

THE LOST COLONEL

By George H. Shirk

An aspect of the War between the States and the Emancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln was the emergence of the Negro as a member of the military establishment. Large scale acceptance into Federal Service of troops comprised of Negro personnel began in 1863. A number of infantry battalions composed of Negroes had been organized as state Militia units. Eventually, with few exceptions, all were finally mustered into Federal service. The Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863, made available large segments of Negro manpower; and in the midst of the war conditions it is only logical that great numbers of persons turned to military service as a means of individual existence.

Known originally as the *Corps d'Afrique* and by other similar names, all of these units were uniformly designated by the spring of 1864 as U. S. Colored Troops. In all, there were 138 regiments of colored infantry. With such a vast manpower reserve in Federal Service, logistics became an important consideration. It was necessary not only for the War Department to find clothing and arms for these units, but also to provide useful utilization of the organizations.

The 57th Colored Infantry was a unit that by circumstances appeared briefly upon the pages of Oklahoma history. It was organized at Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1864 under Colonel Thomas D. Seawell. Various companies of the Regiment had been organized earlier as Arkansas Militia units. Each was mustered into Federal Service in late 1863 or early 1864 as units of the 57th U. S. Colored Infantry. The muster was for a term of three years.

In early 1866 the 3rd U. S. Cavalry was ordered on an expedition to New Mexico and directed to take Station at Fort Union. The 57th Colored Infantry was attached to the 3rd Cavalry and directed to accompany the expedition. Colonel M. S. Howe,¹ being the senior officer present in both regiments, was in command of the expedition. The commander of the 57th at the time was Colonel Paul Harwood, who for the movement across Indian Territory reported direct to Colonel Howe.

¹ Marshall Saxe Howe; born in Maine; graduated from West Point 1 July 1827; 1st Lieut., 2nd Dragoons 11 June 1836; Captain, 1 Jan. 1839; Major, 13 July 1848; Lieut. Colonel, 14 June 1858; transferred to 2nd Cavalry, 3 August 1861; colonel and commander 3rd Cavalry 28 September 1861. He was retired 31 August 1866. Died 8 December 1878. —Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* (Washington, 1903), Vol. I.

Companies B and H of the 57th were ordered ahead as pioneers. These units at the time were at Fort Smith; and when the order arrived a portion of B Company "refused to obey and stacked their arms on Company parade." Colonel Howe viewed the incident as mutiny and on May 23rd deprived the 57th of its colors, ordered it to disarm and sent it to Little Rock under guard. The Steamers *J. S. Hall* and *Hesper* were available and transported the entire regiment to Little Rock with orders to its guard to turn it to the Commanding General of the Department of Arkansas.

Upon arrival the Department commander, Maj. Gen. J. J. Reynolds investigated, and on June 2nd, ordered the 57th back to Fort Smith to rejoin the 3rd Cavalry in order to comply with the previous orders for the march to Fort Union, New Mexico. The 57th returned to Fort Smith on the Steamers *Pilgrim* and *Argos*, arriving on June 4th. On the same day C Company of the 57th was dispatched to "Scullyville landing on the Poteau to construct a ferry at that place."

The expedition assembled near Fort Smith at a temporary bivouac called Camp Reynolds. Colonel Howe divided the command into three sections for the operation. The first departed from Fort Smith on June 7th, and one thereafter on the 8th and on the 9th. The 57th was made a part of the first column and was under the immediate command of Colonel Howe. The 57th moved on foot and the order of the day required each soldier to carry arms without bayonets. No ammunition was issued.

A member of the expedition was Hospital Steward First Class Thomas A. Muzzall, formerly of the 1st Missouri Cavalry. His diary of the trip is now in the possession of his granddaughter, Mrs. Gene Minium of Springfield, Oregon. It presents a vivid story of a trip across Indian Territory on foot, and we are fortunate in being able to publish it (for the first time in print) in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. The main excitement during the journey was that incident to Colonel Harwood becoming lost; and the principals in the drama presented are the Commander of the 57th Colored Infantry, Colonel Paul Harwood of New Haven, Connecticut, and Hospital Steward Muzzall.

Colonel Harwood was born in Pennsylvania. He first saw military service as a Private in Company E of the 8th new York. He was discharged from that regiment in August of 1861. He was commissioned a 2nd Lieutenant in the 1st Connecticut Artillery on 11 April 1862. He was assigned to Company E of that regiment; and was captured on June 29, 1862, at Gaines Mill. He was paroled in August and rejoined his regiment in time to be promoted to 1st Lieutenant on December 11, 1863. He was discharged June 8, 1864 in order to accept the commission of Major of the 57th United States Colored Infantry on July 20, 1864. After being mustered out of

Federal service on October 19, 1866, he was appointed a 2nd Lieutenant of the Regular Army on March 7, 1867 and was assigned to the 27th Infantry. A year later he was promoted to 1st Lieutenant. He transferred to the 20th Infantry with the rank of Captain on September 9, 1884. He retired from Federal service in 1891.

Thomas Abram Muzzall was born in Brighton, England, on March 25, 1834. He came to the United States in 1852, and settled at Merrillville, Lake County, Indiana. There he taught school. He moved to Kansas in 1856, and was soon "fighting Border Ruffians and Bush Whackers" to help "make Kansas and a free state." In 1860, he settled in Lawrence, Kansas, and for two years carried the United States mail on the Pony Express run from Leavenworth to Fort Kearney, Nebraska. His route took him west as far as Salt Lake City.^{1a}

As a Pony Express rider he was wounded by the Indians, suffering a tomahawk blow that cut a deep gash in his thigh, from the hip to the knee. He told his granddaughter the reason the scar was so large, for he carried it the rest of his life:

"At Fort Bridger, Wyoming, the squaws tried to take care of his cut, and laid it open with sticks and then chewed up herbs and spat them into the wound and then closed it with cactus thorns, wrapped him in a blanket, and dug a trench around him on the ground, and built a fire in the trench and sweated him so bad that he thought his time had come."

With the coming of the War, he enlisted in Company D, 1st Missouri Volunteer Cavalry. His talents placed him in the medical service, and he was made Hospital Steward. His muster expired January 1, 1864. However, he re-enlisted as a Hospital Steward, 1st Class, for another three year muster. It was during his second enlistment that he crossed the Indian Territory, now the "Sooner State." He died September 14, 1915, at Scott City, Kansas, after eighty-four years of a full and colorful life. All Oklahoma is grateful that his diary has been preserved for publication here:

THOMAS A. MUZZALL'S MEMORANDA OF A TRIP ACROSS THE PLAINS IN 1866

The Command consisting of the 3rd U. S. Cavalry, commanded by Col. M. S. Howe, U. S. Army and the 57th U. S. Colored Infantry, commanded by Col. Paul Harwood, U. S. V., with a large train of waggons, all under the command of Col. M. S. Howe, started from Fort Smith, Arkansas enroute to Fort Union, New Mexico, on the 8th of June, 1866.

June 8—Crossed the Poteau River at 5 P. M. and camped² on its banks to allow time for our train to cross it. Rained during the night.

June 9—Left camp about 10 A. M. and marched about 10 miles. This country is a beautiful one, the soil is splendid black loam, timber is plenteous and of good kind, water good and a plenty. The weather is very hot, so much so

^{1a} From notes in manuscript on Thomas A. Muzzall, by Mrs. Gene Minium.

² Camp 1 was several miles southwest of Ft. Smith and in present LeFlore County.

that the men fell out in great numbers, quite exhausted. One poor fellow died on my hands from sunstroke. Today we passed through Scullyville.³ This was a flourishing town before the War, but it is now in ruins. The land about us is owned by the Cherokee⁴ tribe, and is called on the maps "Indian Territory." They farm little and raise a great number of cattle, but they are a lazy, shiftless set. We have no road, our route lies between 34 and 36 degrees of Latitude.⁵

June 10—Strike tents at 8 A. M. and march through a pretty country, the prairies look like a flower garden. I gathered some flowers and pressed them in a book. We marched about 18 miles and encamped⁶ in a small body of timber a half mile off the trail. About 200 men fell out today, the weather is so sultry.

June 11—Strike tents at 5 A. M. and march about 11 miles through a fine country, in fact the finest I ever saw.⁷ No men fell out today as it is cooler on account of a cool wind. We crossed the *San Bois River* today and passed the *Laureate*⁸ range of mountains.

June 12—Strike tents at 7 A. M. and march about 14 miles, it has rained all day at intervals.⁹ The scenery is of the same character as of yesterday. The men are getting along fine. We cross the *Santa Rita River*.¹⁰

June 13—Strike tents at 6 A. M. and march about 15 miles. We had to take to the mountain ridges today as the bottom lands are so wet from heavy rains that we cannot travel on them. The men have to work hard pulling the waggons through the mud for the poor mules pulled so hard they could pull no more without rest.

June 14—Lay in camp¹¹ today to rest the mules, it rained heavily all day. A courier went back today so I sent a letter to my wife.

June 15—Strike tents at 1:30 P. M. and move a mile or two¹² to a higher ridge, the men pulling the waggons through the mud for the mules can get no foothold, the ground is so soft. The men are giving out with this heavy labour of pulling loaded waggons through the mud. Two cases of hernia reported to me.

³ Skullyville, the location of the Choctaw Agency, was at present Oak Lodge, east of Spiro. See Morrison, "The Saga of Skullyville", *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVI, No. 2 (June 1938), p. 234. The fact that Muzzall makes no reference to a post office, but considers the town as "in ruins" is considered significant. Official records show that a post office named Choctaw Agency was in operation at the time of this visit. Whether such offices shown by Departmental records were actually active has been a source of much conjecture. See Shirk, "First Post Offices Within the Boundaries of Oklahoma", *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI, No. 2 (Summer 1948), p. 236.

⁴ Misconception for the Choctaw Nation.

⁵ Camp 2 was west of Spiro, Le Flore County.

⁶ Camp 3 was northwest of Bokoshe.

⁷ Camp 4 was south of Stigler.

⁸ The reference is uncertain. The word appears on none of the contemporary maps and is mentioned by none of the earlier explorers. The expedition is too far north for this to be the San Bois Mountains, and is probably too far east for such to be the Shawnee Hills.

⁹ Camp 5 was east of Quinton.

¹⁰ The identity of the Santa Rita is a source of doubt. See Foreman, *Pathfinder in the Southwest*, p. 43. The stream here referred to is probably a tributary of the San Bois.

¹¹ Camp 6 was near present Blocker in Pittsburg County.

¹² The regimental records consider this still as Camp 6; and a new number was not assigned to the small displacement of the 15th and 16th.

June 16—Start at 5 A. M. and move a mile or two and stop on a hill. The ground is too soft even for our saddle horses. I expect we will be compelled to wait a few days to give both men and beasts a little rest, and let the mud settle.

June 17—Remain in camp today as we are mud bound. I caught two tarantulas and a centipede and put them in alcohol to preserve them.

June 18—Still in camp mud bound. I had one man die today of pneumonia. Gaines Creek is ahead three miles but impassible. We must wait for it to go down.

June 19—Still in camp. Our waggons all caught up with us today, we have a great time drying out our baggage.

June 20—Strike tents and march about 12 miles, crossing *Gaines Creek*.¹³ The men had to wade, the current is very swift. We are now only about 85 miles out of Fort Smith and are 12 days out.¹⁴ Now in higher country and I think we will get along better. Fresh fish in abundance.

June 21—Strike tents at 5 A. M. March about 14 miles, crossed several creeks.¹⁵

June 22—Strike tents at 6 A. M. March about 20 miles.¹⁶ Very fine country.

June 23—March at 8 A. M. for about 18 miles,¹⁷ crossing Boggy River.

June 24—Lay in camp to allow the supply train to get up to us as it is far behind and has had a hard time getting along. Weather fine and scenery.

June 25—Marched at 5 A. M. Passed Talbert's [Colbert's]¹⁸ Seminary, now in ruins the result of the War. Crossed Blue River, passed Brogan's Rancho. We marched 20 miles today.¹⁹

June 26—Start at 5 A. M. and march 15 miles, we are getting near the Canadian River.²⁰ It rained heavily today.

June 27—Start at 5 A. M. and march 17 miles, crossing headwaters of the Topofky²¹ River. We are traveling directly towards the Canadian River.²²

¹³ Gaines Creek was originally known as the South Fork of the Canadian. Maps published as late as 1860 correctly designated this stream as the South Fork. On supposedly authentic maps of present Oklahoma, the main Canadian River is denominated "South Fork of the Canadian" or "South Canadian." Thus, the proper appellation "Canadian River" (for the main Canadian) is being lost.

¹⁴ Camp 7 was near McAlester.

¹⁵ Camp 8 was south of Anderson in Pittsburg County. The streams and creeks were no doubt all tributaries of Gaines Creek.

¹⁶ Camp 9 was in northern Coal County.

¹⁷ Camp 10 was near Lula.

¹⁸ Colbert Institute was established at Perryville in 1852 under Rev. Ezekiel Couch. The school was moved in 1857 to a site near Stonewall.

¹⁹ Camp 11 was near Hickory.

²⁰ Camp 12 was several miles southwest of Stratford. The expedition has altered its course to a more northerly direction.

²¹ The Topofki is now known as Sandy Creek, in northern Pontotoc County. Assuming that Blue River (entry for June 25th) and the Topofki were both properly identified, the party has been traveling almost due north since departing from Camp 11.

²² Camp 13 was southeast of Byars. The muster roll for G Company says Camp 13 was on "a small tributary of the Washita River a few miles south of Lieut. Whipple's survey of 1853 and 1854." This would undoubtedly be Peavine Creek, a tributary of the Washita that heads within a mile of Byars, in McClain County.

June 28—Remained in camp today to repair waggons and to get an Indian guide from a Caddo²³ village a few miles from here. The water here is badly tainted with alkali (*sic*) but the weather is fine.

June 29—Still in camp. Weather fine and cool. I caught some tarantulas, scorpions and two horned toads.

June 30—Still in camp. The Washita River is not fordable on account of late rains. We were mustered for pay today. Got a Comanche Indian for guide. We have a plenty of Indians in camp, begging.

July 1—Still in camp. Washita too high for fording. Pass the day watching Indians.

July 2—Start at 5 A. M. and march about 35 miles, 20 miles of it without water. The weather is very hot today. We will have to go around the head of the Washita and then on the great divide between it and the Canadian River.²⁴

July 3—Start at 5 A. M. March about 16 miles. The country is poor and water bad.²⁵

July 4—Start at 5 A. M. March about 4 miles to better water. We lay for rest to celebrate the 4th.²⁶ Weather very hot.

July 5—Start at 5 A. M. March about 16 miles.²⁷ We ford *Walnut Creek* and get on the wrong trail through the obstinancy of Col. Howe. Our guide leaves us in consequence. Weather fine, country poor.

July 6—Start at 5 A. M. March about 15 miles. Some slight rain this forenoon. We march not more than ten miles in a direct course.²⁸ Crossed many pretty streams. Bottom land very fine. Saw some buffalo carcasses today.

July 7—Start at 5 A. M. and march about 12 miles, some slight rain this forenoon. We camp²⁹ on the Washita River. A large driving of cattle is following us for protection, they are going to Santa Fe, New Mexico to be sold.

July 8—Start at 5 A. M. and march about 18 miles,³⁰ passing Stanwhait's³¹ [Stand Watie] old stand. He is a Seminole Indian and was a Brig. Gen'l. in the C. S. A. My old regiment often fought his.

²³ The muster roll for D Company says a "Cherokee Village." This could be Cherokee Town, a settlement east of Pauls Valley; but more probably is a reference to Beaversville, a Delaware settlement northwest of Byars. See Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Black Beaver," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIV, No. 3 (Autumn, 1946), p. 269; and Shirk, "The Site of Old Camp Arbuckle," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1949), p. 313. Upon abandonment of the first site of Camp Arbuckle, the improvements were occupied by the Delawares under Black Beaver.

²⁴ Camp 14 was southwest of Wayne.

²⁵ Camp 15 was south of Blanchard.

²⁶ The Fourth of July was celebrated in the vicinity of Blanchard.

²⁷ Camp 16 was northwest of Blanchard. If in fact it was Walnut Creek that the expedition crossed, the route made a considerable loop to the north.

²⁸ Camp 17 was near Amber.

²⁹ Camp 18 was near Verden.

³⁰ Camp 19 was west of Anadarko.

³¹ The reference to Stand Watie is in error. Muzzall is referring to Camp McIntosh, a Confederate installation garrisoned during the War years. Its location is on the grounds of the Caddo County Farm, on U. S. Highway 62 about two miles east of Anadarko. Gen. Stand Watie was a noted Cherokee.

July 9—Start at 5 A. M. and march about 12 miles. We camp at Fort Cobb.³³ The Fort is in ruins, was built of red sand stone and sun dried bricks, there are some good bridges crossing the stream on which the Fort stands. It was evacuated upon the outbreak of the War.

July 10—Start at 5 A. M. and march about 22 miles and camp³³ on the Washita River. We passed through a prairie-dog town today. Saw live buffalo and killed several rattle snakes, 5 to 6 feet long. I saved the rattles.

July 11—Another 5 A. M. start and march slowly on account of ravines which the Pioneers have to fix for us to cross. We march about 14 miles and see plenty of gypsum, which taints the water badly. The men killed some few buffalo. I had some of the meat for my supper.³⁴ Too fresh for my taste.

July 12—Start at 6 A. M. marching 14 miles. Col. Harwood and his orderly are both out hunting buffalo. They had better look out or they will get lost. We camp close to a canyon; the Pioneers have a great task here to cut a road through the canyon. I shot at a prairie-dog today and missed him, but the windage of the ball knocked him over, and I caught him alive and unhurt. I shall try to make a pet of him. Col Harwood and orderly have not returned to camp³⁵ yet. We are getting alarmed for their safety.

July 13—Started late at 9 A. M. and marched about 12 miles.³⁶ We have lost Col. Harwood and his orderly, they have not been seen since yesterday morning and some scouting parties were sent out to look for them.

July 14—Start early and march about 8 miles.³⁷ Col. Howe has sent out six companies of Cavalry to hunt for Col. Harwood. I am afraid the Comanches have got him, if they have, it will be all day with him, for they will surely kill him. No buffaloes in sight today.

July 15—Start early and marched about 20 miles. The Cavalry have returned, they could find no trace of Col. Harwood. We will have to wait for Time to tell what became of him. I am very sorry for him, he was a good officer and a gentleman. We saw large herds of buffalo today, and a part of a herd broke through our train, completely scalping one of the drivers.. He will die. We camped³⁸ near some strange looking mounds this evening, they are composed of shells. I collected some for preservation.

July 16—Didnt start 'till noon and marched about 12 miles.³⁹ The Regimental Quartermaster was placed under arrest by Col. Howe today for allowing his herders to steal horses from the Indians some weeks ago.

July 17—Remained in camp all day. The Cavalry took another hunt for

³³ Fort Cobb was established October 1, 1859 by two companies of the 1st Cavalry and one company of the 1st Infantry by Major William H. Emory. It was abandoned by Federal forces on May 3, 1861, and two days later was occupied by Confederate troops. For an excellent review of Fort Cobb, see Muriel H. Wright, "A History of Fort Cobb", *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 1 (Spring 1956), p. 53.

³⁴ Camp 21 was north of Mountain View.

³⁵ Camp 22 was 6 or 8 miles west of Colony.

³⁶ Camp 23 was near Arapaho. The expedition no doubt passed too far south to have observed Rock Mary.

³⁷ Camp 24 was several miles north of Butler.

³⁸ Camp 25 was near Moorewood.

³⁹ Camp 26 was several miles north of Strong City.

³⁹ Camp 27 was east of Crawford.

Col. Harwood. We are camped on Epsom Creek.⁴⁰ The water is horrible.

July 18—Start early and march about 28 miles. The country is a high dry plateau. We are again approaching the Canadian River.⁴¹ Saw a rainbow by starlight tonight. No news of Col. Harwood.

July 19—Another early start and march slowly, as both men and animals are suffering for water. We pass the Antelope Hills.⁴² There are six of them, very singular looking, four of them look like immense forts. They can be seen 10 miles off, they are composed of carboniferous sandstone. This morning some of the officers and myself discovered a solitary buffalo; we gave chase on foot and, surrounding him, drove him to the column where we killed him. I got his tongue. It looked ridiculous to see how respectful we were to his Majesty every time he turned to look at us, we would scamper off, and then we would follow him and boast of what we would do to him!

July 20—Start early and march about 29 miles and reach the Canadian. We find good water and grass but no wood.

July 21—Start early and march about 3 miles to Valley Creek; passible water, soil poor, plenty of sand, gypsum, ising glass, but sparse vegetation.

July 22—Start early and march about 20 miles along the banks of the Canadian. The weather is sultry and we suffer for water as the Canadian is so badly tainted with alkilie (*sic*) that we cannot drink it. Today we passed a wagon capsized. It evidently belonged to some venturesome trader who had been murdered by the Indians as we found his scalped body and the bodies of two women, also mutilated a few steps from his wagon. We buried all. We camped opposite the Natural Mounds.

July 23—Start early and march about 15 miles along the Canadian; our mules are dying very fast, many men desperately ill. The weather is so hot, grass is poor, and the water so alkaline.

July 24—Start early, march 15 miles along the Canadian, passed a beautiful spring.

July 25—Start early, march about 15 miles, camp in a valley surrounded by mounds formed of small round stone, similar to those found on a sea beach. The air is dry and pure, water very nauseous, all vegetation dried up due to excessive heat

July 26—Start at 3 P. M. and finally cross the Canadian, camp near a crossing at the floor of a very high bluff. I have a negro in my care. he is dying from general dropsy.

July 27—Remain in camp today. The poor negro died in the night, so today, Dr. Wright and I performed a post mortum. I caught a giant centipede today, he fought hard. We are nearing the "Fort Gibson and Santa Fe Road" and are about 240 miles from Fort Union.

July 28—Start early and march about 15 miles. We have good water. In a very sandy country with little or no grass, crossing 2 or 3 creeks with a few scattering bushes with grape vines on them. Brought up to date my list of men lost and where buried.

⁴⁰ Lieut. Whipple records his Camp 34 to be on Epsom Spring "flowing towards the north becomes tributary to the river Canadian." See "The Journal of Lieut. A. W. Whipple," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1950), p. 281.

⁴¹ Camp 28 was near the 100th Meridian. This was the party's last night in future Oklahoma.

⁴² The Antelope Hills of Roger Mills County are near the 100th Meridian and were once the landmark for the international boundary between Spanish Territory and the United States.

July 29th—Start early and march about 15 miles, we have good water and grass tonight, but no wood. We begin to see signs of civilization. We are nearing the great "Santa Fe" road.

July 30th—Start early and march about 22 miles and camp at an old camp ground called "Camp Jackson." We saw a great of mirage today. The men and animals are improving, now that we get good water and grass. Today the soldiers and teamsters got to fighting and I had some wounds to dress.

July 31st—Start early and march about 11 miles and camp on a well timbered stream, it rained all night last night. The country is improving.

August 1st—Start early and march about 22 miles. Encamp on a beautiful stream with plenty of fish in it.

August 2nd—Start early and march about 25 miles. We pass a very large tree, completely petrified. It was miles off on a prairie and not a tree or bush in sight. We camp near a large spring.

August 3rd—Start early and march about 12 miles to what is said to be Utah Creek. It is a large swift-running stream, well timbered. Saw a great deal of "Iron Blossoms" indicating plenty of that metal in the soil.

August 4th—Start early and march about 17 miles encamp on the same stream as last night and find it is the Canadian River. Utah Creek is 3 miles ahead. This country is very mountainous. "Anton Chico Peak" is in sight, we are now in the Rocky Mountain Range.

August 5th—Start early and march about 18 miles crossing the Canadian. It is here called "Rio Colorado." We reach Fort Bascom, this is a new Fort built since the War commenced, it is built of adobe, that is a kind of sun-dried brick. The Fort is on the south side of the Colorado.

August 6th—Start early and march about 14 miles over a rough country. We are in the mountains and they are covered with scrub cedar. Water good. Wagon Mound is in sight.

August 7th—Start early and march about 14 miles over a mountain road which is awfully rough. At night after Camping I ascended a very high hill close to camp, it is about 300 ft. high.

August 8th—Start early and march about 15 miles. We encamped at the foot of an immense Peak. I ascended it after great exertion. I was awarded by the beautiful I might say, glorious view I obtained. I could see the snow clad peaks were towering far above me. Cactus were here growing from 7 to 8 foot high.

August 9th—Start early and march about 16 miles, and encamp on the same stream as for the last two or three nights. We pass two "Ranchos" and thousands of sheep, goats and cattle. The people here are too lazy to milk the cows, they have thousands running wild. They buy their butter from the traders and have to pay from 1.50 to 2 dollars a pound for it.

August 10th—Start early and march about 12 miles close to camp is a large cornfield, we buy a few ears of corn at 16¼ cents per ear. Chickens are \$2.00 each and eggs are 25cts each. The Mexicans know how to charge.

August 11th—Start early and march about 20 miles through a canyon all the way, we camp on the top of a hill because it looks stormy. The road up this hill is about ¾ of a mile long and is at an angle of about 35 degrees. Our teams will be all night getting up the hill. Tis raining heavily now but I am in a small cave so I don't fear the rain.

August 12th—Start at 10 A. M. and march about 18 miles across a high plateau and camp at a Mexican village. We caught a slight glimpse of Fort Union. The cavalry with Col. Howe have gone on to the Fort tonight.

August 13th—Start early and march about 10 miles, passing "Kroenig's Rancho" This is one of the Santa Fe Stage stations. Here we saw large fields of wheat and oats. At about 11 A. M. we reached Fort Union. We will probably lay here a few days and then be sent off to some petty mountain fort. Kit Carson is here and also Maj. Gen'l Pope and Bvt. Brig. Gen'l Carlton. I found some letters from home waiting me here. I answered them this morning.

August 14 to 20th—In camp, doing nothing worth recording.

August 21st—This morning we were all agreeably surprised to see Col. Harwood come walking into camp. He had escaped from the Indians and made his way by Ft. Smith and Little Rock, Ark. to St. Louis, Mo., from there to Fort Leavenworth, Kans. and then by stage to this place. We were very glad to see him. He took command of the Regiment. We have received orders to scatter to different posts. Two companies, with the Regimental Head-quarters and the Col., also myself, are to go to Fort Stanton, N. M. in the White Mts. among the Apaches.

MEMORANDA OF OUR TRIP FROM FT. UNION TO FT. STANTON,
N. M. via BOSQUE RODONDA.

August 22nd—Start early and march about 18 miles, reaching "Las Vegas." This town is very prettily situated on a swift running stream called "Rio Guyena," which means Chicken River. Just as we got our tents pitched, a Mexican came to see me to get me to go and see a Mexican who had just dropped dead while mowing. Dr. W. and myself went to see him, we found him quite dead. The sheriff and two policemen were present. The "Alcade" of Las Vegas particularly requested me to open the man to see what caused his sudden death. As Dr. W. felt somewhat indisposed, the task fell on my shoulders. I performed the operation in the presence of the Alcade and the City officials and found that the man had died from the bursting of an aneurism of the aorta at the point where it first leaves the heart. I found a hole big enough to admit two fingers easily. The river is so high that we will have to lay by until it goes down a little.

August 24th—Remain in camp. Dr. Wright tried to cross the river and got his buggy smashed to pieces and nearly drowned himself. There are some splendid Mineral Springs here.

August 25th—Crossed the river today to "Old Town" with a great deal of difficulty. We lost one mule in crossing. We camped in the evening. I went with the officers to a Fandango.

August 26th—Start early and march about 18 miles to Apache Springs, rained all day; this is a dismal looking country.

August 27th—Start early and march about 16 miles to a swift stream. Gen'l. Sykes, with a part of the 5th Infantry are near us, water bound; this is a barren country.

August 28th—Start at 7 A. M. and march about 20 miles, crossing the Guyenas river again. Gen'l. Sykes and command are one mile ahead.

August 29th—Start early and march about 9 miles, then stop to allow our train to catch up. They stop behind to find some of the mules that had strayed. I went fishing and saw a large Spring, it was about 100 yards wide and

I tied 3 long fishing lines together and then could not reach the bottom. I also killed a very large rattlesnake. This country is improving.

August 30th—Start early and march about 19 miles, passing several ranches kept by Americans. The soil is very productive, yielding 50 bushels of wheat or 60 bushels of corn to the acre. Potatoes will not grow here, they say, because of the alkali(*sic*) in the soil. Butter is \$2.00 per lb; Bacon is 40c per lb; onions, \$1.00 per dozen; corn, 50c per dozen ears; eggs, \$2.50 per dozen; Hay 50 to 60 dollars per ton.

August 31st—Start early and march about 20 miles and camp at a Cavalry out post of Ft. Sumner, which is 12 miles from here. Weather hot, no wood, water plenty.

Sept. 1st—Start at 4 A. M. and reach Ft. Sumner at 8 A. M. We camp about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile from the Fort. This Fort is built of Adobe and has a farm of about 2400 acres. It's worked by the Navajoe Indians who are kept here to prevent them from doing any damage to the settlers. There are 7500 of these Indians here, all fed by the Govt. This fort is on the Pecos River, and is more generally known as the "Bosque Rodondo," which means round timber. The Pecos is so high that we will have to wait perhaps a week for it to go down low enough for us to cross it. Weather is close and sultry.

Sept. 2-3-4-5—Lay in camp waiting for the river to get low enough for fording. We have orders to kill all Male Indians we may meet after leaving here and to take the females prisoners but not to hurt them. I think we will move tomorrow, I sent some letters Home. The weather is very hot.

Sept. 6th—Start early and march about 12 miles. In crossing the Pecos this morning, we had to unload our waggons and take the baggage over in a small boat and let the mules swim over with the waggons. We made the crossing safely. We are now on what is called the Dry Horn route. We have near 80 miles with no water before us.

Sept. 7th—Start early and march about 30 miles and camp near a small hole containing a little surface water, it is horrible to taste, no wood, weather very hot, grass is good, country nearly level.

Sept 8th—Start early and march about 25 miles and camp in a deep canyon, find a little water in a hole in a rock. The animals have had no water since day before yesterday, they will have to go without until tomorrow night. The El Capitan Mountain is in sight. Ft. Stanton is on the other side of it.

Sept 9th—Start early and march about 35 miles to a splendid mountain stream, refreshing to both men and animals. We camp near what is called Hopkins Ranche, the Ranche was burnt and Hopkins and his men were murdered here a short time ago by the Apache Indians. We are at the foot of the Capitano and Ft. Stanton is only 25 miles from here. Weather cool.

Sept. 10th—Start early and march 25 miles to Ft. Stanton, we reach the Ft. by 3 P. M. and camp close to it. The Fort is now garrisoned by New Mexican troops but they will move out in a day or two and we will compose the garrison. The Ft. is on the south side of the "Rio Bonito," this is a most beautiful stream running from the "Blanco" mountains. We are surrounded by mountains here. I like the air, it is so pure. The Steward here will go away with the Mexican troops. He gave me a Mexican dog, it has no hair on it, I will make it a blanket from my old cape and I will take it home if it lives, and if I live.

Sept. 11th—Remain in camp to rest. Tomorrow we will move into the Fort, and the Mexicans will move out. This evening we are to have a ball, "Baille" given us by the Mexican officers.

Sept. 12th—Moved into the Fort. I took charge of the Hospital. It is a miserable dirty hole. We commenced cleaning out.

Sept. 13th—Finished the cleaning of the Hospital buildings and fixed me a room for my own comfort. The days pass so much alike in a Fort that I wont record any more while here.

Sept. 24th—Ordered to go to Fort Leavenworth, Kans. It will be too cold to keep a record.

Oct. 29th, 1866, Leavenworth, Kans. We left Ft. Union, N. M. enroute to Fort Leavenworth, Kans. and arrived at Leavenworth after making a march of about 790 miles in 31 days of actual marching. We were snowed in two days on the Arkansas River, and way lay over at Fort Riley two days. The Regiment is to be mustered out of service immediately and I have a furlough of 30 days allowed me to visit my home and family.

Exuent Ommes!

Adieu my Old Comrades, your kindnesses I shall ever remember.

T. A. Muzzall, H. S. U. S. Army.

As recorded by Muzzall, the expedition arrived at Fort Union on August 13, 1866. It remained there on garrison duty until separate assignments were given to the various companies for service in New Mexico. Certain companies were assigned to Ft Stanton and others to Fort Sumner. Regimental headquarters was transferred to Ft. Stanton on September 10, and on October 4, 1866, to Fort Union.

The final muster out roll for the regiment is dated at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, on December 13, 1866 and is in compliance with Special Orders 81, Headquarters Department of Missouri, U. S. Army, November 29, 1866.

Upon completion of its three year term of Federal enlistment, the 57th Colored U. S. Infantry passed to the limbo of musty history, remembered now only because of its march on foot with rifles but no bayonets or ammunition across Oklahoma.

In the meantime, however, Colonel Harwood was still having his difficulties. He arrived at Fort Smith on July 24, where he reported to his superiors:⁴³

Sir:

I have the honor to submit the following, on the 12th instant in the vicinity of the Antelope Hills Chichasaw Nation, some 375 miles out of this place whilst in pursuit of buffalo I became separated from my command in company with my orderly, Private Sidney Smith, Co. D 57 U. S. Col Infantry and was unable to return to it, having wandered to such a distance as to have lost my reckoning and the course of the column. Endeavored for that day and part of the next to discover the trail but my efforts proving of no avail, and as my horse was showing bad symptoms, I determined to

⁴³ Report of Col. Paul Harwood from Fort Smith, Ark., July 24, 1866, referring to the Pioneer Expedition of the 57th Colored Infantry, in Oklahoma Historical Society, *Microfilm No. 163* from the National Archives of the United States, Washington, D. C. Other reports in this *Microfilm No. 163* give data on the 1866 Expedition used in this article.

abandon the search and take a north north easterly course in the hopes of crossing a road leading west upon which I might overtake a train which would carry me to my destination. But on striking the Arkansas River which I accomplished on the 17th I found that it was not fordable and was compelled to follow its course to Fort Gibson, C. N. where I arrived on the 23rd and arrived at this place on the 24th. Had determined from this point to take the stage direct from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas thence from there to my Regiment but have been prevented from doing so on account of sickness ingendered by exposure and want of food. I would respectfully request that orders be sent to rejoin my Regiment at Anton Chico New Mexico to meet me at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas which place I leave for day after tomorrow my health permitting.

I am Sir,
 Very Respectfully,
 Your Ob't Servant
 Paul Harwood
 Col. 57th U. S. Col. Inf.

Adj. Genl.
 Military Division,
 West of Mississippi.

Orders were issued at St. Louis for him to rejoin the 57th in New Mexico.

Headquarters Military Division of the
 Mississippi, St. Louis, Mo. August 7, 1866.

Special Orders)
 No. 104)

Extract

Col. Paul Harwood, 57th U. S. Colored Troops, will proceed from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, to join his Regiment now serving in New Mexico.

By Order of Lieutenant General W. T. Sherman,

R. M. Sawyer
 Asst. Adjutant Genl.

OFFICIAL
 Cyrus H. DeForrest,
 Brevet Major U. S. Vols.
 Aide De Camp

Colonel Harwood reached Fort Union on August 18th and resumed command of the 57th. The muster out roll of the regiment reflects that he was mustered on October 19th, although his own records indicate that his discharge to have been effected on the 26th. His troubles were not over, however, for a letter in the National Archives tells of his subsequent difficulties:⁴⁴

New Haven, Conn.
 December 11, 1866

Sir:

I have the honor to inform you, that on the 26 October last, I was mustered out at Fort Union, New Mexico, by Capt. Mullins, A. C. M. Dist. New Mexico, as Colonel of the 57th U. S. Col'd Infantry, and only obtained from him one copy of my muster out rolls, on which I was to receive, as he informed me my final settlement. On arriving at Fort Leavenworth and presenting myself with my papers for settlement to Maj. Smith, Paymaster, USA he declined to pay me owing to my not having the required number of muster out rolls (three) and consequently was not paid although all

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

my accounts with the Government are settled and correct. I wrote to Capt. Mullins on the 15th ultimo from Leavenworth and requested the other rolls but have not heard from him. I would therefor most earnestly request that you forward the other rolls with as little delay as possible to my address at this place. If the rolls are not on file at your office you will confer a favor by informing me immediately at this place to that effect.

I am Sir
Very Respectfully
Your Obt. Servant
Paul Harwood
Late Col. 57th U. S. Col'd Infty

To the
Chief Commissary of Musters
Department Missouri

Unfortunately, nothing has been located to tell how successful he was in completing his final settlement; and like his modern G. I. counterpart, he apparently reported for his final pay without enough copies of his papers. His subsequent appointment in the Regular Army would say that everything came out for the best.