

PEACE ON THE PLAINS*

By George H. Shirk

The United States Dragoons were created by Act of Congress of March 2, 1833, but with little portent of the great role they were destined to play in the history of Oklahoma.

As is always the case following a war, in 1830 the U. S. Army was in a state of flux and semi-demoralization. The regular army comprised about 6,000 men.¹ The Western Departments of the army, charged with control, exploration and development of the vast public domain in the west, were scattered over 16 posts and totaled 2,555 men.

Sickness, intemperance² and desertion were prevalent. Adequate recruiting was a constant problem for the authorities. Army discipline was severe, punishments were often harsh and of a degrading character, and clothing and equipment were still largely "war surplus." The pay of a private soldier was \$5.00 per month, with, of course, rations, clothing and similar type allowances.

Life at the western posts was particularly monotonous. The barracks were for the most part crude and poorly furnished, and endless drills and marches were broken only by construction work or by the labor needed to build roads and other installations.

In 1832, the U. S. Rangers were organized and were charged with the duty of patrolling and maintaining order along the western frontier.³ From the Rangers only a year later was formed the Dragoon Regiment.

In his report of November 25, 1832 the Secretary of War, Lewis Cass, proposed the establishment of the Dragoons:⁴

An act of the last session of Congress authorized the raising of six companies of mounted rangers for the defence of the frontiers. Five of these were organized without delay, immediately after the passage of the law; but owing to the absence of the person selected for the command of the sixth with the troops employed under General Atkinson, that company was not brought into service during the active portion of the season. It is now, however, filled, and under orders.

* The title is that of the marker placed by the Oklahoma Historical Society in the current historical marker project at the junction of US Highway 283 and State Highway 44, Greer County, marking the July 1834 peace conference of Colonel Dodge.—*The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVII, No. 4 (Winter, 1949-50), p. 420.

¹ Statistics are from Pelzer, *Marches of the Dragoons in Mississippi Valley* (Iowa City, 1917), pp. 1 *et seq.*

² The report of Surgeon General for the year ending June 30, 1831, showed 126 deaths in military hospitals, of which 21 were from consumption and 22 from intemperance.

³ The Rangers were established by Act of June 15, 1832, 4 *Stat.*, 533.

⁴ *American State Papers*, Military Affairs, Vol. V, p. 18.



GENERAL HENRY LEAVENWORTH

I have caused a comparative view to be appended to this report, showing the difference of cost between the maintenance of this corps of rangers and of a regiment of dragoons. It will be perceived that the former exceeds the latter by \$153,932. The rangers costing annually \$297,530, and the dragoons \$143,598; an access of expenditure well worthy of consideration, unless there are circumstances connected with the nature of the duties of these corps which give to the rangers, as at present organized, a decided preference over the dragoons. It is my conviction that there are no such circumstances, and that a regiment of dragoons would be more efficient as well as more economical. From the constitution of the corps of rangers, and from the short periods of their service, their organization is but little superior to that of the ordinary militia. Every year there must be a great loss of time in the reconstruction of the corps and in the acquisition of the necessary experience and knowledge. And its constitution is so dissimilar from that of any other branch of the army that a perfect union of sentiment and action between them can scarcely be expected. The want of these must frequently be injurious to the public service.

Regular cavalry are fully competent to the discharge of all the duties required of mounted rangers. In celerity of movement, they will, of course, be equal, and if, (which, however, is doubtful,) the rifle is considered the most efficient arm for mounted troops, operating against the Indians, this weapon can be placed in the hands of such cavalry, and they can easily be trained to its use.

Besides other important objects, it is desirable to preserve in our military system the elements of cavalry tactics, and to keep pace with the improvements made in them by other nations. The establishment of a regiment of dragoons would complete the personnel of our army, and would introduce a force which would harmonize with and participate in the *ESPRIT DU CORPS* so essential to military efficiency, and so easily and certainly created by military principles.

It seems to be now conceded, and it surely may well be, that mounted troops are absolutely necessary for the defence of that part of the inland frontier in contact with the Indian tribes. Our permanent military posts, garrisoned by infantry, exert a moral influence over the Indians, and protect important and exposed positions. But to overtake and chastise marauding parties and, in fact, to carry on any serious operations against an Indian foe in the level regions of the west, horsemen are indispensably necessary. Presuming, therefore, that some force of this description will be retained, I have the honor to suggest the propriety of the conversion of the corps of rangers into a regiment of dragoons.

The recommendation of Secretary Cass was referred to the Military Affairs Committee of the House. On December 28, 1832, the House committee reported out a bill to establish a regiment of dragoons. The committee report concluded:

A corps of this kind has long been wanted, and it is now generally conceded that mounted troops are absolutely necessary for that part of the inland frontier in contact with the Indians. In addition to our fixed military posts garrisoned by infantry, the means of protecting the frontier, should such a corps of cavalry as here recommended be raised, would be ample and complete. The committee, impressed with the importance of there being attached to the military establishment a regiment of dragoons, report a bill for the purpose.

The bill received favorable consideration, and the Second Session of the 22nd Congress sent to President Jackson "for the more

perfect defense of the frontier." The Act was approved March 2, 1833, and provided for one Dragoon Regiment, composed of 10 companies of 71 men each.⁵ The statute reads:

"Be It Enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That in lieu of the battalion of mounted rangers authorized by the act of the fifteenth of June, 1832, there be established a regiment of dragoons, to be composed and organized as follows, to-wit: one colonel, one lieutenant colonel, one major, one quartermaster-sergeant, and two chief buglers, one adjutant, who shall be a lieutenant, one sergeant major, one chief musician, and ten companies; each company to consist of one captain, one first lieutenant, and one second lieutenant, exclusive of the lieutenant who is to be adjutant of the regiment; four sergeants, one of whom shall act as quartermaster-sergeant to the company, four corporals, two buglers, one farrier and blacksmith, and sixty privates.

"Section 2. That the officers, non-commissioned officers, musicians, and privates, when mounted, be entitled to the same pay and emoluments as was allowed to dragoons during the war, and when on foot, the same pay and emoluments as are now allowed to the officers, non-commissioned officers, musicians, and privates of a regiment of infantry; and the farrier and blacksmith be allowed the same pay and allowances as are allowed to an artificer of artillery.

"Section 3. That the said regiment of dragoons shall be liable to serve on horse, or foot, as the President may direct; shall be subject to the rules and articles of war, be recruited in the same manner, and with the same limitations; that the officers, non-commissioned officers, musicians, farriers, and privates, shall be entitled to the same provisions for wounds and disabilities, the same provisions for widows and children, and the same allowances and benefits in every respect, are allowed the other troops constituting the present military peace establishment.

"Section 4. That the President of the United States be authorized to carry into effect this act as soon as he may deem it expedient, and to discharge the present battalion of mounted rangers, on their being relieved by the said regiment of dragoons.

"Section 5. That the sum required to carry into effect the provisions of this act is hereby appropriated, in addition to the appropriations for the military establishment for the year 1833."

Two days later nineteen officers were commissioned.⁶ Colonel Henry Dodge was designated as Regimental Commander and Lieutenant Colonel Stephen Watts Kearney was second in command. The cream of all available officer material was utilized, and such junior officers as Lieutenants P. St. George Cooke and Jefferson Davis illustrate the character of the dragoon officer corps.

Recruiting commenced at once, and to prevent any sectionalism, recruits were taken from all parts of the country; one company⁷ was recruited from New York City, another⁸ from Boston, and

⁵ Act of March 2, 1833, Second Session, 22nd Congress, Chapt. 76, 4 *Stat.* 652. The Committee report is in *American State Papers*, Military Affairs, Vol. V, p. 126.

⁶ *Army Register*, January, 1834. The first increment of officers was commissioned March 4, 1833. The 19 were Col. Henry Dodge; Lieut. Col. S. W. Kearney; Major Richard B. Mason; Captains Clifton Wharton, Edward V. Sumner, Eustace Trenor, and David Hunter; 1st Lieuts. David Perkins, P. St. G. Cooke, S. W. Moore, Ab Van Buren, James F. Izard, Jefferson Davis, Lan P. Lupton, Thomas Swords; 2nd Lieuts. James Allen, T. H. Holmes, J. H. K. Burgwin, and J. S. Van Derveer.

⁷ Co. E.

⁸ Co. F.

volunteers from New England to Tennessee had soon joined the colors.

Contemporary observers reported them to be far above the average of the recruits of the day. George Catlin, the famous Indian painter, wrote⁹ that the regiment was "composed principally of young men of respectable family, who would act on all occasions from feelings of pride and honour, in addition to those of the common soldier."

Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, was designated as the rendezvous point, and by the end of 1833 five companies were complete.¹⁰ Horses were received in October and were issued with a uniformity of color to the units. After witnessing a review Catlin recorded:¹¹ "Each company of horses has been selected of one colour entire. There is a company of bays, a company of blacks, one of whites, one of sorrels, one of greys, one of cream colour, &c. &c., which render the companies distinct, and effect exceedingly pleasing."

A few weeks later, on November 9, the first formal review was held. It was considered a success, for within a week or two the first five companies were making preparations for their transfer to Fort Gibson. The column left Jefferson Barracks on November 20, and reached Fort Gibson on December 17. A cordial welcome greeted them, and the Post Commander, Colonel Matthew Arbuckle, placed everything possible at their disposal.

Existing quarters were not available, and a wooded site about a mile from Fort Gibson was selected for the winter quarters of the Dragoons. Barracks were built, and the cantonment was named Camp Jackson.¹²

Brigadier General Henry Leavenworth, Commander of the Left Wing of the Western Department, arrived at Camp Jackson early in 1834, and on April 23, held a formal review of the troops. In the meantime, Colonel Dodge, the Dragoon Commander, had been formulating with his superiors the immediate mission of the regiment.

The spring of 1834 saw the five remaining companies¹³ assembled at Jefferson Barracks, and by May they were following the same route to the west as traveled earlier by their sister units. On June 2, the last of the companies arrived at Camp Jackson and the regiment was, for the first time, complete.

⁹ George Catlin, *North American Indians* (New York, 1842) Vol. II, p. 37.

¹⁰ Companies A to E.

¹¹ Catlin, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

¹² Hildreth described (p. 85) Camp Jackson: "We are now quartered in large barrack-rooms, built of oak shingles, situated at the outer edge of the wood, upon a high piece of ground which overlooks a wide and lovely extent of country. Each troop has one of these barrack-rooms, or rather barns; for indeed although they answer a somewhat better purpose than our tents toward keeping us from the inclemencies of the weather, still they are, in point of comfort, scarcely equal to a country barn."—See fn. 18.

¹³ Companies F to K.

On Tuesday, June 10, General Leavenworth held a formal review of the combined garrisons of Fort Gibson and Camp Jackson; and this ceremony, as spectacular as it must have been, was without doubt the largest and most impressive military display yet seen in that region.

By then, decision had been reached as to the first assignment for the Army's new and elite corps. Some 200 or more miles to the West of the frontier were the Kiowa and Wichita Indians, then referred to collectively as the Comanches and Pawnee Picts. They had not recognized the United States by a treaty of any type. The location of their villages was not definitely known, but, so wrote Secretary Cass,¹⁴ "It is deemed indispensable to the peace and security of the frontiers that a respectable force should be displayed in that quarter, and that the wandering and restless tribes who roam through it should be impressed with the power of the United States by the expedition of a corps so well qualified to excite their respect."

The new and fresh spirited Dragoons were a natural for the operation; so their first mission was agreed upon. They were to visit these tribes, establish relations, and induce delegations from them to return to Fort Gibson for a formal conference. As an incidental project, the regiment was directed to procure the release of a youngster, Matthew Wright Martin,¹⁵ and a ranger, George B. Abbay, both believed held prisoner somewhere on the plains. Cass declared that on the mission the Dragoons would "do honor to the army and render effectual service to the country."

Remarkably enough, there are extant five known journals of the expedition. George Catlin received special permission from the War Department to accompany the regiment and he, together with a friend named Chadwick, were the only civilian observers who made the journey. He made enumerable sketches and drawings along the route, and his records¹⁶ are a fine source of material on the customs and habits of the tribes visited. A Sergeant in Company G, Hugh Evans, who was perhaps the personal orderly of Colonel Dodge, has left his long hand diary. It is available in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*¹⁷ and should be utilized by the reader along with the present journal.

¹⁴ Report of the Secretary of War, *American State Papers*, Military Affairs, Vol. V, p. 170.

¹⁵ The lad was the nine year old son of Gabriel M. Martin, the county judge of Miller County, Ark., and a resident of Pecan Point on Red River. In the spring of 1834 the judge was on a camping and hunting trip in what is now Marshall County, when the party was attacked by the Kiowas. Judge Martin and one of his slaves killed, and the boy kidnapped. (Sidelights on this incident are given in James D. Morrison's "Travis D. Wright and the Leavenworth Expedition," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXV, No. 1 [Spring, 1947], pp. 7-14.—Ed.)

¹⁶ George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*. The edition here used is the Fourth, New York, 1842, 2 volumes.

¹⁷ Fred S. Perrine, "The Journal of Hugh Evans," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. III, No. 3, (Sept. 1925). Hereafter this journal will be referred to as the *Sgt. Evans' Journal*.

James Hildreth was a member of Company B and in 1836 a volume¹⁸ of 288 pages supposedly by him and entitled *The Dragoon Campaigns to the Rocky Mountains*, was published. The actual authorship¹⁹ of the book has been a matter of considerable doubt but in any event it was written by one who was obviously well acquainted with the expedition. Another unknown chronicler was a member of Company I. This company was later commanded by Lieutenant Albert M. Lea and while the journal is signed "L—" the authorship has never been determined. It is very similar in style to Sergeant Evans' journal, but being written by one in another company, the two record different day to day incidents. The original manuscript is twenty-eight pages and has been edited and published by the State Historical Society of Iowa.²⁰

The fifth and most complete journal²¹ is that of the official historian of the expedition, Lieutenant Thompson B. Wheelock, and is the one edited here. Wheelock made the journey as a member of the commander's staff, so of course his chronology is that as seen by one at regimental headquarters, rather than as a member of one of the various companies as were Sergeant Evans, Hildreth, and the unknown Company I soldier.

Our present chronicler, Thompson B. Wheelock, was born in Massachusetts, in July, 1801. He was a cadet²² at the United States Military Academy from September 24, 1818, to July 1, 1822, when he was graduated, tenth in his class, and appointed a Second Lieutenant in the 4th Field Artillery. On February 18, 1823, he was transferred to 3rd Field Artillery, and on July 22, 1826, to the 2nd Field Artillery. He served on various artillery assignments at Fort Nelson (1823-24), and Fort Monroe (1824-25), Virginia; Fort Washington, Maryland (1825-26); and Fort Moultrie, South Carolina, (1828-29). In 1826-27 he was assigned to instructor duty at West Point.

He resigned from the service on June 30, 1829; and on April 23, 1821, was employed as a professor of mathematics, with salary of \$1500 per year, at Woodward College in Cincinnati.²³ He was the first instructor to be employed by the newly organized Woodward

¹⁸ James Hildreth, *The Dragoon Campaigns to the Rocky Mountains*, (New York, 1836). Hereafter this will be referred to as the *Hildreth Journal*.

¹⁹ Hildreth enlisted in the Dragoons August 6, 1833 and was discharged June 1, 1834. As the date of his discharge is prior to the Expedition, it is doubtful if he actually accompanied his unit on the journey. See Joseph B. Thoburn, "The Dragoon Campaign to the Rocky Mountains," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VIII, p. 34, (March 1930), where the authorship is attributed to an Englishman, William L. G. Miller.

²⁰ Pelzer, "A Journal of Marches of the Dragoons," *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Iowa City, Vol. VII, No. 3, (July, 1909). Hereafter this will be referred to as the *Co. I Journal*.

²¹ *American State Papers*, Military Affairs, Vol. V, pp. 373-382.

²² The biographical information is from the Association of Graduates, West Point, N. Y.

²³ Clarke, *Old Woodward Memorial* (Cincinnati, 1884).

College, and on October 24 was announced by the school as its professor of mathematics and natural philosophy.

With the organization of the Dragoons he saw a chance to re-enter the service; and leaving his teaching post in Cincinnati he was commissioned in the Dragoons as a First Lieutenant on September 19, 1833. He immediately entered upon organization duties and assisted with the recruiting. Following the return from the Expedition to the Wichita Village, he continued in service with the Dragoons, and was killed in an engagement against the Seminoles at Fort Micanopy, Florida, June 15, 1836.²⁴

JOURNAL OF COLONEL DODGE'S EXPEDITION FROM FORT GIBSON TO THE PAWNEE PICT VILLAGE

Fort Gibson, August 26, 1834.

COLONEL: In obedience to your instructions I have made, and have the honor herewith to present to you, a journal of the campaign of the regiment of dragoons for the summer of 1834.

With great respect, your obedient servant,

T. B. WHEELOCK
First Lieutenant Dragoons.

Colonel Henry Dodge,
United States Dragoons.

In consequence of the late arrivals of the companies from Jefferson barracks, the regiment did not move as early as could have been wished.

The nine companies destined for the campaign (Captain Wharton's company, "A," marched²⁵ in May to escort a body of traders to Santa Fe) began their movement from Camp Jackson on the 15th of June, and under the direction of the field and company officers encamped on the west bank of the Arkansas, three miles from Fort Gibson; thence moved eighteen miles westwardly to Camp Rendezvous. Strength of the regiment about five hundred.

²⁴ Cullum, *Biographical Register of Military Academy Graduates*.

²⁵ On May 9, 1834, Company A was ordered to meet an overland party on the way from Franklin, Mo., and escort the group to Santa Fe. Co. A was ordered to maintain "utmost harmony" between the dragoons and the members of the party, and "should Capt. Wharton Meet the Hostile Indians in Battle He will charge them if possible to do so as the Best possible plan of defeating them". Dodge, *Military Order Book*, quoted in Pelzer, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

ARRANGEMENT OF OFFICERS FOR THE CAMPAIGN²⁶

Colonel—Henry Dodge.

Lieutenant Colonel—S. W. Kearney.

Major—R. B. Mason.

Staff—Adjutant—First Lieutenant J. W. Hamilton.

Ordinance officer, &c.—First Lieutenant T. B. Wheelock.

Acting assistant quartermaster—First Lieutenant Thomas Swords.

Acting assistant commissary of subsistence—Second Lieutenant John S. Van Devere.

Company officers.—Company "B"—Captain Sumner, Second Lieutenant Burgwin, Brevet Second Lieutenant McClure.

Company "C"—Captain Duncan, Brevet Second Lieutenant Bowman.

Company "D"—Captain Hunter, First Lieutenant Moore, Second Lieutenant Steen.

Company "E"—Captain Perkins, Brevet Second Lieutenant Kingsbury.

Company "F"—First Lieutenant Davis, Brevet Second Lieutenant Eastman, 2d infantry.

Company "G"—First Lieutenant Cooke, Second Lieutenant Territt.

Company "H"—Captain Boone, Brevet Second Lieutenant Ury.

Company "I"—Captain Brown, Brevet Second Lieutenant Edwards.

Company "K"—First Lieutenant Izard, Second Lieutenant Shamburgh.

Eight companies (company "K" was left at Camp Jackson to complete preparations for the march) were assembled at Camp Rendezvous²⁷ on the evening of the 20th June.

June 21.—Twenty-three men, pronounced by the surgeon unfit for the campaign, sent back to Fort Gibson. The regiment took up the line of march for the Washita upon the new road made by General Leavenworth, at eight o'clock in the morning; moved twenty miles southwest; crossed²⁸ the north fork of the Canadian; encamped one mile thence; difficulty with wagons ascending the bank of this stream; assistance of thirty or forty men required to each. Good water at our camp—great want of it on the road. Sounds of the rapids of the north fork cheering to men and horses. With the command seventy beeves. Face of the country to-day, in general, open, rolling prairie, soil light; a few miles from our halt much timber and stony land.

²⁶ See *Appendix* for biographical data of the officers listed by Lieut. Wheelock.

²⁷ Camp Rendezvous was in the vicinity north of present Oktaha, Muskogee County.

²⁸ The crossing was in the vicinity of Fame, McIntosh County.

Agreeably to previous arrangements, four bands of Indians joined us to-day, viz: eleven Osages, eight Cherokees, six Delawares, and seven Senecas. These men are to serve as guides, hunters and interpreters, also as representatives of their several nations, should we, as we hope to do, meet with the Pawnees; and thus open the way to a friendly understanding between these nations. Among these Indians are some of the *elite* of the nations to which they belong.

*Dutch*²⁹ chief of the Cherokee party, remarkable for personal beauty, daring character, and successful enterprises against the Osages.

George Bullett, or Pon-da-gne-se, is the principal man of the Delaware party.

Beatte, a Frenchman, who has lived nearly all his life among the Osages, has charge of this band,³⁰ and is celebrated for his skill as a hunter.

De-nath-de-ago is the leader of the seven Senecas.

We take with us, under conduct of the Osages, two Indian girls. One a Kiowa, about fifteen years of age, captured by the Osages a year or two since; the other a Pawnee prisoner, about eighteen years of age, taken by the Osages five or six years ago.

The restoration of these captive girls to their respective nations will, it is expected, facilitate the intercourse³¹ aimed for, conciliate the Indians, and pave the way to desirable treaties.

Camp Cass,³² June 22.—The command marched at nine o'clock, westwardly, fifteen miles. Captain Brown's company ("I") left in rear on account of breaking down of company wagon—*wagons great drawback to military expeditions*. Route to-day chiefly through timber, here and there small prairies; water scarce; beds of creeks dry. Encamped at the foot of a prairie mound,³³ four hundred feet in height, from the summit of which is seen a magnificent valley, stretching in every direction some twenty-five or thirty miles. We found here good water and grazing.

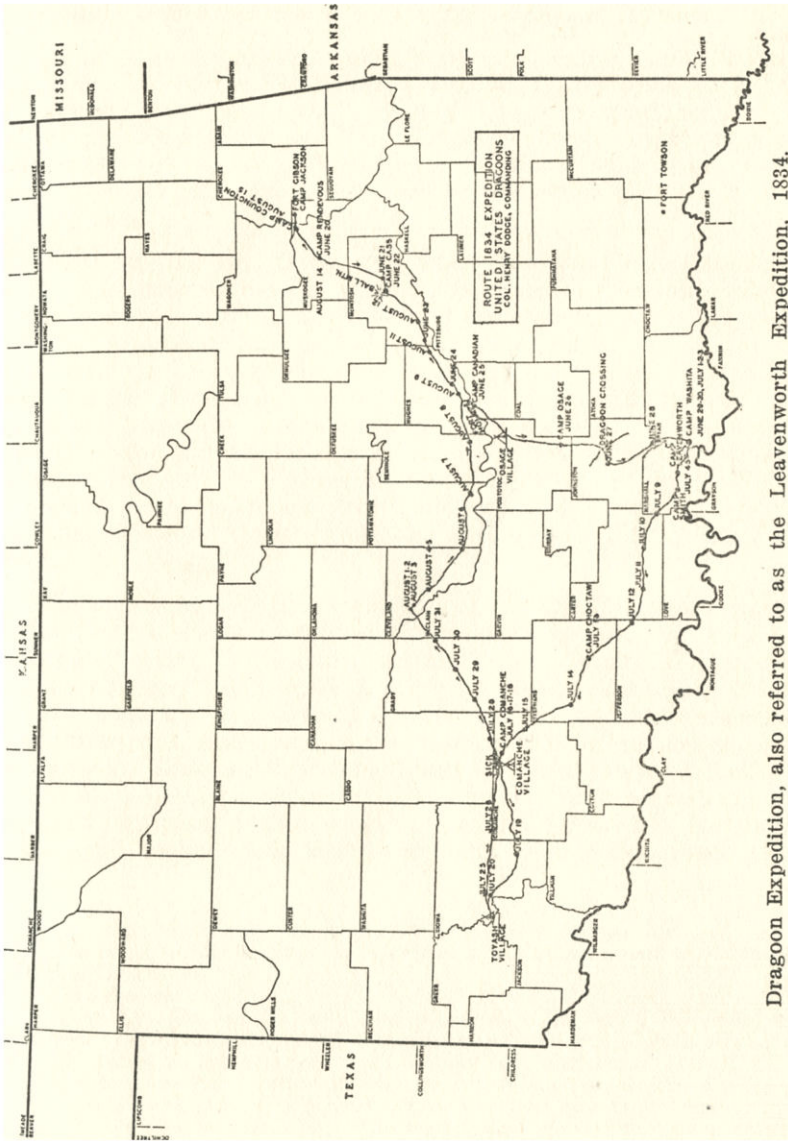
²⁹ For an interesting biography of Tahchee, or Dutch, see Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Dutch, The Cherokee", *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVII, No. 3, (Autumn, 1949), p. 252.

³⁰ Sgt. Evans' *Journal* records that the Osage group joined the expedition on June 26.

³¹ "For this purpose several Camanchee and Pawnee prisoners have been purchased from the Osages, who may be of great service in bringing about a friendly interview."—Catlin, *op. cit.*, p. 39. (Wheelock's term "Pawnee" was frequently used in his day, though in error, for the tribe now commonly known as the Wichita. Other names applied to this tribe in early times included Pawnee Pict [or Pawnee Pique], Tawchash, and Taovayas. The combination and abbreviation of the last two names is probably the source of "Toyash" found in Wheelock's journal.—Ed.)

³² Camp Cass was about 4 miles south of Stidham, McIntosh County.

³³ Ball Mountain, in sections 16 and 17, Twp. 10 N., R. 15 E., McIntosh County.



Dragoon Expedition, also referred to as the Leavenworth Expedition, 1834.

June 23.—Marched from Camp Cass at nine o'clock, west by south, seventeen miles; alternate prairie and timber; water less scarce than before, but warm, of a milky color, and in pools.³⁴

June 24.—The advance was sounded at nine o'clock; marched twenty-one miles west by south, halted at four o'clock p. m. and encamped³⁵ near good water and grazing; excellent spring, impregnated with sulphur and iron. Captain Brown's company joined us this morning; road to-day chiefly through timber; met two infantry soldiers going from the post³⁶ at the mouth of Little river to Fort Gibson.

June 25.—Colonel Dodge and staff reached Camp Canadian,³⁷ on the west bank of the Canadian, thirteen miles from last camp, at twelve o'clock; reported to General Leavenworth, whom we found in camp; command came up at two o'clock. Road to-day through open, level prairie, well watered; crossed the Canadian half a mile below the mouth of Little river; Canadian two hundred yards wide, bed nearly dry, low banks; Indian name signifies "river without banks." Near the east side passed Lieutenant Holmes, 7th infantry, with a company of the 7th regiment of infantry. Lieutenant Holmes just commenced building a fort³⁸ and quarters for two companies. At Camp Canadian another sulphur spring, and good grazing and water.

June 26.—At half past eight o'clock Colonel Dodge and part of his staff and a detachment of about twenty dragoons, and our bands of Indians, preceded the command, and found General Leavenworth at Camp Osage,³⁹ five miles south of Cave creek; halted at half past five o'clock p. m., thirty-two miles from Camp Canadian. Streams to-day frequent, and abundantly supplied. The regiment, under command of Lieutenant Colonel Kearney, left camp at half-past eight o'clock; left twenty-seven sick men at Camp Canadian, with Assistant Surgeon Hailes and Lieutenant Edwards⁴⁰ in charge. Lieutenant Cooke⁴¹ was left here sick. Ten miles from Camp

³⁴ The night of June 23 was spent in the vicinity of Vernon, McIntosh County.

³⁵ The camp for the night of June 24 was about 12 miles east of Holdenville, in Hughes County.

³⁶ Fort Holmes.

³⁷ Camp Canadian, on the south bank of the Canadian, was a few miles north of Atwood, in Hughes County. "We came about one mile on the south side of this river and encamped on the night of the 25 of June 34." *Sgt. Evans' Journal*.

³⁸ The fort was being constructed by the 7th Infantry under the direction of Lieut. Theophilus H. Holmes, a dragoon officer who later rose to the rank of Lieut. General in the Confederate Army. The post, named Fort Holmes, was occupied only for a short while, and its site is at the present location of Bilby, in Hughes County.

³⁹ Camp Osage was probably in southern Pontotoc County, a few miles south of Jesse.

⁴⁰ Lieut. Edwards, with 23 of the men, rejoined the expedition on July 3.

⁴¹ Lieut. Cooke, upon improving enough to travel, returned to Fort Gibson.

Canadian passed a band of Osages,⁴² between 500 and 600 in number, employed in curing buffalo meat, second chief of the nation, "Black Dog,"⁴³ in command—famous as a warrior; two Osages joined us as volunteers.

June 27.—Left Camp Osage (General Leavenworth in company) at half-past six o'clock; marched twenty-three miles westwardly, and encamped⁴⁴ on a creek at the end of a thirteen mile prairie; limestone, excellent streams of water, and frequent; soil in general, since leaving Fort Gibson, light and sandy, but often rich, and well adapted to grain. Crossed Blue river⁴⁵ ten miles from Camp Osage; saw in the vicinity much rich iron ore scattered over the surface of the earth. Met with and killed the first buffalo⁴⁶ seen since the com-

⁴² The Osage village was in the vicinity of Allen, in Pontotoc County. *Co. I Journal* gives an excellent description of the village: "We passed a village of Osages a nation which are scarce more civilized than those who have never been treated with. They still retain most of their wild habits, living on game & possessing a vast extent of country almost entirely untilled. They clothe themselves in Buffalo & other skins but during the warm season they go almost naked and paint themselves in the most grotesque and unmeaning figures. The village contained probably three hundred males & females including children. They offered various trifles of their own manufacture in exchange for tobacco & Butcher Knives, many of them accompanied us to our Camp and such trifling articles as they could not obtain by traffick they found means of Pilfering. Their manner of living reminds me of the wandering Gypsies hunting & theft being their principle means of subsistence; during the summer they wander from place to place providing for the day without thought or care for the morrow."

⁴³ Tchong-tas-sab-bee, or Black Dog, was the Osage chief, second only to Clermont. Catlin reports him as a most striking figure, blind in the left eye, seven feet in height, and weighing in excess of 250 pounds, "standing in height and in girth, above all of his tribe."

⁴⁴ The camp for the night of June 27th was a few miles from Reagan, in Johnston County.

⁴⁵ The site was long known as the "Dragoon Crossing" on Blue River, and is in Sec. 29, Twp. 2 S., R. 7 E., near Belton, in Johnston County. The iron ore mentioned here was in the region around Bromide, in Coal and Johnston Counties.—Information from Muriel H. Wright.

⁴⁶ Gen. Leavenworth, Colonel Dodge, Lieut. Wheelock, and Catlin were the principals in this particular shoot. Leavenworth was injured, and the incident undoubtedly hastened his death. Catlin relates: "General Leavenworth joined me, with too much game expression yet in his eye to allow him more than time to say, 'I'll have that calf before I quit!' and away he sailed, 'up hill and down dale,' in pursuit of a fine calf that had been hidden on the ground during the chase, and was now making its way over the prairies in pursuit of the herd. I rode to the top of a little hill to witness the success of the General's second effort, and after he had come close upon the little affrighted animal, it dodged about in such a manner as evidently to baffle his skill, and perplex his horse, which at last fell in a hole, and both were instantly out of my sight. I ran my horse with all possible speed to the spot, and found him on his hands and knees, endeavoring to get up. I dismounted and raised him on to his feet, when I asked if he was hurt, to which he replied 'no, bit I might have been,' when he instantly fainted, and I laid him on the grass. . . . From that hour to the present, I think I have seen a decided change in the General's face; he has looked pale and feeble, and been continually troubled with a violent cough. I have rode by the side of him from day to day, and he several times told me that he was fearful he was badly hurt."—Catlin, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

mencement of the march. Mineralogy of the country, thus far, of secondary formation; sandstone, limestone, freestone and slate.

June 28.—Set out at seven o'clock; marched westwardly twenty-five miles, encamped⁴⁷ on Bois d'Arc creek; passed a herd of buffalo this morning, some thirty or forty in number; Indians with us killed six of them. Road to-day chiefly over brushy prairie and through timber, some open prairie; water plentiful and good; character of timber, in general, small—post oak and black jack, and some trees of Bois d'Arc, a wood valuable to Indians for bows—a yellow, elastic wood of great tenacity. Entered the Washita bottom eight miles on the day's route; elm trees, sycamores, and ash. Health of the party good.

Camp Washita,⁴⁸ Sunday, June 29.—Marched fifteen miles west by south; reached Camp Dean's camp (two companies of 3d infantry) a mile or two from the Washita, at half-past twelve o'clock; encamped near him. Road to-day through timber and brushy prairie; limestone gave place to-day to red sandstone; saw more iron ore. Delightful spring near Captain Dean's camp. Captain Dean informs us that Pawnees have been seen in the neighborhood within a few days.

June 30.—General Leavenworth declares his intention of commanding in person the expedition to the Pawnee country. Learned that some companies⁴⁹ of infantry were to accompany us. Lieutenants Northrop⁵⁰ and Steen, with twenty dragoons, joined us from west side of Washita; report Pawnees seen in that direction. (Remained in camp.)

July 1.—The regiment⁵¹ under Colonel Kearney arrived at 10 o'clock a. m. and encamped near the Washita. Our detachment joined main Camp Washita. Forty-five men and three officers sick—Lieutenants McClure,⁵² Eastman, and Ury. The surgeon attributes the sickness to exposure in the heat of the day. Seventy-five horses and mules disabled; rapid marching in the heat of the day and

⁴⁷ The camp for the night of June 28 was near the Washita River and south of Tishomingo.

⁴⁸ In anticipation of his expected arrival, Gen. Leavenworth had ordered Companies A and C of the 3d Infantry to proceed from Fort Towson to the mouth of the Washita and there erect a temporary encampment. The detachment, commanded by Capt. James Dean, completed its mission, and was there awaiting the arrival of the Dragoons. The site of Camp Washita is now inundated by Lake Texoma, and was south of the old crossing on Rock Creek in Section 21, Twp. 7 S., R. 7 E., Bryan County (Muriel H. Wright, *Some Historic Sites in Southern and Southeastern Oklahoma* [Oklahoma Historical Society, 1931], p. 11). See *Appendix* for biographical data on Capt. Dean.

⁴⁹ "We found encamped two companies of infantry from Fort Towson, who will follow in the rear of the dragoons as far as necessary, transporting with waggons, stores and supplies, and ready, at the same time, to co-operate with the dragoons in case of necessity."—Catlin, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

⁵⁰ See *Appendix* for biographical data on Lieut. Northrop.

⁵¹ The main body of the regiment had been traveling separately and behind the command echelon since leaving Camp Canadian on the 26.

⁵² Lieut. McClure died on July 20, probably at Camp Washita.

poor grazing at night are supposed to have been the causes. (Remained in camp.)

The "note of preparation" is now heard over the camp; all are engaged in making ready for a Pawnee chase.

July 2.—Remained in camp.

July 3.—Preparations for crossing the Washita; a platform upon two canoes fixed for that purpose. Whole day occupied with passage of the left wing; horse and mule lost in crossing. Captain Trenor⁵³ joined. Osborn, a deserter from company "F", brought in by a party sent in pursuit of him; sutler's wagon arrived; Lieutenants Swords and Van Deveer arrived. Great disappointment in not receiving by Lieutenant Swords horse-shoe nails; sent blacksmiths to Fort Towson to make nails. Lieutenant Edwards arrived with twenty-three men, who were left sick at the Canadian on the 26th ultimo; men chiefly recovered. Lieutenant Cooke had gone back to Fort Gibson on surgeon's certificate of ill health. (Remained in camp.)

July 4.—The right wing of the regiment crossed⁵⁴ the Washita. Command encamped about four miles⁵⁵ west from Camp Washita. Four horses drowned; last wagon passed over after dark in the evening. The Washita is a narrow stream, about forty-five yards in width; water of a dark red color; banks bold; shores miry; inconvenient landing for horses. Monsieur Beyrick,⁵⁶ botanist, etc., joined us to-day, with the view of accompanying the regiment to the prairie. Mr. Catlin, portrait painter, is also with us.

General Leavenworth declares his intention of sending Colonel Dodge with two hundred and fifty men to the Pawnee villages. He changes his determination to command in person. Left sick at Dean's camp, near the Washita, Lieutenants Swords, McClure, and Eastman. Left here—men for duty, and —sick.

July 5.—Change of camp promises to improve the health of the command; fine range for our horses, who have suffered of late for want of good grazing. Our horses in general, though thin, are apparently well able, if treated with care, to perform the campaign before us; spirits of the officers and men good; sanguine expectations of a successful march upon the Pawnees. (Remained in camp.)

July 6.—Moved westwardly eight miles, to Camp Leavenworth.⁵⁷

July 7.—Marched at 4 o'clock westwardly five miles. Major Mason and a party of officers killed several buffalo. General Leavenworth joined us a short time previous to setting out from Camp Leavenworth. Left him there. By his order the regiment was re-

⁵³ See *Appendix* for biographical data on Captain Trenor.

⁵⁴ Both Hildreth and the *Co. 1 Journal* mention that the crossing was facilitated by a canvas boat covered with "gum Elastick" belonging to Col. Kearney.

⁵⁵ The camp for the nights of July 4 and 5 was in the vicinity of Woodville, in Marshall County.

⁵⁶ He left the expedition on the 7th of July, and died at Fort Gibson on Sept. 28, 1834.

⁵⁷ Camp Leavenworth was in the vicinity of Kingston, in Marshall County.



(Photo by M.H.W., 1930)

Spring at the site of Camp Washita established by Captain Dean, 1834, near crossing on Rock Creek, Bryan County.



(Photo by M.H.W., 1930)

Crossing on Rock Creek near old spring at the site of Camp Washita.

organized. Number of companies six, each consisting of forty-two rank and file. Left one hundred and nine men for duty, and eighty-six sick. Left the following named officers: Captain Trenor in command, Lieutenants Shaumburgh, (sick) Ury, (sick,) Bowman, Kingsbury, and Van Deveer.

New arrangement of officers

Field and staff—Colonel Dodge, Lieutenant Colonel Kearney, Major Mason, Lieutenant and Adjutant Hamilton, and Lieutenant Wheelock, temporarily attached.

Company "B"—Captain Sumner, Lieutenant Burgwin.

Company "C"—Captain Duncan, Lieutenant Territt.

Company "D"—Captain Hunter, Lieutenants Moore and Steen.

Company "E"—Captain Perkins, Lieutenant Davis.

Company "H"—Captain Boone, Lieutenants Izard and Northrop.

Company "I"—Captain Browne, Lieutenant Edwards.

Companies "G" and "K" were temporarily broken up and divided amongst the six companies

The command furnished with ten days' provisions and eighty rounds of cartridges per man; baggage reduced to lowest possible quantity; marched in two columns.

July 8.—Waiting for lost horses. A stupid sentinel last night mistook a horse for a hostile Indian, fired at and killed him; alarmed the camp, and sent off in a *stampede*⁵⁸ the rest of the horses; recovered all save ten. The men of the regiment are excellent material, but unused to the woods. They often discover deficiencies in this kind of service. Among the officers are several excellent woodsmen; talent of this kind is exceedingly valuable to the regiment. We found here chalk. (Remained in camp.)

July 9.—The command marched at half-past eight o'clock, northwest course, fourteen miles. Colonel Dodge this morning received instructions from General Leavenworth to send back a field officer to command at Camp Leavenworth. Lieutenant Colonel Kearney was ordered to report to General Leavenworth for that duty.⁵⁹ Ten men whose horses were lost on the night of the 7th instant were sent back to Camp Leavenworth.

Soon after starting this morning several persons on horseback were discovered, supposed to be Pawnees.⁶⁰ Face of country to-day

⁵⁸ The incident must have caused quite a commotion, as it is described in detail in all five of the journals.

⁵⁹ Lieut. Colonel Kearney was sent back to Camp Leavenworth, and did not accompany the expedition farther.

⁶⁰ ". . . we had proceeded but a few miles when our flank guard espied a small party of mounted Indians on our left we were immediately ordered to halt & a party of about 40 men under the command of Capt Hunter were order towards them with a Flag of truce having proceeded 2 or 3 miles they sent back word that they could distinguish their white Flag. This however probably was a mistake as we soon lost sight of the Indians & saw no more of them for several days but from this time forward we carried in advance on each side a white flag."—*Co. I Journal*.

high and rolling prairie. Encamped in a small prairie, in sight of a large mound, some three or four miles distant, bearing south 40° west.⁶¹

July 10.—Cross timbers; course to-day west 16 miles; country rough and broken,⁶² with but little water; little rain last night and this morning; cloudy weather during the day; some buffalo killed during the day;⁶³ not much water at camp.⁶⁴

July 11.—Command divided into three columns; the right column under command of Major Mason, the center column under Captain Hunter, the left column under command of Captain Sumner. Country to-day small prairies, bushy ravines, scrubby oak ridges; want of good water on the road; bad water at camp to-night; several buffalo killed to-day; course to-day west, distance twenty miles.⁶⁵

July 12.—Encamped⁶⁶ in a grove of small open timber, near a fine grove; marched at 8 o'clock; course west, distance twelve miles; slips of prairie, timber, and bushy thickets.

Camp Choctaw,⁶⁷ July 13.—Passed through the last of the Cross Timbers, and entered upon the Grand prairie; marched at half-past eight o'clock from Camp Choctaw west by north twenty-three miles, and encamped on a creek; highly beautiful country, tolerably well watered; command impeded to-day by sick men in litters; Indians, supposed to be Pawnees, were seen to-day; wild horses in large herds; one of the Indian guides caught one of them; immense herds of buffalo; passed several springs of rock oil, (petroleum.) Command halted at 6 o'clock p. m.; rear guard did not come up until 10—kept back by the sick falling in the rear.

July 14.—Marched at half-past 8 o'clock seventeen miles west; number of sick decreased. The command had advanced about half

⁶¹ The camp for the night of July 9 was in the vicinity of McMillan, in Marshall County.

⁶² The *Co. I Journal* records this unusual incident on the 10th: "One of the command this morning while riding through the thicket found several pieces of a pair of saddle bags which had no doubt belonged to a citizen of the name of Martin who had been murdered by the Pawnees but a few weeks before on Washitaw River."

⁶³ The *Co. I Journal* records an interesting circumstance happening on the July 10th buffalo hunt: "When we closed in upon him as near as our horses would approach and at one well aimed fire laid him prostrate and immediately commenced butchering him. In his left shoulder (grown into the flesh) we found the steel point of an Indian arrow which had no doubt been long there as the flesh around it had become completely calloused. . . ."

⁶⁴ The camp for the night of July 10 was in the vicinity of Ardmore, Carter County.

⁶⁵ The camp for the night of July 11 was in the vicinity of Wilson, in Carter County.

⁶⁶ The camp for the night of July 12 was in the vicinity of Ringling, in Jefferson County.

⁶⁷ Camp Choctaw was probably in Stephens County, about ten miles east of Comanche.

a mile, when on a hill to our right we discovered a party of horsemen; our spy-glasses soon determined them to be Indians. Colonel Dodge halted the columns, ordered a white flag, and with it and his staff moved in the direction of the Indians. After some delay, one of the party⁶⁸ advanced upon full gallop, bearing a white flag upon his lance; he proved to be a Spaniard, who early in life had been taken by the Comanches. Colonel Dodge received him kindly, and through our interpreter, who spoke a little Spanish, made known to him our pacific disposition. Gradually the whole band, about thirty Indians, came to us and shook hands; they proved to be Comanches; discovered a good deal of alarm and eagerness to convince us of their disposition to be friendly; they rode good horses; they were all armed with bows and arrows and lances, and carried shields of buffalo hide. We inquired where their village was; they answered, "two days' journey," and seemed anxious to conduct us thither. In reply to our inquiries concerning the Pawnees, they seemed not to understand the term; told us the Toyash village was one days' journey from their camp; that they would send for the Toyash chiefs, if we would accompany them to the camp. They signified, however, their desire to have Colonel Dodge wait with his command in their camp, and go on the next day. Colonel Dodge paid no regard to their requests, but showed an indifference to their movements and an independence of them, which had the effect to make them follow us; they accompanied us. Found another band, making in all some forty or fifty; they told us that they were a very numerous people. Colonel Dodge told them that *we* were a very numerous people; that more troops were coming behind, with large guns. After we halted to encamp for the night,⁶⁹ they came to beg tobacco, and to talk with Colonel Dodge, who informed them "that the President, the great American captain, had sent him to shake hands with them; that he wished to establish peace between them and their red brethren around them, to send traders among them, and to be forever friends." They shook hands with the Osages, Cherokees, Delawares, &c., who were with us, and seemed highly satisfied with their interview with us, and offered to accompany us to the Toyash village. Country to-day beautiful, open prairie; game scarce—two or three deer were killed, no buffalo seen; a herd of wild horses⁷⁰ passed near us; pro-

⁶⁸ Catlin gives his name as "His-oo-san-ches."

⁶⁹ The camp for the night of July 14 was northwest of Comanche, in Stephens County.

⁷⁰ Catlin relates an experience he and Chadwick had with the wild horses: ". . . we agreed that we would try the experiment of 'creasing' one, as it is termed in this country; which is done by shooting them through the gristle on the top of the neck, which stuns them so that they fall, and are secured with the hobbles on their feet; after which they rise again without fatal injury. . . . , and having leveled our pieces at the withers of a noble, fine-looking iron grey, we pulled trigger, and the poor creature fell, and the rest of the herd were out of sight in a moment. We advanced speedily to him, and had the most inexpressible mortification of finding, that we never had thought of hobbles or halters, to secure him—and in a few minutes more, had the still greater mortification, and even anguish, to find that one of our shots had broken the poor creature's neck, and that he was quite dead."

vision threatens to be scarce; Colonel Dodge anxious to expedite business, lest his men may suffer on this account; one or two horses broke down to-day.

The Comanche is a fine looking⁷¹ Indian, in general naked; some of them wore blankets. The squaws are dressed in deer skins, and are good looking women; among them were several Spanish women, evidently long used to Comanche habits; appearance of a Comanche fully equipped on horseback, with his lance and quiver and shield by his side, is beautifully classic. This has been an interesting day to us; our goal seems in sight; uncertainty of reaching the Pawnees much lessened.

July 15.—Marched at half past 7 o'clock twenty-four miles⁷² northwest; severe rain last night; Comanches left us this morning, with the exception of one, who remained as guide; he assures us that we shall reach the Comanche camp to-morrow. Colonel Dodge learns that the Comanches, Kiowas, and the band called by us the Pawnee Picts, but correctly termed, the Toyash, are friends, and to a certain degree allies, and mingle so as to be, except in language, much the same people. The Comanches are, we learn, the largest band, the proudest and boldest; therefore the Colonel has resolved to visit them first; thence to the Toyash village, establish friendly understandings with one or both, or war with one or both, as may be; officers and men on the alert, as if in the atmosphere of war.

July 16.—Marched at nine o'clock, halted at half past 2 o'clock; course north by west, distance twelve miles; an accident occurred in camp last night—Sergeant Cross was shot by a dragoon in the hip. We had marched three or four miles, when we discovered a party of Comanches on our left. Colonel Dodge sent two officers to meet them and shake hands with them. They were a hunting party, some ten or twelve in number; they were brought to Colonel Dodge; the columns were halted; they shook hands with the Colonel and his officers and the Indians; we then moved on together for the Comanche camp; the Pawnee girl recognized an old acquaintance in the captain of this party, and rendered service by interpreting what he said, through the Osages. The Comanche captain informs us that it is but a short distance to their camp; his people wish to be our friends, &c. Two or three miles with our new friends brought us in sight of their camp, situated in a valley. Here we met about a hundred mounted Comanches, who had come out to welcome us, and evidently not a little alarmed. We shook hands with them; the Cherokees, Osages, &c, advanced and performed the same ceremony, when we all moved together for their camp. On arriving at it, they

⁷¹ All apparently did not agree. Hugh Evans wrote on first seeing them: "Those Indians are large and corpulent not so tall and elegantly formed as the Osage Indians but much heavier and coarser featured than them."

⁷² The camp for the night of July 15 was south of Sterling, in Comanche County.



(From Catlin, *North American Indians*)
Meeting of Colonel Henry Dodge, 1st Dragoons, with the Comanche.

invited us to cross the creek and encamp with them; Colonel Dodge, however, preferred leaving the creek between us and our red friends. This day has been a very interesting one—absolutely so and peculiarly so, as we were anxious, impatient, and uncertain as to the movements of these Indians. Six nations, some of whom had but recently been at war with each other, shake hands together—a form, it is true, but a type, we believe, of a permanent peace that must promote the interest of all. Our camp, “Comanche,”⁷³ an admirable position—the steep bank of a creek in front, and a ravine bounding the other three sides; habitual form of our camp a rectangle; horses picketed within it at night, and surrounded by a chain of sentinels; orders issued that no man should visit the Comanche camp, nor officer, without special permission. The Comanches have hoisted an American flag over their camp, which contains more than two hundred skin lodges; herds of horses, in all not less than three thousand, are grazing around them; they have been here evidently but a day or two; their chief is absent with a hunting party. We are now in sight of a chain of *peaks*,⁷⁴ so called—mountains, bearing south and west; behind these are the Toyash villages. Some of these hills cannot be less than two thousand feet above the prairie at their base. Number of sick, twenty-nine; in litters, four. Our guide,⁷⁵ yesterday, was not a little wavering in his disposition to serve us. Colonel Dodge presented him with a gun, which produced a fine effect upon his spirits. He could not *hear* the Pawnee girl; but no sooner was he in actual possession of the yauger, and felt the well-filled cartridge box buckled around his body, than his grave face became wreathed with smiles, his sense of hearing was suddenly restored, his arms sawed the air with signs, and, through the magical influence of the gun, we gained several fragments of useful information. We are exceeding unfortunate in not having an interpreter; our Spanish interpreter, a Cherokee, is very imperfect.

July 17.—Comanche chief still absent. Some of our officers purchased wild horses to-day. A blanket or butcher knife⁷⁶ is equivalent to a horse. Waiting to-day for the Comanche chief to return to his camp. Colonel Dodge hopes to be able to induce him to accompany us to the Toyash villages. The Kiowa girl is quite sick to-day. One of the Comanches informs us that their great chief will be here to-

⁷³ Camp Comanche was probably on Cache Creek, in the northern part of Comanche County, near Apache.

⁷⁴ The entries for July 16 are the first to mention the Wichita Mountains. Catlin: “. . . a magnificent range of mountains rising in distance beyond; it being, without doubt, a huge ‘spur’ of the Rocky Mountains, composed entirely of a reddish granite or gneis, corresponding with the other links of this stupendous chain.” *Co. I Journal* states on the same day: “A chain of Mountains formed entirely of rock of stupendous appearance extend themselves in a distance on the left which from their situation evidently connect themselves with the rocky mountains.”

⁷⁵ The guide was named “Ish-a-ro-yeh.”—Catlin, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

⁷⁶ “Of the horses, the officers and man have purchased a number of the best, by giving a very inferior blanket and butcher’s knife, costing in all about four dollars!”—Catlin, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

morrow when the sun is high, and that *he* can talk to the Kiowa and Pawnee girls. Remained in camp.

July 18.—The chief has not arrived. Doubt somewhat the sincerity of the Spaniard who informed us he would certainly come. The Comanches visit our camp and trade with us. Monsieur Beyrick, the botanist, left us on the 7th instant. Number of sick to-day thirty-three. Three officers sick. Waited for the chief until eleven o'clock, when the advance was sounded; marched seven miles westwardly; found a Pawnee Mohaw who has been to the Toyash village, and who promises to guide us thither.

Two miles from camp; command delayed two hours waiting for the litters to come up; six litters, including Mr. Catlin's. Remarkable absence, day and night of mosquitos and flies. A chain of hills five miles from us, bearing south by west; country exceedingly beautiful; soil good; water abundant; grazing excellent. The season is a remarkably dry one, but we have suffered very little for want of good water. Our men seem somewhat discontented on account of the scarcity of game; they are very improvident; brought ten days' provisions on the 7th, with orders to make it last twenty days; have been supplied with a plenty of buffalo meat till within a day or two, yet many of them are entirely out of provisions; plenty of deer in the neighborhood, but no buffalo; out of the buffalo range to-day; our sick encumbered us so much that Colonel Dodge resolves to leave them behind.

July 19.—Marched at eight o'clock for the Toyash villages; command reduced to 183 men; left in sick camp,⁷⁷ covered by a breastwork of felled timber, seventy-five men; thirty-nine of these sick; Lieutenant Moore left here sick; Surgeon Findlay for duty; Lieutenant Izard in command;⁷⁸ left our jaded horses; marched twenty-three miles southwest; two miles from camp began to ascend hills, apparently a ridge of mountains, running south by east; limestone; curious regularity of limestone upon the first hill passed over; rows of pavement resembling, at a little distance, furrows in a field; road rough, leading over rocky ravines, and close passes in the mountains; our guide seems to have chosen the most uneven and circuitous route; height of these mountains from 200 to 1,500 feet; wagons nor artillery could possibly pass these hills; halted at 3 o'clock, and encamped⁷⁹ near a creek; a few miles before reaching our halting place for the night the face of the country changed; secondary formation gave way entirely to primitive rock; mountains of granite, almost wholly without soil; upon the side of one of them

⁷⁷ The sick camp was near Medicine Creek west of Apache. The expedition returns to the camp on July 27.

⁷⁸ Catlin remained at the sick camp and did not accompany the expedition farther. His information on subsequent events was supplied to him by Chadwick.

⁷⁹ The camp for the night of July 19 was in Kiowa County, a few miles north of Mountain Park. See footnote 90.

noticed a shining spot, apparently a waterfall, glistening in the sunlight; an old woodsman astonished us by informing us it was a mass of *salt*; no buffalo, our unshod horses suffered very much to-day; wild horses in abundance, and bears; many deer were seen, a few were killed; scanty allowance of provisions for our men; we march too fast to be able to hunt much on the road; game is now divided among the command with great care; marched in three columns; baggage reduced to three pack horses to each company.

July 20.—The command moved at half past 7 o'clock, west course; halted at half past 4 o'clock, thirty-seven miles; road literally of granite rock for miles; after a few miles struck high prairies, thinly scattered with bushes; then ravines and difficult passes; immense blocks of granite piled on each other from 500 to 1,000 feet in height; many horses gave out to-day; traces of buffalo, but saw none; about the middle of the day's march⁸⁰ the mountains became more detached; passed to-day what is called a "dog village." The prairie dog, or "marmot," is an animal somewhat larger than a squirrel, with a head like that of a dog; they live in holes in the ground, about twenty paces apart from each other; five or six miles were covered by the habitations of these little animals. We encamped⁸¹ five miles from the Toyash village, which is situated on a branch of Red river; soon after we had pitched our camp Lieutenant Northrop was directed to pursue and endeavor to bring to camp an Indian who was discovered on horseback; Lieutenant Northrop after some difficulty induced the Indian, who proved to be of the Toyash nation, to accompany him; he was very much alarmed; conversed readily with the Pawnee girl. We behaved kindly to this Indian; assured him of our friendly disposition, and allowed him to return to his village.⁸² The Toyash girl is now of very great service as an interpreter. The band not coming out to

⁸⁰ "This day we struck the waters of the red river which is peculiarly situated running through a rocky mountainous country the water of which is a pure copper couler so very salty that we cannot use it in drinking or cooking the beach on both sides is covered with pure fine white salt. We also passed today several "dog towns."—Sgt. Evans' *Journal*.

⁸¹ The camp for the night of July 20th was in the southern portion of Twp. 5 N., R 19 W., Kiowa County.

⁸² ". . . we espyed about 2 Miles distant from us leading pack horses pursuit was immediately made by Lt Northrop & one or two osages succeeded in bringing one of them to camp. gave him chase & soon overtook him the Indian seeing his pursuers close upon him stopped and made no resistance Lt. Nortrop drew his pistol and advanced cautiously towards him with it in his left hand and at the same time extending the other in a friendly manner. The Indian was so agitated that he could scarcely support himself the Lt by various tokens of friendship succeeded in bringing him to himself & returned to camp with his prize At the time he was brought in he was still in such a state of trepidation as almost deprived him of speech. Our prisoner the Pawnee squaw was brought before him and they received each other in a most affecting manner. We found him to be a Pawnee he said he had been carrying wood to the village which was about 5 miles distant from him We got considerable information. In the morning we released him & sent him to his friends."—*Co. I Journal*.

meet us to-day convinced us that they had either fled or had determined to make a stand and give us a fight; bayonets were fixed, and every preparation made for a conflict. Water to-day at our camp *salt*. Width of the branch of Red river about 500 feet from bank to bank; water low. Dutch, the Cherokee guide, very ill; the Kiowa girl ill also.

July 21.—The command marched at 8 o'clock for the Toyash village; proceeded a mile or two when we met about sixty Indians who had come out to meet us; shook hands with them, and moved on in company with each other; they stated that the principal chief was absent on a visit to the Pawnee Mohaw's country; passed their cornfields on our way to their town; these fields are well cultivated, neatly enclosed, and very extensive, reaching, in some instances, several miles; we saw also here melons of different kinds, squashes, &c. The Indians discovered a good deal of alarm as we approached their village; frequently halted, and begged Colonel Dodge not to fire on them; Colonel Dodge promised them safety. These Indians are chiefly naked, and are armed with bows and arrows. They have few horses, and seem altogether an unwarlike people. Before we started this morning the uncle of the Pawnee girl rode up to our camp; he embraced his relation, and shed tears of joy on meeting her. We soon reached the village,⁸³ which is situated immediately under mountains of granite some 600 feet in height; in front of the village runs the river. We counted near 200 grass lodges; these are made of poles fixed firmly in the earth, fastened together at the top, and thatched substantially with prairie grass and stalks from their cornfields; many of these lodges are thirty feet high and forty feet in diameter; in the center of the floor a shallow excavation serves as a fireplace; around the sides are comfortable berths, large enough to accommodate two persons each. We encamped on a fine position, about one mile from the village. Toyash men are less fine looking than the Comanches. Their women are prettier than the Comanche squaws; indeed, some of their girls are very pretty; naked, save a broad garment of dressed deer skin, or red cloth, worn about the middle; some of the men wear coats of red cloth, obtained from the Spaniards of Mexico. Most of our officers visited them on the day of our arrival, and were hospitably entertained. Our own provisions were almost entirely exhausted; we had met with little or no game for several days, and found most excellent fare in the dishes of corn

⁸³ The site of the "Toyash" or Pawnee Village (now referred to as the Wichita Village) is in Devil's Canyon, Section 12, Twp. 4 N., R. 20 W., Kiowa County. Evans states that the expedition marched through the village, and bivouaced on the other side of the river "for an hour," and then recrossed to the village. James Mooney, who visited the site in 1893, gave its location as "situated on the northeast bank of the North Fork of Red River, about 4 miles below the junction of Elm fork. . . . It was close to the mouth of Devil canyon, with the river in front and the mountains behind."—James Mooney, "Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians," *17th Annual Report, Bur. Amer. Ethn.* (Washington, 1898) p. 266. Mooney reports that on his visit the circular impressions from the dwellings were still plainly visible.



"Toyash Village," drawing made in 1834. Location now referred to as site of Wichita Village, Devil's Canyon on North Fork of Red River, Kiowa County.
(From Catlin, *North American Indians*)

and beans which they dress with buffalo fat; they served us thus liberally, and for dessert gave us watermelons and wild plums. Our men purchased green corn, dried horse meat and buffalo meat; we depended, during our stay with them, on their dried meat and corn, which, with vermilion and articles of clothing, knives, &c., we were able to purchase of them.

The Comanches now began to arrive.

July 22.—At the Toyash village Colonel Dodge and several of his officers met, agreeably to previous notice, the Toyash chiefs and warriors in council.⁸⁴ Council being in order, Colonel Dodge proceeded to speak as follows: "We are the first American officers who have ever come to see the Pawnees; we meet you as friends, not as enemies, to make peace with you, to shake hands with you. The great American captain is at peace with all the white men in the world; he wishes to be at peace with all the red men in the world; we have been sent here to view this country, and to invite you to go to Washington, where the great American chief lives, to make a treaty with him, that you may learn how he wishes to send among you traders, who will bring you guns and blankets, and everything that you want. The great American chief wishes also to make peace between you and the Osages; you have been at war with the Osages; and to secure peace between you and the Cherokees, Senecas, Delawares, and Choctaws, and all other red men, that you may all meet together as friends, and not shed each other's blood, as you have done. On our way to your village we met a party of Comanches. We showed to them a white flag, which said to them, "we wish to be friends.' Their principal men were gone to hunt; we treated their old men, women, and children, with kindness; we gave them presents; they had many horses; we could have taken their horses from them, but did not; we showed to them that we wanted to be at peace with them; they told us that you were their friends; we were glad to hear of it; we have come to your town, and found you as defenseless as the Comanches; we have treated you as we treated them; the American people show their kindness by actions, and not by words alone; we have been told that a white man was taken prisoner by you last summer, that a boy was made prisoner by you last spring; we have come now to require the boy at your hands, for we are told that he is in your town. Give us the white boy, and we will give you the Pawnee girl that we have brought with us; we wish all that has passed to be put behind us—to be forgotten; we wish to shake hands with you and be friends; you must now give me a positive and direct answer in regard to the white man who was taken last summer, and the boy who was taken last spring." (Remained in camp.)

⁸⁴ The curious thing regarding this report of the speeches of Colonel Dodge and the chiefs is that they are recorded verbatim to those recorded by Sgt. Evans. Either Evans made the original transcript which was incorporated by Wheelock into his report, or Evans had access to Wheelock's material.

The chief, We-ter-ra-shah-ro, replied: "I know nothing of the man who you say was taken last summer; the white boy⁸⁵ is here."

Colonel Dodge resumed. "I wish the boy brought to me; I will then give to you the Pawnee girl; this act, together with all the information you can give concerning the man who was taken last summer, will be the best proof that you can give of the sincerity of your disposition to shake hands and be at peace with us. I cannot leave the country until we obtain possession of the boy and gain information respecting the man who was taken last summer. His name was Abby; he was taken between the Blue river and the Washita, about this time last year."

Chief.—"I know nothing of it. I believe they were Comanches who took the man." On receiving some intelligence from one of his friends, the chief continued: "I remember now; the Oways, who live south, did it."

Colonel Dodge.—"Do the Oways hunt on the grounds between the Blue and Washita rivers?"

Chief.—"They hunt there, and I have heard that they took the man Abby, and when they got near their camp they killed him."

Colonel Dodge.—"How far do the Oways live from here?"

Chief.—"They follow the buffalo as the Comanches do; they have a town." Here a pistol was accidentally fired in the council lodge, which caused much confusion.⁸⁶ It was soon explained, however, and business proceeded. The white boy, who had been sent for,

⁸⁵ Catlin (quoting Chadwick) *op. cit.*, p. 71, gives a different story as to how they learned that young Martin was in the village: ". . . until at length a negro-man was discovered, who was living with the Pawnees, who spoke good English; and coming into the council-house, gave information that such a boy had recently been brought into their village, and was now a prisoner amongst them. This excited great surprise and indignation in the council, and Colonel Dodge then informed the chiefs that the council would rest here; and certainly nothing further of a peaceable nature would transpire until the boy was brought in. In this alarming dilemma, all remained in gloomy silence for awhile; when Colonel Dodge further informed the chiefs, that as an evidence of his friendly intentions towards them, he had, on starting, purchased at a very great price, from their enemies the Osages, two Pawnee (and one Kiowa) girls; which had been held by them for some years as prisoners, and which he had brought the whole way home, and had here ready to be delivered to their friends and relations; but whom he would certainly never show, until the little boy was produced."

⁸⁶ "A pistol in the hand of a friendly Indian (a Cherokee) was accidentally discharged, it was a sign for general confusion—the Indians as if yet suspicious of our intentions in a moment were prepared and eager for the fray [fray]. The squaws by one concert fled towards the mountains and clambered up in all directions, twas a moment that required the utmost calmness & intrepidity to avert the danger that threatened."—*Co. I Journal*.

was brought in and presented to Colonel Dodge; the boy was entirely naked, about seven years of age; his name is Matthew Wright Martin.⁸⁷

Chief.—“I am glad to shake hands with you, with the red men that you have brought with you, the Osages, Delawares, and Cherokees; the principal chief is not here, but you are as gladly received as he would have welcomed you; the chief has gone to the country of the Pawnee O’Mohaws; he believed that you had gone that way. The father of the Toyash girl went with the chief to seek his daughter.”

Colonel Dodge.—“How did the Comanches obtain the American flag I saw flying in their camp?”

Chief.—“The Pawnees from La Platte sent two flags—one for the Wacoahs, and the other to the Comanches.”

Colonel Dodge.—“Do the Spaniards come here to trade with you?”

Chief.—“They do. They left us not long since, and went west.”

Colonel Dodge.—“The Americans will give you better and cheaper goods than the Spaniards do. Tell me, if you know, where the ranger (Abby) was taken, and how he was killed?”

Chief.—“I have inquired, and have learned this day that the Indians who live near St. Antoine, in Mexico, captured Abby, and that they killed him on Red river.”

Colonel Dodge.—“What Indians killed our Santa Fé traders?”

Chief.—“There is a roving tribe of very bad Indians called Wakinas; they range north of the country of the Arkansas.” Colonel Dodge here presented the girl to her friends, whereupon they conducted her from the council.

Colonel Dodge.—“I am very much pleased at the exchange of prisoners. I hope the friends of the girl will be happy with her; she is a good girl; I wish her well. I will restore the little boy to his mother; her heart will be glad, and she will think better of the Pawnees; a bright sun has shined on us this day; I hope the Great Spirit will let it shine continually upon us. You have some Osage prisoners; the Osages have some Pawnee prisoners; we will exchange, and give you your Pawnee friends, and you shall restore the Osages to their friends. How many Osages have you?”

⁸⁷ “They held a long consultation about the boy, and seeing their plans defeated by the evidence of the negro; and also being convinced of the friendly disposition of the Colonel, by bringing home their prisoners from the Osages, they sent out and had the boy brought in, from the middle of a corn-field, where he had been secreted. He is a smart and very intelligent boy of nine years of age, and when he came in, he was entirely naked, as they keep their own boys of that age. There was a great excitement in the council when the little fellow was brought in; and as he passed amongst them, he looked around and exclaimed with some surprise, ‘What! are there white men here?’ to which Colonel Dodge replied, and asked his name; and he promptly answered, ‘my name is Matthew Wright Martin.’”—Catlin, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

Chief.—“There are Osages here; they are men who were raised here, and do not wish to leave us. The Delaware woman and boy that we took died of the smallpox. A great many of the Toyash have died of smallpox.”

Colonel Dodge.—“The American President will have a treaty of peace made between you all; then you will meet and exchange prisoners; this will be done when the next grass grows. The Osages who are with the Pawnees, who then wish to return to the Osages, will be able to return; and the Pawnees who are with the Osages can come back to their people.”

Chief.—“We wish to have it done soon.”

Colonel Dodge.—“The American President wishes to see some of each nation shake hands before him; he will give presents to those who visit him, and fix a permanent peace between their nations. Peace cannot be made with all the tribes till a large white paper be written and signed by the President and the hands of the chiefs. Will your chiefs go with me now to see the American President? I wish also to take with me some Comanche chiefs. The President will be happy to see you, and will make you, as I told you before, presents of handsome guns, coats, &c.”

Much demurring among the chiefs.

Colonel Dodge.—“This is the proper time to make peace with the red men and the white men; if you do not seize this opportunity you may not have another. The bright chain of friendship can now be made bright between all the Indians and the white men.”

Chief.—“We do not like to pass through the timber; it will be hard for our horses to pass through the thick timber country between us and the white men.”

Colonel Dodge.—“There are roads; a big road is now being made.”

Chief.—“We have met here as friends, we hope to remain so. The Great Spirit has seen us as we see now the white men, Cherokees, Osages, Delawares, and Senecas, as friends; we hope to remain so.”

Colonel Dodge.—“I hope so. How came you by the negro who is here with you?”

Chief.—“This Comanche brought him; he found him on the Red river; you can take him and do as you please with him.”

The council here closed.

July 23.—We-ter-ra-shah-ro, and two other principal men, met Colonel Dodge at his tent this morning, and held further talk with him. The four leaders of the bands of Indians who were with us were present at the talk, and participated therein. Colonel Dodge spoke as follows: “Toyash chiefs! I told you yesterday that I wished

to show you the road that leads to the great American captain, and make you acquainted with the Indians that live on the way thither; have you thought of going with me? Our great father wished you to see the red men who live on the way, that you may be the better able to settle all difficulties with them. You shall be well treated; presents shall be made to you, and you shall be sent back in safety. Peace cannot be made unless some of you go; I am not the great captain, *he only* can make peace with you and other red men; I wish only a few of you to go with me; I wish you to go willingly and as friends; had I chosen to force you to go it would have been easy for me to do so; you see I do not wish to force you." After a good deal of consultation, one of the chiefs (a Wacoah) consented to go. Here the following interesting ceremony took place: The boy whom we recovered yesterday is the son of the late Judge Martin, of Arkansas, who was killed by a party of Indians some weeks since; the son was with his father on a hunting excursion, and being parted from him—his death, however, he did not witness, and is now in ignorance of it—the boy relates that, after being parted from his father, the Indians who had taken him were disposed, save one, to kill him; this one shielded him and took care of him in sickness. Colonel Dodge, as a reward for this noble kindness, gave him a rifle, and at the same time caused the little boy to present to him, with his own hand, a pistol. Colonel Dodge now assured the chiefs that they should receive further presents if they would go with him to his country; that he regretted that he had nothing of value with him, but begged them to accept some rifles and pistols, which they did with *much evident satisfaction*. We-ter-ra-shah-ro, and the other chiefs with him, here consulted some time together on the subject of visiting the President. We-ter-ra-shah-ro spoke: "We have been at war with the nations which we see around us to-day; we wish now to make peace with them."

Colonel Dodge answered him: "It is the wish of the President that you make peace with them; that you present to each other clean hands; it is to effect this that I wish you to go with me."

The chief resumed: "We wish much to make peace with the Osages; we have been long at war with them; we wish to see the lands of the Creeks and Cherokees also, to shake hands with all. We want now to hear those Indians who came with you speak to us." The chief men of the four parties now spoke as follows:

Dutch, the Cherokee.—"I am now going to tell you what the chief of the Cherokees bade me say to you if we met as friends. He says to you his people wish to come to you without fear, and that you should visit them without fear. My heart is glad that we are all willing to be friends; a long time ago it was so, there was no war between us. I am rejoiced, and my people will be rejoiced, when they hear that it may be so again. Look at me, you see I speak the truth; I have nothing more to say."

Beatte, leader of the Osage band. "We came for peace; I have brought a few Osages, who were not afraid to come among you, with hearts inclined for peace. We look on our friend (Colonel Dodge) as our father; he is a true father to us all. I hope you will believe all that he says to you, and trust that he will prove a father to you. We wish you to visit our people, to see how we live since the white men have been our friends. They have made us happy; they will make you happy. You should go with our father as he wishes; you must then come and see the Osages. I have said all that I can say."

Monpisha, an Osage youth,⁸⁸ spoke to the Toyash men. "We shake hands with pleasure. I am nothing but a boy; my father was an Osage chief. We wish to be your brothers—dogs fight; we wish to be peaceable men, and friends. Our good father has made, in coming to you, a great road; we hope it will never be stained with blood. My father told me he was once a wild Indian; that white men taught him to be happy, instructed him how to build houses, raise cattle, and live like white men. I was sent to the white man's school, (missionary school;) was taught to read and write. This will be extended to you if you make peace with white men. Your buffalo will be gone in a few years. Your great father, the President, will give you cattle, and teach you how to live without buffalo."

George Bullett (Pon-da-gne-se) spoke. "When I tell the Delawares that we are friends, and can now hunt without warring together, they will be happy; our children will hereafter be happy, and not fear each other; we will no more fear the prairie Indian, and you will not be afraid of us."

Colonel Dodge resumed. "I am glad to hear what our friends say to you. I must say to you now that I am very sorry that a few of our horses got into your cornfield last night; I shall pay you for the damage done; it is not my wish to disturb your property in any manner. White men will always be just to you. I must also repeat that I regretted that the pistol was accidentally fired in the council lodge yesterday; I did not wish to alarm your people; I was pleased with the coolness of your chief; he was not alarmed. I wish you now to consider if some of you will go with me."

The chief signified that they would go home and decide who should accompany the command on its march back, and accordingly left our camp.

Many Comanches arrived to-day; amongst them the principal chief, Ta-we-que-nah, and two other chiefs. Colonel Dodge held the following talk with them in his tent:

⁸⁸ Sgt. Evans' *Journal* gives his age as fifteen years.

"The great American captain has sent me to view this country, and to offer the hand of friendship to all the red men who are here; he wishes to see you all at peace with each other; he desires you to come and see him, that he may fix a permanent peace with your tribes; he will make you presents, and he will send traders among you who will serve you with a great many things that you want to make you happy. The President, who is a good father to you, wishes to see you at peace with the Osages, Cherokees, Delawares, and all red men. We have endeavored to give you evidence of our friendship; we did so when we passed your camp; you were not at home; your women and children were defenseless; we treated them kindly; we confided in you, too. Our sick men we left behind near your camp."

Ta-we-que-nah replied. "I passed a night in your camp with your sick men; they treated us with kindness."

Colonel Dodge.—"You say that the Indians over Red river are your enemies; they kill you when you meet; these are Mexican Indians, and do not make treaties with our great father, the President; but he will protect you when you make peace with the Osages and other tribes that have been at war against you. The flag that you have come to you from the great father at Washington. The Pawnee O'Mohaws have such a flag, and all other red men who are our friends; whenever you show it you will be known as friends. I was glad to see the flag over your camp."

The chief spoke. "I wish to be at peace with you; there are many bands of Comanches; I shall visit them all this year, and will say to them what you have said to me; they will all be glad to make peace with you. I am an old man now, but never since I was a boy did I kill one of your people. You ask me who killed the ranger, Abby; I can tell you, for I remember when this white man was taken; the Texas Comanches took this white man, and carried him over the Red river, and there killed him."

Colonel Dodge.—"I wish some of you to go with me, that you may see our country, and that peace may be made strongly between you and the red men as well as between ourselves. The Pawnee O'Mohaws met the Osages, and Delawares, and Cherokees on our lands, and there made peace; they were enemies before; they are now friends, and do not hate each other. We wish you to come to us and make, in the same way, peace with us."

Ta-we-que-nah. "You have a girl who was taken from our friends, the Kiowas. I have a Spanish girl; I will give you the Spanish girl in exchange for the Kiowa girl that you have brought with you."

Colonel Dodge.—"I wish to secure your friendship and the friendship of the Kiowas. I wish you to accompany me. I wish

some of the Kiowas to go also; but I do not mean to sell the girl to them; I mean to give her to her relations and friends without price; I will give the girl to her tribe; they shall see how much their friends we are."

Ta-we-que-nah.—"If I go with you I shall be afraid to come back through the timber."

Colonel Dodge.—"I pledge myself that you shall be safely conducted back."

Ta-we-que-nah.—"I cannot go myself; my brother will go with you."

Here the talk was interrupted by a band of some twenty or thirty Kiowas rushing on horseback into camp, and almost into the door of Colonel Dodge's tent; the squaws and children fled in great alarm. The indignation of these Indians against the Osages had kindled to a great pitch, and could scarcely be kept in respectful bounds in their relation to us. The Osages, not many months previously, had murdered a large number of women and children of the Kiowas whilst the men were absent hunting. We held in possession, of which they were informed, a Kiowa girl, who was taken on the occasion of the massacre alluded to; the Kiowas having just arrived, were not aware of the intention on our part to restore the girl, and consequently presented themselves in a warlike shape, that caused many a man in camp to stand by his arms. Colonel Dodge, however, immediately addressed them with assurances of our friendly disposition, and gradually led them into gentleness. They are a bold, warlike-looking Indian. Some of their horses are very fine; they ride well, and were admirably equipped to-day for fight or flight; their bows strung, and quivers filled with arrows. They kept their saddles chiefly. A relation of the Kiowa girl embraced her, and shed tears of joy at the intimation that she should be restored to her father and friends. She proves to be a relation of one of the chiefs. An arrangement was now made for a general council, to be held the next day, between the Comanches, Toyash, and Kiowa nations. (Remained in camp.)

July 24.—At 10 o'clock the chiefs of the council began to assemble at the place appointed for the meeting, which was in a wood about two hundred yards from our camp. The father of the Kiowa girl having learned that she was to be restored, in a speech addressed to the Kiowas, whose numbers every moment increased, gave vent to his joy and praise of his white friends. All came mounted and armed. Many of our officers were present. There were not less than two thousand mounted and armed Indians around the council. Great excitement prevailed among the Indians, but especially with the Kiowas, who embraced Colonel Dodge, and shed tears of gratitude for the restoration of their relative. An uncle of

Wa-ha-sep-ah, a man of about forty years of age, was touchingly eager in his demonstrations, frequently throwing his arms around Colonel Dodge, and weeping over his shoulders, then invoking blessings upon him in a manner the most graceful and ardent. The women came in succession and embraced the girl, who was seated among the chiefs. The council being now in order, the pipes having made their rounds, Colonel Dodge addressed the Comanche chief, who sat on his right, and who interpreted his words to the Kiowas, whilst a Toyash Indian, who speaks the Caddo tongue, communicated with the Toyash men from Chiom, one of our Cherokee friends, who speaks English and Caddo: "I am glad to see together the great chief of the Comanche nation, the chiefs of the Kiowa and Toyash people, and the American officers who are with me. We have been strangers until now. I am glad to meet the captain of the Comanches, (Ta-we-que-nah.) You must be a great man, and have much power with all the tribes around you. I ask you to urge to these Indians what I have said to you; that we are your friends, and that to secure our mutual and lasting friendship, it is better for some of each of you to go with me, as I have before mentioned to you."

Here another band of Kiowas, about sixty in number, rode up, led by a principal man, handsomely dressed. He wore a Spanish red cloth mantle, prodigious feathers, and leggings that followed his heels like an ancient train. Another of the chiefs of the new band was very showily arrayed; he wore a perfectly white dressed deer-skin hunting shirt, trimmed profusely with fringe of the same material, and beautifully bound with blue beads, over which was thrown a cloth mantle of blue and crimson, with leggings and moccasins entirely of beads. Our new friends shook hands all round, and seated themselves with a dignity and grace that would well become senators of a more civilized conclave.

Colonel Dodge resumed. "Kiowa chiefs! I herewith present to you your relation; received her as the best evidence of the sincere friendship of Americans. Our great captain, the President, purchased this girl of the Osages, who took her from your people, and has sent me to restore her to the arms of her friends who love her. The Comanche chief (Ta-we-que-nah) offered me yesterday, in exchange for her, a Spanish girl. I would not accept of his offer, for the delivery of the girl is an act of justice, and is but one of the many acts of kindness that the great American captain will be glad to show to you. You and the Indians who came with us have long been at war with each other; it is time you were at peace together. It is the wish of the President to secure a permanent good understanding among you all. He will send traders among you; you want guns, blankets, &c. The buffalo are becoming scarce; they are less and less every year. You shall have cattle which you can keep with you; you can plant your corn and cultivate the soil, as the Cherokees and other Indians do. Here is a young man (Mr. Chadwick) who

has come out with me to see you, and who will return next summer, and bring goods and trade with you. I now wish you to consider the invitation given you to go with me, and I assure you that you shall receive presents, and be safely conducted through the timber country." One of the chiefs inquired; "Will you go to-morrow?"

Colonel Dodge.—"I wish to go as soon as practicable, as we have far to go. I wish you to visit General Leavenworth, another of your friends, and a captain under the great captain; he wishes to see you; he has never seen you; I should be glad to introduce to him two chiefs from each nation, or one chief and some of the warriors of each people."

Titche-totche-cha, chief of the Kiowas, signified his willingness to go. We-ter-rah-shah-ro, an old chief, 70 years of age, urged his red brethren to rely on the truth of Colonel Dodge's words. "He is a good man," said he, "believe his words."

The father of the Kiowa girl begged Colonel Dodge to accept a present, which the Colonel declined, repeating what he had before said, that he did not wish for ransom or reward; that the child was given to the father as an evidence of the good feeling of his people for them.

Titche-totche-cha spoke. "The American captain has spoken well to-day; the white men have shown themselves our friends. If a white man ever comes to my country, he shall be kindly treated; if he wants a horse, or anything that I have, he shall not pay for it; I will give him what he wants."

The council here closed; we returned to our camp, and left the Indians to decide in regard to accompanying us. It is on all accounts desirable to move from here. Our provisions prove unhealthy for our men, consisting entirely of green corn and dried horse and buffalo meat. The weather has been excessively hot and dry. Our men, many of them sick, are without a physician or medicine; two or three officers are and have been for several days ill of fevers. The Comanche squaws are very troublesome; they steal everything that they can secrete. The Toyash women are infinitely respectable. The difference in these three tribes seems to be somewhat thus: The Comanche is an arrogant, jealous, savage don; the Toyash, a savage farmer; whilst the Kiowa, more chivalric, impulsive, and daring them either, reminds one of the bold clannish Highlander, whose very crimes are made by the poet captivating. This tribe has roamed more towards the Rocky mountains until within a few years past.

July 25.—The chiefs of the three tribes early visited our camp. Colonel Dodge presented them with guns and pistols. Fifteen Kiowas, including the chief, Titche-totche-cha, were the first mounted and equipped, ready to march with us; the Comanche chief, very

cautious and apparently suspicious, deferred till late, when four Comanches, a squaw, and our early acquaintance, the Spaniard, joined us; there was much delay on the part of the Toyash. At length the old chief, We-ter-ra-shah-ro, a Wacoah chief (of a small band, who speak the same language as the Toyash people, and live near their town,) and two Toyash warriors, rode into our camp prepared to move with us.

The command, with the Indians, the white boy, and the negro in company, marched⁸⁹ at 3 o'clock, halted at 5 o'clock, and encamped on a creek six miles east.

July 26. Marched at half-past 7 o'clock; our guide, the Pawnee O'Mohaw, who had promised to remain with us, left us; he was no loss, for he had led us over a uselessly long route,⁹⁰ over rocks and hills, through deep ravines, all of which our guide to-day, a Toyash, has avoided, and, in place thereof, we have passed through a beautiful valley four or five miles in width, over an open, level prairie, leaving the granite roads on our right and left in the mountains; course to-day east, distance twenty-one miles; water scarce, grass very much destroyed by heat and dry weather; encamped⁹¹ on a stream of good water, good grazing; severe shower of rain, the first that has blessed us for many days; parched corn and dried buffalo meat our fare; health of command tolerably good. From conversation to-day with one of the Indians (Ski-sa-ro-ka, an intelligent Toyash) we learn that their nation lived formerly south; that their oldest men were born there, and that they and the Comanches have long been in habits of friendly intercourse; the Comanches exchange buffalo meat for the agricultural productions of the Toyash; the Comanches not much liked by the Toyash; they cheat them and ride away. The Kiowas, a newer acquaintance, more honest and gentle. The Comanches of Texas a much more powerful tribe than those on this side of the Red river; they are called the Ho-ishe Comanche.

July 27.—Marched at half-past 7 o'clock, course east, distance twenty-three miles; reached the sick camp⁹² at 4 o'clock; found Lieutenants Izard and Moore both sick with fevers; also Mr. Catlin very ill; twenty-nine sick men in both camps. Lieutenant Wheelock's

⁸⁹ "Accordingly about half past 2 o'clock we took up the line of march a little S of E a distance of about 8 miles. bearing considerable E of the way we went out. The Indians rode in front alone with the Col. and as I carried Matthew I rode in company with them."—*Sgt. Evans' Journal*.

⁹⁰ "We no not how to account for our Pawnee Mohaw guide us the rout we went out whether his intentions were honest and he knew not the way, or he wished to decoy us in those intolerable hills of rocks so the Indians might come attack & exterminate us. But certain it is he took us through the worst country ever passed over by any troop."—*Sgt. Evans' Journal*. The guide was probably delaying them long enough for word to reach the village of the coming.

⁹¹ The camp for the night of July 26 was near Saddle Mountain, in extreme northwest corner of Comanche County.

⁹² The camp from which the expedition departed on July 19.

servant, left sick on the 19th instant, died in our absence. Our road to-day through a valley; occasional interruptions from timbered creeks and small thickets, until we reached "Roaring river," a short stream,⁹³ but containing a considerable volume of water; empties into Red river. The Comanches who set out with us, left us to-day on account, as they say, of the sickness of the squaw. The Spaniard, who seems to belong to that tribe more than with any other, remains with us. These Indians seem well contented, and move without restraint, encamping with us at night, and setting out with the command, or after it has marched, as they please. Colonel Dodge and all the officers unable to account for not hearing from General Leavenworth. From the short supplies taken, we have reason to expect to hear from or meet with our wagons; our buffalo meat very short, and no game as yet.

July 28.—Broke up the sick camp, and marched at half-past 9 o'clock, with the whole command, taking again with us the Senecas, who had been left to hunt for the men left at this camp. Excessive hot weather; 43 sick, 7 in litters; course east by north, distance 12 miles. The heat to-day has been over-powering, both to men and horses; water tolerable; course north, from our trace going out; camp⁹⁴ to-night about six miles from former trace.

Colonel Dodge sent an express in search of General Leavenworth, to inform him of our return from the Pawnee villages. Colonel Dodge resolves to wait in the buffalo range for orders from General Leavenworth. Deer abundant to-day; one or two killed. One of the men killed a panther yesterday; passed to-day many hills of gypsum.

July 29.—Marched to-day at 8 o'clock, east by north, distance fifteen miles; provisions very short. At 12 o'clock the cry of buffalo was heard, and never was the cheering sound of land better welcomed by wearied mariners, than this by our hungry columns. The command⁹⁵ was halted, and some went together; the report of Beatte's rifle, and the fall of a fat cow; halted at 4 o'clock; killed two more buffaloes. Passed to-day more plaster of paris; road to-day over open, rolling prairies, between two forks of the Washita; met a small party of Toyash Indians. Our red friends suffer exceedingly from the heat of the sun; we covered them this morning with shirts.

July 30.—Marched at 8 o'clock; weather excessively hot; course northeast, fourteen miles; course interrupted by frequent deep gullies totally impassable for wagons. Nine miles from camp passed⁹⁶ the Washita; good water to-day; encamped on a fine stream; large fishes visible from the bank; timbered creeks, blackjack, elm, and mulberry trees; more gypsum.

⁹³ Probably Medicine Creek.

⁹⁴ The camp for the night of July 28 was a few miles north of Apache, in Caddo County.

⁹⁵ The camp for the night of July 29 was east of Cement.

⁹⁶ The Washita was crossed in the vicinity of Chickasha.

July 31.—Marched at half-past 8 o'clock; men in fine spirits; abundance of buffalo meat; course northeast; distance 10 miles; encamped⁹⁷ on a branch of the Canadian; three buffaloes killed this morning; no news yet from express; anxiously looked for; face of country rolling prairie; frequent deep gullies; one of the Kiowas killed three buffaloes with three arrows.

August 1.—The signal for advance was sounded at half-past 8 o'clock; course north by east; distance 15 miles; halted at half-past one o'clock; 10 miles from camp crossed⁹⁸ the Canadian; plenty of water to-day; passed the Canadian about 100 miles from our ford going out; abundance of buffalo, immense herds in every direction from the camp; men employed at night in drying meat; officers and men fortunate who have been provident enough to save a small quantity of corn for parching. Camp⁹⁹ alarmed this evening by the cry of "secure your horses from the buffalo;" a herd was rushing upon our camp, around which our horses had just been picketed, and had approached within two hundred yards of us, when our mounted sentinels changed their direction, and thus saving us from another "*stampedo*." We have been fortunate in having had but one occurrence of this not uncommon evil with bodies of horse on the prairies.

August 2.—Rest! Welcome rest for men and horses; occupied in killing and drying buffalo meat for the anticipated march to Fort Leavenworth; probable distance thither 400 miles; our men not unfrequently lost in hunting; in several instances absent from camp all night; our men find an excellent substitute for tea and coffee in a wild sage plant; we still have the advantage of being not at all troubled with flies or misquitos; the nights are so cool that the covering of a blanket is pleasant.

August 3.—Moved¹⁰⁰ a mile at half-past 10 o'clock, for change of grazing and police; our horses are in bad order, so much so that it is feared they may not be equal to a march to Fort Leavenworth; may possibly be compelled to move to Fort Gibson to recruit and shoe them. Little Martin flourishes, and is a great favorite in the command; he is an uncommonly fine boy.¹⁰¹

August 4.—The command marched at half-past 8 o'clock, southerly direction, eight miles along the Canadian, in search of buffalo; they have fled from the vicinity of our last camp; passed

⁹⁷ Probably Walnut Creek.

⁹⁸ The Canadian was crossed near Norman.

⁹⁹ "This night we Encamped about one mile from the river."—Sgt. Evans' Journal.

¹⁰⁰ The camps for the nights of August 1, 2, and 3 were in the immediate vicinity of Norman.

¹⁰¹ The opinion was shared by the others: ". . . little Matthew becoming a great favorite in the command."—Sgt. Evans' Journal.

large herds of buffalo; the Kiowas dashed in amongst them and killed, with their arrows, a great many of them; grass very much dried, scarce affording subsistence for our horses. Colonel Dodge has decided on marching to Fort Gibson. The prairie took fire to-day near our camp¹⁰² and was with difficulty extinguished.

August 5.—Rested for the day; men employed in curing meat; the express to General Leavenworth returned. Intelligence from Captain Dean of 3d infantry, announces the death of General Leavenworth; he died at his camp near "Cross Timbers," on the 21st of July; Lieutenant McClure, of this regiment, died at the Washita on the 20th of July; bilious fevers; one hundred and fifty men sick at the Washita.

August 6.—Marched at 8 o'clock for the fort at the mouth of Little river; course southeast; distance, twenty-three miles; road through "Cross Timbers." This is a timbered thicket, small black-jack sapplings so close as to frequently require the axe to make a road for a horseman. Five litters in our train; men in them extremely ill. Colonel Dodge sent an express to Colonel Kearney, who is at Camp Smith,¹⁰³ near the mouth of the Washita, directing him to move his command to Fort Gibson; herds of buffalo broke and re-broke through our columns to-day; encamped¹⁰⁴ in timber, in the bottom of a branch of Little river; found excellent grazing in the pea vines; litters came up several hours after the command.

August 7.—Our columns started at eight o'clock; course, south by east; gained eighteen miles; still in the "Cross Timbers," which promise to continue till we strike the road to Fort Gibson; a few small prairies interspersed amongst the severest blackjack thickets. Our route to-day has been on the dividing ridge between the Canadian and Little rivers. Scarcity of water; fortunately found at four o'clock good water and grazing.¹⁰⁵

August 8.—Marched at eight o'clock, halted at three o'clock; distance, 18 miles; course, east by south; exceedingly warm day; stubborn thickets; crossed and encamped¹⁰⁶ in the bottom of Little river; shallow stream, narrow bed, miry shores, no water from morning till the halt for the night; passed many creeks the beds of which were entirely dry; our horses looked up and down their parched surfaces, and the men gazed in vain at the willows ahead,

¹⁰² The camp for the nights of August 4 and 5 was between Norman and Noble.

¹⁰³ The camp established on July 7.

¹⁰⁴ The camp for the night of August 6 was several miles west of Trousdale. On this date the expedition passed in the vicinity of the spot which the following summer one of its members, Major Mason, was to select as the site of Camp Mason.

¹⁰⁵ The camp for the night of August 7 was near Sacred Heart, in Pottawatomie County.

¹⁰⁶ The crossing and the camp were in the vicinity of Sasakwa, in Seminole County.

which proved to mark only where water had been. The timber is larger here; black walnut and sycamore; lime and freestone; the woods abound to-day in plums, and a variety of finely-flavored grapes, no longer any trace of the buffalo; sick report numbers thirty men and three officers.

August 9.—Marched at the usual hour and made twenty miles in a northeast course; cross timbers, but more open than for the last three days; tolerable supply of water; soil sandy; encamped¹⁰⁷ at 4 o'clock in open timber, near where we struck the road from Fort Gibson to the Washita, which was three miles from the post at the mouth of Little river.

August 10.—Dragoon camp "Canadian." We drew from Lieutenant Holmes, commander of the infantry camp¹⁰⁸ "Canadian," at the mouth of Little river, provisions for four days; Lieutenant Holmes well advanced with his buildings; one block-house, and quarters for one company erected; vast many sick; on our sick list thirty. Remained in camp.

August 11.—Marched at eight o'clock; left our sick, whom we brought in litters, at the infantry camp; gained on the road to Fort Gibson 22 miles; our men happy, with pork and flour.

August 12.—Command moved at eight o'clock; express returned from Camp Smith; Lieutenant Colonel Kearney reports many sick; 71 for duty, 41 sick; 8 for duty at Camp Washita, and 70 sick; many of our horses disabled; led by men in rear of the columns; tolerable water, wholly in pools. It is worthy of remark that the mules of the command look better than when we started on the campaign, while it would be difficult to select ten horses in good order. The command ordered to walk and ride one hour alternately; this relieves the horses.

August 13.—Marched at half-past seven o'clock, and reached the Creek settlements at the north fork of the Canadian, 17 miles. The Toyash and Kiowas met the Creeks this evening and shook hands with them; we purchased here corn for our horses; informed here by a citizen that the mother of little Martin has recently offered two thousand dollars for his recovery; she will soon be made happy by his restoration without ransom or reward.¹⁰⁹

August 14.—We marched at eight o'clock, 20 miles to our former camp, ("Rendezvous.") from whence the regiment started on the 21st of June. Our horses are exceedingly worn, though somewhat aided to-day by the corn we gave them yesterday at the North fork. The season is unfortunately late for grazing; it is only in timber that

¹⁰⁷ The camp for the night of August 9 was north of Bilby, in Hughes County.

¹⁰⁸ Fort Holmes.

¹⁰⁹ In September Colonel Dodge sent an officer to Red River and returned the boy to his mother.

tolerable grass is found; extraordinary heat to-day; the breeze comes against the face and hands with an unpleasant heat, so that one turns from it as from the keen blasts of winter; water scarce and in pools; our men present a sorry figure, but one that looks like service; many of them literally half naked; sick list reduced to nineteen.

August 15.—Marched at half-past seven o'clock; an officer was sent in advance to purchase corn; the command marched 14 miles, and encamped¹¹⁰ three miles from the west bank of the Arkansas. Colonel Dodge and staff, together with the Indians, crossed the river late in the evening, and reached Fort Gibson.

August 16.—Fort Gibson; Major Mason and three companies ordered this side of the river; Captain Sumner and three companies directed to remain in camp on the west side of the Arkansas.

August 24.—Colonel Kearney's command arrived yesterday; great number of sick men, and worn down horses; officers belonging to it are Captain Trenor; Lieutenant Swords, (sick;) Lieutenant Van Deveer, (sick;) Lieutenant Eastman (sick;) Lieutenants Bowman, Ury, and Kingbury; Assistant Surgeon Hailes, (very sick.)

Runners have been sent to the chiefs of the Osages, Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, &c., for the purpose of assembling them in council¹¹¹ with the Indians who have accompanied us. Our friends from the prairie are in good health, and are apparently contented. Little Martin is still with Colonel Dodge, and the negro we brought from the Toyash village has been delivered to his master.

T. B. WHEELLOCK, First Lieutenant Dragoons.

And so ended the Dragoon Expedition in Oklahoma. It was the Dragoons' first assignment and they had performed it well. From the point of view of its assigned mission the Expedition was a success. The Dragoons had established relations with the Plains tribes and had entered into initial understandings; they had brought back to Fort Gibson the tribal representatives needed for an inter-tribal council meeting with U. S. officials; and, in addition, they had learned the fate of the ranger, and had returned young Matthew to his mother.

The success, however, was a costly one. Measured in terms of losses of personnel and individual suffering it was an expensive undertaking. But such is true of most great military achievements. To all those excellent officers and gallant soldiers who were on this noted Expedition, few of whom had ever before been west of the Mississippi, go nothing but the praise and admiration of all of us today.

¹¹⁰ Denominated Camp Covington in the *Co. I. Journal*.

¹¹¹ The council convened on September 2, and is likewise reported by Sgt. Evans.

In his report to the Adjutant General dated October 1, 1834,¹¹² Colonel Dodge wrote:

"Perhaps their never has been in America a campaign that operated More Severely on Men & Horses. The excessive Heat of the Sun exceeded any thing I ever experienced I marched from Fort Gibson with 500 Men and when I reached the Pawnee Pict Village I had not more than 190 Men fit for duty they were all left behind sick or were attending the Sick the Heat of the Weather operated Severely on the Dragoon Horses there was at Least 100 Horses that was Killed or Broke down by the excessive Heat of the Weather the Men were taken with fever and I was obliged to Carry Some of my Men in Litters for Several Hundred Miles."

Major Mason sent three of the companies for much needed rest and recuperation, twenty miles up the Arkansas River in the Creek Nation to a temporary cantonment built by the Dragoons.¹¹³

After his return to Fort Gibson Catlin reflected:¹¹⁴

"What the regiment of Dragoons has suffered from sickness since they started on their summer's campaign is unexampled in this country, and almost incredible.—When we started from this place, ten or fifteen were sent back the first day, too sick to proceed; and so afterwards our numbers were daily diminished, and at the distance of 200 miles from this place we could muster, out of the whole regiment, but 250 men who were able to proceed, with which little band, and that again reduced some sixty or seventy by sickness, we pushed on, and accomplished all that was done."

Little rest awaited the Dragoons at Fort Gibson. The September, 1834, peace conference was convening,¹¹⁵ which likewise was to be reported by Lieutenant Wheelock, and within a month the Dragoons were again to take to the march, this time to Fort Leavenworth and Fort Des Moines. But all of that is another story.

APPENDIX

Biographical data on the officers listed by Lieut. Wheelock, in the order mentioned by him, from Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, Vol. I (Washington, 1903).

Brig. Gen. Henry Leavenworth. Born New Haven, Conn. 10 Dec. 1783. Attorney. Capt of Inf in War of 1812. Served in New York legislature, and returned to military service as lieut. col. Promoted to colonel and commanded 3rd Inf 1824. Promoted to brig. gen. 25 July 1824. Died 21 July 1834.

Colonel Henry Dodge. Born Vincennes, Ind. 12 Oct. 1782. Col. Mich Mtd Vol 1832, Major, U.S. Rangers 1832, Commissioned Col. U.S. Dragoons 4 March 1833, resgnd 4 July 1836., to become Gov. of Wis. Ter. In 1848 became first U.S. Senator from Wis. Died 19 June 1867.

Lieut. Col. Stephen W. Kearney. Born Newark, N. J. 30 Aug. 1794. Lieut. Inf. 12 March 1812; and served in infantry until commissioned Lieut. Col. of Dragoons

¹¹² Quoted by the editor at the close of the *Co. I Journal*.

¹¹³ Grant Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier* (Norman, 1933), p. 131.

¹¹⁴ Catlin, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

¹¹⁵ An account of this important conference with the tribal delegations at Fort Gibson is given in Foreman, *Advancing Frontier, op. cit.*, 131-37.

on 4 March 1833. Promoted to Colonel, succeeding Col. Dodge, on 4 July 1836. Brig. Gen. 1846. Gov. of Calif. 1847. Died at St. Louis, Mo. 31 Oct. 1848.

Major Richard B. Mason. Born Fairfax County, Va. 16 Jan. 1797. First apptd. in 8th Inf 2 Sept 1817. Capt 31 July 1819. Major, U. S. Dragoons 4 March 1833. Lieut. Col, Dragoons 4 July 1836. Col. Dragoons 30 June 1846. Died Jefferson Barracks, Mo. 25 July 1850. See Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Gen. Richard B. Mason," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIX, No. 1 (March 1941).

Capt. James W. Hamilton. Born Ark. cadet 3 yrs at Military Academy. 1st Lieut. U.S. Rangers. 1st Lieut. U.S. Dragoons 19 Sept 1833. Adjutant 5 Feb. 1834 to 8 Aug 1835. Cashiered 15 August 1835. Later commissioned in 2nd U.S. Dragoons. Died 26 Nov. 1837.

1st Lieut. Thomas Swords. Born N. Y. Grad Military Academy 1 July 1825. 1st Lieut. U.S. Dragoons 4 March 1833. Served in Dragoons until 21 April 1846, when trans to QMG. Died 20 March 1886.

2nd Lieut. John S. Van Derveer. Born N. J. Grad. Military Academy 1 July 1825. served in 6th Inf until 4 March 1833 when comm. in U. S. Dragoons. Resigned U. S. Dragoons 31 Dec. 1840. Died 4 June 1879.

Capt. Edwin V. Sumner. Born Mass. first appt in 2nd Inf. 3 March 1819. Capt. U. S. Dragoon 4 March 1833. Rose to Lieut. Col in Dragoons. In U.S. army eventually rose to rank of Maj. Gen. Died 21 March 1863.

2nd Lieut. John Henry K. Burgwin. Born N. C. Grad. Military Academy 1 July 1826. 2nd Lieut. U. S. Dragoons 4 March 1833. Rose to rank of Capt. in Dragoons. Died of wounds at Taos, N. M. 7 Feb. 1847.

Bvt. 2nd Lieut. George W. McClure. Born N. Y. Grad. Military Academy 1 July 1826. Trans to U. S. Dragoons 14 August 1833. Died at Camp Washita 20 July 1834.

Capt. Matthew Duncan. Born Pa. First appt was Capt in U. S. Rangers 4 Oct. 1832. Capt. U. S. Dragoons 15 Aug. 1833. Resigned 15 Jan. 1837.

Bvt. 2nd Lieut. James M. Bowman. Born Pa. Grad. Military Academy 1 July 1827. Bvt. 2nd Lieut. U. S. Dragoons 14 Aug. 1833. 2nd Lieut. U. S. Dragoons 30 June 1835. 1st Lieut. U. S. Dragoons 15 Oct. 1836. Died 21 July 1839.

Capt. David Hunter. Born Washington, D.C. 21 July 1802. Grad Military Academy Capt. U. S. Dragoons 4 March 1833. Resigned 4 July 1836 and settled in Chicago. Re-entered army in 1842 as Major, and in 1861 rose to rank of Maj. Gen. Chairman of Military Commission that tried conspirators at Lincoln's Assassination. Died in Washington 2 Feb. 1886.

1st Lieut. Benjamin D. Moore. Born Ky. Midshipman U. S. Navy. 1st Lieut. U. S. Rangers 6 Nov. 1832. 1st Lieut. U.S. Dragoons 19 Sept. 1833. Capt. 15 June 1837. Killed Battle San Pasqual, Calif. 6 Dec. 1846.

2nd Lieut. Enoch Steen. Born Ky. 2nd Lieut. U. S. Rangers 16 July 1832. 2nd Lieut. U. S. Dragoons 19 Sept. 1833. 1st Lieut. 5 March 1836. Capt 31 Dec. 1840. Major, 2nd Dragoons 15 July 1852. Died 22 Jan. 1880.

Captain David Perkins. Born Pa. Grad Military Academy 1 July 1823. 1st Lieut. U.S. Dragoons 4 March 1833. Capt. 4 Nov. 1833. Resigned 2 Feb. 1839. Died 18 Dec. 1848.

Bvt. 2nd Lieut. Gaines P. Kingsbury. Born Ohio. Grad Military Academy 1 July 1828. Bvt 2nd Lieut. U.S. Dragoons 14 Aug. 1833. 2nd Lieut. Dragoons 31 May 1835. 1st Lieut 4 July 1836. Resigned 15 Oct. 1836. Died 15 August 1839.

1st Lieut. Jefferson Davis. Born Christian County, Ky. 3 June 1808. Grad Military Academy 1 Sept 1824. 1st Lieut. U. S. Dragoons 4 March 1833. Regt. Adjutant 30

Aug 1833 to 5 Feb. 1834. Resigned 30 June 1835, and settled in Miss. Secretary of War under Pierce. President Confederate States of America. Died New Orleans 6 Dec. 1889.

Bvt. 2nd Lieut. Elbridge G. Eastman. Born N. H. Grad Military Academy 1 July 1827, and served his entire service in 2nd Infantry. Died 6 Oct. 1834.

1st Lieut. Phillip St. G. Cooke. Born Leesburg Va. 13 June 1809. Grad Military Academy 1 July 1823. 1st Lieut. U. S. Dragoons 4 March 1833. Capt 31 May 1835, trans from Dragoons 16 Feb. 1847. Rose to rank of Major Gen. in Civil War. Died Detroit, Mich. 20 March 1895.

2nd Lieut. Burdett A. Terrett. Born Va. 3rd Lieut. U.S. Rangers 10 July 1833. 2nd Lieut. U. S. Dragoons 7 Nov. 1833. 1st Lieut. 31 March 1836. Captain 21 Feb. 1842. Killed 17 March 1845.

Captain Nathan Boone. Son of Daniel Boone. Born in Ky. 1780 or 1781. Capt. Mo. Rangers. Capt. U. S. Rangers 16 July 1832. Capt. U. S. Dragoons 15 Aug. 1833. Major 16 Feb. 1847. Lieut. Col. 2nd Dragoons 25 July 1850. Resigned 15 July 1853. Died 12 Jan. 1847. (Also, see Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Nathan Boone," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIX, No. 4 [Dec. 1941]; and W. Julian Fessler, "Captain Nathan Boone's Journal," *Chronicles*, Vol. 7, No. 1 [March, 1929].)

Bvt. 2nd Lieut. Asbury Ury. Born Tenn. Grad Military Academy 1 Sept. 1828. Bvt 2nd Lieut. U. S. Dragoons 14 Aug 1833. 2nd Lieut. 30 June 1835. 1st Lieut. 3 March 1837. Died 13 April 1838.

Capt. Jesse B. Browne. Born N. C. Captain U. S. Rangers 16 June 1832. Captain U.S. Dragoons 15 August 1833. Resigned 1837.

Bvt. 2nd Lieut. Albert G. Edwards. Born Ill. Grad Military Academy 1 July 1827. Bvt. 2nd Lieut. U. S. Dragoons 14 August 1833. Resigned 2 May 1835. Died 30 April 1892.

1st Lieut. James F. Izard. Born Pa. Grad Military Academy 1 July 1824. 1st Lieut. U. S. Dragoons 4 March 1833. Died of wounds at Camp Izard, Fla. 5 March 1836.

2nd Lieut. James W. Shaumburg. Born La. 2nd Lieut. U. S. Rangers 28 March 1833. 2nd Lieut. U. S. Dragoons 19 Sept. 1833. 1st Lieut. 1 March 1836. Resigned 31 July 1836.

2nd Lieut. Lucius B. Northrop. Born S. C. Grad. Military Academy 1 July 1827. Transferred to Dragoons as Bvt 2nd Lieut. 14 August 1833. 2nd Lieut. 21 July 1834. 1st Lieut. 4 July 1836. Resigned 8 Jan. 1861. Colonel, CSA. Died 9 Feb. 1894.

Captain Eustace Trenor. Born N. Y. Grad. Military Academy 1 Oct. 1817. Served in 4th Infantry until transferred to U. S. Dragoons with rank of Captain 4 March 1833. Major 30 June 1846. Died 16 Feb. 1847.

Captain James Dean. Born N. H. 3rd Lieut. 4th Inf. 15 August 1813. 2nd Lieut. 28 June 1814. 1st Lieut. 3rd Inf. 31 Oct. 1818. Captain 4 October 1827. Resigned 15 Nov. 1836. Died 1842.