

## THE JOURNAL OF LIEUTENANT A. W. WHIPPLE

By Muriel H. Wright and George H. Shirk

When Doctor Grant Foreman in 1941 published<sup>1</sup> his *A Pathfinder in the Southwest* it would have been difficult to visualize that he was to be thereby responsible for the return years later to the State of Oklahoma the manuscript original of the report he there edited. Yet, such has been the case; and the original memoranda, charts, notebooks and other papers of General Amiel Weeks Whipple are now the property of the Oklahoma Historical Society, thanks to the generosity of the Whipple family.

While all of the papers are intensely interesting, the section dealing with the 1853 expedition west from Fort Smith is the center of attraction. A complete list of the papers and documents now in the Oklahoma Historical Society is given with the Secretary's report in this same issue of *The Chronicles*. The present article is limited to the original field notes prepared by Whipple day by day during the summer of 1853 as he crossed the region that is now Oklahoma.

The notes of the expedition are mostly in pencil, in Whipple's own hand, and are contained in a series of 28 (4"x6") leather-bound notebooks. The entry for September 6th, the last day the party was in Oklahoma, appears in the first third of the fourth notebook and the entries in the remaining twenty-four continue on to the west coast and to the completion of the expedition. Except for punctuation, some of which has been added, the text of the *Journal* is here presented as it appears in the original. The Whipple Collection includes a number of original Mollhausen drawings and paintings some of which accompany this article.

In the years following the publication of his book, contact developed between Doctor Foreman and the grandchildren of General Whipple, and eventually the family determined that the Oklahoma Historical Society would be the fitting and proper place for the permanent disposition of the original papers of their illustrious grandfather. Both General Patrick J. Hurley and Governor Turner assisted in the matter, but the full credit for the conduct of the negotiations goes to Dr. Foreman.<sup>2</sup> This spring, Dudley Stoddard,

<sup>1</sup> Grant Foreman, *A Pathfinder in the Southwest* (Norman, 1941). The publication of these notes is planned to complement rather than supplant any portion of Dr. Foreman's work. The reader will find this original *Journal* especially interesting if it is read in conjunction thereto.

<sup>2</sup> See Minutes of meeting of the Board of Directors, Oklahoma Historical Society for May 26, 1950, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 2 (Summer, 1950), p. 219.

a great-grandson of General Whipple, and the son of Mrs. Francis R. Stoddard, the General's grand-daughter, delivered the collection to Oklahoma City. All Oklahoma is grateful for this generous gift.

Amiel Weeks Whipple<sup>3</sup> was born in Greenwich, Massachusetts, in 1817. He attended Amherst College, at Amherst, Massachusetts. In 1837 he entered the United States Military Academy at West Point and was graduated in 1841, being appointed a Second Lieutenant of Artillery on July 1, 1841. On September 28, 1841, he was transferred to the Topographical Engineers. On September 12, 1843, he married Eleanor Sherburne of Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

In 1844 he commenced a survey of the northeast boundary of the United States, and continued on that assignment until 1849. At that time, following the conclusion of the peace treaty with Mexico, he was engaged in the survey of the United States boundary with that country. His survey duties along the Mexican border continued until 1852.

He returned to Washington and shortly received the assignment of locating the southern route for a Pacific Railroad. It is this portion of his service that is described in his journal following. This work continued until 1856. Thereafter and until the Civil War he was on river and harbor work. He was promoted to Captain on July 1, 1855.

With the outbreak of the Civil War he was topographical engineer on the staff of General McDowell, and was at Bull Run. He was promoted to major in the regular army on September 9, 1861; and a few months later, on April 14, 1862, was made a Brigadier General of Volunteers. Commanding a brigade and later a division, he was assigned to the defense of Washington City. His headquarters were within the area of present Fort Myer, and a fortification erected there in 1863 was named Fort Whipple. In December, 1862 he was a divisional commander in the Battle of Fredericksberg. He was wounded at Chancellorsville, and from these wounds died in Washington on May 7, 1863. A hastily completed promotion to Major General reached him only a day before his death.

The demand for a transcontinental railroad, linking the East with the West, was the motivating background for the Whipple survey in 1853. The clamor was, of course, brought to the boiling point by the discovery of gold in California. More significant though, the Union of the 1850's, comprised of some 31 states, was bursting at the seams; the veterans of the Mexican war were demanding their due; and it was the country's "manifest destiny" that it should expand across the West to California. By then, for the first

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<sup>3</sup> *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1928-44), Vol. XX.

time, the territorial integrity of the United States as we know it now, with the possible exception of the Gadsden purchase, was complete. A "great national highway" across the continent as suggested by Senator Thomas Hart Benton was essential.

While the agitation took form in countless meetings and resolutions, it reached tangible proportions in the Congress by the Act<sup>4</sup> of March 3, 1853. This enactment granted \$150,000 to the Secretary of War for use by the Corps of Topographical Engineers in making surveys to ascertain the best railroad route from the Mississippi River to the Pacific.

The Secretary of War, Jefferson Davis, implemented this act by directing three surveys; the Northern route, along the valleys of the Missouri and Columbia Rivers, was to be surveyed by Isaac I. Stevens, the newly appointed governor of Oregon; the central one along the 38th and 39th parallels, under the direction of J. W. Gunnison, was designed as the shortest route to San Francisco; and lastly, the one destined to cross present Oklahoma, was the southern route along the 35th Parallel from Fort Smith west, and to be under the direction of Lieutenant Whipple. The Secretary allocated \$40,000 of the appropriation to cover the southern survey.

The formal report<sup>5</sup> of the Whipple Expedition is in Vol. III Senate Ex. Document 78, 33rd Congress, *Reports of Explorations and Surveys*, being a series of reports on the railroad surveys; and it is particularly interesting to follow the Journal as given there, noting the more formal style of the official report as compared with the actual notes compiled in the field.

Whipple arrived in Washington on April 15, 1853, and within a few days had learned of his new assignment. He started his first note book in good and proper fashion with his letter to the Chief of the Corps of Topographical Engineers, acknowledging receipt of the orders. The first page, dated April 27, 1853, is a copy of the letter:

To: Col J. J. Abert  
Chief of Corps Top Engs  
Top. Bureau  
Washington, D. C.

Portsmouth, N H  
Apl 27 / 53

Sir: In compliance with instructions this day rec from Bvt. Maj. W. H. Emory I have the honor to report to you for duty. I shall endeavor to reach Washington on Saturday next to report in person.

I remain Sir, Very Respect-

Your Obedt Servt  
A. W. Whipple  
1st Lieut T. Engrs.

<sup>4</sup>10 U. S. Stat., 219.

<sup>5</sup>*Reports of Explorations and Surveys to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economical Route for a Railroad From the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, 1853-4, 33d Cong., 2d Sess., Senate, Ex. Doc. No. 78 (Washington, 1856), Vol. III. Hereafter this will be cited as Pacific R. R. Survey Report.*

That same day he left Portsmouth, and "started in cars for Amherst." There he spent the night, and went on to Boston the next day to meet his family. On April 29th, the Whipples "arrived at New York, breakfasted at Irving House and went on to Washington." He at once plunged into the job of organizing and outfitting the expedition. The next few pages of the *Journal* are notes and lists of needed supplies, personnel requirements, and tentative assignments of individuals. That he had many applications for membership in the company is well indicated from the number of changes of names and reassignments of personnel reflected by the next few pages. The notes for April 30 include the name of Lieut. David S. Stanley,<sup>6</sup> indicating that he had been selected early for the post of Acting Quartermaster and Commissary. Under "Books Requested" Whipple listed "Colonel Long's RR manual at Baltimore, Wm. Moody's manual, Lardners treatise on RRs, Gillespie's do on RRs."

He closed out his personal pay accounts to include April 30, 1853. At this point in the notebook is an entry, made much later, reflecting that his pay accounts for the months of May to August were settled by him in San Francisco.

When the party was finally organized it contained in addition to Lieutenant Whipple:<sup>7</sup>

Name	Residence	Duties
J. M. Bigelow, M.D.	Ohio	Surgeon and Botanist
Jules Marcou <sup>8</sup>	Mass	Geologist and Mining engineer
C. B. R. Kennerly, M.D.	Va	Physician and naturalist
A. H. Campbell	Va	Prin. Asst railroad engineer
H. B. Mollhausen <sup>9</sup>	D. C.	Topographer and artist
Hugh Campbell	Texas	Asst. Astronomer
William White, Jr.	Penna	Asst. meteorological observer and engr.
George Gibson Garner	Md	Asst. astronomer and secretary
N. H. Hutton	D. C.	Asst. engineer
John P. Sherburne	N. H.	Asst. meteorologist and surveyor
Thomas H. Parke	Penna	Asst. astronomer and computer
Walter Jones, Jr. <sup>10</sup>	D. C.	Asst. surveyor

<sup>6</sup> David Sloan Stanley was born in Ohio; graduated U. S. Military Academy, July 1, 1852; commissioned Bvt. 2nd. Lieut. 2nd Dragoons. Rose to rank of Major Gen. of Volunteers during Civil War. Remarkably enough, Lieut. Stanley likewise kept a personal diary while on the journey, which has been published by the Oklahoma Historical Society. See Lona Shawver, "Stanley Explores Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXII, No. 3 (Autumn 1944) p. 259.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, "Itinerary," p. 3.

<sup>8</sup> Jules Marcou was born at Salins, France, April 20, 1824. He joined the faculty of the Sorbonne in 1846, and two years later was made traveling geologist in North America for the Jardin des Plantes. He returned to Europe in 1854, teaching in Zurich. He again came to America in 1860, and lived in Cambridge, Mass., until his death April 17, 1898.

<sup>9</sup> H. B. Mollhausen was born near Bonn, Germany, Jan. 27, 1825. He came to America in 1849, and in 1851 accompanied the Duke of Wurttemberg on his ill-fated Western expedition. Mollhausen returned to Berlin in 1853, came under the influence of Alexander von Humboldt, and came back to America in May, 1853.

Regular daily entries in the *Journal* commence with May 30th, 1853. On that day Whipple, together with his family, left Washington for Philadelphia. Garner, Hutton and Jones left them "at the relay house on their way to Napoleon, Ark." Whipple noted that he had to loan Garner \$35.00 to pay his passage.

The Whipples "arrived about midnight at Phila, stopping at Jones' Hotel." The lay-over in Philadelphia was short, for the next evening they "took cars for N. York, stopping at the Irving House at 10 P.M." Sightseeing occupied the next day, as the family "visited the Crystal Palace as it is called, all of us disappointed." That evening Mrs. Whipple and the children returned to Portsmouth, leaving the head of the family for his adventure to the West. Whipple met Sherburne (June 2) the next day, "as expected," and departed for Philadelphia, leaving Sherburne "to come on in the morning."

In Philadelphia, Whipple picked up the various instruments and articles for which he had made arrangements when there on his way north. Several pages are devoted to payments and expenses; and the first 20 vouchers reflect purchases totaling \$6,303.18. He apparently wasted no time in working with his newly acquired instruments, for the entry of June 3rd contains a number of barometric and other observations made from "a 3rd story room" in the Jones Hotel. On the same day he recorded purchases "for Indian gifts";

14 plumes at 19 cts	2.66
19 artificial flowers at 4 cts	.76
3 baskets at 5 cts	.15
1 mirror at 5 cts	.05
1 lb tobacco	1.25
1 pipe	.12½

On the 4th he "took cars for Pittsburgh. Country beautiful in the extreme. Fare \$15 from Phila to Cincinnati." Even the beauty of the country did not absorb all of his attention, for a page is devoted to meteorological observations made on the way "at height of 3° inclined plane on Penna RR." The experiment was not a success for he finally concluded "Inst. not in adjustment." He stayed over night at Pittsburgh on the 5th, stopping at the Monongahala Hotel, and "had 12 leeches applied to my eye." Notwithstanding the leeches he entered a series of observations from the "fifth story, Monongahela House"; found time to loan Sherburne \$100.

He found employment with Whipple, and also was commissioned by the Smithsonian Institution to act as naturalist on the expedition. He made several trips to Berlin, serving a while as librarian for King Frederick William IV. He died in Berlin May 28, 1905. A tireless author and student, he prepared his own journal of the Whipple Expedition, *Diary of a Journey from the Mississippi to the Coasts of the Pacific, With a United States Government Expedition*. 2 Volumes (London 1858).

<sup>10</sup> Jones left the expedition July 30th, and was replaced by Abner C. Gaines, of Oregon.

and to see some sights, for he recorded that Pittsburgh "contains a very fine court house, a pretty Episcopal Church and a magnificent Catholic Church. Monongahela House excellent."

Whipple and Sherburne left the next day, Monday June 6th, to complete the trip to Cincinnati by way of Columbus. He found the journey "on the cars" absorbing, for he used an entire page making entries of each stop along the way, the miles between stations, the fare, and the "time in running." He "arrived at Columbus about 7 P.M. the Cincinnati train having previously left we were obliged to await the morning train." At Columbus he "stopped at the Capitol House which does not promise to be a capital house." The next day, Tuesday, he again started for Cincinnati, recording that Columbus "is quite a pretty place and the State House in process of construction promises to be magnificent." He arrived at Cincinnati that night and found Campbell and Lieut. Stanley awaiting him. He had a week's lay-over in Cincinnati awaiting river passage, which time was spent in making more purchases; attending to last minute details; and permitting the party to assemble.

On Thursday of that week he "went out to make purchases for Indians":

7½ prs blankets at \$8	60.00
Cotton drilling 31½ yds at 8¾	2.76
10 prs blankets 3.75	37.50

At Jones Bros. Co. he secured "yellow print at 11 cts, unbleached sheeting at 8 cts" and at J. and J. Slevins 11 prs "red blankets at 5.75, \$86.25."

The next Tuesday, June 14th, he hoped to commence the journey down the river and "went on board Steamer Midas which proposed to sail this day for N. Orleans. But she failed. Evening went to Theatre and saw the Batemans." The steamer was able to leave the next day; and on Thursday the group arrived in Louisville. The boat took "nearly all day to pass the canal and at night lay at anchor at foot of locks." Until Monday of the next week they "continued floating down the river Ohio," stopping at Cairo, and on the 21st reached the Mississippi. After leaving the Ohio River some passengers were discharged and Whipple was able to secure a fourth state room. With the additional space thus provided he assigned his party out to the four cabins:

Self	1st Jose	Cook
	2	
Campbell White Hutton Sherburne Jones		German Cook 1

## 3rd

Dr. Bigelow  
Mr. Marcou  
Mr. Mollhausen

German Cook 2

## 4th

Garner  
Parke

With indefatigable care in making notes, Whipple apparently used every occasion to make his entries, as some, such as the observations made on the "inclined plane on Penna RR" are jerky and irregular, indicating no doubt that they were made while the writer was in motion. Later on, other entries have the same appearance, suggesting that they were written while Whipple was on horseback.

They also reveal that he was an informal banker for the members of the party, as the *Journal* has many entries and notations covering loans of money, advances, and credits back and forth with members of the group. For example, the inside front cover of the first note book shows, dated June 4th, transactions with Sherburne:

loaned him one day at Phila	2.00
Hack him to Depot	.37½
Fare from Phila to Cincinnati	15.00
	<hr/>
	17.37½
for dinner at Harrisburg	.50
	<hr/>
	17.87½
The above \$17.87½ loaned to J. Pitts Sherburne which	
added to previous 32.00 makes	\$49.87½
later also	100.00
	<hr/>
	149.87½

Wednesday, June 22, was the last day aboard ship for the group in the four state rooms, and by now they have arrived at Napoleon, Arkansas. We take up the *Journal* at this point:\*

## [First Notebook]

Thursday June 23d 1852 [1853]

Arrived at Napoleon, Ark., Lt. Stanley Mr Campbell & Mr. Sherburne. No boat here ready to ascend the Arkansas

Dr. Wells and Lt. Cabel here from Ft Gibson en route to Washington.

\* Editorial additions within the text of the Journal as here presented are in brackets. Biographical data in the footnotes for army officers and scientists mentioned by Lt. Whipple are based respectively on Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army 1789-1903* (Washington, 1903), Vol. I, and *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1928-1944), Vols. I to XXI.

I am informed by those who have travelled by land from Memphis to Little Rock that the road distance from the Mississippi River to river St. Francis is raised ten to 15 ft. above the general level of the country. That the whole surface of the space between the two rivers is frequently submerged by the overflow of the Mississippi so as to be from ten to twenty ft below water. For a R. Rd. therefore would require an extensive system of piling or embankment.

Thence to Little rock the country is generally level and presents a favorable location for a Rl Road. A few hills are encountered before reaching Little Rock. Beyond this toward Ft Smith the Osage Mts block the way and render exceedingly difficult the passage.

Friday June 24th

Met Col ————— from Arkansas who tells me that no difficulty exists rending it impracticable to construct a Rl. Rd. from Memphis to Fort Smith.

Steamer "Gov. Meigs" arriving we take passage for Little Rock. Left two letters for Mr White giving him authority to engage transportation as he may deem proper to Fort Smith. The Banks of the river Arkansas as we pass appear exceedingly rich. The soil is said to be very productive. We left Napoleon at abt 2½ P.M. The river beautiful

Saturday June 25th

River continues beautiful with level banks & rich soil. James Armstrong on board late of West Point now a resident of this state. Considered a talented but dissipated man.

Passed "Pine Bluffs" the first town of importance situated on a plateau about 8 ft above the previous level of the river banks. This plateau extends for several miles bears pines and appears of a less rich soil than the lower bottoms. The next place noticeable was a bluff still higher—about 20 miles from Pine Bluff—upon which are some houses and a steam sawmill.

Sunday June 26th

Morning 7½ AM Aproaching Little Rock—7 miles—. Banks still low and fertile but as ever little cultivated. Very few plantations line the banks. Evidently fine country for constructing Rail Roads. Grades could be level as the river itself. At 9 AM arrived at Little Rock, a charming place situated on a Bluff 300 miles by river 150 by land from Napoleon. Went to Episcopal Church morning & evening. Services well performed.

Gov. Conway called on me but I was taking a siesta & saw him not.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Elias N. Conway served as Governor of the State of Arkansas from 1852 to 1860. He was born in Tennessee in 1812, settled in Arkansas in 1833, and served



Monday June 27th 1853

With Lt. Stanley drove to the Arsenal where Capt Kingsbury<sup>12</sup> commands He is soon to be relieved by Capt Dyer,<sup>13</sup> & he goes to Charlestown, S. C. Mrs. Kingsbury nice lady. Bought one Colts six shooter for \$20.50.

Returned call of Gov. Conway. He invited Lt S. & myself to take tea with him.

Publish advertisement in newspaper for laborers Spent the evening very pleasantly with Gov. Conway in company with Mr. Beebe Prex. of Cairo & Fulton Rl. Rd. Co.

We desire

2 Inst attendants & chainmen

1 cook	}	for	Bigelow	}	tent	
			Marcou			
2 servts	}		Mollhausen	}	tent	
			Garner			tent
			Parke			
1 cook	}	for	Campbell	}	2 tents	
			White			
2 servts	}		Hutton	}		
			Sherburne			
			Jones			
		Gaines				
7 teamsters			Scientific Party			
5 Do			Escort			
2 packers			Escort			
2 packers			Scientific P.			

Tuesday June 28th 1853

Employed for service on U.S.Pacif' Rl. Survey at \$25.00 per mo., the following persons.

H Boswell	Teamster
Geo. Sailor	Do
John R. Simpkins	Do
Geo. Minmier	Do
Geo. S. Owen	Do
Pleasant Akin	Do
John Kenton	Do
Archibald Neeland	Do

as Auditor from 1835 to 1849. He was the youngest brother of James S. Conway, first Governor of the State in 1836. They were the sons of Thomas Conway, of the distinguished Tennessee family originally from Virginia.

<sup>12</sup> Charles P. Kingsbury, a native of New York, graduated from the U. S. Military Academy, July 1, 1849. He was Commander of Little Rock Arsenal at the time of Whipple's visit there.

<sup>13</sup> Alexander B. Dyer, a native of Virginia, graduated from the U. S. Military Academy, July 1, 1837. He succeeded Capt. Kingsbury as Commander of Little Rock Arsenal.

Thomas Kay	}	Cook
John R. Fetter		
William Spanlard		Herder
Thomas Doyle		
" Mathews		
" Hicks		Herder
one		Emp' by Capt. M.
Cornelius Eagen		servt
Wm Irvine		Cook
		Cook

June 29th 1853

Little Rock Ark.

We the subscribers having been employed on the Pacific Rlway Survey at \$25.00 per mo. hereby acknowledge to have received in advance \$10.00 in part payment for duties which we agree to perform from Fort Smith westward.

June 29th 1853

Visited Col. Beebe Pres. of Fulton & Cairo Rl. Rd. Co. Beautiful place. Saw maps & convinced on Railroad in general. Accepted invitation to take tea with him this evening to meet the Gov. of the State, Col. Johnson M. C. & others. Returning to Hotel learn the Steamer Umpire No. 3 will start for Fort Smith this afternoon. So we returned the calls of Col. Johnson & Gov. Conway and go aboard. Start at about 6. PM.

June 30th Thursday

Proceeded slowly up the river Arkansas—Gov. C. pronounces the word Ar-kan-saw', but other educated gentlemen call it as spelled Ar-kan'sas. Banks still rich fertile & beautifully wooded although slightly cultivated. We pass today a ridge of mountains densely wooded & sloping gently to the rivers bank. Not yet have we observed upon the rivers banks any obstacle to the construction of a Rl. road. But as I write at sunset we are turning a spur of the mountains which appears to terminate in a bluff upon the river. Still it is easy to excavate or scarp its side for a railway.

We now leave the mountains and have a long vista of prairie. The mountain range left is the "Petit Jean" and the Petit Jean river unites with the Arkansas from the South by turning the western base of these mountains. This and the previous range called "La Fourche" are said to extend between 20 & 30 miles south where they slope into a plain. Here is supposed the Rl Road from Little Rock to Ft Smith would pass without obstruction in nearly a straight line.

Having journeyed about 120 miles from Little Rock we tied up to the bank for the night. I have been quite unwell today. With no

appetite the hot weather takes hold of & weakens me.

#### July 1st Friday

Started soon after daybreak arrived at 7½ at Dardenelle rock—a fine precipice 150 feet high of sandstone apparently. River bank still luxuriant in forests of cotton wood with pines upon the hill tops as usual.

We pass also the Magazine mountain 1100 ft high and 3 or 4 miles from the river. Petit Jean Mt is said to be 950 ft. high. At 10 AM we pass the mouth of Piney river where pine timber is floated down.

Coal is said to be abundant in this vicinity less hard than the Lehigh & less soft than the bituminous. It is said to burn with a clear flame without smoke and with little residium. It crops out & is easily obtained. It is used in blacksmith shops, grates & steamboats.

#### July 2 1853 Saturday

Loaned Mr. A H Campbell \$40. forty dollars—borrowed of him \$1.00 leaving due on this acct \$39.00

Fertile banks still line the river, with here & there a solitary plantation. Some of the land is said to be subject to overflow once in about ten years. But since 1844 no overflow has occurred. The previous overflow was in 1833 and that of 44 was less extensive than that of 33. Perhaps it may not again occur.

#### July 2 Saturday

Arrived at Van Buren at about noon, visited the town with Mr. Bishop a merchant of this place. Visited at his home and was agreeably entertained by his accomplished wife & daughters. Campbell & Sherburne accompanying.

Near sunset started and soon arrived at Fort Smith. Lt Jones and the gentlemen of my party met us upon the boat. Went to Rogers Hotel.<sup>14</sup>

#### July 3d Sunday

Went to church and heard a miserable sermon. called on Col Wilson.

<sup>14</sup>The "Rogers Hotel," built by Captain John Rogers about 1841 on old Washington Street (later Second Street), was for many years "the largest and best house" in the town of Fort Smith and well known throughout Arkansas. The town's first hotel "near the end of the bridge" had been a two room log house "with a wide hallway in the center and stone chimneys at each end outside." It had been built in early days and kept by Captain Rogers as a needed convenience for "occasional visitors and not for gain by Rogers. His known generosity as a host would bar any views of profit to himself thereby."—W. J. Weaver, "Old Fort Smith," in *Fort Smith Elevator*, in scrapbook of his reminiscent articles (dating from 1896 to 1905), in the Oklahoma Collection of Muriel H. Wright.

July 4th

Called on Capt. & Mrs. Montgomery & others.<sup>15</sup> Wrote letters &c.

July 5th

Arranged vouchers, paid transportation &c. obsd with Gambey sextant.

Fort Smith July 5th 1853

Sex. observations by Lieut Whipple.

[Here follow two pages of meteorological observations.]

Laborers &c employed for PRS—July 6th William Shanks—cook.

July 6th observed at Camp formed by Lt. Stanley.

July 7th Thursday

Dined at Capt. Montgomery, present about a dozen. Dr. Bigelow, Mr. Campbell & Mr. Mollhausen returned from Sugar Loaf Mt. 31 miles S. of this place, the peak being 2000 ft above here and just within the line of the Indian Territory.<sup>16</sup>

July 8th Friday

Sent to Van Buren for sheep.

July 9 Sheep arrived, engaged writing.

July 10th Sunday

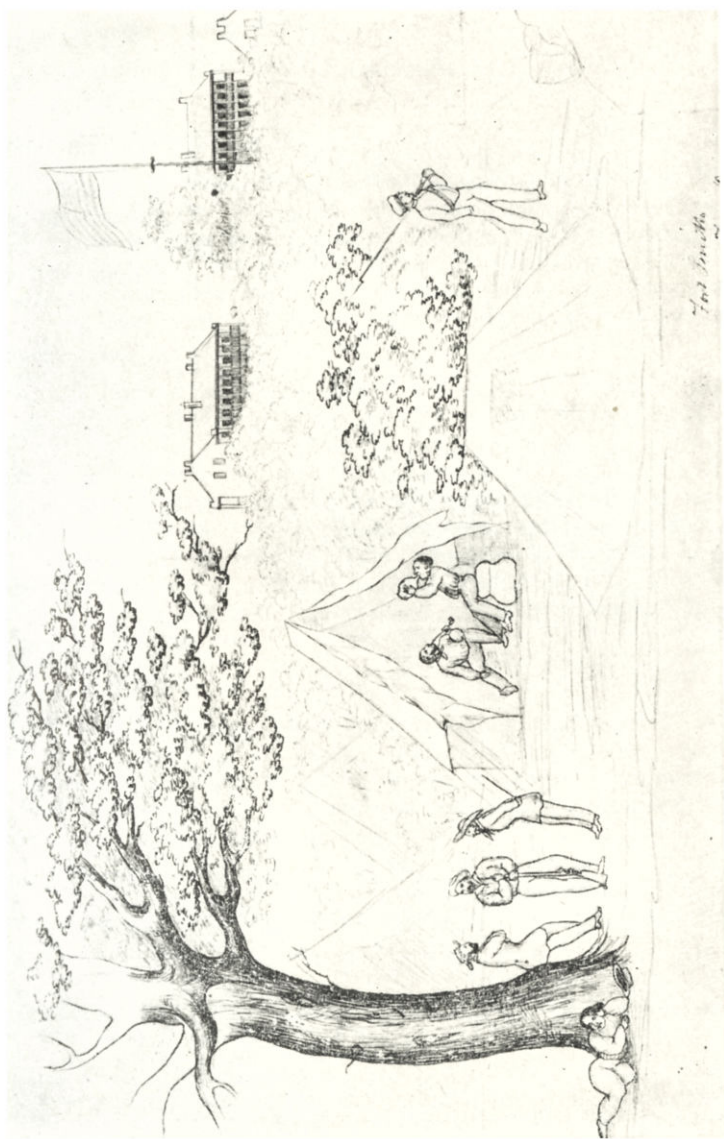
July 11th Monday

Recd. letter from Mr White on Bar Ohio River, Louisville.

Made arrangements for starting on Wednesday.

<sup>15</sup> Alexander Montgomery, a native of Pennsylvania, graduated from the U. S. Military Academy, July 1, 1830. He had been commissioned Captain and was serving as Quartermaster at Fort Smith at the time of Lieut. Whipple's visit. Captain Montgomery was much admired for his "soldierly bearing, courtly manners and social amenity." His first wife was the beautiful daughter, an only child of wealthy parents, of Cincinnati, Ohio, who had married the Captain against their wishes. Her tragic death when shot from ambush in an Indian attack on her military escort during the Florida War, and the time (after the Seminoles were moved to the Indian Territory) when the Captain caused great but suppressed excitement among the citizens of the town as he set forth armed with a knife and pistols, seeking vengeance against the Indian who was reported to have fired the shot that had killed his wife, were a part of one of the romantic stories of old Fort Smith.

<sup>16</sup> Sugar Loaf Mountain, located just west of the Arkansas line, can be seen for a long distance in the region. It was noted by many early day travelers and explorers in their reports. The name was adopted as that of Sugar Loaf County (*Nunih Chujuk Kaunti*) adjoining Skullyville County (*Iskulli Kaunti*) on the south, among the first counties organized in the Choctaw Nation in 1850.—Muriel H. Wright, "Organization of Counties in the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VIII, No. 3 (September, 1930), pp. 318-19.



(From original drawing by H. B. Mollhausen,  
Whipple Collection)

**Camp Wilson with glimpse of Fort Smith in background.**

July 12 Went into Camp.<sup>17</sup>

July 13th Commenced Survey.

July 14th Bought Carretela.<sup>18</sup>

Astronl Star 8 feet below Barometric Star. continued survey across river Poteau.

July 15th Friday<sup>19</sup> [Camp 1]

Determined to move camp, settled accounts with Capt. Montgomery by paying for mules &c and receipting for other public property, tents wagons &c. Crossing the ferry of the Poteau occupied several hours. Got over at about 12½ midday. Today the spirit lever [*sic*] was replaced by the syphon Barometer. The observations seemed satisfactory. Back and fore sights were taken with Rl. Rd. Transit.

Finding survey tediously slow I sent word to wagon master ahead to stop at the first house. At 4 or 5 P.M. we broke off survey to follow to camp. Having taken two of the surveying party into the already too heavily laden carretela, going up a hill we ran against a stump and broke the cross piece of the tongue. Leaving two men with the carretela we then went on on foot but found no camp at 1st house. Rain commenced, darkness reigned between the flashes of lightning and we waded actually knee deep in pools 2½ miles further. Discharged the wagon master for disobedience to orders.

Saturday July 16th

Mr. Campbell & party went back to bring up the work. to Mr. Hulton loaned mules to go home. Sent Carretela to be repaired. Sent letters to Mr Stanley & Mr. Jones enclosing requisition for small field piece for use. Recd courier with mail for me. Mr. White has reshipped stores on other steamer.

Sunday July 17

Men & animals needing rest survey is not resumed. Mr. Gaines allowed to go to town to see his brother.

<sup>17</sup> The Survey started from a temporary bivouac established by the party a few hundred yards south of Fort Smith and was called "Camp Wilson."

<sup>18</sup> A long, low cart, usually two-wheeled.

<sup>19</sup> Camp 1 was at Ring's plantation, east of present Spiro. Henry C. Benson in his *Life Among the Choctaw Indians* (Cincinnati, 1860), p. 99, wrote: "Mr. Ring was a white man, married to a Choctaw wife; they lived about four miles from the mission [Ft. Coffee Academy], on the Fort Smith road. Mr. Ring had an excellent farm, in the edge of an extensive canebrake, well cultivated by negro servants, who were kept under his personal supervision. Mrs. Ring, although an Indian, was sensible, tolerably well educated, energetic in business, and altogether a superior woman."

Employed Robertson chainman to come tomorrow.

Arrived at Camp on visit Lt. Stanley & Messrs Rogers. Mr. R. desiring to accompany us to Pacific.<sup>20</sup>

Monday July 18th

Continued survey from Pt. left on Saturday to Camp No. 1. 15 to 20,000 Choctaws

Tuesday July 19th 1853 [Camp 2]

Moved Camp to Choctaw Agency.<sup>21</sup> Survey proceeded to that Pt. Dined with Agent Cooper,<sup>22</sup> Indian Agent. Saw book of Choctaw laws printed in the Choctaw nation by natives. Also the Cherokee laws by Cherokees, very well done. Also a newspaper printed partly in English & partly in Cherokee language. Genl. Pimo article in it. Dr Bomford arrived in camp messenger arrived from Capt Montgomery informing me of the arrival of Mr. White & the wagons for transportation. Recd note from Mr. Stanley Plotted survey. Compt. time cloudy night but observed for time.

Read viameter No 1—2282

No 2—2018.5

<sup>20</sup> This was John Rogers, better known in the history of Fort Smith as "Captain John Rogers," who conducted extensive trapping enterprises in the Far West in early days. He had been a partner of Gen. John Nicks who served as sutler at Fort Smith in 1821 and was noted in the history of that post and of Fort Gibson to the time of his (Nicks) death in 1832. Nicks and Rogers had a large log store well stocked with merchandise and did a good business. Captain Rogers was appointed postmaster at Fort Smith in 1829, and for many years was a noted citizen of the place. A native of Rhode Island, he had enlisted as "Military Store Keeper" in the U. S. Army, March 9, 1819, and was honorably discharged on June 1, 1821, while in service at Fort Smith. Soon afterward, he laid out the town near the military post. When Fort Smith was re-established as a military post, and new stone and brick buildings erected in 1838, the Government bought the new location from Captain Rogers, a tract called the "Reservation" (about 300 acres) lying between the Choctaw line and the town. (The life of General Nicks is given by Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "General John Nicks and His Wife, Sarah Perkins Nicks," in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VIII, No. 4 [December, 1930], pp. 389-406; see also, Grant Foreman, "Report of Placing a Marker in the National Cemetery at Fort Gibson for Col. John Nicks, Veteran of the War of 1812," *ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 4 [December 1932], pp. 553-55.)

<sup>21</sup> Camp 2 was at Skullyville, the present town of Oak Lodge, east of Spiro. The Choctaw Agency was located there, and the town was a thriving one. See Morrison, "The Saga of Skullyville," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVI, No. 2 (June 1938), p. 234.

<sup>22</sup> Douglas H. Cooper was a native of Mississippi who had served in the Mississippi Volunteers commanded by Col. Jefferson Davis, in the Mexican War. He was appointed U. S. Indian Agent to the Choctaws and had just taken over the position at the Choctaw Agency upon the arrival of Col. Whipple. He was serving as Agent to both the Choctaws and the Chickasaws at the beginning of the Civil War. He was commissioned Colonel of the First Choctaw and Chickasaw Regiment, Confederate States Army, in 1861, and subsequently was promoted to the rank of Brig. General. He was prominent in Choctaw and Chickasaw affairs in their relations with the Government for many years. He died at Ft. Washita on April 30, 1879.

“Mcreeans Feary at Bills ford there will Be no Feary at the Fill place unteel Fall”

The above unsatisfactory sign<sup>23</sup> was placed at the fork of the road, but I took the road to the left due East and in about 1/2 mile reached the Poteau. Reading of viameter No. 1: 2492 r. Do No. 2: 2127.5 r. Read in the west bank of Poteau—course of river north with turn Easterly 15 ft. wide, banks 20 ft. high each side. Brook emptying from west.

The left hand road from the fork leads 3 miles through bottom bad road to Bellsford ferry.

At ferry called for boat on other side till our throats were sore when a man approached to our side & for a dollar offered to swim for boat.

E bank river V. No. 1—2525 Thence course E.S.E. & E & E N E to prairie 1 mile from river then E N E across prairie, N

At Rogers at Ft Smith viameter No. 1 reads 7480 r

Visited friends. Saw Lt. Williams &c.

July 21st Thursday

Turned over to Lt. Stanley vouchers for transportation of Q. M. stores amounting to \$53.90

Amt of vouchers approved by me for Lt Stanley	\$885.37
approved vouchers	114.63

amt	\$1000.00
-----	-----------

Recd from Mr. White by vouchers to the amt of 374.03 for Surv. and 53.90 for Esct

amt	\$427.93
	516 85

	88.92
--	-------

July 22d

July 23

Camp No. 2 Choctaw Ag.

July 24

July 25th

Loaned Mr. Garner	\$3.00
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Loaned Newland	\$2.00
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Loaned Mr. Hutton	\$10.00
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" Mr. Mollhausen	\$10.00
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<sup>23</sup> This is the literal copy of a sign Whipple happened to see on July 20th while returning from Skullyville to Ft. Smith to check on certain supplies.



## July 26th [Camp 3]

Left Choctaw Agency (Scullyville) with Survey. Travelled ten miles. Purchased a wagon two horses & harness to be paid for as follows: I employ the original owner to drive at \$25.00 per mo. If he does his duty & yet I discharge him at New Mexico I pay him \$250.00 But if he goes on to New Mexico or is discharged for any fault of his I pay only \$215.00

Hired three teams of Mr. Warren at \$5.00 per day

## July 27th [Camp 4]

Proceeded five miles to Camp No. 4. Mr. Campbell left Survey in woods.

July 28th Went out with Mr. Campbell and brought Survey from hills to big prairie<sup>24</sup> which evidently extends from Choctaw Agency to this point.

July 29. [Camp 5] Mr. Campbell sick I took party and carried survey<sup>25</sup> five miles to Indian Trail Then turned toward road 3 miles & found at Johnsons house Mr. Strickland who consents to become my guide. Mr. Jones sick today. He becomes disheartened by ill health and proposes to return home according to my advice he asks opinion of Dr Bigelow and concludes to go home. Settled with him, allowing him sufficient to take him home.

Did not observe tonight as it was at first cloudy and being encamped at springs in wood trees were too thick.

## July 30 Saturday [Camp 6]

Paid off Mr. Jones & Victor both being sick. They stopped with Mr. & Mrs. Strickland at Johnson. Strickland went to Pine hill to show me the country. Could not go with me till Tuesday on account of sickness of child.

<sup>24</sup> The survey party was several miles south of the expedition and had through inadvertance run up into some hills rather than stay in the flat extending due east from Bokoshe. This latter route was followed by the Ft. Smith & Western R.R., nearly a half century later.

A few miles west of Camp 4, on the headwaters of Owl Creek (Le Flore County), a species of minnow native to the type locality of this section of Oklahoma was found and the specimen drawn by H. B. Mollhausen. Charles Girard, M.D., in his report on "Fishes" found by the U. S. Pacific R.R. Survey of 1853-54 and published in *Pacific R. R. Survey Report, op. cit.*, Vol. X (Washington, 1859), describes the minnow found by Mollhausen (illustrated by Plate LVIII, No. 1), p. 266. This species of minnow and its native type region in Oklahoma (place where found) was a research subject by special request to the Oklahoma Historical Society in 1944, from the Biology Laboratory, Conservation Department of Wisconsin, in its scientific studies of "Fishes of the Southwest" including species found in Oklahoma (where and when discovered).—Letters signed John D. Black, Biologist, Biology Laboratory, Conservation Department, The State of Wisconsin, dated July-August, 1944, with carbon copies of replies to same, in special Historical Research Files, Muriel H. Wright, Editorial and Research, Oklahoma Historical Society.

<sup>25</sup> Camp 5 was in the vicinity of present McCurtain, in Haskell County.

Continued Survey through forest & over prairie to Camp No. 6<sup>26</sup> six miles from No. 5.

Thus far evidently rail road can pass nearly the whole way over prairie from Ft. Smith up Poteau then along south of Scullyville and the road hither.

July 31st [Camp 7]

Continued march & survey along the road to Sans Bois. No obstacle occurs to construction of railroad. We do not follow Marcy's trail but go north of it. His trail is over top of high ridges to our left. At Frazer house found Frazer an intelligent Indian whom I employed to act as guide to Gaines Creek.<sup>27</sup> We then moved on to San Bois. Encamped<sup>28</sup> near the water. Survey brought up to camp.

Observed as usual

Aug 1st [Camp 8] Moved on 8 miles crossing Sans Bois and Coopers Creek. We passed Cooper's House and encamped<sup>29</sup> at Indian rancho one mile beyond. Route for railroad good. Mr. Marcou very ill. Thinks of returning. Issued rifles & pistols today.

Aug 2 Tuesday. [Camp 9] Continued route 8 miles & encamped No. 9 at foot of big hill over which road runs rough & steep.<sup>30</sup> But I rode over the bank of the river & found good route for railroad at Base of hill. Purchased a wagon & six mules of Mr. Warren<sup>31</sup> giving him at the rate of \$150 for each mule & \$210 for his wagon amounting to \$1110.00. But in return I give him 2 horses for \$110.00 & one thousand cash. Promised Matthews & Robinson as cooks \$30. per mo.

[The following general descriptive notes follow the entry for Aug. 2]

At Napoleon were the first Choctaws seen. They had been to Little Rock as they said to draw their annuities and were returning to their homes in Mississippi. They had money & were nearly all intoxicated but were jovial good humored & happy. Their money was stolen from them but they laughed at it & said Indian a fool to get drunk. It appears that some imposition had been prac-

<sup>26</sup> Camp 6 was in the vicinity of present Lequire.

<sup>27</sup> Gaines Creek is designated "South Fork" or "South Canadian" on earliest maps of the Indian Territory after the settlement of the Five Civilized Tribes in this country.

<sup>28</sup> Camp 7 was a few miles south and east of Kinta.

<sup>29</sup> Camp 8 was in the vicinity west of Kinta. Coopers Creek is present Beaver Creek.

<sup>30</sup> Camp 9 was in the vicinity of Quinton, in Pittsburg County.

<sup>31</sup> This was Abel Warren, living at Skullyville at this time, engaged in the freighting business by contract, to southwestern posts. He had first located at Fort Smith. He established a trading post, called "Warren's" or "Warren's Trading Post," on the east bank and near the mouth of Cache Creek, in about 1842.

ticed on government by them in going to Arkansas or the Choctaw Nation to draw annuities as a reward for emigration from Missi. and then returning to their old homes with their money. One of these fellows was nearly white, one almost a negro. It appears that the mother alone decides the nationality of the individual.

At Fort Smith were many Indians trading for various articles of which whiskey was principal. No spirituous liquors being allowed within the Choctaw nation.—the western boundary of Arkansas is lined with grog shops for the detriment of the poor heedless Indian.

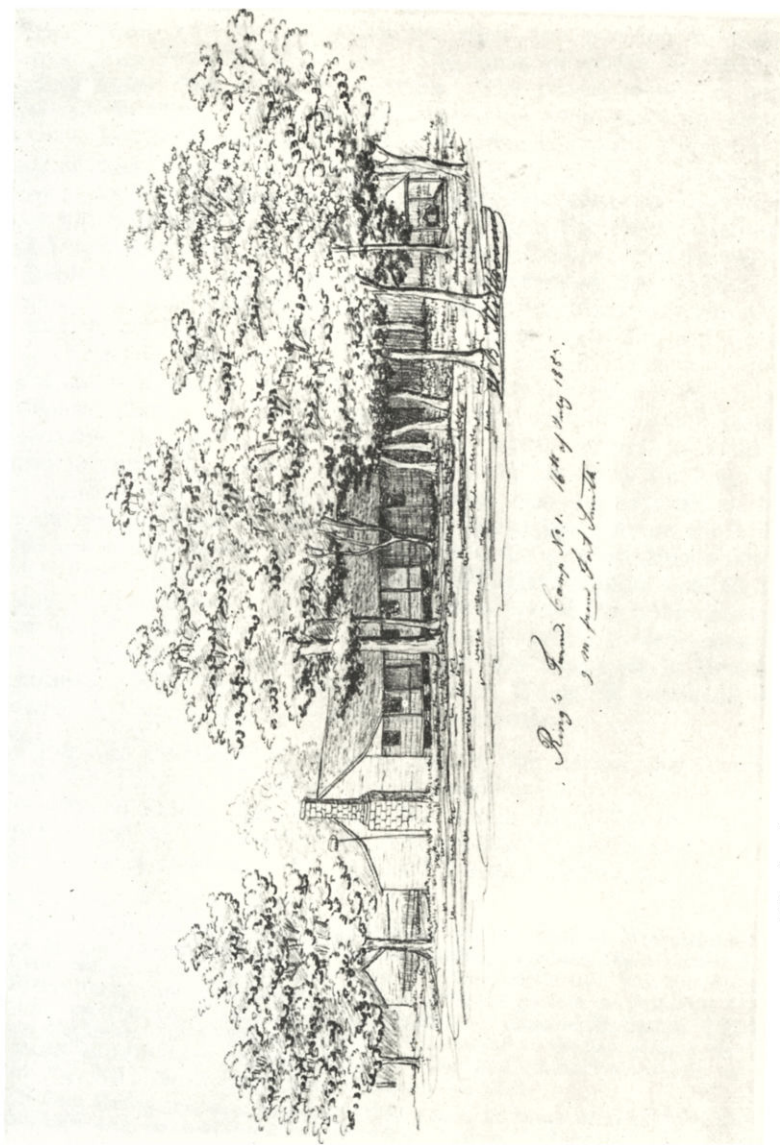
[The notes continue following the entry for August 4th]

At Camp No. 1 near Rings Rancho several Indians passed but little intercourse occurred before reaching Scullyville at Choctaw Agency. Here met my old friend Mr McKinney<sup>32</sup> a fine looking, wealthy well behaved Choctaw gentleman. He was educated at college I think in Kentucky & has been to Washington. His house is carpeted & respectably furnished. His eldest son a lad of 12 yrs is a handsome & gentlemanly little fellow. He attends the Choctaw high school at this place supported by private subscription. His studies were, he said, Algebra, Geography, History &c. The little boys were quite expert in the spelling book.

The present Choctaw Indian Agent Genl Cooper has been here but a few weeks. He seems a high minded & honorable gentleman and bids fair to succeed his lamented predecessor in the deep affection of this people. The former Agent, Mr. Wilson,<sup>33</sup> by devoting all the energy both of his body & mind to improve the condition of Choctaws won their admiration, respect & love. It was with extreme reluctance that they accepted anyone in his place.

<sup>32</sup> "Colonel Thomson McKenny was a prominent citizen, an intelligent, educated, and shrewd half-breed. He was about thirty years of age [1845], a small, active, and sprightly man . . . quite a politician . . . . He served as a trustee for the several academies of the nation, and was well qualified for the duties of the office; he manifested a lively interest in behalf of education, and frequently visited the schools and exerted himself in their behalf; his social and conversational qualifications were of a high order."—*Life Among the Choctaws*, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-3. His name is found in a number of old records spelled "Thompson McKinney." Upon the authority of his granddaughter, Mary Locke Archer (Mrs. C. E.) of Antlers, he himself spelled his surname "*McKenney*,"; he was always referred to as "Mr. McKinney." His name is listed among the Choctaw students in attendance at the Choctaw Academy, in Kentucky, August 1, 1832, as "Thompson McKenny," aged 14 years, having entered the school on April 30, 1832. (See ref., Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "The Choctaw Academy," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VI, No. 4 [December, 1928], p. 476.)

<sup>33</sup> William Wilson, a Presbyterian, was a graduate of Washington College, in Pennsylvania. He was employed as a teacher by the Government, in the first school (day school) opened near the Choctaw Agency in 1837, under provisions of the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek that had provided for the removal of the Choctaws to the Indian Territory, in 1830. He served as principal of Spencer Academy for boys from the opening of that school in January, 1844, until about 1848, and was subsequently appointed U. S. Agent to the Choctaws.



Ring's Land Camp No. 16th of May 1851.  
J. M. Jones, Fort Smith.

Ring's plantation home east of Skullyville, Choctaw Nation.

The Choctaw Nation is divided into four districts with an independent chief at the head of each. One of these chiefs resides<sup>34</sup> at Scullyville and by invitation we went one evening to hear an address from him to his people. The stoop or porch in front of a trading house was to be his rostrum. The people slowly & quietly collected in front. A spirited conversation took place in Choctaw between Mr. McKinney & the Chief & other Choctaws regarding the road or way necessary for us to take. They all seemed deeply interested in our operations and are eagerly desirous to have a railroad built through their country. At length the chief disappeared and I was informed that like other orators of other lands he required a drink of water to move the spirit of orpheus but unlike their beverage brandy formed no part of the stimulating ingredient. A lantern hung from the shed roof cast a glow upon the red faces as they circled in knot around. At length in a loud harsh tone one of the subchiefs called to audience. The Chief with quiet dignity addressed them. In silvery tones and with well modulated cadence, persuasive in manner and without apparent effort he held the crowd in mute [The notes continue following the entry for Aug. 6th.] and undisturbed attention. Their dress was as various as there are degrees between the civilized & the Barbarian. From the breech-cloth the simple shirt the pants, you saw the gay hunting shirt, the calico frock the high crowned hats with silver bands, beaded moccasins, wampum belts. And there too sat a few of the tribe dressed in their daily attire and listening to their Choctaw Chief—men who but for the swarthy complexion of their skin might sit in Broadway unnoticed. With beaver hat vest of satin & coat & pants of black broadcloth they seemed perfectly at their ease.

For the privilege of residing within the nation the Cherokees [error for Chickasaws] have paid a handsome sum invested by the Choctaws in stocks, the interest for which \$15,000 per annum is appropriated to the support of free schools & Academies. One of these latter is located at Ft. Coffee<sup>35</sup> formerly a military post near

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<sup>34</sup> Cornelius McCurtain had recently been elected Chief of Mosholatubbee District, the northeastern part of the Choctaw Nation, in which the Choctaw Agency and the village of Skullyville were located. Chief McCurtain had the distinction of having three sons subsequently elected at different periods as Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation: Jackson McCurtain (1880-84); Edmund McCurtain (1884-86); Green McCurtain (1896-1902, and 1902-06) who served as the last elected chief until his death in 1910.—John Bartlett Meserve, "The McCurtains," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIII, No. 3 (September, 1935) pp. 296-312.

<sup>35</sup> Fort Coffee was established in 1834, named in honor of Gen. John Coffee, a Tennessean and personal friend of President Andrew Jackson. At this time, Fort Smith was abandoned as a military post. The location of the new post was about 15 miles above Fort Smith, on a high bluff (Swallow Rock) overlooking the Arkansas River, and about 6 miles north of the Choctaw Agency. In 1838, Fort Smith was re-established, at which time the garrison was withdrawn from Fort Coffee and the log buildings dismantled. The property reverted to the Choctaw Nation. In 1842, the Choctaw General Council established Fort Coffee Academy for boys, with

the Agency. This is for lads only and agriculture constitutes one portion of the system of education. Under the direction of Methodists at present it is prosperous & useful. On Sunday I attended divine service at the school house. The old man eloquent was entertaining as well as instructive. He praised the Indian full blood—said they became Christians with their whole soul but that half breeds were wilder & more thoughtless. Throughout the assembly much white blood had evidently been sprinkled. . . . There sat before me in a snow white sunbonnet and modest white frock a young lady whose neck and arms so plump & fair attracted much attention. Her face when seen was sweet enough to fix the charm and many an envious look followed the favored beau who escorted the Choctaw belle to her home.

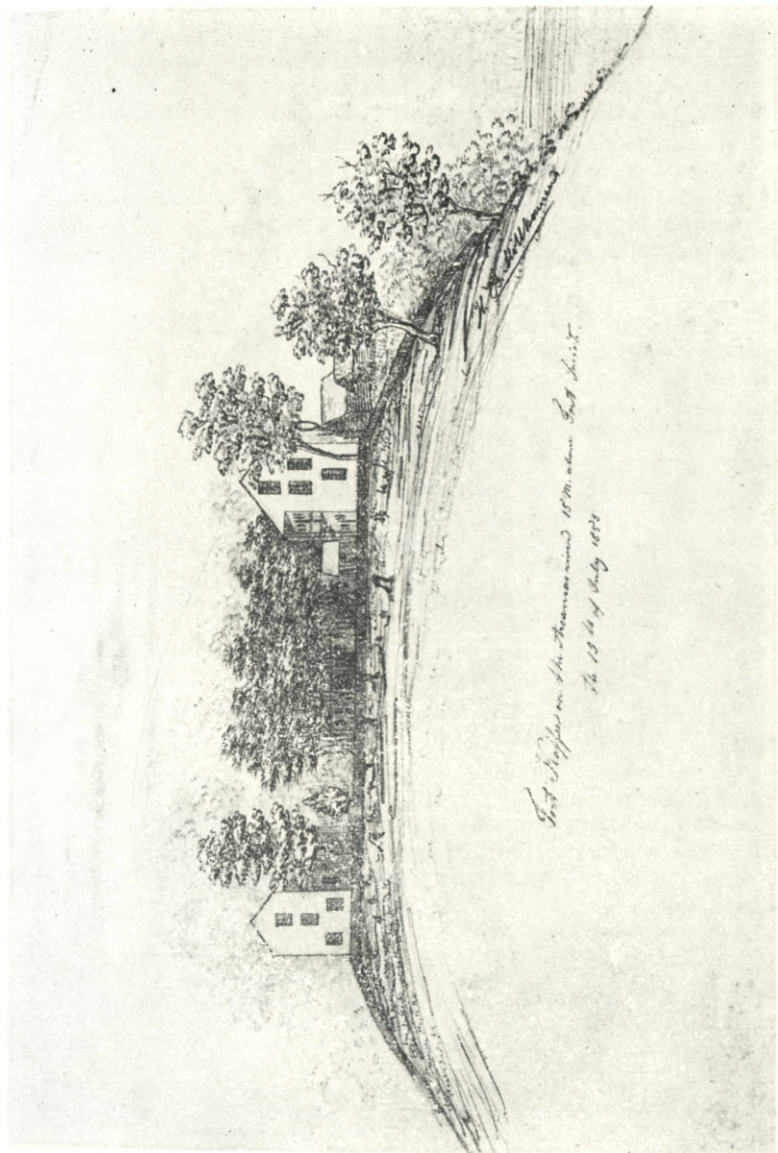
When ready to start from Choctaw Agency I was told that an Indian woman claimed my best cow & calf bought of Mr. Ring & stood at the gate, not permitting the herders to drive her out. Mr. Ring I found at the spot. He said the cow was his—now mine—and to take her. The Indians persisted that she was theirs. As I was riding to take leave of the Agent I submitted the affair to him. He decided that the cow should be left, Mr. Ring refunding the money recd from me. It was done to the annoyance of Mr. Ring & to the delight of the Indians, who thus as I believe took away what honestly belonged to the white man.

Genl Cooper showed us a newspaper (weekly) printed by Choctaws—half in English half in Choctaw characters and a similar specimen of Cherokee [*sic*] civilization. Both seemed quite respectable country newspapers. Mr. McKinney gave me the Choctaw Definer containing phrases in Choctaw & English. All that I have seen shows an immense progress made toward civilizing & refining these Indians. The problem is solved that the wild race of America are men susceptible of understanding evil from good. Their extermination from the face of the earth is not a necessity ordained by the Creator but a fatality which our cupidity is not unwilling to sanction. Let us pay the pristine foresters for the land they possess as if they were Englishmen or Americans and expend the price in leading them to the Knowledge of civilization & Christianity, and we may then save the red man from destruction, in truth turning the sword of war into the ploughshare of peace and plenty.

From the Choctaw Agency we passed many comfortable farm houses and saw many of these peaceful quiet Indians. Few could

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appropriation of funds for the repair of the buildings at the abandoned post, and the erection of a new two-story frame dwelling. The school was placed under the supervision of the Methodist Episcopal Church, with the Reverend William H. Goode as Superintendent, and the Reverend Henry C. Benson as Principal. Benson's *Life Among the Choctaws*, *op. cit.*, is an authoritative source and rare item in Oklahoma history. Mr. Goode devoted several chapters to his experiences in the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations, in his book *Outposts of Zion* (Cincinnati, 1863).



(From original drawing by H. B. Mollhausen,  
Whipple Collection)

Fort Coffee established 1834. Abandoned as military post and in operation as a Choctaw Academy for boys, 1842-55.

talk English. Every where in the wildest forest we rode singly & unarmed as *fearless* of violence from natives as we would be in New England. We would ask for milk at the farm houses and give to the unscared child the levy in payment. At Frazers Creek we found an honest looking Choctaw Blacksmith who spoke English fluently & employed him as guide. We found him exceedingly intelligent & useful. He desired to lead us a short road but we had not the men required to cut it out. But evidently from stream conformation of the country he was right & that is the way by which the railroad should pass taking a route south of our road as I have marked it in red upon my map. He is a very good Indian having one eighth white blood. Large & muscular he is a good specimen of Indian.

Upon the west side of Gaines Creek<sup>36</sup> is a Chickasaw settlement. Here lives Stephen Perry<sup>37</sup> who looks the full blooded Indian but claims Chickasaw-Choctaw & white blood. He says one of his brothers has a clear white skin. He has several very fine looking slaves, who seem more at home and more happy than their master. From what I have seen, I infer that the negro has more energy than the Indian and while they accomplish the work the sway is nearly their own. The children appear almost universally more healthy, robust & happy than young Indians. From them no work is required until they arrive at the age of ten or 12 years and then their duties are very light. The buying & selling is generally done by the slaves who seem as close at a bargain as if the profits were their own. Stopping at the home of Tecumseh Jefferson<sup>38</sup> I saw a negro boy of about 6 years & was told that he had just been bought for \$200.00. Tecumseh said [he was] educated at an academy in Ky. [The remainder of the descriptive material is at the end of the first notebook.]

#### Continued

If the railroad proceeds from St Louis passing Springfield, Misso., it may be readily prolonged to and unite with the Canadian at Choteaus trading post or farther west;<sup>39</sup> by this means there would

<sup>36</sup> The survey party reached this point August 5th.

<sup>37</sup> Stephen Perry (Choctaw-Chickasaw), born about 1816, was reared in Yalobusha County, Mississippi, and attended the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky. He came west during the removal of the Chickasaws in 1838.

<sup>38</sup> Tecumseh Jefferson, born in Mississippi about 1825, was listed among the Chickasaw boys who attended the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky, in 1839.

<sup>39</sup> In July, 1851, the building of a railroad was commenced from St. Louis to the West. By Act of June 19, 1852 Congress gave aid to the project by grant of lands; and by Act of Dec. 20, 1852 the Missouri Legislature extended a loan and granted lands. It was proposed that the line would be extended to the southwest, passing old Ft. Holmes, at the mouth of Little River, and joining Marcy's route to Albuquerque. It was this line to which Whipple makes reference. "Choteaus trading post" was located near present Lexington, Cleveland County (see fn. 62 below).



be avoided the hills of carboniferous sandstone between Ft Smith & Delaware Mt.<sup>40</sup>

From Springfield 50 miles to the Verdigris the road would follow the coal measures group. Beyond we would meet the Trias formed of red clay & argillaceous sandstone. This route offers no difficulties for the establishment of a railroad and materials for its construction, free stone, lime, &c are found in abundance upon the route. The only difficult points will be the construction of bridges over the Neosho the Arkansas & Canadian rivers

[The following, headed "Marcou," appearing at the conclusion of the descriptive material, seems to have been added later.]

### Marcou

Ft Smith is situated on the upper carboniferous or coal measures & several mines of Bituminous Coal begin to be explored in the environs. This carboniferous formation extends to Camp 14 near Shawnee Village over an interval of 100 miles. Coal crops out in several places especially on Sans Bois & Coal creeks. Many ordinary wells in Choctaw territory 40 to 50 feet deep traverse beds of "*Honille grasse*" 2 to 3 ft thick. Besides bituminous coal this formation contains sandstones & limestone excellent for construction of bridges & viaducts.

From Camp 14 to 19 beyond Delaware Mountain the route is constantly in the lower carboniferous composed of sandstone & limestone. From Shawnee Village to Little River is sandstone. Delaware mount is of limestone affording building material & quicklime. Between Camps 19 & 20 we leave the carboniferous group and enter upon the new Red Sandstone or Trias—which leads to Anton Chico & Canon Blanco. The rocks which it forms are red & grey sandstone and in some places white amorphous gypsum with crystalline veins, saliferous clay and dolomite. From Camp 20 to Camp 29 red clay with red argillaceous sandstone predominates and the country is fertile, well watered, with numerous rivulets and having water the whole year. From Camp 29 to Camp 36 it is white gypsum with red clay predominating. The country is equally very well watered by numerous rivulets, only the water is slightly charged with salts of magnesia in dissolution, which gives it sometimes a disagreeable taste. Grey Sandstone sometimes white predominates from Antelope Hills (Camp 36) to the Llano Estacado; the rivulets in this part of the country being often dry especially near their confluence with the river Canadian; the water disappearing in the sand at short distances from the sources of the streams. Nevertheless as the grey sandstone is often replaced by dolomite or sandy clay there

<sup>40</sup> Delaware Mountain lies immediately east of the City of Ada, extending as a range of hills from northeast to southwest in Pontotoc County.

are always springs & streams with water all the year. Besides water upon our route can be obtained by springs or by common wells 40 to 60 feet deep or by artesian wells 2 to 500 feet deep or by establishing reservoirs to preserve water during the dry season.

[Here follow three pages of geological observations of the region west of Oklahoma.]

August 3d Wednesday [Camp 9]

Our camp ground being very fine, on the water pools of a little creek called "Santa Rita" or Mule Creek, which in a few hundred yards empties into Rio "Sans Bois" and as we had many things to do, we determined to remain for the day.

Mr. Hutton took up the plotting of the survey line; Mr. Campbell still sick assisting. Mr. Garner & Mr. Parke brought up the compilations of Astl Obs. to last nights work. Mr. White plotted his reconnaissance & Mr. Sherburne computed Barometric heights. Dr. Bigelow & Mr. Mollhausen went with guide to Rio Canadian. They had a very interesting trip. Found the Canadian 12 miles N. from camp following "Long town Creek" to its junction with Canadian which occurs 25 miles from the junction of Canadian with Arkansas. They found the Canadian about 60 ft wide; & less than knee deep water, a sluggish stream of whitish color nearly clear. After crossing the mts near camp another high range was crossed before reaching the valley of the Canadian which appears several miles wide. On the Canadian were found great quantities of very large & fine cedar trees, oaks, hickory & c. They found new specimens of plants shells, fishes & turtles.

Wednesday

Paid Mr. Warren \$1000 & two horses for wagon harness & six magnificent mules. Settled accounts with Lt. Stanley, taking his vouchers and his receipt for balance of money advanced for purposes of survey. Settled also with Mr. White taking his rect for balance.

Observed at night as usual. Mr. Garner sick.

Thursday

August 4th [Camp 10]<sup>41</sup> Took a pretty early start. Road exceedingly rough with short pitches to pass ravines putting in to Sans Bois from mountains. One wagon broke yoke, another broke coupling pole. A long delay ensued. Passed on with main train & survey to La Honda, a branch of Gains Creek, Camp No. 10 17½ miles from

<sup>41</sup> Camp 10 was on the east side of Gaines Creek, in Pittsburg County, a few miles east of Reams. Until this point the survey had been generally that of the future route of the Ft. Smith and Western. They now started south and west, along the route of the future M. K. & T. Railway.

Camp No. 9. In the bottoms belonging to Gaines Creek road very bad, full of miry mud holes, & steep ravines. Wild mules lost & found. Broken wagon not yet up. Trees too thick to get good observations.

Friday

August 5th [Camp 11]

Crossed La Honda & beyond 1000 yds Gaines creek, through forest, part rancho to walled spring & Terrapin creek. 3 miles encampment No. 11. Heavy shower 2.5 in.

Terrapin Creek	3 mi
San Saba Creek	5 mi
Capt. Colberts	4 mi
Creek Coal	5 mi
Creek	12 mi
Shawnee Vill.	12 mi
Good water west to Ft Arbuckle new	60 & more
to old Ft Arbuckle from	
Shawnee Vill lower	25
Up Shawnee Vill to lower	25
Ft Arbuckle is about 3 miles from Up Shawnee Vill & here lives Black Beaver.	

Frazer, Guide, having heard that his child was sick received his pay & returned. We are now guideless.

August 6th Saturday [Camp 12]<sup>42</sup>

Stephen Perry, part Cherokee [error for Chickasaw] part Choctaw part white, but complete Indian in feature & color, returned from the Perryville races last night.<sup>43</sup> He knows so little of the country west that he is unwilling to undertake to guide us. In fact I think his services would be valueless. The horse races must have been interesting. There was also a council on strayed & stolen property. My Shawnee guide employed, lagged behind. Coming to a high ridge which the road ascended I took a turn to the left around its base & found a railroad way nearly level.

<sup>42</sup> Camp 12 was in the vicinity of present McAlester. They now start west along the present route of the Rock Island Railway.

<sup>43</sup> The site of Perryville is about three miles south of the City of McAlester. Perryville was a well known village on the Texas Road, named for James Perry who had a farm and trading establishment there. He was an elder brother of Stephen Perry.—Muriel H. Wright, "Additional Notes on Perryville, Choctaw Nation," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VIII, No. 2 (June, 1930), pp. 146-7.

Sunday August 7th

Moved six miles to Long Pond Creek<sup>44</sup> where made camp No. 13.<sup>45</sup> Survey brought up. Country passable for Railway, but very rolling like Worcester Co Mass. The wood lands are both upon heights & in ravines. Prairies also are rolling more so than east of the San Bois. Singular the cause which produces extensive patches of woodland and prairies.

[End of First Note Book]

[Inside cover—Second Note Book]

A W Whipple [signature]

Aug 20

Pd. one Indian to hunt mules 5.00

Pd. one Indian to hunt cattle 2.00

Loaned to Kenton 5.00

Do Jas F. Short 5.00

Monday

August 8th 1853 [Camp 14]<sup>46</sup>

Left Camp 13 & soon came upon bad hills. Got upon my mule & rode mile south near branch Coal Creek then turned summit & got over pretty well. Guide—

Es-Man'-en-eh' Chickasaw lives on hdwaters Coal Creek. 41 yrs old, his son 17 yrs. Came from Miss 16 yrs ago.

Shawnee Guides name Wen-the-eh-beh'. His son name Jim, Keenan Kumseh. Traveled about 10 miles to middle branch of Coal Creek where formed Camp No. 14. Here found Shawnee Guide. Went on to examine [extra note at bottom of page here on course of creek, plat and date Monday 8th 1853] bad hill ahead. Rises, the road, high ridge, steep & rocky. Wagons & survey.

Tuesday August 9th [Camp 15]

Wagons & survey passed on road—much worse even than was anticipated. One wagon upset. At another place all let down hill with ropes. Aneroid Barometer broken.

Mr Campbell & I went up the western branch Coal Creek to its head in mts then crossed summit not very high 50 ft perhaps to another creek called from the Shawnee Guide "Wen-the-eh-beh." One deep cut of 50 ft 1500 feet long would unite the two valleys and then the road could probably be carried to the valley of the

<sup>44</sup> Probably present Deer Creek.

<sup>45</sup> Camp 13 was in the vicinity of Haywood, in Pittsburg County.

<sup>46</sup> Camp 14 was in the vicinity of Stuart.

Canadian.<sup>47</sup> But this would be the dernier resort. A far better route would undoubtedly be obtained by keeping the course of Coal Creek to point south of last night's camp and then running S 50 or 60 W. to head of the range of hills we have today passed and cross a prairie country according to information of Shawnees to the waters of River Boggy. Then we could continue to point south of Delaware Mt. Thus saving not only all the terrible hills on this route but much of the distance. The lower Shawnee village is small containing but eight houses. We visited several & found the finest looking set of women ever seen among Indians. Men too are intelligent. They are generally dressed like & nearly as well as very poor white people & their household arrangements to a certain extent conform thereto.

But an indication of the savage appears in the fact that women do all the work both field & household. They break the soil, they plant they gather in the corn & grind it into flour. They then bake the bread cook the meat & do whatever is to be done unless supplied with slaves—either negro or mexican. Men hunt deer, shoot turkies & loaf. He is both too lazy & proud to work.

Wednesday Aug 10th [Camp 16]

Started & crossing creek wagon upset & broke tongue. Alexander takes rifle No 21. Travelled on with "Jim" as guide. He took me new road 2 miles well made & staked out by Shawnees. He says that Black Beaver<sup>48</sup> told him that to the S.W is a burning mountain whence have issued smoke & flame for the last 3 years. That the earth falls in at the top. A Delaware saw it. He says there is no chief to the Shawnees, that should one man kill another a third, any one, might kill the murderer. That when a man wishes to marry a squaw he gives her a horse & saddle & some goods, then without further ceremony takes her to his cabin. If however he becomes tired of her he may put her off & take another. Women do all the work. They cultivate the fields & attend to household duties besides. The men merely hunt & bring deer & turkies home.

Jim in explanation of my volcanic theory seems to take away the foundation of my hypothesis. He says the Delaware told that when hunting a bear was pursued into a cave. Taking a torch he followed & shot the bear. But leaving his torch the ground took fire and has

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<sup>47</sup> Whipple followed the route of present U. S. Highway 270, in Hughes County, from Stuart to Calvin. Camp 15 was on the south side of the Canadian a few miles east of Calvin.

<sup>48</sup> Black Beaver, famous chief of the Delawares, was living at "Beaversville", the Delaware village at the site of old Camp Arbuckle, near present Byars in McClain County. For extended treatment of Black Beaver, see Morrison, *Military Posts and Camps in Oklahoma*, (Oklahoma City, 1936) p. 95 et seq. and Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Black Beaver," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIV, No. 3 (Autumn, 1946) pp. 269-92.

been burning ever since. It may be that subteranean gasses took fire but more probably a bituminous coal mine. He says also that Delawares make balls of hair & shoot them by hand so as to kill a man at 20 paces. Said he knew not how it was done but some Shawnees did. This is probably a wizzard story.

Arrived at Camp No 15, [Camp 16?]<sup>49</sup> on small creek. Messrs Rogers arrived with letters & papers from Ft Smith. I had a letter from Capt Montgomery &c but not from home. Mr Rogers wish so desirous to join the party. It could not be. Wrote letters, one to Capt. Montgomery & one to Dear Nell. Made Astl Obv.

Thursday August 11th

Pablo son of Manuel Melendez of City of Durango, bought of Comanches by Mr. Warren & sold to Mr Stevens, is a boy of from 10 to 12 yrs old, has been a slave of Shawnees for 3½ years. He looks as much like an Indian as any boy seen but speaks Spanish very well. He was stolen from his friends by Comanches & sold to Shawnees. His mothers name Guadalupe Gonsales. He says he prefers going back to his friends. But he seems very happy here. Indians speak of him & to him kindly. Another "Spanish boy" as they are called lives with Johnson a Shawnee. Jesse Chisholm<sup>50</sup> the man I hope to make guide has 3 of them. I suppose that from two to three hundred dollars each is the value set upon these boys. Almost all these Indians—Shawnees Creeks Chickasaws Choctaws Cherokees and Delawares, posses either African or Mexican slaves. It is a singular state of things where almost universally the master appears to be in mental capacity inferior to his slave. This Pablo I saw at the house of his master & conversed with him. His tale corroborated by others was doubtless true. Passed through Shawnee Village to Camp No 16 [Camp 17]<sup>51</sup> on branch of Rio Boggy, head waters of red river. The road today also has been hilly & rocky, so that we could make but 10 miles The Survey has progressed far beyond. One broken wagon left this morning in camp to be repaired. Yesterday I obtained a very good vocabulary of Shawnee language. It has been tested and I believe it correct.

Observed as usual. Camp ground good. Thus far we have been favored with plenty of grass water & wood. The whole country

<sup>49</sup> Camp 16 was in the vicinity of Allen. At this point his camp numbers vary one from that given in his formal report contained in *Pacific R. R. Survey Report*.

<sup>50</sup> Jesse Chisholm, of Cherokee descent, was a noted trader among the western Indians in the history of Oklahoma, and owner of several trading posts. His name was commemorated in that of the "Chisholm Trail," the famous cattle trail over which great herds were driven north from Texas through Oklahoma to the shipping points in Kansas.—H. S. Tennant, "The Texas Cattle Trails," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIV, No. 1 (March, 1936), pp. 86-122; T. U. Taylor, *The Chisholm Trail* (San Antonio, 1936), and ..... *Jesse Chisholm* (Bandera, Texas, 1939); Sam P. Ridings, *The Chisholm Trail* (Guthrie, 1936).

<sup>51</sup> Camp 17 was east of present Oakman, in Pontotoc County.

is densely wooded & well watered. Today those who went to Canadian & crossed to Little River found fossil shells in rocks indicating strata beneath the coal formation. From Ft Smith we have been upon the Coal measures but now we are stepping to the strata below. Gypsum now begins to appear.

“Quapois,”<sup>52</sup> according to Shawnee authority are the remnant of a tribe from Miss. lately from the west & now live at or near Little River. Their language differs from the tribes surrounding. Took a sketch this morning of a Creek—a good looking boy with Grecian face & features.

Friday August 12th

Waited today to get king bolts made at Little River.<sup>53</sup> Also desire to hear from Jesse Chisholm—the guide I have long sought to get. He has gone to hunt horses expected back tomorrow. Having set the whole party at work computing plotting &c I rode to Indian Village hoping to get guide to go back down Boggy & over to Coal Creek on level ground. But the Indians were all too sick or indolent to be willing to go with me, so determine to await Chisholm or Beaver or some other guide to show me south from Boggy to Coal Creek.

Observed for time & magnetic declination. Latter found to be E. of N.

Saturday Aug 13th 1853

The Major Domo, Hicks not having yet returned from Little River with king bolts we remain encamped [Camp 17] today. Continued plotting notes of survey and computing Astl & Barometric observations. After noon arrived Shawnee Indian William ——— who claims to be half Delaware nephew to Black Beaver. He says he knows well this country & can show me the way from Boggy to Coal Creek where are no hills & where a smooth road may be made. He says also that from here he can go to Black Beavers north of Delaware Mt and near the Canadian. I have employed him to guide me and tomorrow with Dr. Bigelow, Mr. Campbell, Jose & Indian I propose to make explorations back to Coal Creek.

<sup>52</sup> The reference is to the Quapaw (“Downstream People”), of the Siouan linguistic family, that had migrated south in prehistoric times to what is now Arkansas, near the mouth of the Arkansas River, where they were living at the time of the De Soto Expedition in 1541. They ceded their vast land claims that extended over into what is now Eastern Oklahoma to the United States by treaty in 1818. In 1833, the tribe was assigned lands by the Government in what is now Ottawa County though all the members of the tribe did not settle there until many years later. A band of Quapaw lived in the Creek Nation, near the mouth of Little River, to the time of the Civil War.

<sup>53</sup> Edwards Trading Post. On the west bank of Little River near its mouth, James Edwards, the father-in-law of Chisholm, operated an important trading post.

Sunday Aug. 14th 1853

Prepared to move camp. Indian guide went to village & not yet returned. Determined to make the exploration, the train started ahead while Dr. Bigelow, Mr. Campbell, myself & Jose returned. Having gone back 7 miles to Shawnee Town after much questioning I learned that one Indian, named Johnson knew something of the country in question. When found he said he knew part but for 3 dolls. per day he was willing to guide us across and he did so. We passed down the waters of Boggy & crossed over the divide between the affluents of Red River of the Canadian & Coal creek without ascending a hill apparently of more than 20 or 30 ft high, and those with exceedingly gentle slopes. When we arrived<sup>54</sup> beyond the divide & within sight of Coal Creek where we encamped, with a prairie intervening we took a sketch and then returned by a different route to Johnsons home where we remained all night. Our exploration was perfectly satisfactory. A wagon road could be easily cut out and a railroad with curvatures of 5000 ft. radius could probably cross from Coal Creek to Boggy with less than 50 ft. ascent to the mile. Had we known the ease with which the road could have been opened, saving at least 5 miles distance in 20; we could I think have saved one day in time. We could have saved the upsetting of nearly every wagon in the train, the breaking of half a dozen king bolts and other difficulties too numerous to mention. I presume that this cut off would shorten the road to Fort Arbuckle at least six miles and furnish instead of break neck hills a good road. If I were tomorrow going back with a train, with Johnson for guide I would strike out a new path instead of following the old road. Johnson also says that the country is open & level from Boggy where we strike it directly west of Beaver Town passing north of Delaware Mount over which the road now runs. I think to employ him to go on with us to determine the route as far as Beaver's.

Johnson appears to be a fair specimen of these Shawnee Indians. He possesses a little shop in which he sells coffee sugar, saddles &c. He has several fields of good corn, squashes &c. He has a magnificent peach orchard, trees breaking under the burden of fruit. He has 20 horses 50 cattle and an abundance of hogs, turkeys, chickens & dogs. His household furniture is quite respectable for an Indian, chairs tables china ware spoons knives & c. Their corn bread is quite palatable. It is prepared by first soaking in ley [lye] to free from the hull—then soaked then pounded in the hollowed trunk of a tree with tools until free from lumps when it is ready to be made into bread. Their hominy is not bad.

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<sup>54</sup> Whipple has returned to a point east of Guertie and within sight of the area of his old Camp 14.



Monday Aug 15th 1853 [Camp 19]

Employed Johnson to go with us. Here is the other Mexican boy bought five years ago from Comanches. This boy is from 10 to 12 yrs old; thin melancholy looking dark complexion has forgotten his Mexican name says he came from San Juan, is unhappy here & wishes to go back. Says he works very hard & that he is treated harshly. But when Johnson was asked what he would take for him he said he "No want sell. Him most same as son." Appearances however indicate that the boy is right. And while we saw him evening & morning he was busily employed in waiting upon everybody; while the true son was called upon for nothing.

With & conducted by Johnson we kept the dividing ridge between the Canadian & the headwaters of Boggy to avoid as Guide said the bad canons of that stream and the steep hills of Delaware Mt. From one spur to another of this ridge we passed by winding from NW to SW without deviating greatly from the horizontal. Mr. Campbell & myself were convinced that no difficulty would be experienced in locating a railroad with light grade & gentle curvature. Having passed the ridge and arrived upon the Rolling Prairie which guide said extended to Blk Beavers near old camp Arbuckle<sup>55</sup>—and far as the eye could reach so it seemed—we determined to put toward the place where camp was supposed to be. We found them at dark encamped.<sup>56</sup> They had passed the beautiful Valley watered by the branching waters of Boggy for 20 miles, then ascended the ridge about 40 feet and were upon the Prairie referred to. They did not follow Marcy's road and the Survey was satisfactory.

Tuesday Aug 16

Johnson continues as guide at \$3.00 per day. On the morning of 15th I paid him for previous services 5.50. We proceeded this day about 15 miles, crossing several branches and the Topofki itself.<sup>57</sup> We passed the latter—a very small stream now but with a gravel bed about 30 ft wide—and encamped about 3 miles beyond, upon a stream flowing toward Topofki. The country passed today has been rolling, passing hills of 50 to 75 ft high above the base. Camp 20<sup>58</sup>

Wednesday August 17th

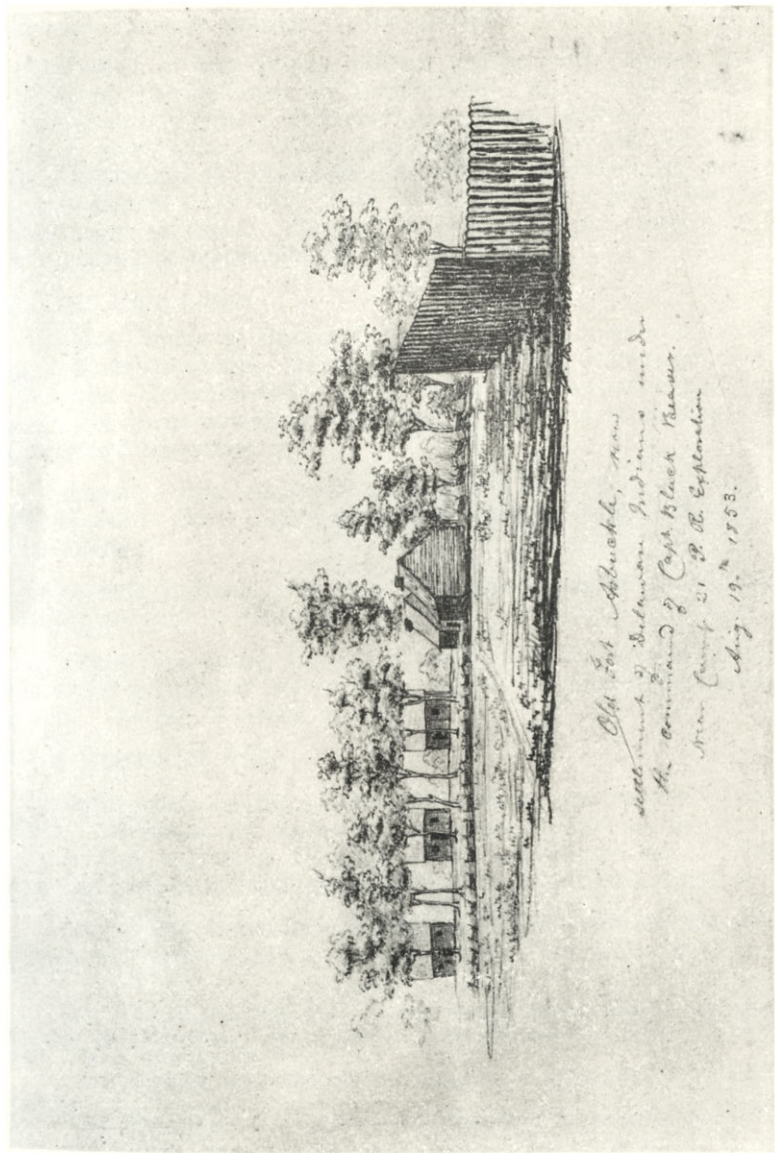
One wagon axle broken yesterday to be repaired this morning. Started with train & struck a beautifully level prairie extending

<sup>55</sup> Camp Arbuckle was established in 1850 by Marcy a mile Northwest of present Byars in McClain County. The garrison was removed in early summer 1851 and the establishment was occupied by the Delawares of Black Beaver. See George H. Shirk, "The Site of Old Camp Arbuckle," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1949), p. 313.

<sup>56</sup> Near Ada, Pontotoc County.

<sup>57</sup> Present Sandy Creek, west of Ada. —*A Pathfinder in the Southwest*, *op. cit.* note on p. 54.

<sup>58</sup> Camp 20 was in the area east of Stratford, Garvin County.



Old Fort Arbuckle, now  
settlement of Delaware Indians under  
the command of Capt. Black Beaver.  
New Camp 31 P. O. Exploration  
Aug. 19<sup>th</sup> 1853.

(From original drawing by H. B. Mollhausen, White Collection)  
Old Camp Arbuckle, home of Capt. Black Beaver's Delaware band, 1853.

many miles. Country beautiful for Railroad. We now have left the coal & struck the gypsum formation. All nature, animate & inanimate seems to partake of the change.

Travelled a very gently rolling prairie with wooded ravines 14 miles to Beaver Town the residence of Capt. Black Beaver the Delaware Indian where formerly was Camp Arbuckle. Fort Arbuckle is now on R. Washita about 30 miles S.W. by S.<sup>59</sup> Found quite a settlement of Delawares. But Capt Blk Beaver say he is yet sick and refuses to go with us as guide. This is a great annoyance. Obs at night as usual. This far Railway finds no obstacle by the way surveyed or reconnoitered.

Thursday August 18th

Awaited today at Beaver Town to shoe mules, put axle tree in wagon, & secure guides. Jesse Chisholm & John Bushman<sup>60</sup> arrived at Beavers. Chisholm is the great Comanche interpreter and famed guide. He seems unwilling to go with us for fear of Indians. Will let me know tomorrow.

Bushman I have employed at \$2.50 per day. Johnson I pay off & he returned. He is a good guide but fears the wild Indians & will go no further.

The next Indians upon our route are Keechies<sup>61</sup> at Choteaus<sup>62</sup> and they are said to be quiet

Plotting computing and office work generally carried on today. Sent to Dr Shermond [?] for Prof. Baird one box of botanical collections. By Mr Warrens wagon.

Friday August 19, 1853

Another day we are compelled to lie by for corn & to secure guides. Chisholm did not come to see me till late in the day. In the meantime others in camp informed me that he did not intend to go and that Jno. Bushman said *he* himself would not go.

When I saw Chisholm I asked him if had made up his mind to go with us? He replied that he had made up his mind not to go with

<sup>59</sup> Fort Arbuckle, located some 7 miles west of present Davis. For extended treatment see Morrison, "Fort Arbuckle," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VI, No. 1 (March 1928), p. 26.

<sup>60</sup> John Bushman was a Delaware, a neighbor of Black Beaver at old Camp Arbuckle.

<sup>61</sup> Lieut. Whipple subsequently changed from use of the phonetic form (Keechi) of the name of this tribe to its proper form "Kichai." The Kichai are of the Caddoan linguistic family, and as part of the Wichita and Affiliated Tribes were allotted lands in severalty on the Wichita-Caddo Reservation in 1901.

<sup>62</sup> Established near present Lexington in 1835 by Col. A. P. Chouteau. See Howard Van Zant, "The History of Camp Holmes and Chouteau's Trading Post," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIII, No. 3 (September 1935), p. 316.

us. I was provoked. We had tried flattery & kind treatment we had invited him to our table and treated him like a gentleman. We had offered money & provisions more wages than any of these guides had ever before received and they all—every one—decline going with us. Their excuse was fear of Indians on their return. I told Chisholm that it was nonsense. That there was no excuse for refusing to go. That if it were dangerous to return by this route they could easily go with the mail carriers to San Antonio & thence safely home. I told him that I was annoyed & offended that men as intelligent as I had supposed him should show so much apathy in the operations we are engaged upon. That they should refuse—even when offered high wages—to aid in explorations for a railroad which would be vastly more beneficial to their country than a mine of gold—the largest the world ever saw,—placed in their midst. I was surprised at their stupidity & offended at their indifference.

Chisholm had the good sense to see that there was truth in my remarks and he at once offered to send with me a Mexican lad—who lived a long time with Comanches after having been stolen by them from Durango, and now speaks their language—and promised to endeavor to persuade John Bushman to fulfil his contract. I thanked him and he departed to fulfill his promise.

This morning I conversed with Black Beaver. He is the only Indian who has travelled the route of the upper Canadian; but he is truly sick and says that money could not tempt him to go with us. He says there are about 500 Delawares upon the Canadian. They are less advanced in civilization & the arts than those of the tribe who live in Missouri. But that country although fruitful he says is too cold to suit him.

I wrote a vocabulary of the Delaware language which Black Beaver showed much interest in giving me. He said he knew but little of the superstitions of the Delawares as he did not much believe in them—in fact said he [“] sometimes I believe and sometimes I dont. [”] The Delawares like the “Creeks” have priests or medicine men who having been warned by a dream put on the sacerdotal robe and minister at the holy fires. Once a year with great ceremonies this fire is renewed. It is then kept up continually by these Priests who are paid by a tax like a tythe—each man giving according to his means a mule, a horse, a cow or of the produce of his fields. The Medicine men pretend to cure diseases and foretell events. Jesse Chisholm is a Cherokee a man of excellent sense and has travelled far among Mexicans, Americans and various tribes of Indians. He speaks—beside his native tongue—English, Spanish, Comanche, Creek, Kioway Keechi and I believe Delaware, Shawnee, Chickasaw & Choctaw.

He has traded with and been much among Comanches. He tells me that all these tribes have the same firm conviction of the

existence of an omnipotent & omniscient overruling Spirit—punishing in this world and rewarding in the next the actions of men. And the wilder the Indian the less he has seen of the white men, the more unshaken his belief in the Deity in whom they implicitly

{ Vincente son Demencio of Parras has lived six years }  
{ with Mr. Chisholm }

trust.

He says that the people are beginning to put less faith in the Creek fire, although it is still kept burning. The Cherokees also are less strict in the performance of their ancestral rites. But still their ceremonies are interesting. They maintain their ancient custom of having one family of the tribe set apart for the priesthood. A son of this family having been born, for seven days he is not allowed to nurse his mothers milk. On the 3d day he is baptized [“consecrated,” written above] On the 9th some other ceremony is performed in the nature of which my informant knew not. The boy is then trained to his profession and becomes a priest—or “medicine man” to win celebrity & power in proportion to his talents & ambition. When any undertaking of magnitude is contemplated the priest is consulted for an augury. Not long since Chisholm attended one of these ceremonies. They enquired of the Priest whether any of their enemies were lurking near. He arose with dignity and addressed the assembly. He told them that God equally loved all people. But those that prayed to him & believed most implicitly in his power he condescended to favor with knowledge denied to others. The priest then addressed to the Deity a prayer, such as Chisholm said he had never heard, replete with eloquence and power. Having concluded he brought forth a small black affair like metal or stone and said that “in very ancient times God had been pleased to give us his people this substance to indicate his will.” Then taking a curiously wrought bowl of the same antiquity, it was filled with water and the black substance placed within. He then caused it to move about in the bowl from one side to the other, from bottom to top by a word. Then speaking of danger, & hostile foes, the enchanted metal fled from the point of his knife. But as he began to speak of peace & security it turned toward the knife embraced and clung to it until lifted entirely from the water. The Priest interpreted the omen by informing the people that peace was in the ascendant, no enemy was near.

With Cherokees the custom from time immemorial has been to baptize with water all children when three days old. They believe that with out baptism they cannot live. Their custom of sacrifice and burnt offering is most singular. The offering is generally of Deer. Sometimes whole animals—at others—the heart and select portions of the entrails, are burned.

They believe in future rewards but not in future punishment. They believe in God and heaven but know nothing, except that learned from the white man, of the Devil and his kingdom. All men they think are punished in this world for their misdeeds; hence sickness, poverty, woe & even death.

All Indians of North America Chisholm believes to be of the same race & origin. His sojourn with Comanches has impressed him with a high opinion of their naturally good sense & mental qualifications. Their language is copious but difficult to learn. Words are numerous and there are often many words to express the same idea. Comanches have the same unwavering confidence in the Great Spirit, and believe that,—however great may be the disproportion of numbers or strength,—if God be on their side they will win the battle. If beaten in fight they say He was angry with us and this is the punishment of our sin. The Comanches have also yearly gatherings to light their sacred fires. For this they build a large collection of huts and in crowded numbers seat themselves. Here they take medicine to purify themselves and fast for seven days. Those that may be enabled to endure the fast unbroken are sanctified in the eyes of the rest. While the ceremony lasts a perfect silence reigns. No one speaks, no prayers are audibly uttered. But occasionally one will rise and dance in his place till exhausted and sit again in quiet.

The custom of fasting is universal with the tribes of this region. With Cherokees it is the prevailing mode of purification and fast seven days, renders the devotee famous. Seven is a magic number with them. The tribe was divided into seven distinct clans. The seventh son is a prodigy, [*sic*] and the seventh anything is the acme of excellence.

One is struck with this resemblance of many of these ceremonies & customs to the ancient Jewish rites. How unfortunate that there is no hand able to lift the dark veil and penetrate the cloud which envelopes the origin of this race in unfathomable obscurity.

The usual office work has been in progress today. Observations have been computed and more made at night. The weather warm & dry. Today the herders probably slept—for the mules strayed and fifty

August 20th Saturday

were reported lost. We were awaiting another day in order to secure some guide, to mend or rather renew a broken axletree and to allow Mr. Gaines & Mr. Hicks—both quite sick—to recover. The report of the loss of so many mules was like throwing a thunderbolt in camp. Lt. Jones, Lt. Stanley & others at once started in search. I sent Jose & Vincente better than 40 Americans & hired some Indians. Before night all but three were recovered. The

The Guides have all refused to go with us, and this morning I got Black Beaver to point out



our route and show where he thought there may & where may not be found water. He now says we can go safely without a guide. This I propose to attempt and make an early start on the morrow.

This evening soon as the stars appeared there was discovered for Camp a Comet about  $15^{\circ}$  above the horizon and  $12^{\circ}$  North of West. its keel was vertical directed toward the Zenith. When the sextant

Whipple's Journal, entry for August 21st, 1853. The sketch shown is that of the Creek boy mentioned in the entry for August 11th.

cattle bought of Chisholm by night broke from corral and broke for home 8 miles. These also were returned. Plotted, Computed & observed as usual. Made splendid offers to all the guides—they refuse.

Sunday Aug 21st '53

Mr Gaines too sick to move today. Mules not yet found. Two cattle broke from corral & herding last night and are gone.

Work was suspended for the day. Mr Gaines feeling worse determined to resign his position and to Ft. Arbuckle for medical attendance. He is paid off and Black Beaver will attend to him furnishing guide &c Mr. Gain[e]s is an excellent young man, and I regret to part with him. Wrote a letter of introduction to Capt S. G. Simmons<sup>63</sup> and a note to Mr Gaines of Roseville, Ark.

The guides have all refused to go with us, and this morning I got Black Beaver to point out

[pen sketch of "Creek Boy Aug 10th 1853"]

our route and show where he thought there may & where may not be found water. He now says we can go safely without a guide. This I propose to attempt, and make an early start on the morrow.

This evening soon as the stars appeared there was discovered from Camp a *Comet* about 15° above the horizon and 12° North of West, its train was vertical directed toward the zenith. When the sextant was prepared it was too low to be observed in altitude. But its [its] distances from Jupiter, Arcturus & Polaris were observed. Its nucleus appeared as large as Jupiter but faint as a star of the 3d magnitude; its train was bright extending about 1½ degrees.

Our mules are not yet found—three are yet missing but even without them we must proceed tomorrow.

Many bright meteors seen tonight. Every night they are seen, but they appear to be increasing in number.

Obsd for Time &c. With Jesse Chisholm are the following named Mexicans:

Mazimo  
Guadalupe  
Cedro Canales  
Marian Fransito  
other women—  
Vincente—son of Demensio of Parras

<sup>63</sup> Captain Seneca Galusha Simmons was stationed at Fort Arbuckle at this time. He was a native of Vermont, and graduated from the U. S. Military Academy, July 1, 1829. He was commissioned Bvt. 2nd. Lieut. 7th Inf., July 1, 1837; and rose to the rank of Colonel, 5th Pennsylvania Reserves, June 21, 1861, in the Civil War. He was killed in action June 30, 1862, in the Battle of Glendale, Virginia.



[Third Notebook—Outside Cover]

1853

Aug 22 to Sept 2nd

[Inside front cover]

Shawnee &amp; Delaware Indians universally wear a moustache.

Aug 22 to Sept 2nd

Monday August 22nd, 1853 [Camp 22]

Leaving word with Black Beaver to send our mules to us & that we would pay the finders, camp was struck & we prepared to start. Mr Gaines being ready I took him & his baggage in carretela to carry him to the home of Blk. Beaver who agreed to furnish him transportation & guide to Ft Arbuckle. Upon arriving at the village Beaver was absent and the people all, both women & men were carrousing over a cask of whiskey brought here last night by a party of Creeks. At one house we were attracted by sounds with cadence and found a room full of men singing in their usual hī hō-hī-è-ò—accompanied by a fellow with a sort of flute—each a bottle of whiskey being brandished in one hand & beating time with the other. The old women were dancing and with bunches of little bells on their feet kept excellent time to the music. After watching their orgies for a while some condescended to notice us and offered a bottle for a drink. We then went to another house & found gambling & drinking. The men here were if possible more decidedly drunk than the others. One turned to us with a wild look and with a curse upon us bade us begone. I pretended not to understand him and after a few questions to another Mr Gaines returned with me to camp. Indians drunk seem scarcely human, they are worse than brutes—I feared to leave Mr Gaines in their hands and sold him my six shooter for \$20.50 when under other circumstances I would not have taken \$50. Seeing Beaver I told him that I could not permit Mr Gaines to go with a drunken Indian & he promised to send a sober man & a horse. We waited Dr. B. & myself until we saw Mr Gaines safely and satisfactorily on his way. Overtaking then the train we travelled over beautifully rolling prairies for about 21 miles, and encamped on a branch of Walnut Creek as I suppose Simpsons Camp 28.<sup>64</sup> Jose being ahead today looking for water saw two Indians before him setting fire to the Prairie. He went to them—one crouched in the grass, the other rested his chin on his hand and to Jose's question

<sup>64</sup> Lieut. J. H. Simpson was the topographical engineer accompanying Capt. R. B. Marcy in 1849 on his escort of an emigrant party from Ft. Smith to California. Simpson did the actual surveying of the Marcy route; and his report is in Senate Ex. Documents 12 and 64, 31st Congress, 1st session. See Grant Foreman, *Marcy and the Gold Seekers*, (Norman 1939). All of the way across present Oklahoma Whipple followed generally the Marcy-Simpson route.

for the locality of water replied there was none beyond. He enquired if they were Comanches & they replied that they were Kioways.<sup>65</sup> But we are inclined to think them Keechies—who live on the opposite side of the Canadian at Choteaus. The Kioways are very bad Indians wandering thieving murdering like Comanches. The fire they kindled was in the way of Camp & we were obliged to build another fire & fight it. We think thus a[ft]er infinite labor we are comparatively safe for the night. Water has been found today in four different pools. Here there is plenty at the head of the creek probably near a spring. At some few hundred yards below water disappears. We are encamped on a little prairie ridge which divides two littl[e] creeks one flowing to the Canadian the other to Washita. Camp<sup>66</sup> No. 22.

The comet seen & observed last night soon after the disappearance of daylight  $15^{\circ}$  Alt in the west with train  $1\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  in length directed toward the zenith, its nucleus being of the size of Jupiter & of the brightness of a star of the 4th mag., its train very distinct to the naked eye, was again observed tonight. Its motion has been toward the East. It appears much less distinct tonight but possibly due to the atmosphere thick with smoke from burning prairies. Its distance has been observed from Jupiter, Arcturus & Polaris or rather & Cassiopiae. Obsd. also for time & latitude.

Tuesday August 23d 1853

Water in the creek abundant apparently more than last night. Mules grazed from 3 o'clock till  $6\frac{1}{2}$  started at  $7\frac{1}{2}$  and soon made bend north toward Choteau's. Here live Ki-chais, supposed to be in civilization intermediate between Delawares & Comanches. They cultivate some maize but do not object to predatory habits.

Over the same gently rolling prairies we passed about ten miles to Camp 23.<sup>67</sup> Water has been found upon the right & left at various places today. Springs are frequent. But their vicinity is too boggy for mules to go to it. They are watered with buckets. As yet the[re] seems no difficulty in constructing a railroad. The curves would be of large radius, the grades gentle, the former a mile the latter  $1/200$  perhaps.

The burning of prairies all around us has created an atmosphere of smoke which envelopes us so that we have barely seen the sun today.

<sup>65</sup> The Kiowa ranged south from the Arkansas River through what is now Western Oklahoma and the Texas Panhandle at this period. Their claims or right of occupancy to this region were tacitly recognized by the U. S. in a treaty signed at Fort Atkinson, in 1853.

<sup>66</sup> Camp 22 was in the vicinity west of Wayne, in McClain County.

<sup>67</sup> Camp 23 was at Dibble, in present McClain County.

This evening after dinner two Ki-chais came into this camp. One was tall fine looking. They were naked with the exception of moccasins & a blue cotton blanket about the loins. They wore eagle feathers in their hair, brass wire bracelets about their arms and were painted with vermillion. Their bows of bois d'arc and their quivers of cowskins filled with arrows were very nice. The bow was about 3 ft long, arrows about 26 inches with steel heads very sharp. They were made very skillfully & tastefully. The Dog-wood arrow very straight & symmetrical, the feathers with which it was tipped beautifully tinted with various colors red blue & green. The shaft was tinted red & they said it was poisoned. They were feasted & smoked & then they confessed they were not Ki-chais but Huécos.<sup>68</sup> Their ears were bored in holes extending nearly around the rim and for the want of rings sticks were inserted.

I mentioned that before we left Black Beavers, Chisholm let me have his Mexican captive boy Vincente for \$25.00 per mo & I pay his passage home. He was son of [blank] at Parras, Mex. from whence he was taken by Comanches many years ago on one of their marauding excursions. They fell upon the place by surprise & massacred many of the inhabitants, the parents of Vincente probably included and carried away the boy & his sister. The sister married a Comanche is living with them yet against her will. The boy lived with them a long time, learned their language, their signs & their [customs] until he was purchased by the Cherokee Chisholm on one of his trading expeditions. His price was in goods to the amount of \$200. Vincente is probably 18 yrs old but not larger than a well developed lad of 11. His face is oval, his eyes black but mild & intelligent, his features are all Spanish & pleasing. He speaks English & Spanish equally well with Comanche. Six years he has lived with Chisholm who has treated him kindly & well. This man has at his home six other Mexicans redeemed from the Comanche yoke, 3 women, 3 men. They have little to do and he tells them that when 21 yrs old they may go where they please. This boy, however, he is anxious to have returned to him.

When the Huecos came to camp I called Vincente to talk with them. They could speak neither Spanish, English nor Comanche. But this did not disconcert my linguist. With a few grunts and hoots interlarded among signs with the hands and contorsions of every limb of the body, he carried on a most rapid & interesting conversation. It struck us all as being one of the most amusing sights we have ever witnessed. The words were of the Caddo language and the signs were those of the universal Indian race. Questions & answers were made with more rapidity in these signs than they could be uttered in any language. These mute symbols

<sup>68</sup> The "Huecos" were the tribe commonly called Waco. They are of the Caddoan linguistic family, and are now counted as a part of the Wichita in Caddo County.

seem like the wings of thought soaring above the impediment of words.

These Indians had neither beard or moustache while Shawnees & Delawares wear the latter almost universally. Some of the Choctaw & the Cherokees have quite a heavy beard; is it due to the sprinkling of white blood among them?

Our visitors told us that the Hueco tribe numbered "plenty" and they lived beyond the Rio Washita.

Wednesday August 24

As we were prepared this morning for a start another Indian road to Camp; said he was Hueco & came merely to know where we were going. In Vincente's pantomime & Caddo we conversed with him, and asked him to guide us in the road which yesterday was indistinct & not easily found. He agreed & we departed. He said we were out of the right road & proposed to take us to it by a trail. He led us down an affluent of the Washita crossing the edge of a strip of the Cross timbers to a ravine bad to pass. Explorations showed that far to the South (2 miles) no road was to be encountered. Our guide in the meantime disappeared. At this moment a Kichai presented himself said we were too far south and for a reward agreed to conduct us to the trail. He did so, & then we passed Simpson's camps 26 & 27 & arrived at Camp 28. There was water in all the branches of Walnut Creek. Branch 27 is a beautiful flowing stream. Branch 28 we found (6 ft) in depth, too deep to ford & about 12 ft wide. Our Kichai guide said there was a better ford above but is found bad enough.

Here is a beautiful valley with excellent grass, so we conclude to encamp.<sup>69</sup> Obtained a short list of Kichai words & Mollhausen took a portrait. Gave \$1.00 a shirt, a string of beads, a pipe & tobacco. He then left us saying he was afraid to sleep here lest his friends might think we had killed him. So he goes home to tell them promising to meet us tomorrow & guide us onward. We have had rain today about 1/8 inch. Night very cloudy, too cloudy to observe. But a cloud lifted from the west long enough to show the comet which has wonderfully increased in brilliancy & size. Its tail now turned to an angle of 5° W of the vertical seemed about six degrees in length. The nucleus was large as Saturn and of the third magnitude of brightness. Tried to observe it but clouds interfered. Did not get time nor Latitude. Passed numerous streams of water today.

Thursday August 25th 1853

Our Indian came back to camp this morning to beg coffee before going home. Some think he was the one who tried to steal a mule

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<sup>69</sup> Camp 24 was near Blanchard.

last night. He promises to return to the train. As we were ready to start a blackman brought an express from Capt. Montgomery & Mr. Aird.<sup>70</sup> There are late papers. We paid \$5.00 & sent him back. Bridging the branch of Walnut Creek we passed to the next (5 m ) where [we] were compelled to work. Crossed two more all containing running water like New England brooks. At length two roads were found one crossing the Walnut Creek, the other which we took [over two leaves] nearly south 3 miles then wound west & n. west till 12 miles from Camp we found two springs, one flowing into the Washita, the other toward the Canadian. Upon the latter, we encamped.<sup>71</sup> Although this season is said to be unusually dry and this the driest period of the year still this country is found to be a land of springs & streams that water valleys rich as virgin soil can be. The country is rolling with more tempestuous waves than found a few days since. But a track for a railway could easily ascend them. The road could follow the valley of Walnut Creek or take the "divide" between the waters of Red river & the Canadian. The road for several days has been bad. We desired to travel 20 miles each day but crossing creeks & ravines has consumed the time & we do well to get 10 miles. Besides the trail being indistinct we often leave it. This is Camp No. 25.

The night was quite cloudy but succeeded in getting some astronomical observations. The Comet appeared for awhile nearly as last night, covering with its tail about 6°. There being more light in the western horizon the Comet appeared perhaps less luminous than the previous night. I observed its distance from Polaris & from Arcturus but it disappeared in cloud as I was about to observe its distance from Jupiter.

Friday August 26

At early day a Hueco Indian came to camp said the one who lied to us and led us from the road told them that I wished to see his Chief. The Chief started with him to follow us but he had parted from him & he supposed had gone back. Having given him breakfast & tobacco, I took a part of the Hueco vocabulary. This was done through Vincente in Comanche language & by their exceedingly graceful & expressive signs.

After travelling about 5 miles we were stopped by a prairie fire, the roaring flames with thick volumes of smoke rolling rapidly upon us. Having turned into a ravine for shelter & fought the

<sup>70</sup> Thomas A. Aird operated a trading post at the mouth of Little River, across from the site of old Fort Holmes.

<sup>71</sup> Camp 25 was a few miles southeast of Tuttle. On this day they passed within a short distance of the July 31, 1834 camp of Colonel Henry Dodge and the Dragoon Regiment on their return from the Wichita Village. See George H. Shirk, "Peace on the Plains," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII (Spring 1950) p. 35.

fringe of fire to the windward an entrance was effected to burned field where we pressed our way to safety. The latter part of our journey was over an immense plain extending in every direction to the horizon. After travelling 20 miles we encamped. We had a shower in the afternoon and several in the evening. The night was stormy so as to preclude Astl obsns. During the night arose a severe norther. The mules suffered greatly. This was at Camp No 26 with fine Sp. water but little wood.<sup>72</sup>

Saturday Aug 27

The storm continued but with less violence. Our Hueco Indian left us this morning. Thus far we are no less pleased than surprised to find water so plenty. For the last ten miles I think no water was seen. But previously a spring creek or pool of water was found probably every 3 miles.

On this day much gypsum was first seen on the surface. The Cross timbers continue. We follow Deer Creek<sup>73</sup> south bank; Road often indistinct; crossing of Deer Creek branches very bad and miry. Traveled about 16 miles to Camp No. 27.<sup>74</sup> Very little good timber for railroads for several days marches; but plenty for wood to supply all purposes required. Deer creek & a multitude of branches furnish abundance of excellent water. A finer country for grazing or agriculture I do not know. The norther was broken at midday. At night the wind ceased but clouds arose so that I obtained but imperfect observations for Time. Comet was not visible from Clouds. An Indian lodge in ruins across the hill at camp.

Sunday Aug 28th

Deer Creek at this place is a beautiful stream rapid, clear 2½ ft deep & 6 ft wide. The deep furrowed trails here indicate a Buffalo crossing. Starting from Camp we soon came to the crossing of Deer Creek where had been a large lodge of Kicapooos [*sic*]. Then travelling north 2 miles we turned westward & passed parallel to the river Canadian which appeared about 2 miles to our right. Water undoubtedly plenty today near the road in ravines leading to Deer Creek. Camp No 28 is at a spring near head of Creek.<sup>75</sup> Distance traveled about 13 miles. Country rolling today but with moderate cutting & filling railroad would be made. The railroad however should follow either Deer Creek or the Canadian.

The Comet this evening was beautiful with tail about 18° in length. Made Astl obsns.

<sup>72</sup> Camp 26 was in the vicinity of Minco, in Grady County.

<sup>73</sup> The stream now called Boggy Creek. *A Pathfinder in the Southwest, op. cit.*, p. 69.

<sup>74</sup> Camp 27 was north of present Cogar, in Caddo County.

<sup>75</sup> Camp 28 was probably in the extreme southwest corner of Canadian County.

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Jules Marcou, Geologist to this expedition, a gentleman of 30 yrs., tall, of finely chiselled features and of elegant manners, was a son of La Belle France. He was educated at the Polytechnic school & entered the army but soon resigned to be appointed Geologist upon a military expedition to Algiers. He afterward was employed by the Museum of Paris and in this country made a name in the scientific world. He married a lady of Boston and became half American.

Look back to page 20 [Here Whipple decided to utilize an earlier page left blank]

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(Continued from page 30) By the society of the Garden of Plants, Mr. Marcou was selected to make geological researches in America. Having explored nearly every state in the Union, he became acquainted with the lovely Miss Belknap, granddaughter of the great historian of N.H. and left the garden of plants to plant the garden of Elysium in the Union State of matrimony. He published in Boston a geological map of the U.S. and elements of geology with practical hints for observations. When he recd. my appt. to this expedition, he refused an offer to accompany an exploring party to New Granada with Salary \$500 per month and all expenses paid. I pay him but \$100. per mo.

Monday Aug 29th

The clouds began to dissipate at 8 AM. Got a late start but traveled 19 miles to Camp 29.<sup>76</sup> Passed today Rock Mary<sup>77</sup> and other hills similar to Simpsons description. Water courses frequent to the right & left. Encamped on fine spring flowing rapidly toward the Canadian. Water & grass yet abundant. Tail of Comet inclined about 8° to S. of Vertical. Night cloudy few Astl. obsns. Timber becomes scarce. Trees occur only on water courses. Since leaving Deer Cr. no large trees seen.

Vincente says that Mr. Chisholm has several Mexican boys taken captives by Comanches of whom he purchased them. The largest is grown, named Jackson Masimo. He is to be freed next year. He is slim, light complexion, sandy hair, good looking. The next is Guadalupe from Durango. Thick set, very dark complexion, bushy hair & ill looking as well as illtempered.

The next is Vincente, son of Dimensio [*sic*] of Parras, formerly of Tineja. He is my interpreter with Indians & will be described

<sup>76</sup> Camp 29 was probably in the extreme southeast corner of Custer County.

<sup>77</sup> Rock Mary is an unusual formation located in Caddo County, a few miles southeast of Hydro. It was named in 1849 by Lieuts. Simpson, Harrison, and other junior officers in honor of Mary Conway, a popular young member of the emigrant party, under escort of Capt. R. B. Marcy.

hereafter. The last boy as Cedro Canales about 10 or 12 yrs. of age was bought of Comanches by Chisholm 6 years ago. Stolen by them from Rio Grande. He is short, thick set handsome boy, dark hair, very light complexion.

Vincente is probably 15 yrs of age but small with dark complexion black eyes & hair & oval features. He says that Chisholm treated him well & he is willing to return to him. But Indians Comanche treated him & all their slaves, American & Mexican, badly, making them work & whipping them. Comanches live almost exclusively without bread or vegetables. Eat Buffalo, not mules or horses except of necessity.

Tuesday Aug 30th 1853

Moved on to Camp 30 on large and fine spring to the right of the road.<sup>78</sup> Gypsum today has appeared in very great quantities. Several very extensive gypsum caves were entered & explored to the right of the road. Travelled 16 miles. Query whether we are on Marcy road or Emigrant trail, no turnout being seen. Our spring is said to run west then south, road crossing it a mile west—large stream there with timber.

Little timber seen today. Bones of Buffalo scattered along the road. Grass less green today, water slightly brackish often found right or left from the road.

Wednesday August 31st 1853

At 7½ AM proceeded one mile from Camp 30 to a beautiful creek of running water containing deep pools full of fish, many specimens of which some undoubtedly new were caught & preserved. This being the first creek of importance in the gypsum formation we call it Gypsum Creek.<sup>79</sup> It is finely wooded with red oak & post oak, Alamo<sup>80</sup> & elm. Its waters are tinctured with sulphate of lime. The stream flowed in a deep cañon difficult for the wagons to cross. Four miles beyond, having crossed a gently rolling prairie, we were pleased with the sight of an extensive basin intersected with many well wooded creeks all flowing into one greater which further south appeared to be the recipient of Gypsum Creek. As we were descending into the Cañon of the first, two black bears issued from the wood and rolled their ungainly bodies toward the prairie. Hence, the name of Bear Creek<sup>81</sup> adopted by this pretty stream flowing south through a dense thicket of white oaks & Alamos. Again we moved on S of W over a plain 3 miles to a stream about 12 ft. wide & 3½ ft. Deep flowing toward the main affluent of the Washita. From the Trees

<sup>78</sup> Camp 30 was in the vicinity of Arapaho, in Custer County.

<sup>79</sup> Probably East Barnitz Creek.

<sup>80</sup> Spanish name for "poplar," and in this instance no doubt referred to the cottonwood.

<sup>81</sup> Probably West Barnitz Creek.



which line its banks this we call Elm Creek. The crossing at present is exceedingly bad. At high water it would not be fordable. The canon in which it flows is however not more than 30 or 40 ft wide & 20 feet deep, but presents no obstacle to the construction of a road by a bridge. After crossing a small wooded ravine within a mile we enter the beautiful valley of the main stream which we believe to be "False Washita." A compliment is thought to be due to our splendid visitor who for several nights has beckoned us westward. We therefore follow the valley of this False Washita for about 4 miles & encamp<sup>82</sup> on the branch called Comet [Warm Water lined out and "Comet" written above] Creek. It is large as the previous, flowing in a deep canon with boggy slopes. Tried to observe the Comet here but it was so hazy in the west that it was invisible until daylight was passing away when it appeared in the horizon for a moment to bid us I fear a long farewell. Indian fires have been seen today. Tonight a bright light is seen to the N.E.

We have passed today the prettiest country in the world for a railroad. A gently rolling prairie intersected every two or 3 miles with flowing streams with timbered banks & fertile valleys, grass everywhere luxuriant & green.

Thursday September 1st 1853

Repaired the crossing of Comet [the words Warm Water again lined out] Creek and at 9 AM passed. Crossed rolling prairie with fine views of beautiful valleys with streams fringed with rich foliage of trees. Today we came to the lower bed of the Cretaceous formation overlying the Gypsum. There was oolitic sandstone limestone & oyster shells in abundance. Mr. Marcou is delighted. It proves his theory that the sandstone we have just passed is like that of lake Superior the *New Red*. The fine valley & stream of False Washita we have to our left. Passing a long distance in sight of it we cross a long rolling prairie and encamp<sup>83</sup> on a small creek flowing toward the Washita. Distance from Camp 31 to Camp 32, 15 miles.

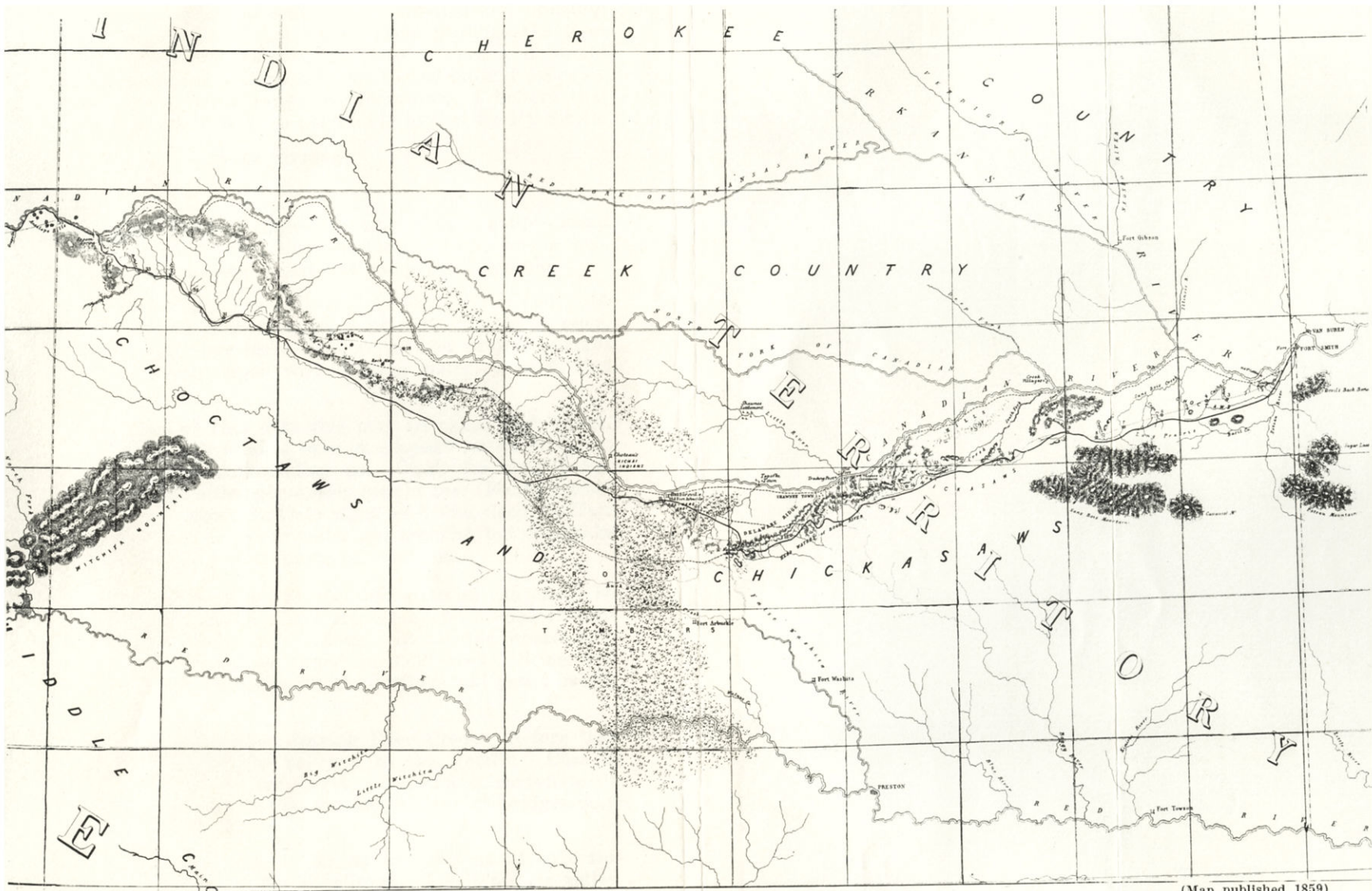
Excellent water & grass at Camp. Wood on the stream below. Grass of the Prairies still green.

The western horizon was bordered by a low cloud bank under which the Comet must have set. Time & Latitude observed.

The "False Washita" through whose valley we have passed would undoubtedly afford a fine location for a railway to Red River. Thence via Shreveport & to New Orleans and other southern ports no obstacle is supposed to exist.

<sup>82</sup> Camp 31 was in the vicinity southeast of Butler, in Custer County.

<sup>83</sup> Camp 32 was in the vicinity of Moorewood, Northwestern Custer County.



(Map published 1859)

OKLAHOMA SECTION

Map of Whipple Pacific Railroad Survey in 1853, showing proposed railroad route and survey camp sites west from Fort Smith to the Antelope Hills.

The other branch from the Canadian near longitude  $99\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  to Springfield, Mo. the route is believed to [be] equally practicable. The gypsum formation extends north of the Canadian and probably there produces a country like that we are now passing—the most beautiful in the world for railroad purposes. Thence it would cross the new red sandstone & Carboniferous formation and probably pass at the foot of the Ozark range of Mountains. I believe that either of these routes would be even preferable to that by Ft. Smith.

Nous vivrons

Friday Sept 2nd 1853

Having travelled about 4 miles we arrived at another small creek with water & more trees than the last. Here was a geological outcrop which contrary to expectation proved gypsum.

Five miles further and another small creek like the last with running water & fringed with trees gave us some trouble to cross. Elm, cotton wood & oak were there.  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles over prairie brought us to another very pretty creek with flowing water, trees & fine valley.

From the number of fine oaks this may be called Oak Creek. Following west its valley for 4 miles were encamped<sup>84</sup> on its W. bank. Burnt prairies are almost surrounding us. Obsd. for time & lat. No Comet visible tonight although eagerly sought for. Buffalo grass first appeared today. Many Buffalo signs and two dead Buffalo were seen. In Oak Creek the water tastes less brackish but the banks are full of efflorescent salts of sulphate of magnesia.

Thus far in our route it is believed that quarries can easily be found in the vicinity of places where stone may be needed to construct bridges across Creeks and Cañons. In all the excavations necessary none will probably be found in solid rock. Some will occur in loose friable rock but generally the cuttings will pass through soil.

Timber has been scarce since leaving Deer Creek. Before that there was enough to build the railroad to the Pacific. Coal is abundant in the vicinity of Coal Creek. Gypsum & carbonate of lime occur further west. Sandstone for foundations of bridges may be found at suitable intervals.

The valley of False Washita far as seen by us affords the prettiest country in the world for a railroad. I believe this valley might readily be followed to red river and afford a mine of agricultural wealth to enterprising settlers. The route thence to Shreve-

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<sup>84</sup> Camp 33 was in eastern Roger Mills County. Foreman gives present Quartermaster Creek as "Oak Creek."—*A Pathfinder in the Southwest*, op. cit., p. 73.

port would open a channel and markets for the rich productions of red river and her abundant harvests would be poured into the lap of Southern commercial ports.

[Fourth Notebook]

List of Persons on P.R.S. to whom Colts six shooting pistols have been issued, they being acctd. for same

Name of Recv.	No of pistol
G. G. Garner	7186
W. White, Jr.	7124
Vincente .....	6665
J. Marcou .....	6826
T. M. Parke .....	6837
A. H. Campbell .....	6806
N. N. Hutton .....	7858
Doct. Bigelow .....	6615
Lt. Jnoth. Jones .....	6713
Newton Hicks .....	6149
Jose Mestes .....	5986
Lt. D. S. Stanley .....	7959
Mr. Mollhausen .....	6957
Matthews .....	6822
Spaniard .....	7049
I. Willet .....	6736
J. G. Burgin .....	6737
Barker .....	6819
Robinson .....	6810
Murphy .....	7145
A. W. Whipple .....	6708

List of persons P.R.S. to whom Mis. Rifles have been issued.

Name	No. of Rifle
Dr. Jno. Bigelow	1
Geo. Minnier	2
Sharrock	3
Haney	4
Jack Burgin	5
Robertson	6
Jose Mestes	7
(Teamster) Hicks	8
Matthews	9
Tucksford	10
Geo. Sailor	11
Murphy	12
Mr. Jno. Sherburne	13
Crispin	14
G. G. Garner	15
Mr. Jules Marcou	16
Jno. Kenton	17
Abm. Clough	19
Jno. Craven	—
Spaniard	21
I. Willet	22
A. W. Whipple	23

Saturday Sept 3d 1853

From Camp 34 [Above in ink appears "(33)," Whipple's correction of the camp number] leaving "Oak Creek" we crossed a rolling prairie six miles to Buffalo Creek. This is a well timbered ravine with large Alamos & oaks but to our surprise where we crossed, it contained no water. The dark green foliage, however, clearly shows that water is abundant not far beneath the surface. A species of grama called Buffalo grass being now predominant & Buffalo signs covering the prairie suggest the name given this creek. On passing was found a beautiful silicious specimen of petrified wood erratic. Nine miles beyond we came to Alamo Spring where the train was watered. Thence passing the Divide five or six miles more led us to a spring which flowing toward the north becomes tributary to the river Canadian. This is supposed to be near Capt. Marcy's Camp 40, and is our Camp 34.<sup>85</sup> Let us call this, as we propose lying here tomorrow, Sunday Spring.

Vincente & others pursued a Buffalo today but in vain. It was the first wild [buffalo] I had seen.

Sunday September 4th 1853

The water being extremely brackish, we change the name from Sunday to Epsom Spring and proceed in search of better water. Two miles N.W. brought us to the river Canadian, covered with blood red sand through which flowed rivulets of muddy water a foot deep perhaps. The water was palatable to taste although thick with red earth. [words "The banks in," crossed out] The valley was [words "quite dry," crossed out] sprinkled with thickets of trees wherever a ravine gave indication of water which seldom appeared above the surface except at some distance from the Canadian, where it was generally found in pools. The valley does not seem as fertile as those of tributaries of the Washita. This season, however, being exceedingly dry, the very driest perhaps, that fact should be considered before passing condemnation. For about six miles we pursued the even surface of the valley & then ascending the mesa which bounds it our course was shaped for the Antelope Hills which appeared in the distance. But unexpectedly striking a creek of sweet water, we encamped<sup>86</sup> 12 miles from Epsom Spring. This is Camp 35 on Cañon Creek.

Monday September 5

The beef cattle being sore footed & greatly fatigued it was deemed necessary to await here today to allow them to recruit. The men also desired to wash their clothes, coal was to be turned and many things to be done.

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<sup>85</sup> Camp 34 was in the vicinity several miles north of Strong City, in Roger Mills County.

<sup>86</sup> Camp 35 was in the vicinity of Crawford, in Roger Mills County.

Plotting has been recommended. Computations of Astl. obs. carried on. Observed for time and lat. at night. Day very hot. Night brought a norther with high wind and a sprinkling of rain.

Tuesday September 6th 1853

Norther continued but cold not great. Found this morning creeks in deep ravines. In the worst of them Mr. White's carretela was upset breaking the Gay Lussac barometer and probably doing some injury to Sextant & chronometers. One singletree was broken; that replaced and seeing the carretela out of the bed of Sandy creek (150 ft wide) I moved on to Antelope Hills. These examined consisting of sandstone cemented with lime. Some volcanic scoriae (erratic) was found upon the side.

Meanwhile the train moved on. Mr. White, however, has not been seen for miles back. We await him 1½ hours.

At length he appears having lost but found the viameter. Sherburne saw an Indian who crossed his track several times in front of the carretela probably with his companions meditating an attack. The Creek is therefore Indian Cr. Five miles beyond Antelope hills we passed another sandy bed of a stream—no water appearing on the surface. From fruit there found we call this Grape Creek. Continuing our journey to another sandy arroyo we followed its bank ½ mile to the Canadian where was made Camp 36.<sup>87</sup> Our route today through Antelope Hills & over ravines has been dry and somewhat sandy. Little water has been found. The grass less green. Fewer trees, less foliage. But the Canadian where we strike it appears to be changing character. The bottoms look wider with greener grass & more foliage of trees. The sand less red & the water less muddy & more plenty.

Five Buffalo we saw on the prairie & I sent some men to shoot them. Dr. B. & Lt G. accompanied but without success. However, Vincente killed a nice fat doe and several turkies were shot. as well as two prairie dogs & an owl.

An Indian & a herd of Buffalo render this days march more interesting than before. A large cougar was discovered in a thicket near camp. Little wood on bank of Canadian from which water was obtained. Upon the opposite side of River is a long, high white bank, visible from afar and therefore a good landmark to the traveler.

Wednesday Sept 7

Started as usual at 8½ AM. Canadian seemed to contain more flowing water than last night. Seemed to do little else all day than

<sup>87</sup> Without doubt the party at this point was still in present Oklahoma. Camp 36 was immediately south of the Canadian River in the extreme western part of Oklahoma. This was the party's last night in Oklahoma.

cross arroyos, creeks, ravines some with some without water. Grass generally dry. Prairie dog villages frequent. Owls were seen in them, one killed & taken as specimen. Soon after starting shots were heard. Dr. Bigelow & his servant had asked permission to roam near the Canadian & now they were not to be seen. Other shots following in rapid succession we became fearful lest the Dr. might be in trouble. Lt. J. several of the gentlemen & a few soldiers went to render aid. They found Jose & a wounded Buffalo which Lt. Stanley put out of misery. While watching with anxiety from my carretala, the Dr. arrived in safety, having fired his six shooter at a rattlesnake. At length the party of relief returned bringing two Comanches who had appeared to Jose. They said there were plenty "Muchos" Comanches on the other side of the river.<sup>88</sup> Having given them tobacco they departed with signs of friendship, promising to bring their companions into camp tonight. Since a Comanche has been seen reconnoitering & concealing himself near the train. Having travelled about 18 miles we encamped on a large stream where water was flowing called Wolf Creek. The natural mounds appear South & S.W. The creeks are generally fringed with trees large & small; little timber, however. From what I have seen the proper & most economical line for a railroad would be found upon the last slope of hills that bound this valley of the Canadian. True it might be carried over the hills but the expense of cutting & felling would be great. The researches of ours show a probability of finding near the first slope of the valley a most favorable route. Our Comanche friends have not returned to us, as I feared, we probably shall see them no more.

Yesterday Mr. Whites carretala upset & broke one barometer. This evening I find one chronometer deranged. Having set it moving again, it stopped during observations and with another chronometer, a new set of observations was taken. This deprives me of the use of my previous main dependance.

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<sup>88</sup> The Northern Comanche had located their tipi villages along the Canadian River in this region for many years. Their claims to this country together with their allies, the Kiowa, were tacitly recognized by the U. S. in the treaty made at Fort Atkinson, in 1853.