citizenry. They continued on to Panama where President Amador and his cabinet cordially received the committee members. After inspecting the proposed route for the new canal, the congressional delegation met with Secretary of War William H. Taft in Colon before returning to the United States. Later the congressmen would agree that Samuel Whitside had endeared himself to them through his “sociability and kindness.”<sup>45</sup>

Whitside returned to Washington, DC in the evening on 14 December and decided to stay the night there before heading home to Carrie and Victor in Maryland. He checked into the Ebbitt House at nine o’clock and retired to bed around midnight. At four thirty in the morning Whitside called for assistance, and when medical personnel arrived they determined that he was suffering from acute indigestion. He died a half hour later.<sup>46</sup>

Two days after Whitside’s death, the House of Representatives’ Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce adopted two resolutions, one in respect to the memory of General Whitside and the other testifying to the appreciation of the members of that committee “of his qualities as a soldier and a man.” The chairman appointed a sub-committee to attend the general’s funeral on behalf of all the members. Representatives I. P. Wagner, of Pennsylvania,

and T. B. Kyle, of Ohio, were the two attendees and placed a floral tribute on the general's casket.<sup>47</sup>

The sixty-five year old retired brigadier general was laid to rest with full military honors on 18 December at Arlington National Cemetery. Funeral services were held at St. John's Episcopal Church in Washington, DC. By coincidence, the 1st squadron of the 7th Cavalry Regiment had recently been assigned to Fort Myer, Virginia, in recognition of its gallant services during the Sioux campaign of 1890--'91 under the command of then Major S. M. Whitside. Major W. J. Nicholson, who as a lieutenant had served as Whitside's adjutant at Wounded Knee, now commanded the squadron. The general's former unit undoubtedly took great pride in escorting Whitside's body to Arlington and paying their last respects to one of the regiments' Indian War veterans. A caparisoned horse with boots reversed in the stirrups solemnly followed a black caisson, upon which rested the general in a flag draped casket. Behind the riderless horse in the funeral cortege were seven honorary pallbearers. The first was the Army Chief of Staff, Lieutenant General A. R. Chaffee, who had enlisted as a private in the newly formed 6th Cavalry in 1861 when Whitside was the regimental sergeant major. Next was Major General (retired) J. R. Brooke, who as the commanding general of the Department of the Platte, ordered Whitside to Wounded Knee, and under whom Whitside originally served in Cuba. The other pallbearers included Commissary General J. F. Weston, Quartermaster General Charles F. Humphrey, Brigadier General R. T. Frank, Brigadier General R. H. Hall, and lastly, Major J. B. Aleshire, who later served as the Quartermaster General.<sup>48</sup>

General Whitside's widow, Carrie, had already endured the tremendous grief of losing four of her children, and now suffered the pain of burying her husband. The Whitside family mourned the general's death for the next year, refraining from attending social events. Even the following October at the marriage of Mrs. Whitside's only daughter, Madeline, to a young cavalry lieutenant, Archibald Miller, the ceremony was a small affair with only the most intimate

friends and family. Following the wedding, there was no reception “owing to the deep mourning of the family.” Carrie Whitside had plenty of time to grieve as she survived her husband by more than three decades. Unfortunately, General Whitside was not the last loved one that Mrs. Whitside survived. In 1919 she mourned the loss of her youngest child, Victor, a cavalry major who died of influenza that February while serving in Europe during the armistice following World War I. Little more than two years later, Mrs. Whitside comforted her daughter, Madeline, at the graveside of her husband, Lieutenant Colonel Miller, who was killed in a plane crash. Carrie Whitside died at Walter Reed General Hospital on 7 December 1936 at the age of ninety-one, and was buried next to her husband and their son, Victor.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Adjutant General’s Office, Special Orders Number 135 dated 9 June 1902, (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, Pension Application # 819.916, Certificate # 587.095, “Whitside Box”).

<sup>2</sup>National Archives, “Regiment Returns,” Roll 74.

<sup>3</sup>Von Steuben, *Regulations*, 132.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*; AGO, “Statement of Service.”

<sup>5</sup>National Archives, “Regiment Returns,” Roll 74; James W. Forsyth to Samuel M. Whitside, dated 13 June 1893, (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, Pension Application # 819.916, Certificate # 587.095, “Whitside Box”).

<sup>6</sup>National Archives, “Regiment Returns,” Roll 74; Coffman, *Old Army*, 371; Marcus R. Erlandson “Guy V. Henry: A Study in Leadership,” (MMAS thesis, Fort Leavenworth: Command and General Staff College, 1985) 125, 126, and 135.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*; National Archives, “Regiment Returns,” Roll 74; AGO, “Statement of Service.”

<sup>8</sup>Samuel M. Whitside to Adjutant General, United States Army, dated 20 September 1894, (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, Pension Application # 819.916, Certificate # 587.095, “Whitside Box”). The text is underlined exactly as Whitside originally wrote the letter.

<sup>9</sup>National Archives, “Regiment Returns,” Roll 33; National Archives, “Post Returns,” Roll 216; AGO, “Statement of Service.”

<sup>10</sup>Erlandson, “Guy V. Henry,” 138 and 156.

<sup>11</sup>*Army and Navy Journal*, 5, 12, 26 October and 2 November 1895, 70; Erlandson, "Guy V. Henry," 138 and 156; Constance Wynn Altshuler, *Cavalry Yellow & Infantry Blue: Army Officers in Arizona between 1851 and 1886*, (Tucson: The Arizona Historical Society), 367. Another irony in the controversy between Whitside and Henry came when the Inspector General conducted an investigation of the post between 8 and 13 October. According to Erlandson, the inspecting officer reported that Colonel Henry was a "zealous, able and accomplished officer," and concluded that Jefferson Barracks "is ably commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Guy V. Henry." The inspector was Major E. A. Garlington who had received the Medal of Honor for distinguished gallantry at the Battle of Wounded Knee while serving as a lieutenant in Whitside's battalion.

<sup>12</sup>George D. Ruggles, Adjutant General, to Whitside on 14 October 1895 as quoted in *Army and Navy Journal*, 2 November 1895.

<sup>13</sup>*Army and Navy Journal*, 26 October 1895; National Archives, "Regiment Returns," Roll 56; AGO, "Statement of Service."

<sup>14</sup>Z. R. Bliss to Samuel M. Whitside, dated 21 May 1897, (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, Pension Application # 819.916, Certificate # 587.095, "Whitside Box").

<sup>15</sup>National Archives, "Post Returns," Roll 1079; National Archives, "Regiment Returns," Roll 56. Whitside lists his leave address as #1709, West End Avenue, Nashville, Tenn.

<sup>16</sup>Robert Wooster, *Nelson A. Miles and the Twilight of the Frontier Army*, (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln & London, 1993), 215; National Archives, "Regiment Returns," Roll 56.

<sup>17</sup>Von Steuben, *Regulations*, 128--131.

<sup>18</sup>Samuel M. Whitside to Nellie J. Heath, 4 May 1898, transcript in the hand of S. M. Whitside, Robert L. Whitside private collection, Ontario.

<sup>19</sup>National Archives, "Regiment Returns," Roll 56.

<sup>20</sup>Center for Military History, *Correspondence Relating to the War with Spain Including the Insurrection in the Philippine Islands and the China Relief Expedition, April 15, 1898--July 30, 1902, Volume I*, (Washington, DC: 1993) 317.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, 326.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, 340 and 341.

<sup>23</sup>Wooster, *Nelson A. Miles*, 228; National Archives, "Regiment Returns," Roll 56.

<sup>24</sup>Major E. L. N. Glass, *The History of the Tenth Cavalry: 1866--1921*, (Ft. Collins: The Old Army Press, 1972), 38--39; National Archives, "Regiment Returns," Roll 99; AGO, "Statement of Service."

<sup>25</sup>National Archives, "Regiment Returns," Roll 99.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid.; David F. Healy, *The United States in Cuba, 1898--1902*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1963), 57--58.

<sup>27</sup>Glass, *Tenth Cavalry*, 39--40; Luis F. Sfeir-Younis, "State Formation in the Periphery: The United States Military Occupation of Cuba and Puerto Rico, 1898--1902," (PhD diss, University of Michigan, 1989), 382; AGO, "Statement of Service."

<sup>28</sup>Healy, *United States in Cuba*, 56 and 179--186; Sfeir-Younis, "State Formation in the Periphery," 359.

<sup>29</sup>National Archives, "Annual Reports," Roll 107, 287--290. This annual report of the War Department includes the "Report of Col. Samuel M. Whitside, Commanding the Department of Santiago and Puerto Principe" dated 30 June 1900.

<sup>30</sup>Whitside to AGO, dated 2 June 1900.

<sup>31</sup>Leonard Wood to President of the United States, dated 26 September 1900, (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, Pension Application # 819.916, Certificate # 587.095, "Whitside Box").

<sup>32</sup>Whitside to AGO, dated 1 October 1900; National Archives, "Annual Reports," Roll 119, 282

<sup>33</sup>*Army and Navy Journal*, 12 January 1901.

<sup>34</sup>Adjutant General's Office, *Official Army Register, December 1, 1918*. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918), 208; National Archives, "Annual Reports," Roll 117, 10--11; National Archives, "Regiment Returns," Roll 100.

<sup>35</sup>*Army and Navy Journal*, 12 January 1901; Sfeir-Younis, "State Formation in the Periphery," 359; *New York Times*, 12 January 1901; Joseph Rigney to Colonel Whitside, 4 May 1900, typed text with original signature of Joseph Rigney on letterhead of The Central Teresa Sugar Co. Plantation and Works at Ceiba Hueca, Manzanillo, Cuba, (Samuel L. Russell private collection, Leavenworth). Joseph Rigney was an entrepreneur from New Haven, Connecticut, that had invested his life's savings into the purchase of a sugar plantation in 1886. In the mid to late nineteenth century, Cuba was the chief sugar producer in the world. However, sugar plantations were the primary targets of Cuban insurgents from 1895--1898, and Rigney's business suffered substantial losses. He wrote to Whitside in May 1900 stating, "we worked along in a most discouraging way during 95 and 96, and were compelled to lose the two crops of 97 and 98; our cane fields were burned by the insurgents three times, they have depreciated tremendously in consequence." Despite his losses, Rigney's plantation was already rebounding from the stability the military government provided, and by 1901 he was considered a millionaire proprietor of the Central Teresa Sugar Company Plantation and Works.

<sup>36</sup>Whitside to AGO, dated 21 January 1901.

<sup>37</sup>Samuel M. Whitside to Elihu Root, Secretary of War, dated 12 March 1901, (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, Pension Application # 819.916, Certificate # 587.095, "Whitside Box"); Hermann Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood: A Biography*, Volume I, (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1931), 136--145. Leonard Wood had served as President McKinley's personal physician up to the point that he and his good friend, Teddy Roosevelt, were given a volunteer regiment of mounted riflemen from Arizona.

<sup>38</sup>Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood*, 336.

<sup>39</sup>Leonard Wood to President of the United States, dated 22 September 1901, (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, Pension Application # 819.916, Certificate # 587.095, "Whitside Box"). This letter was dated barely a week after Theodore Roosevelt was sworn in as the twenty-sixth President of the United States following the assassination of William McKinley. Leonard Wood obviously had a rapport with his fellow Rough Rider and new Commander in Chief.

<sup>40</sup>*Army and Navy Journal*, 4 January 1902; AGO, "Statement of Service."

<sup>41</sup>Samuel M. Whitside to Nellie J. Heath, 2 January 1902, transcript in the hand of S. M. Whitside, Robert L. Whitside private collection, Ontario.

<sup>42</sup>Whitside to AGO, dated 9 June 1902; Adjutant General's Office, General Orders No. 9 dated 6 February 1901, (available on line at the Center for Military History, <http://www.army.mil/cmh-pg/documents/1901/WDGO9-1901.htm>, accessed 27 September 2001); *Army and Navy Journal*, 31 May, 7 and 14 June 1902.

<sup>43</sup>Whitside to the AGO, 9 June 1902.

<sup>44</sup>AGO, Special Orders Number 135, dated 9 June 1902.

<sup>45</sup>*Army and Navy Journal*, 17 December 1904.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid.; H. C. Burch to General Ainsworth, 15 December 1904, (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, Pension Application # 819.916, Certificate # 587.095, "Whitside Box"). Mr. H. C. Burch was the manager of the Ebbitt House and wrote the following letter to General Ainsworth at the War Department the morning of Whitside's death.

Dear Sir, General Samuel M. Whitside arrived at the Ebbitt last evening, was taken suddenly ill this morning and died a few minutes before five o'clock.

I notified General Huxford of Gen. Whitside's death, but General Huxford is ill and confined to his bed and requested me to notify you.

I have tried to reach Mrs. Whitside by phone but cannot do so and will be glad if you will notify her.

Very truly yours, H. C. Burch, Manager.

<sup>47</sup>*Army and Navy Journal*, 24 December 1904.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid.; Arlington National Cemetery, "Arlington National Cemetery Website: Biographies," (<http://www.arlingtoncemetery.com/>, accessed 5 April 2002).



<sup>49</sup>*Army and Navy Register*, 21 October 1905; Certificate of Death, Carrie McG Whitside, 22 January 1937, District of Columbia, (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, Pension Application # 819.916, Certificate # 587.095, “Whitside Box”).

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSIONS

Brigadier General Samuel M. Whitside was not one of the great generals of his time. He was not a brilliant strategist nor noted author of doctrine. Although a combat veteran, he was not hailed as a courageous fighter nor formally recognized with medals of valor or brevets for gallantry. General Whitside was a consummate professional soldier who proudly served his nation selflessly for more than four decades, in war and peace. He rose through the ranks from private to brigadier general, enduring a stagnant promotion system based primarily on seniority, ultimately being appointed a flag officer at the twilight of his career in recognition of his many years of honorable service. In today's parlance, he could be called a successful due-course-officer who continued to serve his nation for as long as his nation would have him.

Following his death, the general was mourned and revered by his family, but history and the public have largely forgotten the lifetime of selfless service this cavalry officer provided to his country. Historians occasionally reexamine Samuel Whitside's role as a battalion commander at Wounded Knee, and the Fort Huachuca Museum diligently keeps alive the memory of the post's first years under Whitside's command. However, the majority of Whitside's four decades in uniform exist almost exclusively in the regimental and post returns buried in the nations archives, as is the case with all but a few of the exceptional officers of the frontier Army.

General Whitside's career may, at first glance, seem of little historical significance. But in light of the increased attrition rate among officers within today's armed forces, his lifetime of dedication to duty and country can serve as an example of selfless service to the officer corps of the objective force. Some of the best and brightest officers of today's Army are leaving the military at alarming rates. Among the reasons for resigning their commissions or retiring from active duty, many officers cite frequent deployments, extended family separations, substandard military living conditions, and lower wages compared to the private sector. During General

Whitside's career he experienced one of the largest post-war drawdowns, which was highlighted by pay cuts and a stagnant promotion system. Whitside spent the majority of his career at remote locations in Texas such as Camps Austin, Sherman, Jacksboro, and Livingston, and Forts Richardson, Belknap, Griffin, and Clark, and in the Arizona Territory such as Camps Lowell, Huachuca, Thomas, and Fort Apache. His wife, Carrie, always by his side even at these remote frontier outposts, bore him seven children, four of whom they mournfully buried at various locations across the continent. He was injured or ill numerous times. Yet, in the face of all these hardships during the rigors of command in the frontier Army, he continued to serve his nation selflessly.<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps General Whitside's greatest legacy to his country was the example of selfless service that he set for his family. Numerous of General Whitside's descendants for four generations have answered the call to serve their nation in the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and the Air Force, inspired, not in small part, by the example of this career cavalry officer. Of his three children who lived to adulthood, all carried on the military tradition in their own way. After the general retired, his eldest son, Warren, returned to D Troop, 10th Cavalry, where he commanded the unit at Fort Robinson, Nebraska. He later transferred to the 15th Cavalry Regiment and served at Fort Ethan Allen, Vermont, and Fort Myer, Virginia, his post at the time of his father's death. W. W. Whitside was promoted to captain in the cavalry in 1906. In 1912 he was detailed to the Quartermaster Corps and assigned to Front Royal, Virginia, to establish a remount depot. After four years, Captain W. W. Whitside returned to the 10th Cavalry in March 1916 and served under General John J. Pershing during the Punitive Expedition against Mexican General Francisco 'Pancho' Villa. In 1917 he was promoted to major of cavalry in May and to the temporary rank of lieutenant colonel of field artillery in August. During that summer, Whitside served as the acting post Quartermaster at Fort Riley. As the nation began mobilizing for war, Major General Leonard Wood was charged with standing up the 89th Division at Camp

Funston and selected Whitside to be his division Quartermaster. The division deployed to France in June 1918, and in July Whitside took command of the 314th Division Trains and was promoted to temporary colonel. He commanded the trains, which included the ammunition train, supply train, and military police, during the St. Mihiel and Meuse-Argonne offensives and during the occupation of Germany. Colonel Whitside returned with the 89th Division to Fort Riley, where he served until 1925. While at Riley, he established a camp, later named in his honor, for training National Guard units. His next assignment was as the Quartermaster of the Panama Canal Department where he served under Major General Malin Craig. Next he served in Washington, DC at the Quartermaster General's office.<sup>2</sup>



Figure 16. Colonel Warren W. Whitside with Major General Malin Craig and their wives at Fort Clayton, Panama. Craig and Whitside had been playmates at Camp Huachuca as toddlers. Source: Photograph courtesy of Mrs. Ann S. Russell of Cornwall, New York .

Whitside returned to Front Royal in 1934 as the commander of the Remount Depot he had established twenty-two years earlier. He retired in November 1939 at the age of sixty-four after more than forty years of service. His military awards included the Distinguished Service Medal, the Croix de Guerre with two gold stars, the Pacification Medal, the Cuban Occupation Medal, World War I Medal with three combat stars, and the World War I Army of Occupation Medal (Germany). Colonel Warren W. Whitside died on 3 October 1964 and is buried in Arlington National Cemetery.<sup>3</sup>



Figure 17. Second Lieutenant Victor M. Whitside, circa 1910.  
Source: Photograph courtesy of the U.S. Army Military History Institute at Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania.

S. M. Whitside's other son, Victor, also joined the cavalry when he was appointed a second lieutenant on 25 September 1908. He was promoted to first lieutenant in December 1915, captain in May 1917, and temporary major in the Signal Corps in September 1917. Victor

Whitside also served in the 89th Division along with his older brother, Warren, during World War I, where he was assigned to the 354th Infantry Regiment as part of the 177th Infantry Brigade. While serving with the Army of Occupation in Coblenz, Germany, he died of influenza on 3 February 1919. Major Victor M. Whitside is buried in Arlington National Cemetery beside his mother and father.<sup>4</sup>

Madeline, General Whitside's only daughter to survive to adulthood, also served in the Army in her own way when she married Lieutenant Archie Miller, an officer in the 6th Cavalry, on 18 October 1905 in Washington, DC. The couple was stationed in the Philippines where Lieutenant Miller was engaged in action on Patian Island against hostile Moros on 2 July 1909, combat for which he was later awarded the Medal of Honor.<sup>5</sup>

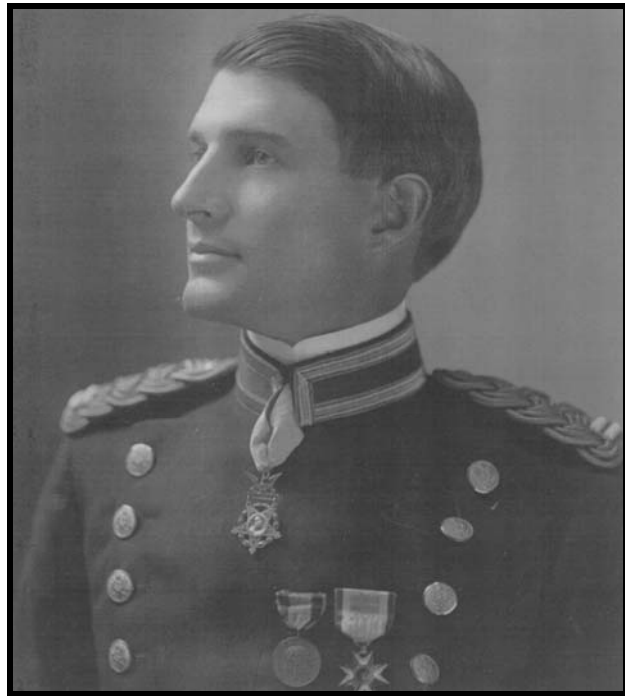


Figure 18. Captain Archie Miller after being presented the Medal of Honor by President William H. Taft in a ceremony at the Whitehouse on 23 November 1912. Source: Photograph courtesy of Mr. Gregory K. Miller of Grass Valley, California, a grandson of Archie Miller and great grandson of Samuel M. Whitside.

Archie Miller was promoted to captain in April 1911, temporary major in August 1917, temporary lieutenant colonel in the Signal Corps two months later, and finally temporary colonel in the Signal Corps in September 1918. During World War I, Miller was the commanding officer at Kelly Field and later at the aviation field at Waco, Texas, and Camp Greene, North Carolina. In July 1918, Lieutenant Colonel Miller was placed in charge of all the air service activities on Long Island, New York. As a member of the Army Air Service, Miller participated in the New York to Toronto and return air race and the transcontinental race. Tragically, Madeline became an Army widow when the Curtiss-Eagle ambulance airplane in which Lieutenant Colonel Miller was flying crashed during an electrical storm at Morgantown, Maryland, on 28 May 1921, killing the pilot and all six passengers. Colonel Miller was buried in Arlington National Cemetery. Madeline survived her husband by forty-three years never remarrying, and following her death on 21 May 1964, she was buried next to him. In 1970, Madeline's sister-in-law, Lillian, the last surviving Whitside of that generation, was also buried in Arlington next to her husband, Colonel Warren W. Whitside, after her death on 6 July.<sup>6</sup>

Samuel Whitside's two grandsons also devoted their lives to the military, one in the Army and the other in the Navy. Additionally, all three of General Whitside's granddaughters would marry career Army officers. This tradition of service to the nation continued on into the third and fourth generations. In all, the military careers of General Whitside's descendants and their spouses amount to more than 350 years of total service to the nation. Appendix B details General S. M. Whitside's descendants and highlights those who served in the military.<sup>7</sup>

General Whitside's career was typical of a professional cavalry officer in the frontier Army. The cavalymen and their families of that time period endured life at isolated outposts, often living under canvas until they were able to build their own quarters, usually with their own money. Their income was under constant scrutiny by Congress and occasionally reduced or even withheld.<sup>8</sup> The lack of an early retirement plan coupled with a seniority based promotion system

kept officers from advancing to positions of increased responsibility except in time of war, forcing many to spend decades in a single rank. Most officers detested the duties of reconstruction and Indian pacification, not all that different from the feelings of today's officers toward peacekeeping missions and stability and support operations. And yet, through all these tribulations, the professional, career oriented officer corps continued to serve their nation and their fellow countrymen. A century after his retirement from the Army, Brigadier General Samuel M. Whitside's lifetime in uniform is still representative of such professionalism and stands as a hallmark of selfless service to not only his descendants, but more importantly, to all military officers serving and yet to serve.

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<sup>1</sup> AGO "Statement of Service;" Orville A. Cochran, "Samuel Marmaduke Whitside: Trooper to Brigadier General, United States Cavalry 1839--1904 (A Biographical Resume of the Founder of Fort Huachuca, Arizona)," (Fort Huachuca, 1964), 6.

<sup>2</sup> National Archives, "Regiment Returns," Roll 100; *Army and Navy Register*, 17 December 1904; Unidentified newspaper, Front Royal, Virginia 8 October 1964; Beth F. Scott, James C. Rainey, and Andrew W. Hunt, eds., *The Logistics of War: a Historical Perspective*, (Maxwell Air Force Base: The Air Force Logistics Management Agency, 2000), 49 and 50; Adjutant General's Office, *Official Army Register, December 1, 1918*, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918), 208; George H. English, Jr., *History of the 89th Division, U.S.A.* (Denver: Smith-Brooks Printing Company, 1920), 21, 25, 26, 268, 299--301, 392, 483, 495, 511; Robert L. Gundlach to Warren W. Whitside, 7 May 1954, transcript is typed with letterhead of General Subjects Section, Department of Resident Instruction, Army General School, Fort Riley, Kansas, (Samuel L. Russell private collection, Leavenworth).

<sup>3</sup> J. A. Uno to Warren W. Whitside, 27 December 1928, transcript typed on letterhead from War Department, Adjutant General's Office, Washington, (Samuel L. Russell private collection, Leavenworth); George C. Marshall to Colonel Warren W. Whitside, 12 December 1939, transcript typed on letterhead from War Department, Office of the Chief of Staff, Washington, (Samuel L. Russell private collection, Leavenworth); *Army and Navy Journal*, 17 October 1964.

<sup>4</sup> Adjutant General's Office, *Official Army Register, December 1, 1918*, 249; English, *History of the 89th Division*, 495 and 510; *Army and Navy Journal*, 22 February 1919.

<sup>5</sup> *Army and Navy Register*, 21 October 1905; Government Printing Office, *The Medal of Honor*, 248; Adjutant General's Office, *Official Army Register, January 1, 1920*, 206. Archie Miller's Medal of Honor citation reads: "While in action against hostile Moros, when the machine-gun detachment, having been driven from its position by a heavy fire, one member being killed, did, with the assistance of an enlisted man, place the machine gun in advance of its former



position at a distance of about 20 yards from the enemy, in accomplishing which he was obliged to splice a piece of timber to one leg of the gun tripod, all the while being under heavy fire, and the gun tripod being several times struck by bullets.” Lieutenant Colonel W. H. Davidson vividly describes the battle in which Miller was engaged in an article titled “Jikiri’s Last Stand,” *The Quartermaster Review*, July-August 1935

<sup>6</sup> *Army and Navy Journal*, Washington, DC, 4 June 1921; Caroline M. Whitside to Franklin D. Roosevelt, 10 October 1934, transcript is a typed copy, Samuel L. Russell private collection, Leavenworth.

<sup>7</sup> Wellington A. Samouce, “Address List of Living Descendants of Gen. & Mrs. Samuel Marmaduke Whitside, USA deceased,” 17 January 1977, Samuel L. Russell private collection, Leavenworth.

<sup>8</sup> Fredrick Bernays Wiener, “Service Without Pay,” *Infantry Journal*, February 1946. In this article, Wiener states, “. . . the leanest year of all, without question, was 1877, when the annual appropriation failed, when supplies were purchased on credit, and when officers and men drew no pay for nearly five months, months that, as it happened, were filled with unusually arduous service on the frontier in Indian wars and at home on riot duty.” Captain S. M. Whitside was at that time establishing Camp Huachuca in the Arizona Territory.

## APPENDIX A

### WHITSIDE LETTERS

Following are excerpts from fifteen letters written by Major Samuel M. Whitside from 6 December 1890 to 15 January 1891 during the Sioux campaign of 1890--'91. These excerpts are taken from photocopies of typed material that appear to be portions of letters that Whitside wrote to somebody at Fort Riley, probably his wife, Carrie. Whitside's great-grand daughter, Mrs. Ann S. Russell of Cornwall, New York, provided these photocopies. The U.S. Army Military History Institute at Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania has a box of Whitside papers including what they indicate are Whitside's diary entries during the Sioux campaign. Those diary entries are most likely the same excerpts listed here. As these excerpts are previously unpublished material of historical significance that is not readily available to the reader, they are provided below in their entirety.

Pine Ridge, South Duke St.,  
Monday 10 A.M. Dec. 1st '90

This is the first day of winter and the change in weather seems to indicate that this is really the commencement of winter. The air this morning is sharp and dry. Small flakes of snow are now falling and by tomorrow a real old Northern blizzard will probably be raging--two more days have gone since I wrote you last, but nothing of a war like nature has happened. Several thousand Indians are in Camp near the Agency. They all seem anxious and uneasy as if they were expecting something to turn up.

General Brook is in Command, and is evidently preparing for a raid on some of the absent Tribes still out and who will not accept the invitation to come in. If we go at all, from appearances I conclude it will be a night march and a few pack mules will go with each Co. to carry rations. This will be for the purpose of surprising the Indians while in their camp, capturing and brining them in here but all of this will probably be accomplished without firing a shot. I am fully convinced the trouble will terminate without a shot being fired.

Captain Moylan arrived last evening. He is looking well and says he is glad to be here. Lt. Squires is also on hand, but I guess after sleeping two nights with Jim Mann for a bed companion, on the cold ground, he will wish himself back to his comfortable house on the Hudson River.

Lt. Bullock is a very sick man and will probably be sent to Riley.

Pine Ridge Agency  
Saturday, 10 A.M. Dec. 6

We are certainly favored by having most charming winter weather, which continues uninterrupted. The nights are quite cold, ice forms on the water in our buckets, three or four inches thick, but it is a still cold, free from wind. No new developments have taken place in the last two days, regarding the Indian affairs.

I have just been informed by Dr. Hoff, who just came down from Headquarters that General Brook [*sic*] and the Agent of Indians were having an interview with his honor the Great Chief Two Strike and Short Bull and several other lesser lights who are leaders of the Rose Bud Indians, still out and up to this time have failed to obey the Agent's orders to come into the Agency. The council now in session may result in all of the Indians coming in. Should such be so, the next thing to do will be to disarm all of the Indians in this section of the country, take from them all of their war ponies and then turn them over to the Missionaries with the advice to behave themselves. Should there be any outbreak whatever, the Troops were never in better condition for service than we are today. The Indians are surrounded by several thousand soldiers and should they attempt to get away and raid the settlements, it would be the signal for a general advance of the Army and a certain destruction of the Indians would follow. I am still of the opinion that the whole question and trouble will be adjusted and not a hostile shot will be fired. It would be folly for the Indians to go on the War Path at this season of the year and now that they know so many soldiers are on the ground and are in readiness to jump on them.

Col. Bacon has applied to join his Battalion so the General informed me last evening and will join tomorrow. Hare is having the same old trouble of fainting spells, in fact he is a wreck in mind and body and may keel over at any moment--he is not fit for duty. McCormick is unwell, suffering with a cold and is about laid up for repairs. Capt. Varnum is not well. The great Rice is on duty again having recovered from the smash up--still goes about with a black eye and a lame knee. I remain in fine condition, have an enormous appetite and eat three substantial meals each day and ready for any duty that may come up. I will return to my old Nickle [*sic*] plated Battalion on the arrival of Bacon.

Dr. Bacha [*sic*] reported for duty yesterday. He came over to camp to see me last evening. I never saw him looking better. His trip East did him good. He told me that he wanted to remain here but that General Brook rather discouraged his staying. The Battalion from Leavenworth is in the same locality--the 1st, 5th and 7th Infantry are on their way to join us. The 2nd & 8th Infantry are already on the ground so that nearly one third of the whole Army is here. There never has been such a great gathering since the War of any people as we have here so you see should there be any outbreak we are able to settle it in short order, with very little danger to any body of Troops engaged.

Pine Ridge,  
Monday, Dec. 8th - 90.

The Command still remains in permanent camp waiting for something to turn up to solve the Indian problem. When I last wrote you I said Two Strike and a number of his War Chiefs were holding a council with General Brook. After a few hours parley Mr. Two Strike agreed to return to his fortifications in the Bad Land where his 2000 bold bad men were located.--that he would immediately cause the General to be sounded and cause his camp to be broken up, traps packed and take up his line of march to the Agency and on his arrival report to General Brook to be dealt with as the Great Father may direct.

The known white men at the Agency including newspaper reporters, say that Two Strike will never come in with his people. I believe they will comply with their promise and if they do, it will wind up the business so far as the hostiles now absent from the Reservation are concerned. It is generally believed that the Interior Department has decided to pursue a new policy with these Indians but what it really is to be we are at a loss to know. It is my opinion that if we are not ordered home by January 1st we will remain here all winter. Should the Indians come in as they have promised to do, I cannot see any reason why we should be kept here, as there is a sufficient force in this Department which properly belong here to look after the hostiles and send us back to our loved ones to enjoy home comforts and steam heat.

Major Bacon is here with General Brook. It was expected he would command a Battalion but General Brook told me before he arrived that he would be kept at Headquarters.

Lt. Hare is on the sick report suffering with old trouble, and will probably be sent home soon. He is a broken down and a used up man both mentally and physically and if he does not improve and change his habits he has but a short time to stay on Earth.

The weather remains most favorable for our work in Dakota. The days are bright and clear and free from wind. Should this weather continue during December, we will be in big luck. The new comer, Capt. Godfrey, says he suffers with the cold at night. I sleep warm and retain my appetite, so I have nothing to complain of.

Several thousand Indians are camped within five miles of our Command. They are quiet and seem well satisfied with their condition. There is no more danger here than at Riley.

Pine Ridge So. Dakota  
Tuesday, Dec. 9th '90

The situation remains unchanged. All is quiet along the White today. The weather is all that can be desired. In about five days the hostiles under Two Strike will commence arriving here if they come at all. General Miles, the papers say is on his way here from Chicago, and should the Indians fail to come in according to promise, the peace and quiet of camp life will be a thing of the past, as we will mount our horses and pack our mules and proceed to the Bad Lands, and pay Mr. Two Strike a visit with a view of escorting him and his family to the Agency.

Pine Ridge, S. D.  
Thursday, Dec. 11th, 1890

During the last two days and nights the weather has been very warm, but a sudden change took place this A.M.--a strong wind is blowing from the North and the Mercury must have gone down thirty degrees during the last two hours. Buffalo overcoats and arctic overshoes are in demand today. Old Mr. & Mrs. Two Strike and the young Two Strikes have not yet reported. Their journey from Bad Wonderland has been very slow on account of the broken down condition of their horses, oxen and wagons. The scouts sent out from here report their approach and that they may reach here today. The question which remains unanswered is what are we to do when the blanket robed bucks are all in here, banqueting on Uncle Samuel's beef and flour. Judging from the extensive preparations being made by the Government in the way of the arrival of a very large quantity of stores of all kinds, such as an extra large supply of buffalo overcoats, 200 extra pack mules and 50 additional four mule wagons, I should say it looks very

much as if the Troops were to spend the winter in camp at or near this place. Although the Riley detachment hope to be permitted to enjoy the steam heat at Riley instead of living in a cloth house with Mercury 40° below zero as we will do here if we remain.

I have taken advantage of the last two days good weather in getting some lumber and nails and having my tent floored and framed and going so far as to indulge in the luxury of a door, so I am pretty well prepared for a change in the temperature. I slept in my new palace the first time last night and when I awakened this A.M. and heard the wind blowing and the air filled with pulverized sand, I congratulated myself on being more enterprising than any of my brother officers--heretofore my bedding and tent has been full of dust and I have really been sleeping in sand and dirt like a pig but now as clouds of dust are rolling swiftly Southward, I laugh and say, lucky man thou art to be in a clean room. The paymaster paid off the men yesterday, as this is a Prohibition State and an Indian Reserve no intoxicants can be had, consequently no drunks follow pay day. The Indian Traders are reaping a rich harvest and are disposing of a great many goods to the soldiers.

Lts. Hare, Sickle, Rice and Donaldson all of the Nickel-plate Battalion are on the sick list. Nothing serious. Col. Bacon is here with General Brook in his capacity as Inspector. Lt. Harmon has applied to be relieved from his college detail and ordered to join his troop for duty in the Indian Campaign at this place. General Miles has gone up North to Standing Rock Agency and he is expected to reach this place in six or seven days, when it is thought some permanent disposition will be made for the winter, when we will know whether we return home or stay out here.

Saturday 10 A.M.  
December 13th, 1890

No change has occurred during the last twenty four hours to break the monotony of Camp life. Every other day I have Battalion Skirmish drill for an hour and a half. Every man except the cooks are required to turn out. Every alternate day 60 men and one commissioned officer with 20 six mule teams march out to the timber section where they cut and load the wagons with wood, returning to camp about 3 o'clock--this with the usual daily duty is all we have done since our arrival here. The reported hostile Indians that broke away from the Rose Bud Indians and went into the Bad Land country, under Two Strike, Short Bull, Chicken Hawk and Young American Man-Afraid-of-his-Horse and several other lesser lights, in all comprising 2000 men, women and children it is reported will arrive here today, with the exception of 50 lodges of 100 fighting men who have decided not to come in but prefer to stay out and fight the whole Army. --but it is generally believed that these Indians will soon change their minds and sneak in a few at a time. If they do not they will be sent for and forced in or suffer the consequences, which would result in their complete destruction. The policy of the Government seems to be to handle these people gently and kindly and not to resort to force until all other measures fail.

Lt. Robinson is now on the sick report, suffering with a severe cold--in fact all of the Lieuts. in the Nickle [*sic*] plate Battalion except Brewer and Thompkins have been or are sick since our arrival here. Lt. Hare is again out for duty but is looking badly--young wounded knee Rice has sufficiently recovered from the accident he met with on his way up here which was the result of drunkenness as to do a share of his duty. He is without a doubt the most useless appendage in the way of an officer I have met for many a day. We are all waiting anxiously for a decision of General Miles as to what disposition he is

going to make of us during the winter--whether we are to return to Riley or go into permanent camp for the winter. The sooner the question is decided the better it will be for us. We are all hanging onto the hope that we will anchor at Riley for the winter.

Sunday Dec 14 '90

The situation here remains unchanged. Whatever is being done or is to be done has a good deal of mystery connected with it. I begin to think that General Brook does not know anything more regarding the situation here than I do. The whole business has been a bungle and a big scare and there is nothing in it. I firmly believe the Indians here never had any intention of leaving the reservation or engaging in War with the whites but all of this movement of large bodies of soldiers had been brought about by false reports made by the Indian Agent, who is a new man and did not have the force of character to control and manage the Indians. Some few of the Indians had a fight among themselves and when the Agent's Police interfered to arrest the fighters a resistance and threats were made against the Agent, which so frightened him that he ran away and abandoned his post of duty--went to Fort Robinson for protection where he remained until troops were ordered to escort him back to this place, when he sent to the Interior Department the most alarming reports as to the Messiah and the Ghost dance and the war like demonstration made by the Indians which resulted in the whole Army being placed under marching orders and now that we are here, it is evident some one has made a serious mistake and is only waiting for a way to crawl out of the dilemma.

This is a most disgusting day, a high wind is raging and the air is filled with dust.

Monday 9 A.M. Dec. 15

Everything seems to indicate that the troops now here will be on the march in the direction of the Bad Lands inside of twenty four hours. Extra rations are being issued. Pack mules are being put in readiness for immediate use. Covers are being put on the wagons which have heretofore been stripped for hauling wood and no wood detail has been sent out today. General Forsyth was directed to report to General Brook at 8 o'clock this A.M. and at this writing is still absent. It appears that the promises made to General Brook by Two Strike and other Chiefs at the Council held twelve days ago have not been kept by the Indians, to come in to this Agency. They are still out although it is reported about two thirds of these Indians are on their way in but move slow in consequence of their broken down transportation, but it is now believed that this excuse is given merely to gain time to enable these Indians to receive reinforcements from other Agencies as they are so inspired by the influence they have in the coming Messiah as to believe they can whip all the troops we can take against them and that a bullet cannot injure them.

We have been here nearly three weeks and during that time the weather has been most delightful for field service, and we have done nothing. Today the weather is very threatening--North winds, cold, and the sky is overcast with snow clouds, which is anything but promising for a march North in the direction where the War Party of Indians are supposed to be located.

General Forsyth has just returned and has issued orders for the Command to be in readiness to march at a moment's notice, which means that we will leave here tomorrow morning or tonight. We will move with 12 companies of Cavalry, one battery and 90 Indian Scouts--in all about 700 men. We take our wagons and pack mules with us. We

have sufficient force to suppress any body of Indians now away from here. I do not apprehend that we will have much fighting to do--as soon as the Indians see our large force they will take to their heels and make their way back to the Agency the best way they can. Daily telegrams will be sent to Willitson regarding our movements as usual.

Tuesday 10 A.M. Dec. 16

As I stated in my letter of yesterday that everything indicated an advance of the troops to the Bad Land today. Later in the day an order of march was issued, directing the Military to move out of camp at 8 A.M. today and as a matter of fact every body was in readiness. But about 8 o'clock last evening a telegram was received from General Miles announcing that the arrest of Sitting Bull has been effected [*sic*] at Standing Rock Agency and an attempt to rescue him was made by his followers which resulted in the killing of Sitting Bull and several other Indians. Also that the advanced movement ordered of this Command would be suspended until further orders--So here we are still in our old quarters. This is one of the most charming days of the season. I presume it is expected that the killing of this Old Chief will influence the troublesome Indians here for the better by proving to them that none of them are bullet proof and if they go to war some of them will meet the same fate as their Great Chief has.

Lt. Hare leaves here for Riley today being rendered unfit for duties by illness. He is a wreck both physically and mentally and cannot ever recover.

Thursday A.M. Dec. 18th

All quiet along the banks of the White Clay. No change and we are just where we were three weeks ago today when we arrived here. The killing of old Sitting Bull seems to have changed the whole plan of our Campaign as originally decided upon--yesterday General Brook had a council with all of the friendly Chiefs now here, when subject of bringing in the Indians from the Bad Lands was fully discussed and it was suggested that all of the friendly Indians go out to the Bad Lands in a body and urge upon the Indians now there to come in and surrender and should they decline to do so peacefully to compel them by force to come in--The Indians could not decide last evening whether they would go out or not but promised to take the matter under consideration and make known their decisions at noon today--if they decide to undertake the job we will remain quietly in camp and wait developments but should they conclude not to go which they probably will do, why then we may be sent out and I feel confident we will make short work of the business.

I do not believe there is any more prospect of the 7th Cavalry going to New Mexico than there is to go to New York. We are sure to remain at least two years longer at Riley or at least the 7th Cavalry will, regardless of the reports made by Capt. Pond and other knowing persons to the contrary. As affairs now stand the chances are very favorable that what dinner we have on Christmas, one week from today, will be eaten right here in this Camp.

Friday Evening  
December 26th '90

When I wrote to you this morning little did I think that I would be 20 miles from Pine Ridge at this time--At noon I received orders to proceed with my battalion, and the section of Artillery under Lt. Hawthorn, to this point and try to intercept the Sitting Bull

Indians who escaped from Col. Sumner, who were reported trying to join the hostiles in the Bad Land. I am now camped on Wounded Knee Creek. Tomorrow I will scout in all directions from this place and am in hopes of being successful in finding the Indians. If I do not succeed it will not be any fault of mine but because the Indians are not in this part of the country to find.

I will probably be back to Pine Ridge by the time this reaches you. It is now 11 o'clock at night and I am sending a scout back to the Agency with an official dispatch for General Brook, and he will take this note with him to mail.

Friday, January 2nd, 1891

Yesterday General Brook, his staff, the 2nd Infantry, one Battalion 9th Cavalry and two small Mountain guns left here about 9 A.M. for active service in the field, with a view of getting in rear of the hostile Indians. General Carr with his Command is moving up on their right, the troops from Rose Bud are in position the troops now here--1st Infantry and my regiment, with four guns under Capt. Caperon [*sic*] will advance direct on the Red Skins and a demand will be made on them to surrender and return to the Agency with the promise that they will receive good, kind treatment. Should they disregard the demand to surrender and fire on our men, why of course a bloody battle will ensue and again the Indians will get the worst of it. I firmly believe, however, the whole difficulty will be adjusted by General Miles without another shot being fired. He is working day and night to induce the head men now out to come in and have a talk and arrange terms with them, for them to come in and behave themselves. General Miles is terribly worked up over the battle with Big Foot as it was his desire to settle matters without the loss of life. I guess from what I hear that he is dissatisfied with Brook's management of affairs and as soon as he reached here, he ordered Brooks to take the field; so as to get him away from the Agency. We are in readiness to leave here on an hour's notice and if we go at all, I feel it will be our last campaign, as with the large number of troops on horse the work should be settled either by peace or war. I hope the end may be reached before you receive this paper, or letter I should have said. The wounded are all improving and appear cheerful. No provision had been made by the Medical Department to provide for so many wounded men and of course there must be discomforts. This time of the year is recognized as the season of abundant merriment and genuine good fellowship. The good fellowship can be found here but all luxuries are not with us.

Monday, January 5th, '91

At midnight Friday, I received instructions to proceed at day light Saturday A.M. with a burial party to the battle ground of Wounded Knee for the purpose of assisting in making a complete map of the ground locating thereon the exact position the Troops occupied from the commencement to the end of the battle. I obeyed the order literally and only returned to my camp here last evening at 8 o'clock pretty badly used up, but a good night's rest was most refreshing and I am feeling very much improved this morning. Eighty four Buck Indians were buried yesterday, ten are wounded in the hospital and nine were taken away and buried by friendly Indians. 8 are at the Catholic Mission wounded. So out of 120 present at the beginning of the fight we know of 111 that were either killed or wounded, leaving nine unaccounted for. On my arrival here I find General F. has been relieved from Command of his regiment and a Board of Officers ordered to investigate



what brought on the fight, whether it could not have been avoided and whether a proper disposition of the troops was made for disarming and fighting. The settlement of the Indian trouble has been a failure according to the plans arranged by Gen. Miles, and now some one must shoulder the responsibility and be sacrificed and from appearances Gen. F. is the man selected, for other people to unload on. I regard the management of the Council with the Indians, the disarmament of them as far as it went, and the placing of troops before and during the battle as judicious. Every thing was done to avert an outbreak, considering the circumstances and our position that mortal man can do.

The General is terribly worried and distressed over his position as he says, although he may be fully exonerated from all blame, the great harm has been done his record which can never be erased. I am willing to shoulder all the responsibility of the affair, as I really managed the whole business. The Inspector General was with me on the battle field yesterday and he was perfectly satisfied with every thing done and will so report to General Miles. I have just been sent for by General Miles to report to him in person.

Wednesday  
January 7th '91

I have been before the Board of Officers investigating our Wounded Knee Battle all the morning and it is within a few minutes of mail time so I can only say that everything remains quiet at Pine Ridge. There has been no movement of Troops since I wrote you yesterday as we are all waiting to see how many hostiles will come into the Agency and surrender as they have been invited to do.

All evidence offered so far has been based on facts as they occurred on the battle field, that every precaution was taken to guard against an accident and the whole affair reflects great credit on each and every man connected with the capture and management of those Indians.

Tell Miss Bessie to cheer up as the daughter of a soldier who did his whole duty and did it well and he will come out of it without a stain on his fair name and the report of the Board will be that the 7th Cavalry should have commendation of the War Dept. and no praise is too great to bestow on us.

The Indians are coming in slowly and there is great prospects of the trouble ending without any further fighting.

Lt. Bell joined us yesterday direct from Mexico. We are all well.

Thursday 10 A.M.  
Camp at Pine Ridge So. Dakota  
January 15th 1891

Another day has gone and the military situation at the seat of War remains unchanged. Yesterday was spent by the Commanding General in holding councils with a number of the head men of the hostiles in which the subject of surrendering their arms was fully discussed, and I understand the Indians agreed to bring in their arms today, turn them over to the Agent and receive his receipt for the same--the arms to be returned to them at some future time, or the money value therefore. It remains to be seen whether the hostiles, young and old will comply with the arrangements made by their representative men, as the Indian values his gun more highly then any of his belongings.

We are evidently held here waiting the result of the disarmament. As soon as the matter is settled we will be told to go home and the Indians will be sent to their farms.

A military officer has been sent here, to set an Agent in place of the imbecile just relieved and who in a measure is responsible for all of the trouble at this place.

This is a cold foggy day and if all weather signs do not fail, we will be visited by a blinding snow storm and a Northern blizzard within the next seventy four hours. I pity our poor horses as they stand at the picket line on the side of the hill exposed to the wind and cold.

Gen. Forsyth has just come into my tent with a telegram from Hare, saying Mann died yesterday. I am shocked and distressed beyond expression to hear such sad news. The information is such a surprise as the Medical officers here did not regard his wound as in any way serious, and his sudden ending must be the result of blood poisoning. Mann was a fine brave and gallant officer, always ready and willing for service and did his duty cheerfully. There is many a sad heart here to day among the officers and especially among the enlisted, as he was a great favorite of the men, as he always treated them kindly. I will miss poor Mann as I have always been very fond of him and appreciated his many good qualities. Gen. Forsyth's status remains unchanged. --he is more cheerful and is becoming reconciled to the unfortunate position in which he is placed. The investigation developed nothing to his discredit but as one of the officers of the Board was the confidential advisor of Gen. Miles, the report of the Board will probably be in accordance with the will or desires of Gen M. instead of the facts in the case as shown by the evidence adduced. As soon as the report of the Board is made public, Gen. F. will demand a Court of Inquiry, when I am confident he will be exonerated. The Court will be composed of officers of high rank who are not under Miles' Command, and therefore not afraid to express their opinion. Mr. Hermann Dennison, a brother-in-law of Gen. F. is expected here today. Col. Shafter called yesterday.

## APPENDIX B

### FIVE-GENERATION DESCENDANT LISTING OF SAMUEL M. WHITSIDE

Following is a list depicting five generations of Brigadier General Samuel M. Whitside's descendants. **Bold** names indicate descendants with military service showing the highest rank attained, branch of service, and years served, *italicized* names are spouses of descendants, and *italicized and bold* names are spouses of descendants with military service.

- 1-**Samuel Marmaduke WHITSIDE** (1839--1904) **Brigadier General, Army, 1858--1902**
  - Caroline P. MCGAVOCK (1845--1936)*
  - | 2-McGavock WHITSIDE (1870--1870)
  - | 2-Samuel Marmaduke WHITSIDE (1872--1877)
  - | 2-Effie WHITSIDE (1874--1876)
  - | 2-**Warren Webster WHITSIDE** (187--1964) **Colonel, Army, 1898--1939**
    - | *Lillian RIGNEY (1879--1970)*
    - | | 3-Lillian Madeline WHITSIDE (1902--1958)
    - | | | **Wellington Alexander SAMOUCÉ** (1903--1990) **Colonel, Army, 1924--1954**
    - | | | 4-**Warren Alexander SAMOUCÉ** (1931--) **Colonel, Army, 1954--1976**
      - | | | | *Judy DONNELLY (1936--)*
      - | | | | 5-Michael Donnelly SAMOUCÉ (1958--)
      - | | | | *Carol JOHNSON (1958--)*
      - | | | | 5-Robert Cooper SAMOUCÉ (1960--)
      - | | | | *Cathy KUGE (1959--)*
      - | | | | 5-Kimberly Bishop SAMOUCÉ (1964--)
      - | | | | *John Christopher MINEO (1965--)*
    - | | | 4-**John Whitside SAMOUCÉ** (1935--) **Captain, Marine Corps, 1960--1968**
      - | | | | *Mary Ann MISER (1938--1989)*
      - | | | | 5-Mary Katherine SAMOUCÉ (1964--)
      - | | | | 5-**Wellington Whitside SAMOUCÉ** (1966--) **Captain, Army, 1994--**
        - | | | | | *Claudia MAEDEL (1967--)*
        - | | | | | 5-Jerome Alexander SAMOUCÉ (1968--)
    - | | | 4-Lillian Ann SAMOUCÉ (1939--)
      - | | | | **Thomas Button RUSSELL** (1936--) **Colonel, Army, 1959--1987**
      - | | | | 5-**Barbara Ann RUSSELL** (1961--) **Major, Air Force, 1987--1996**
        - | | | | | **Mark Anthony BUCKNAM** (1958--) **Colonel, Air Force, 1982--**
      - | | | | 5-Lillian Lorraine RUSSELL (1962--)
        - | | | | | *Mark Leslie WAUFORD (1961--)*
      - | | | | 5-**Thomas Wellington RUSSELL** (1964--) **Lieutenant Colonel, Marine Corps, 1986--**
        - | | | | | *Victoria Ann PAYNKEWICZ (1963--)*
      - | | | | 5-**Samuel Lawrence RUSSELL** (1966--) **Major, Army, 1988--**
        - | | | | | *Kimberly Jo MCDANIEL (1965--)*
  - | | 3-Elaine Teresa WHITSIDE (1904--1951)
    - | | | **Carroll L. TYLER** **Captain, Navy, 1924--1954**

| | 3-**Warren Webster WHITSIDE Jr.** (1906--969) **Captain, Navy, 1934--1949**  
 | | *Virginia Carson (1916--2000)*  
 | | | 4-Warren Webster WHITSIDE III (1928--1974)  
 | | | *Lydia*  
 | | | | 5-Virginia WHITSIDE  
 | | | | 5-Lydia Lynn WHITSIDE  
 | 2-Dallas WHITSIDE (1879--1880)  
 | 2-Madeline M. WHITSIDE (1882--1964)  
 | **Archibald MILLER** (1878--1921) *Lieutenant Colonel, Army Air Corps, 1898--1921*  
 | | 3-**Samuel Whitside MILLER** (1907--1994) **Lieutenant Colonel, Army, 1929--1957**  
 | | *Virginia SIMS*  
 | | | 4-Sims MILLER (1936--1994)  
 | | 3-**Samuel Whitside MILLER** (1907--1994) **Lieutenant Colonel, Army, 1929--1957**  
 | | *Maxine Helen KERN*  
 | | | 4-Janet Hope MILLER (1942--)  
 | | | *Harry Ronald SIMKINS (1941--)*  
 | | | | 5-Leslie Lynn SIMKINS (1965--)  
 | | | | **John Anthony KOMLOAY, III** (1962--) *Lieutenant Commander, Navy, 1985--*  
 | | | | 5-Scott Ronald SIMKINS (1968--)  
 | | | 4-Gregory Kern MILLER (1948--)  
 | | | *Annette ONG*  
 | | | 4-Whitside Gerard MILLER (1950--)  
 | | | 4-Linda Madeline MILLER (1955--)  
 | | | 4-Debora MILLER (1959--)  
 | | 3-Caroline McGavock MILLER (1912--)  
 | | **Robert Whitney BURNS** (1908--1964) *Lieutenant General, Air Force, 1929--1964*  
 | | | 4-**Robert Whitney BURNS, Jr.** (1935--) **Major, Air Force, 1957--1967**  
 | | | 4-Marsha Whitside BURNS (1937--)  
 | | | **Louis S. DUPONT**  
 | | | | 5-Madeline Louise DUPONT (1959--)  
 | | | | 5-Caroline Burns DUPONT (1961--)  
 | | | | 5-Gwendolyn Miller DUPONT (1962--)  
 | | 3-Caroline McGavock MILLER (1912--)  
 | | **Carl Henry JARK** (1907--1984) *Lieutenant General, Army, 1929--1964*  
 | 2-**Victor M. WHITSIDE** (1886--1919) **Major, Army, 1908--1919**

APPENDIX C

MILITARY TIMELINE OF BRIGADIER GENERAL SAMUEL M. WHITSIDE

	STATION	ASSIGNMENT	REMARKS	
1858				
1858			Enlisted 10 Nov 1858	
1859	Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania	General Mounted Service	<i>Siege of Yorktown: 5 Apr--4 May</i> <i>Slatersville: 9 May</i> <i>New Bridge: 20 May</i> <i>Ellison's Mills: 23 June</i> <i>Hanover Court House: 27--29 May</i> <i>Black Creek: 26 June</i> <i>Malvern Hill: 5 August</i>	
1860				PVT
1861				CPL/SGM
1861	Bladdensburg, MD	6th Cav Reg SGM	Promoted 10 Aug 1861	
1861	Military District of Washington	Platoon Leader - K Company, 6th Cavalry	Promoted 1 Nov 1861	
1862	Peninsular Campaign		<i>Red River Campaign of 1863: Apr--May and Operations around Port Hudson: 23 May--9 Jul</i>	
1863	MDW	Aide-de-camp to MG N. P. Banks		
1863	Dept of Gulf, New Orleans, LA			
1863	Military District of Washington	Aide to MG Martindale	Light Duty	
1863			Med Exam Board--Small Pox	
1864	MDW	Aide to MG Pleasanton	Promoted 25 Jan 1864	
1864	Providence, Rhode Island	Mustering and Dispersing Duty		
1865	West Virginia & Virginia	Chief Commissary of Musters, Army of the Shenandoah	Brevet to Captain and Major	
1866	Austin, Texas	A Company, 6th Cavalry		
1866	Sherman, Texas			
1866	Jacksboro, Texas		Promoted 20 Oct 1866	
1867	Austin, Texas			
1867		Board Inspecting Horses		
1868	Austin, Texas	Commander, B Company 6th Cavalry	<i>Caroline "Carrie" P. McGavock at San Antonio, Texas</i>	
1868			Married 24 Nov 1868	

		STATION	ASSIGNMENT	REMARKS
CAPTAIN	1869	Livingston, Texas	Commander, B Company, 6th Cavalry and Post	
				On leave 8 Feb--17 Apr 70
	1870	Fort Griffin, Texas	Commander, B Company, 6th Cavalry	McGavock born 26 Jul 70 McGavock died 7 Oct 70
	1871	St. Louis, Missouri	Recruiting Service	
	1872			Samuel, Jr. born 20 Aug 72
	1873	Fort Riley, Kansas	Commander, B Company, 6th Cavalry	
	1874	Fort Hays, Kansas		Effie born 24 Apr 74
	1875	Kansas City, MO	Board Purchasing Horses	Sick Leave 6 Sep--9 Oct 74 B Company Engaged
	1876	Newport Barracks, Kentucky & Camp McDowell, Arizona Territory	Conducting Recruits to California and Arizona	Warren born 2 Nov 75
	1877	Fort Lowell, Arizona Territory	Commander, B Company, 6th Cavalry	Effie died 7 Aug 76
	1878	San Francisco, CA	Conducting Convicts	Samuel, Jr. died 29 Jan 77
	1879	Camp Huachuca, Arizona Territory	Commander, B Company, 6th Cavalry and Post	B & M Companies Engaged
	1880			<b><i>Broke left leg and sprained his ankle on 16 Jan</i></b>
	1879	San Francisco, California	Sugeon's Certificate of Disability	Sick Leave 24 Jan--31 Jul 79 Dallas born 22 Apr 79
	1880	Camp Huachuca, Arizona Territory	Commander, B Company, 6th Cavalry and Post	Dallas died 28 Dec 80

	STATION	ASSIGNMENT	REMARKS
1881	Camp Huachuca, Arizona Territory	Cdr, B Company, 6th Cavalry and Post	
			On Leave 27 Mar--7 Sep 81
1882	Fort Thomas, AT	Commander, B Company, 6th Cavalry	Prisoners to Alcatraz 3--28 Jan 82
			Madeline born 11 Jan 82
1883	Washington, D.C. Rochester, NY Chicago, IL	Recruiting Service	Leave 29 Jan--13 Jul 82
1884	Fort Apache, Arizona Territory	Commander, B Company, 6th Cavalry	
	Fort Lewis, Colorado		Sick leave 12 Aug--12 Sep
1885	Fort Meade, Dakota Territory	Commanding 2nd Battalion, 7th Cavalry	Promoted 21 Mar 1885
1886	Fort Meade, Dakota Territory	Commanding 2nd Battalion, 7th Cavalry	Victor born 25 Oct 86
1887	Fort Meade, Dakota Territory	Commanding 2nd Battalion, 7th Cavalry	Sick 22 Sep--12 Oct 86
			Sick leave to 17 Jan 87
1888	Fort Meade, Dakota Territory	Commanding 2nd Battalion, 7th Cavalry	
1889	Fort Riley, Kansas	Commanding 2nd Battalion, 7th Cavalry	
1890	Fort Riley, Kansas	Commanding 2nd Battalion, 7th Cavalry	<i>Sioux Campaign of 1890 - 91</i>
			<i>Porcupine Creek: 28 Dec</i>
1891	Fort Riley, Kansas	Commanding 2nd Battalion, 7th Cavalry	<i>Wounded Knee Creek: 29 Dec</i>
			<i>Drexel Mission: 30 Dec</i>
1892	Pine Ridge Agency, South Dakota	Commanding 1st Battalion, 7th Cavalry	Sick 6--13 Oct 89
	Fort Riley, Kansas		Sick leave to 14 Jan 90
1892	Fort Riley, Kansas	Commanding 1st Battalion, 7th Cavalry	In field in Kansas 8 Sep--6 Oct 90
1892	Fort Riley, Kansas	Commanding 1st Battalion, 7th Cavalry	Leave 23 Feb--19 Apr 92
1892	Fort Riley, Kansas	Commanding 1st Battalion, 7th Cavalry	
			Director, Cavalry Sub-school

	STATION	ASSIGNMENT	REMARKS
1893	Fort Riley, Kansas	Commanding 1st Battalion, 7th Cavalry	Sick 18 Feb--5 Mar 93
			Sick 30 Apr--24 May 93
			Sick leave 22 Jun 93--27 Apr 94
1894	Fort Myer, Virginia	Commander of Post	
1895	Washington, D.C.	Awaiting orders to 20 May 94	
1896	Fort Clark, Texas Jefferson Barracks	7th Cavalry Regiment	Promoted 17 Jul 1895
		3rd Cavalry Regiment	
1897	Fort Sam Houston, Texas	5th Cavalry Regiment	
			Leave 26 Oct 97--24 Feb 98
1898	Mobile, Alabama Tampa, Florida	Commander, 5th Cavalry Regiment	
	Huntsville, Alabama Fort Sam Houston	Commander, 10th Cavalry Regiment	Promoted 16 Oct 1898
1899	Manzanillo, Cuba		
1900	Santiago, Cuba	Cdr, Dept. of Santiago & Puerto Principe	<i>Volunteers disbanded under Root reforms.</i>
		Commander, Department of Eastern Cuba	
1901	Santiago, Cuba	Commander, District of Santiago de Cuba	Promoted 3 Jan 1901 in US Vols
			Reverted to Colonel 20 Jun 1901
			Leave 7 Sep--6 Dec 01
1902			Promoted 2 Jun and retired 9 Jun



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