

CAMPAIGNING WITH SHERIDAN: A FARRIER'S DIARY

By George H. Shirk

An interesting but seldom considered aspect of the Indian War of 1868-69 is that it transpired almost entirely within the area of what is now Oklahoma. Except for the fateful 1876 battle on the Little Big Horn, perhaps no other military operation connected with the opening of the West for white settlement has captured the interest and imagination of present day Americans, young and old alike, as has the Indian War of General Philip Henry Sheridan. Much has been written¹ of the campaign; and yet anything new is of great interest. The Oklahoma Historical Society is pleased to present here the diary of a participant.

The high point of Sheridan's operation was the Battle of the Washita. Through the years *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* has presented a number of different reports on Custer's reckless charge on November 27, 1868, into the sleeping Cheyenne village and on the death of one of the statesmen of the Plains, Black Kettle.

The accounts of this engagement as seen through the eyes of a teamster², an Indian woman,³ an Indian agent,⁴ a colleague of Custer⁵ who bore him no regard since West Point days, and the journal⁶ of Custer himself have all appeared in *The Chronicles*, yet different or fresh versions of the event are always interesting, especially if in the form of a diary of one who

¹ Charles J. Brill, *Conquest of the Southern Plains* (Oklahoma City, 1938) and Carl C. Rister, *Border Command* (Norman, 1944) are perhaps the best for the immediate events preceding the Campaign of 1868-69. Further, any student of this episode in Oklahoma history should see the personal collection of mementos and material of Mr. Claude Hensley, of Oklahoma City, who has done much to preserve for the present generation the events of nine decades ago.

² John Murphy, "Reminiscences of the Washita Campaign" *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. I, No. 1 (June 1923) p. 259.

³ T. A. Ediger and Vinnie Hoffman, "Some Reminiscences of the Battle of the Washita", *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 2 (Summer, 1955) p. 137.

⁴ "The Battle of the Washita, An Indian Agent's View", *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 4. (Winter 1958-59) p. 474.

⁵ See "Some Corrections of 'Life On the Plains'" *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. III, No. 4 (December, 1925) p. 295, being the pamphlet issued by Maj. Gen. W. B. Hazen, Indian Agent at Fort Cobb at the time of the Washita Campaign. Once when Hazen was Officer of the Day at West Point he placed Cadet Custer under arrest for an incident arising out of a fist fight.—Brill, *op. cit.* p. 41.

⁶ George H. Shirk, "The Case of the Plagiarized Journal", *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 4 (Winter 1958-59) p. 371.

rode with Custer as he somewhat aimlessly chased Indians over the area of the entire western half of Oklahoma during the winter of 1868-69.

Precise causes of the outbreak of the war are perhaps as difficult to simplify as are the causes of the Civil War. Western expansion by the white man and the inherent instinct of self-preservation by the red man set the stage. The incredible massacre of November 29, 1864, by Chivington on Sand Creek in southeastern Colorado of a band of Cheyennes had left an indelible scar upon the naturally suspicious mind of the plains Indian. As the white held the offense of a single Indian the responsibility of an entire tribe, so in like manner, did often the Indian view a broken promise by a single white typical of the white man's way.

Great hopes, after considerable earlier misgivings, were centered by both the Indian and the white man on the great Council at Medicine Lodge, Kansas, convened October 21, 1867. Even the Commissioner of Indian Affairs himself journeyed from Washington to be in attendance. Some officials wore Prince Albert coats and tall silk hats. Had all agencies of the government, including even Congress, promptly and unstintedly abided by the agreements there made and implemented the government's promises, without doubt Sheridan's Indian War would not have been.

By any standard, Philip H. Sheridan was a superb general. He was of the type that were he alive today he would be an outstanding senior field commander, perhaps an Army or Corps commander in Korea. Sheridan was born in 1831 at Albany, New York, the son of Irish immigrants. His family shortly moved to Ohio, and young Philip entered West Point in 1848. He emerged from the Civil War with an enviable reputation. Sheridan rightfully enjoys the place he has been assigned in the pantheon of American military great. When on June 1, 1888, he was promoted to the permanent grade of General, thereby attaining the rank⁷ reached by only the few, he received the thanks and tribute of a grateful country.

The post war military establishment was reorganized by General Orders 118, War Department, June 27, 1865. By it the United States was divided into five military Divisions. In turn, the Divisions were divided into Departments, and in some instances the Departments were further divided into Districts. William T. Sherman was announced as Commander of the Division of the Missouri, with his subordinate commands comprising the Departments of Ohio, Missouri and Arkansas. Within the Department of the Missouri there was created the

⁷ Gen. Sheridan died 5 August 1888, and was never able to assume actively the duties of General of the Army.

District of Upper Arkansas. Western Oklahoma fell therein. In September, 1867, Sherman selected Sheridan to command the Department of the Missouri.

With the failure of the 1867 field operations of the Department, commonly known as the "Hancock Expedition," the new Department commander, Sheridan, determined to approach the problem with an open mind. Although charged with refusing to see or listen to the Indian chiefs desiring to voice a complaint on the breakdown of the promises made at Medicine Lodge, yet Sheridan made up his mind slowly on the course he wished to follow in controlling the Indians within his Department. In some manner a small intramural fight between Cheyennes and Kaws appeared to Sheridan as the last straw, and he made his decision in favor of an active field campaign. Rightly or wrongly, by today's standards, the responsibility was Sheridan's alone. It was his Department, and he was charged with keeping the peace therein and protecting its inhabitants. It would be expected that he would use military means for he was a military man.

The person he selected to implement his decision was George A. Custer. Custer had been court martialed⁸ for an incident that occurred during the Hancock Expedition and he was living in temporary retirement in Michigan. Sheridan had not been too satisfied with the success of his field commanders and believed Custer to be the answer. Although warm friends, Sheridan and Custer were of different character and make-up. As opposed to Sheridan, it is doubtful if there would be a place of importance in today's army for an officer such as Custer. Although actually a man of ability, his complicated personality rendered him difficult to be commanded by or to command. He was the type of person of whom everyone, personal acquaintance or otherwise, had a positive opinion, either pro⁹ or con.¹⁰ Of his generalship, no other military person has ever brought forth the flood of adulation on one hand and the volume of recrimination on the other as has he. Yet to Sheridan's mind, Custer was the man to command his field expedition; and to have the troops of his Department arranged so that Custer would not be outranked, Sheridan made several shifts among his subordinate officers.

⁸ Custer had been suspended for one year per General Court Martial approved by G. O. 93, War Department, 20 November 1867.

⁹ Frederick Whittaker, *Popular Life of General George A. Custer*, (New York, 1876). The author's objectivity will be better understood when it is noted that he was the "complaining witness" against Major Marcus Reno at the latter's Court Martial trial following the fiasco at the Little Big Horn.

¹⁰ Frederic F. Van DeWater, *Glory Hunter* (Indianapolis, 1934).

To garrison his Department, Sheridan was given 2 regiments of cavalry and 2½ regiments of infantry. The 7th U. S. Cavalry, a regular Army unit created when the permanent establishment was organized under the Act of June 28, 1866, was the key unit in Sheridan's plan. Permission was received from the War Department to muster for six months a regiment of Kansas militia.¹¹ These two units formed the field expedition¹² destined to scour the Western half of Oklahoma during the winter of 1868-69.

With the 7th U. S. Cavalry was Winfield Scott Harvey. He is the hero of this article. Winfield was born in Fayette County, Pennsylvania, on October 10, 1848.¹³ His father, Eli Harvey, enlisted in 1862 in the 14th Pennsylvania Cavalry. He served as a blacksmith with the regiment until he was mustered out in 1865 at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. On August 26, 1864, though not yet sixteen years of age, Winfield followed his father's footsteps and enlisted in the same Pennsylvania Cavalry regiment. He saw major action for the remaining year of the war and was honorably discharged from Company E on May 31, 1865. With the organization of the regular establishment, Winfield enlisted as one of the original members of Troop K, 7th U. S. Cavalry, and took the oath as a private in the regular Army on September 11, 1866. His

¹¹On 6 October 1868 the War Department authorized Gen. Sherman by telegram if deemed "necessary to a successful prosecution of the present campaign against the Indians" to accept the services of a regiment of Kansas Cavalry. This was done three days later. The governor of Kansas, Samuel J. Crawford, resigned to accept a commission as colonel of the regiment. Logistical difficulties prevented the arrival of the Regiment at Camp Supply in time to participate in the Battle of the Washita. However, it took the field Monday, 7 December 1868, along with the 7th U. S. Cavalry, and rendered good service for the remainder of its muster. E. A. Brininstool, *Campaigning With Custer, the Diary of David L. Spotts* (Los Angeles, 1928) is the Diary of a private soldier of Troop K of the 19th Kansas, and is an invaluable companion piece to the *Diary* of Pvt. Harvey.

Details of the service of the 19th Kansas is contained in "The Nineteenth Kansas Cavalry in the Washita Campaign" by Horace L. Moore, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. II, No. 4 (December, 1924) p. 350. The opinion of the writer here is that the draftsman of the map accompanying the Moore article inadvertently used the Otter Creek (first, Tillman County) site of Camp Radzimirski in tracing the route of the 1869 expedition, and that the correct route would have been via the final (Mountain Park, Kiowa County) location of the Camp. This would move the route of the expedition considerably north of the indicated trace on the map.

¹²A wealth of information on the entire campaign is in De B. Randolph Keim, *Sheridan's Troopers on the Border*, (Philadelphia, 1891). Keim was a journalist traveling with Gen. Sheridan. He was at Camp Supply at the time of the Battle of the Washita, but accompanied the expedition when it took the field on 7th December.

¹³Personal data supplied by Mrs. Stanton Alton, 1959.

father's trade also served Winfield, and he was troop blacksmith throughout the field campaign. He was discharged as Blacksmith Sergeant on September 11, 1871.

He settled in Belle Vernon, Pennsylvania, and in 1872 married Mary E. Corwin. Death intervened and Mrs. Harvey died the following year. On July 2, 1874, he married Annastasia Beazell of Belle Vernon. Thrifty and successful, he built a substantial home for his family in 1882, at 210 Third Street in Belle Vernon, where he lived with his six children until his death on March 5, 1931. His wife had preceded him in death on August 26, 1927, and they rest side by side in the Belle Vernon cemetery. One daughter, Esther, is living and resides in Donora, Pennsylvania. His grandson, Winfield Scott Harvey, has acquired the old home place and now makes it his residence.

Always active in community affairs, Harvey twice served as a burgess of Belle Vernon. He was a charter member of the local G.A.R. post and served as its commander for fifteen years. He organized a local fife and drum corps and always took the lead in all patriotic meetings, celebrations and G.A.R. encampments. He was instrumental in bringing to Belle Vernon as a monument four Civil War cannon, which with neatly stacked cannon balls paid tribute to the soldiers of the War Between the States until they were returned to combat service in a 1942 scrap drive.

Winfield Harvey was a good soldier and a fine American. He is of the stock that made America great. His journal is typically a soldier's diary reflecting the interests and concerns of an ordinary GI. Rumors from Headquarters, the hour of reveille, the weather, and personal health were his great concerns, just as the same are today with the modern soldier. The Society is gratified that it is able to publish at this time the Oklahoma portion of his journal. His grandchildren, Winfield Scott Harvey and Mrs. Stanton Alton, both of Belle Vernon, Mrs. Alfred DuBarr of Lock Four, Pennsylvania, Mrs. Charles C. Hale of California, Pennsylvania, and Mrs. George W. Osborne of Washington, Pennsylvania, jointly have made it available for this purpose. It is hoped that in the years ahead the family will find it possible to make available to the people of Oklahoma for all time his souvenirs and mementos of Sheridan's Indian War by placing them permanently with the Historical Society.

DIARY OF PVT. WINFIELD S. HARVEY

Near Ft. Larned, Kans. Sept. 1, 1868. The morning is very beautiful and nice. It rained last night and raised the river so that we could not cross over. This will delay us some days, but just as

soon as the stream falls, we intend to go on to Fort Dodge on escort with General Sully.¹⁴ I have not had very good health on my journey; chills today.

Near Ft. Larned, Kans. Sept. 2, 1868. The morning is damp, but still the sun shines bright and beautiful. The river went down last night, so we can cross over this morning. Wood is not plenty here, we draw it from the Fort. I have been put on the sick report, but I feel better today. R. M. West¹⁵ is drunk.

Near Ft. Larned, Kans. Sept. 3, 1868. Reveille at five o'clock; boots and saddles at seven, and the Company¹⁶ started on. I stayed back with General Sully and at ten o'clock we started on. We caught up with the Company at Big Coon Creek, where we stopped for dinner and supper.¹⁷ Then we started on to Fort Dodge where we arrived at four o'clock in the morning. How long we will stay here, I do not know. The morning is very pleasant and nice. Not very well.

Near Ft. Dodge, Kans. Sept. 4, 1868. Arrived at Fort Dodge. The day is very pleasant and nice, with the exception of it being dusty and looks like rain. General Sheridan is expected here today or tomorrow morning. Little Raven of the Arapahoes (Indians) is expected here to see him and to talk over peace. I am afraid that we will have to go on a campaign after those Indians. I feel some better today. R. M. West drunk.

Near Ft. Dodge, Kans. Sept. 5, 1868. The morning is cool and damp. There was a wagon attacked at Little Coon Creek last night at about eleven o'clock. Three soldiers belonging to the 3rd Infantry were wounded, and the mail coming at the same time is all that saved them from being killed, as one of the men with them gave the alarm at the post and Company B, 7th U. S. Cavalry, stationed at this post, went out to bring them in, but saw no Indians. They had fled and disappeared. The news is that we are going on a big campaign south of the Arkansas River; everything looks so. Not well yet.

Ft. Dodge, Kans. Sept. 6, 1868. Reveille at five o'clock. Fed and groomed our horses, which are as tired as we are ourselves. Ate our breakfast and then picketed them out in a ravine just above our camp, so if anything should happen we will have them close to our

¹⁴ Alfred Sully. Born Pa. Grad. Military Academy 1 Sept. 1837; 2nd Lieut. 2nd Inf. 1 July 1841; 1st Lieut. 11 March 1847; Captain 23 Feb. 1852; Col. 1st Minn. Inf. 4 March 1862; Brig. Gen. Vol. 26 Sept. 1862; Major Gen. Vol. 8 March 1865; Lieut. Col. 3rd U. S. Inf. 28 July 1866; Colonel 21st U. S. Inf. 10 Dec. 1873. Died 27 April 1879.—Francis Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, 1789-1903*. At the time Gen. Sully was Commanding General of the District of Upper Arkansas, a headquarters immediately subordinate to Gen. Sheridan.

¹⁵ Robert M. West. Born New Jersey. Pvt. 12 April 1856; Capt. 1st Pa. Art. 25 July 1861; Major 13 Sept. 1861; Col. 28 July 1862; Brig. Gen. Vol. 1 April 1865; Capt. 7th U. S. Cav. 28 July 1866; Resigned 1 March 1869; Died 3 Sept. 1869.—Heitman, *op. cit.* (See footnote 85.)

¹⁶ Pvt. Harvey uses the words Troop and Company interchangeably.

¹⁷ On 31 August 1858 Troops A, B, C, D, E, F, G and I of the 7th U. S. Cavalry were ordered to the field for a campaign to the south against hostile Indians. Troop K, Pvt. Harvey's Troop, was detailed as escort (for the protection of the Commander and his staff) for Gen. Sully. Accordingly, for the *Diary* entries until 16th September it should be remembered that Troop K is not with the remainder of the command but is with Gen. Sully.

hands. The Indians are camped across the river from here, with a flag of truce; lead by Little Raven. General Sheridan has not arrived yet; they look for him every day and moment. Well and O. K.

Near Ft. Dodge, Kans. Sept. 7, 1868. The day is very beautiful and nice, with the exception of a very big wind all day and plenty of dust. General Sheridan here. Major Elliott¹⁸ arrived here this afternoon, in command of the 7th U. S. Cavalry. Our company is under marching orders, to be ready to leave at three o'clock, to join the command on an expedition. Left at four o'clock and crossed the river for some part, not knowing where. After we had got our train over, the sun had sunk behind the western hills, so for a night's rest sleep in the saddle. Traveled all night. Stopped at three o'clock in the morning, two hours. I saw Joseph Bell.

On Goose Creek, Kans. Sept. 8, 1868. Marched all day and saw no Indians. The day is very pleasant and nice, but still dusty. Reports that the scouts bring in is that the Indians are going south into Indian Territory. On the sick report; no chills the last few days. The country is very dry. No wood or buffaloes to be found. Some very pretty knolls and hills here.

In the Field on Goose Creek, Kans. Sept. 9, 1868. Reveille at five o'clock and started out. Marched about thirty miles today, then went into camp. Ate dinner; then the General sent Major Elliot with two Squadrons on in advance to look for the Indians and to see if he could find any signs of them. We have not seen any yet, since we started out, but they cannot be very far ahead of us. We will overtake them soon. Very well so far, no chills.

On the Simmerloan River,¹⁹ Kansas or Indian Territory. Sept. 10, 1868. Reveille at four o'clock and started at day break. Marched all day down the river. At noon, we struck a band of Indians hunting buffalo. They ran off at the sight of our coming. A few men followed them, but could not catch any of them, so we went into camp. In the night, twenty-five of them charged our camp and our train, but did not do any harm. This stopped off proceedings for the day. I feel well at present.

In the field on Beaver River, Ind. Ter. Sept. 11, 1868. Reveille at five and broke camp at six. The Indians charged into our camp, just as we started out, capturing one man²⁰ and wounding one. They followed us all day, and every time that we undertook to fight them, they would run away. They did some very bold riding and what a sight it was to see them ride and shoot. Sometimes they would shoot at us a mile off, but not any good.

In the Field on Wolf River, Ind. Ter. Sept. 12, 1868. Reveille at the usual time and again the Indians charged our old camp, not

¹⁸ Joel H. Elliott. Born Indiana. Pvt. Indiana Cav. 13 Sept. 1861; 2nd Lieut. 2nd Ind. Cav. 25 June 1863; Capt. 23 Oct. 1863; mustered out 18 Feb. 1866; Maj. 7th U. S. Cav. 7 March 1867. (Heitman, *op. cit.*) Major Elliott now rests in the Officers Circle at Fort Gibson National Cemetery. See the additional remarks concerning Major Elliott in foot note p. 374, "The Case of the Plagiarized Journal," *loc. cit.* On the date of this *Diary* entry, Major Elliott was the senior officer of the Regiment present, hence in command.

¹⁹ Cimarron River.

²⁰ The Regimental Return of the 7th U. S. Cavalry for September 1868 contains the entry: "Missing in Action. Louis Curran, Pvt. F Troop, Captured by Indians, 11 Sept. 1868, Sand Hills, I. T." The name of the wounded soldier is not shown.

doing any harm. They followed us until about noon. Then they took a stand on Wolf Creek, but we let them know that we were running the machine. When we opened our little Battery on them, they left. At dark, we had some bother with our cook fires, as they shoot at them some, but doing no harm. This ends our days march. I am well.

On the Center Fork²¹ of the Canadian River, Ind. Ter. Sept. 13, 1868. Reveille at six o'clock and started out at seven. We did not see any Indians until about noon, when we struck this river, where they had stopped for us and thought that they would do something, but they were very much mistaken to see that we did not care very much for them. We had a small fight, they killing one man, a Private²² of Troop F, 7th U. S. Cavalry. He was buried here at this place. The country is very bad and hilly. Very big sand hills here. Plenty of wood and water. The day was very hot, but pleasant.

On the Center Fork of the Canadian River, Ind. Ter. Sept. 14, 1868. Reveille at six o'clock and moved at eight. The Indians followed us until about noon, thinking they had given us a big thrashing, but it was not the case. We were out of rations and could not help ourselves. The Indians have gone back to look for their Papooses and Squaws. I think it is the best thing they can do for their own good. Struck Read Creek today, after traveling over a very rough and stoney piece of country. No wood and very bad water; it is all dirty and of a reddish color. The day is very pleasant, warm but looks like rain. Plenty of buffalo and we got some. This puts an end to our march for today.

On Bluff Creek, Kans. Sept. 15, 1868. Reveille at five o'clock. A man of Company I was killed by mistake. This morning at daybreak, he went out on picket and somehow he got lost, and went too far out. The Corporal in charge of the picket post saw him, and thinking him to be an Indian, fired at him, hitting him in the left side and the bullet coming out on the left. He lived until four o'clock. The man's name was Cregg²³ and a nice, sober man, well thought of by the Company. The Indians have all left and gone south. The day is very cold and windy.

On Bluff Creek, Kans. Sept. 16, 1868. Reveille at day break. The day is very windy and rather cool. There is plenty of buffalo all around our camp. Some of the boys are out after them. Buried the man killed yesterday, today at ten o'clock, in the honors of war. We are staying here for a rest today, but we will leave for Fort Dodge tomorrow morning. Our Company is only with General Sully on escort. I am well yet.

On Mulberry Creek, Kans. Sept. 17, 1868. Reveille at daybreak and we started on for Fort Dodge. I was on rear guard today. The day is very windy. Saw no Indians yet. I think they have gone south. Arrived²⁴ at Fort Dodge at four o'clock and I am very tired

²¹ The Command has been moving south across present Ellis County, and has reached the main Canadian.

²² Entry on Regimental Return: "Cyrus McCorbett, Pvt. F Troop, Killed in Action, 13 Sept. 1868, Sand Hills, Canadian River, I. T."

²³ Entry on Regimental Return: "Charles Kruger, Pvt. I Troop, Killed while on Picket, 15 Sept. 1868, Bluff Creek, Ks."

²⁴ The scout into Indian Territory of Gen. Sully ended on the 17th. The Regimental Return shows the expedition marched 255 miles. Gen. Sully returned with his escort to Fort Dodge, although the Regiment remained in the field.

of riding. No news today. I feel bad tonight. There is no wood or water, especially wood is scarce.

On the Big Arkansas River, Kans. Sept. 18, 1868. The morning is very nice and warm. I am some better than yesterday. I have gotten some medicine and it makes me better than usual. There is no news of where we are going to go, some say to winter quarters and some say on a campaign; not knowing yet which.

Fort Dodge, Kans. Sept. 19, 1868. Reveille at daybreak. I fed my horse and ate my breakfast. Then I went up to the post to see some of my old friends that are there. I also went to the Blacksmith Shop and saw my old friend, Mr. Crawford. I shod a horse or two for our Company. I also got a check on the Sutler for 500 dollars. The day is very windy and dusty. In camp half a mile from the post on the river.

Near Fort Dodge, Kans. Sept. 20, 1868. Reveille at daybreak. The day is very hot and cool. The dust flies thick and fast. The news is that we are going on another campaign south; I hope not. I am at work in the post shop, shoeing our horses, getting ready to go after the Indians. Our Company has orders to be ready to march in a few days, to join the Regiment on Chalk Bluff Creek. I am well.

Fort Dodge, Kans. Sept. 21, 1868. Reveille at the usual hour. The morning is very pleasant. No wind of any account, but it is cloudy and looks very much like rain; I think before morning it will. The news²⁵ is that G. A. Custer is coming to take command. Gen. Gibbs²⁶ arrived here last night from Fort Hays, along with the band. He will take command tomorrow or in a few days. Old R. M. West is drunk and in a mad spell.

Fort Dodge, Kans. Sept. 22, 1868. Reveille at the usual hour. It rained some last night and laid the dust; made it comfortable and pleasant, in camp among the soldiers. I finished shoeing our Company horses this afternoon. It looks like snow, or rather is cold enough to snow. I am better than usual.

Fort Dodge, Kans. Sept. 23, 1868. Reveille at six o'clock. I fed my horse and then I took him out to graze. No news of us going out to the Command yet, but we expect to go most any day. A detail went out to the Command this morning with a train of wagons loaded with rations for them. It still looks very much like rain. There has been no mail for a week. The Indians are very bad on the road. They send a Company of 10 with it, and it is very dangerous. No Indians are heard of.

²⁵ As with the modern counterpart, troop gossip was keeping abreast of events. Gen. Sheridan at the moment was pulling strings to secure a lifting of Custer's court martial and his transfer to the Department of the Missouri. On 28th September, a week after this Diary entry, Sheridan wrote to Custer from Fort Hays telling that he had asked for his services for the winter campaign.

²⁶ Alfred Gibbs. Born New York. Grad. Military Academy 1 July 1842; 2nd Lieut. 2nd Mtd. Rifles 1 July 1846; Capt. 13 May 1861; Col. 130th N. Y. Inf. 6 Sept. 1862; Brig. Gen. Vol. 19 Oct. 1864; Maj. Gen. Vol. 13 May 1865; Major 7th U. S. Cav. 28 July 1866. (Heitman, *op. cit.*). Gibbs had been transferred from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Dodge by S. O. No. 174, Dept. of the Missouri, 8 Sept. 1868, and being the senior officer present of the Regiment, assumed command upon arrival. Gibbs died at Fort Leavenworth 26 Dec. 1868.

Fort Dodge, Kans. Sept. 24, 1868. Reveille at six and it is raining this morning, I fed my horse, but did not clean him on account of the rain. I wrote three letters today to my friends. Then I went to Saw Log Crossing, for the purpose of finding some Indians, but saw none. They had fled. No news.

Fort Dodge, Kans. Sept. 25, 1868. Reveille at day break. I went to work in the shop today, at the Fort. I did not work on the account of being too much business on hand. I brought some nails down and drove the shoes down there. Also some to take on the scout when we go. Today is warm and pleasant, although it is clouding up now.

Fort Dodge, Kans. Sept. 26, 1868. Reveille at the usual hour. The morning is very warm and pleasant. Some of our men are out on a scout after some Indians. I did not go on account of not being very well. They will be at Major Elliott's Camp before they come back. It is looking like rain. I think old West is on the warpath a little tonight. He is an old drunkard and a fool, I think.

Fort Dodge, Kans. Sept. 27, 1868. Reveille at usual hour. The morning is very pleasant and beautiful. I had to shoe some today. I shod Colonel R. M. West's horse. Then I went to my tent and took a sleep. Then the chills left for the present. Everything is lovely and in good spirits. A campaign is to come off in October, I think.

Fort Dodge, Kans. Sept. 28, 1868. Reveille at day break. The day is very hot and I am at work in the blacksmith shop. I shod some horses, then I went to my dinner. I do not feel well; had a very bad chill today. I got some medicine from the Hospital Steward at the post and it did me some good.

Fort Dodge, Kans. Sept. 29, 1868. Reveille at the usual hour. The morning is very pleasant and nice. I am in the shop at the post shoeing our Company horses. I will soon be done for good, and then I will rest for awhile. The Indians are very close around this part. Chills again today.

Fort Dodge, Kans. Sept. 30, 1868. Reveille at the usual hour and the morning is very dismal and foggy. Cleared up at about noon when it became very pleasant. I have met no one from home yet, since I came back. Wrote my letters. The mail will be in tonight, if nothing happens. It is then I look for the mail or some mail. Lt. Law²⁷ is expected up to this place in a few days, then I will get what is back. No more to this month.

Fort Dodge, Kans. Oct. 1, 1868. Reveille at the usual hour. This morning at daybreak, the Indians came charging down on our camp. It was at sick call and about seven o'clock I was sitting by the cook fire eating my breakfast, when I first saw them. They charged on some working men just about one-half mile from here, but the men ran and made their escape. One²⁸ was badly wounded, afterward dying. Our company soon got into line and started after them on a dead run, sometimes coming very close on them, but our Company Commander, being an old card, would not let us charge them. There was a wagon train coming up the river at some seven

²⁷ Edward Law. Born Pa. 2nd Lieut. 7th U. S. Cav. 15 Aug. 1867; 1st Lieut. 11 March 1869; Resigned 22 March 1870; Drowned 5 Oct. 1881.

²⁸ Entry on Regimental Return for October 1868: "William Johnson, Pvt., E. Troop, Killed in skirmish with hostile Indians, 2 October 1868, near Bluff Creek, Ks."

miles from the post and the Indians seeing that they had a chance, charged it, capturing four wagons and killing two teamsters. Also wounding the wagon master, afterwards dying. After we drove them off south of the Arkansas, we fell back to camp, took dinner, drew one day's rations, started again down to Big Coon Creek to meet another train on its road to this place. I did not go as I was excused by the Doctor. No more of today.

Fort Dodge, Kans. Oct. 2, 1868. We had no reveille as all of our Company is out after the Indians on scout, and there is only four or five left here. The Indians have gone south toward Major Elliott's Camp on Chalk Bluff Creek. Our Company came in today about noon with a big train of wagons from Fort Harker. It rained some today. I am not very well.

Fort Dodge, Kans. Oct. 3, 1868. Reveille at the usual hour. The morning is cool and comfortable, but very foggy and you cannot see a half mile down the river. It is a good morning for the Indians to try themselves. I did not eat a bite today on account of being very sick with the chills and fever. I took a dose of medicine.

Fort Dodge, Kans. Oct. 4, 1868. Reveille as usual. We had Sunday's inspection today for the first time for some six or seven weeks, and old West inspected us, not very much of a one though. The morning is cool and pleasant. I feel some better today than usual.

Fort Dodge, Kans. Oct. 5, 1868. Reveille at the same hour as usual. I took a walk up to the post and went into the Hospital to see J. E. Spruce. I saw him. Duffey and Sullivan were sick in the Hospital. I also got some money from him that was owing me from him; not all, only five dollars. He has twenty yet of mine. The day is pleasant.

Fort Dodge, Kans. Oct. 6, 1868. Reveille as usual at six o'clock. The morning is very nice and beautiful. We will move our camp across the river today. There is thirty of our Company going out to Saw Log Crossing today to meet General Custer.²⁹ We are going under Lt. Weston. We got back at dark and just got our tent up when a big storm came and blew it partly down again. General Custer did not come.

Fort Dodge, Kans. Oct. 7, 1868. Reveille at six. The morning is very beautiful and nice. I did not do anything but write two letters, one to my sister and one to my father. They will leave tomorrow morning. Everything is on the move. Six Companies of the 10th U. S. Cavalry left here this morning for Walnut Creek, Kansas, between here and Fort Hays. A Campaign, I expect.

Fort Dodge, Kans. Oct. 8th, 1868. Reveille at six o'clock. The morning is cool and very pleasant. I went over the river today and got my things. Also got some bread and postage stamps. Then I shod a horse for Col. Thompson.³⁰ I am not very well today. We will leave tomorrow if possible.

²⁹ Custer's court martial was lifted by G. C. M. O. No. 64, War Department, 25 Sept. 1868. He was designated commander of the Regiment by S. F. O. No. 18, District of Upper Arkansas, 7 Oct. 1868. The same order relieved Major Gibbs from command. Gibbs was thereupon named post commander of Fort Harker, Kans.

³⁰ William Thompson. Born Pa. Capt. 1st Iowa Cav. 31 July 1861; Major 18 May 1863; Col. 20 June 1864; Brig. Gen. Vol. 13 March 1865; mustered out 15 March 1866; Capt. 7th U. S. Cav. 28 July 1866; Retired 15 Dec. 1875; Died 7 Oct. 1897.—Heitman, *op cit.*

Fort Dodge, Kans. Oct. 9, 1868. Reveille at the usual hour. Everything is lovely. I am at the Fort today and got some bread, but it is very cold and windy. Also very dusty. Company H, 7th U. S. Cavalry and Company M, 7th U. S. Cavalry are here and will go on the next campaign. It is very cold today. I am well today.

Fort Dodge, Kans. Oct. 10, 1868. Reveille at the usual hour. Our camp is about one mile south of Fort Dodge, Kansas. The day is cool and some pleasanter than yesterday. No dust today of any account. This is no news of any importance, except that we will leave here for a new campaign³¹ south tomorrow morning, so I feel better. Sergt. Henderson is in Hospital.

Fort Dodge, Kans. Oct. 11, 1868. Reveille at five o'clock. I fed my horse, ate my breakfast and then began to pack up for the march. Started at eight o'clock across the big Arkansas River. General Custer took command of our Troop this morning and we started to go south after the Indians. We marched eighteen miles when we crossed back over the Arkansas and went into camp for the night. Here we met a Company of the 38th Infantry on their way to Fort Dodge and three or four of our own Regt. The day is awful warm and dusty. We are not going to leave General Sully yet. We will be back in three or four weeks. Well at present.

Bluff Creek, Kans. Oct. 12, 1868. Reveille at five o'clock and started on our march or rather big march. We did not see any Indians until we arrived in the Major's Camp. Just after we arrived, the Indians made our pickets lay low. They made charge after charge, but were repulsed each time, one getting his ? taken and our soldiers got his equipment from him. We arrived here at four o'clock. We are all in good health, considering times and the country.

Arkansas River. Oct. 13, 1868. Reveille at four o'clock and started on our march. We got into camp at about noon, after marching fifteen miles. The day is so very hot. The Indians charged our rear, but lost. Some killed. No fight of any account. Plenty of wood and water. I am in very good health at present.

Chalk Bluff Creek, Kans. Oct. 14, 1868. Reveille at four o'clock. No Indians yet to be seen. We are on the waters of Medicine Lodge Creek. Company H went out to scout some tonight and came back after a few hours ride. Marched twenty miles today. Plenty of wood and water.

Oct. 15, 1868. Reveille at day break. We started back to join our Command, which we left yesterday at a Medicine Lodge Log House, used by the Indians for making medicine. This is a nice country for the Indians to stay on. We captured three ponies from the Indians or some they had left in their old camp. We arrived at General Custer's camp at noon; then moved on a little piece. Plenty of wood.

On Big Medicine Lodge Creek. Kans. Oct. 16, 1868. Reveille at day break and started for our old camp on Big Bluff Creek, Kansas. The day is very wet and damp. Rained all night and is muddy and slushy. No sun today of any account. Plenty of wood and water and a very nice country. Well.

Chalk Bluff Creek, Kans. Oct. 17, 1868. Reveille at day break and started to march. It is very damp and the day is very cloudy. Saw no Indians today. I do not think we will go much further on this trip, our horses are very tired and poor. The wood is plenty.

³¹ Troops H, K and M took to the field under orders to join the Regiment already in the field under Major Elliott.

Chalk Bluff Creek, Kans. Oct. 18, 1868. Reveille at four o'clock. We packed up boots and saddle at six o'clock and started at six and a quarter. Arrived at Bluff Creek today at noon. The day is very cloudy.

Chalk Bluff Creek, Kans. Oct. 19, 1868. Reveille at day break. The morning is very wet and it rained all night and part of today. It cleared up at noon, so I washed my clothes. I have a chill today. It still troubles me some. There is no wood of any account here but plenty of water. The news is that we are going to Fort Dodge, Kansas.

Chalk Bluff Creek, Kans. Oct. 20, 1868. It rained some last night and this morning is cool and windy. I am going to the blacksmith's shop to shoe some horses for our troop. I am sick today but at work.

Chalk Bluff Creek, Kans. Oct. 21, 1868. Reveille at six o'clock this morning. It was very nice and warm and pleasant this morning but got very bad towards noon. A big train came out from Fort Dodge, Kansas, with rations and wagons to move us into Fort Dodge. Tomorrow morning we will start for a tramp. I am very well today. On no duty today.

Chalk Bluff Creek, Kans. Oct. 22, 1868. Reveille at five o'clock this morning. Marched 31 miles today and arrived at the Arkansas River at five o'clock this evening. The morning was foggy and damp. I had a chill today at three o'clock. Not well.

On Big Arkansas River, Kans. Oct. 23, 1868. Reveille at six o'clock. The morning was cool and pleasant. Camped eight miles southeast of Fort Dodge. I do not know how long we will stay here. I expect we will go over the river today. Very well today. It looks very much like rain this evening.

On Big Arkansas River, Kans. Oct. 24, 1868. Reveille at six o'clock this morning. The morning is cool and nice and pleasant. A big wagon train came in from Fort Dodge, Kansas with rations and forage for our horses. The news is that we are going in to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

On Big Arkansas River, Kans. Oct. 25, 1868. Sunday's inspection, today by Lieutenant Law, as our commanding officer is on a leave of absence for seven days. We have not received any news of our going into the Fort today. The day is very cool. I am well today.

In the field on Big Arkansas River, Kans. Oct. 26, 1868. The morning is very cool but clear. The Indians made a charge on a train of wagons a short distance above here but none of the train is hurt. Nothing to do at the present. No news of our raid yet as I have heard. Things are dull. I am well.

In the field on the Big Arkansas River, Kans. Oct. 27, 1868. The morning is cool and pleasant. No rain yet. I got an order to get a horse shod today. I did not shoe him myself. I think we will make our camp tomorrow up the river further. The news is very scarce and times are dull. I am well.

North of the Arkansas River, Kans. Oct. 28, 1868. The morning is cool and windy, cool as if it would rain or snow. We moved our camp today and gave it the name of Andy Forsythe.³² I feel some

³² Camp Sandy Forsyth. Named in honor of Colonel George A. Forsyth. In August, 1868, Col. Forsyth had recruited a detachment of "first class handy frontiersmen" and acting under orders from Sheridan departed on an expedition to the upper Republican River. He fought a 3 day engagement on the Arickaree Creek in September, and only with extreme difficulty was he able to extricate himself and his command.

better today. The chills are very troublesome. We have had orders to have the Commands horses shod ready for a campaign to leave here on the tenth of next month. We are looking for a lot of new recruits³³ for our regiment, also our new horses will come along with them. No news for today, I left my work sick.

Camp Andy Forsythe, Kans. Oct. 29, 1868. The morning is cool and pleasant. We have our camp seven miles east of Fort Dodge, Kansas, on the Arkansas River. There is no news of our campaign yet. I think we will go soon. I am better today.

Camp Andy Forsythe, Kans. Oct. 30, 1868. The morning is windy and cool. Sunday's inspection today and we had some trouble in camp on account of some dirty men. Plenty of news today. More clothing to be drawn today. Chills for me today.

Camp Andy Forsythe, Kans. Oct. 31, 1868. The morning is cool and today is our day for muster for two months' pay. I received a letter from home today from my sister, A. A. They are well. I am well today.

Camp Andy Forsythe, Kans. Nov. 1, 1868. The morning is cool and windy. Inspection today and four of our Company had to carry logs for being dirty on inspection. Their names are Clare, Smith, Curley and Kellison. I had a small chill today.

Camp Andy Forsythe, Kans. Nov. 2, 1868. The morning is cool and pleasant. I got an order for twelve horses to get shod today and I will have all the horses shod this week. I had a light chill today.

Camp Andy Forsythe, Kans. Nov. 3, 1868. The morning is cool and windy, very disagreeable by evening. We are changing our horses today. Each company is getting a separate³⁴ color. We have all sorrels. I keep my old one. We got some very good ones and some bad ones too.

³³ On 10th November 137 recruits joined the Regiment. Of them, 14 were assigned to Troop K.

³⁴ "This was what is termed in the cavalry coloring the horses, which does not imply, as might be inferred from the expression, that we actually changed the color of our horses, but merely classified or arranged them throughout the different squadrons and troops according to the color. Hitherto the horses had been distributed to the various companies of the regiment indiscriminately, regardless of color, so that in each company and squadron horses were found of every color. For uniformity of appearance it was decided to devote one afternoon to a general exchange of horses. The troop commanders were assembled at headquarters and allowed, in the order of their rank, to select the color they preferred. This being done, every public horse in the command was led out and placed in line: the grays collected at one point, the bays—of which there was a great preponderance in numbers—at another; the blacks at another, the sorrels by themselves; then the chestnuts, the blacks, the browns, and last of all came what were jocularly designated the 'brindles,' being the odds and ends so far as colors were concerned—roans and other mixed colors—the junior troop commander of course becoming the reluctant recipient of these last, valuable enough except as to color. . . . It was surprising to witness what a great improvement in the handsome appearance of the command was effected by this measure."—George A. Custer, *My Life on the Plains, or Personal Experiences With Indians* (New York, 1876).

Camp Andy Forsythe, Kans. Nov. 4, 1868. The morning is cool and windy. We moved our camp today one mile up the river, we will soon start on our campaign on the tenth of this month. Everything is getting ready to go, and I feel some better today.

Camp Andy Forsythe, Kans. Nov. 5, 1868. The morning is cool and pleasant. Shoeing horses in the blacksmith's shop. Shod eight of our Company horses today and will shoe the rest tomorrow morning. Times are very dull around this part of the country. No Indians are to be heard of at the present but we soon will see them hopping and will pay them off for what they have been doing this summer. I am well.

Camp Andy Forsythe, Kans. Nov. 6, 1868. The morning is warm and pleasant; looks like rain. I shod some Company horses today. There is some talk about the paymaster coming to pay us soon and I think I will let him keep \$50.00 of my money this time for me until my time is up and then have some when I go home. The news is scarce and times are dull. I am well today. It is pretty hot and no rain yet.

Camp Andy Forsythe, Kans. Nov. 7, 1868. The day is windy and cloudy. I am at work in the blacksmith's shop shoeing our regiment's horses. I shod Lieutenant Law's horse, also Lieutenant Godfrey's³⁵ horse today. I am well today. No chills.

Camp Andy Forsythe, Kans. Nov. 8, 1868. The morning is wet and cold. I had to report to Major J. M. Bell³⁶ today for headquarters blacksmith. I received an order to shoe Troop E. Horses. We will go to work soon on them, also on all the other troops' horses, I am well today.

Camp Andy Forsythe, Kans. Nov. 9, 1868. The morning is very disagreeable and bad. We had thirteen new recruits came this morning and some very good men with them, none that I am acquainted with or have ever seen. I think they will soon get tired of the 7th Cavalry.

Camp Andy Forsythe, Kans. Nov. 10, 1868. The morning sun is warmer than yesterday. We got paid today and I put up \$50.00 with the paymaster to keep for me until my time is up. The night is cool and freezing. No news of our campaign leaving yet. Everything is lovely and the "goose hangs high."

Camp Andy Forsythe, Kans. Nov. 11, 1868. Reveille at the usual time. The morning is very pleasant. We had mounted inspection this forenoon. Inspected by General G. A. Custer. I shod a horse today and a very hard one he was. I feel some better than common. Everything is lovely.

³⁵ E. S. Godfrey. Born Ohio. Grad. Military Academy 1 July 1863; 2nd Lieut. 7th U. S. Cav. 17 June 1867; 1st Lieut. 1 Feb. 1868; Capt. 9 Dec. 1876; Major 1st U. S. Cav. 8 Dec. 1896; Lieut. Col. 12th U. S. Cav. 2 Feb. 1901; Col. 9th U. S. Cav. 26 June 1901; Godfrey was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor for heroism at Bear Paw Mountain, Mont. 30 Sept. 1877. —(Hietman, *op. cit.*) His own story of the Battle of the Washita is in *The Cavalry Journal*, Vol. XXXVII, October, 1928, p. 481.

³⁶ James M. Bell. Born Pa. 1st Lieut. 86th Ohio Inf, 10 June 1862; Capt. Pa. Cav. 30 June 1863; mustered out 14 July 1865; 2nd Lieut. 7th U. S. Cav. 28 July 1866; 1st Lieut. 2 April 1867; Capt. 25 June 1876; Major 1st U. S. Cav. 23 May 1896; Lieut. Col. 8th U. S. Cav. 10 Jan. 1900; Col. Vol. 5 July 1899; Brig. Gen. Vol. 20 June 1901; Brig. Gen. U.S.A. 17 Sept. 1901; retired 1 Oct. 1901.—Hietman, *op. cit.*

5 miles. Camp Andy Forsythe, Kans. Nov. 12, 1868. Reveille at three o'clock. We broke up our camp on the Arkansas River and camped on Mulberry Creek, Kansas, but the day is very hot and we did not march³⁷ very far today, only five miles. We are going to be gone one month on a scout. It looks like rain. We have seen no Indians yet but there are plenty in the country.

20 miles Nov. 13, 1868. Reveille at five o'clock and we broke camp at six. I fed my horse and groomed him. We are coming in to the Indian country, but have not seen any yet. They will have to look out for if General Custer comes across them he will hurt some of them. The day is fine.

18 miles Bear Creek, Kans. Nov. 14, 1868. Reveille at five o'clock. The morning is cloudy although warm and I think it will rain. We have seen no Indians yet; although we are in their country. This is a very rough and hilly part; no wood and very little water, enough for one night. I am well.

11 miles On Simmerloan River. Nov. 15, 1868. Reveille at four o'clock and started the day. It is very cold; snow for the first time this winter; it blows very hard. Still the country is very rough and no sign of Indians yet. I got some grub from the wagon.

27 miles On Wolf Creek, Ind. Ter. Nov. 16, 1868. Left the Simmerloan River this morning at day break and started, but saw no Indians. Still the day is cool and the buffalo are very scarce; we have killed none on this march yet.

16 miles On the North Canadian River, I. T. Nov. 17, 1868. We struck our old trail³⁸ today of September. I went out

³⁷ "Everything being in readiness, the cavalry moved from its camp on the north bank of the Arkansas on the morning of the 12th of November, and after fording the river began its march toward the Indian Territory. That night we encamped on Mulberry Creek, where we were joined by the infantry and the supply train. General Sully, commanding the district, here took active command of the combined forces. . . . The country over which we were to march was favorable to us, as we were able to move our trains in four parallel columns formed close together. This arrangement shortened our flanks and rendered them less exposed to attack. The following morning after reaching Mulberry Creek the march was resumed soon after daylight, the usual order being: the four hundred wagons of the supply train and those belonging to the troops formed in equal columns; in advance of the wagons at a proper distance rode the advance guard of cavalry; a corresponding cavalry force formed the rear guard. The remainder of the cavalry was divided into two equal parts, and these parts again divided into three equal detachments; these six detachments were disposed of along the flanks of the column, three on a side, maintaining a distance between themselves and the train of from a quarter to half a mile, while each of them had flanking parties thrown out opposite the train Unaccustomed, to field service—the infantry apparently were only able to march for a few hours in the early part of the day, when, becoming weary, they would straggle from their companies and climb into the covered wagons, from which there was no determined effort to rout them."—Custer, *op. cit.* p. 143.

³⁸ The anti-Custer faction will find these diary entries interesting. Pvt. Harvey makes no mention of the Indian trail described by Custer (*op. cit.* p. 144), which he stated he was denied permission by Sully to follow. This action by Sully is related as being the immediate reason for his being relieved by Sheridan and the command passing to Custer.—Rister, *op. cit.* p. 98.

on picket tonight for the time of only two hours so as to let the relief go to supper. Today it is very pleasant. We are all well and there is plenty of wood.

12 miles On the North Canadian River, I. T. Nov. 18, 1868. Reveille at day break. The command will lay over here today for the purpose of establishing a new post called Camp Supply,³⁹ a supply post for General Sheridan's campaigns during the winter of 1869. This post is at the junction of Wolf and Beaver Rivers and there is plenty of wood and water and is in a good country for a post. The weather is very beautiful and warm and cloudy and looks like rain. I am well.

Camp Supply, Ind. Ter. Nov. 19, 1868. Reveille at day break. The morning is very pleasant. We are going to help build this post, then we will leave in command of it, three companies, Company E, 3rd U. S. Infantry, Company K, 5th Infantry, and Troop G, 11th U. S. Cavalry. Then just as soon as we have put up a stockade to protect them from the Indians, we intend to make a raid after the red skinned devils and kill them as we can get them. They have gone south toward Fort Cobb,⁴⁰ Indian Territory.

Camp Supply, Ind. Ter. Nov. 20, 1868. The morning is pleasant, no rain yet. We are building quarters here for the infantry and getting along fine. Soon will be ready to march on after the Indians. I am shoeing my horses ready to go along for the fun. No news today.

Camp Supply, Ind. Ter. Nov. 21, 1868. Shoeing horses. The morning is cold; I think there will be snow soon. It is so cold and the wind blows so strong. We will march tomorrow if nothing is wrong. No mail has reached us since we left the Arkansas River; we look for some today. I do not know whether it will reach us or not, it is so irregular. There is no way to reach us only by Pony Express, and it is some three hundred miles.

Camp Supply, Ind. Ter. Nov. 22, 1868. The morning is cold; it snowed all night and it is still snowing. Cleared up at noon and got warm. Still it snows. We took our horses out to graze at noon to let them pick all they can this Sunday. We did not move today. We will tomorrow.

25 miles North of Canadian River, I. T. Nov. 23, 1868. Reveille at three o'clock. We started⁴¹ on our scout. It snowed all day and very fast. Part of the time we could not find our road

³⁹ Camp Supply was established by G. F. O. No. 10, Hq. District of Upper Arkansas, In the Field, 18 Nov. 1868. The name was designated by G. F. O. No. 8, same date and headquarters. The post return for Camp Supply for November, 1868, contains the following opening entry: "Camp Supply is located near the junction of Beaver Creek and Wolf River, where forms the North Fork of the Canadian River and about twenty miles East of the 100 meridian of longitude, West. All mails are carried by trains or courier."

⁴⁰ Fort Cobb was established 1 October 1859 by Major Wm H. Emory and the 1st Cavalry. At this time it was used by Maj. Gen. Hazen for his Agency. For a history of old Fort Cobb see Muriel H. Wright, "A History of Fort Cobb," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 1 (Spring, 1956) p. 53.

⁴¹ The events of the next five days culminating in the Battle of the Washita are presented in detail in "The Case of the Plagiarized Journal" *loc. cit.*

and at night we had to lay in snow eighteen inches deep with our clothes all wet and freezing, although we have plenty of wood and good fires to keep us warm. No news of Indians. All gone south. I am well.

18 miles. On Buffalo Creek, Ind. Ter. Nov. 24, 1868. Broke camp at six o'clock; and the morning is very pleasant and warm, melting snow very fast. It melted it very near all off today. Saw some buffalo today and killed some of them. Killed some rabbits. Saw some deer, and had a fine chase after them but could not catch them.

22 miles On the Main Canadian River, I. T. Nov. 25, 1868. The morning is very warm and we crossed over this morning at day break. We had a very hard march today and a lot of horses gave out today and mules also. Major Elliott and two squadrons started out on a scout up the river. They struck an Indian trail numbering two hundred warriors. We will have them.

30 miles On the Night March, Ind. Ter. Nov. 26, 1868. Left our wagon train in the rear and started out in full speed. I think we will soon catch them. We marched all night, only two hours for supper, on the trail.

10 miles On the Washita River, Ind. Ter. Nov. 27, 1868. The morning is very cold. We found them at last. We charged at day break. Captured the entire Indian Village, numbering fifty-two lodges, and killed 103 of their warriors, including their principal chief, Blackkettle. Captured 57 or 75 of their women and children, who are in our possession, prisoners of war. Our loss is 23⁴² killed and 11 wounded, including Major Elliott and Captain Hamilton,⁴³ of Troop A, also our Sergeant Major.⁴⁴ Our officers wounded are Brevet Colonel Barnitz,⁴⁵ of Troop G, Lieutenant March,⁴⁶ and

⁴² Losses were 19 enlisted men and 2 officers killed. Presumably, this Diary entry was made contemporaneously, yet the fate of Major Elliott and most of the enlisted personnel was not actually confirmed until 11th December. Sheridan and Custer both had the same presumption as Pvt. Harvey, and this Diary entry indicates that the Regiment had taken for granted that such was a fact. Arm chair theorists have long speculated on how everyone *knew* that Major Elliott and the others had been killed. See for example, Van DeWater, *op. cit.* p. 198.

⁴³ Louis McLane Hamilton. Born New York. Pvt. 14th Inf. 23 Sept. 1862; 2nd Lieut. 3rd Inf. 27 Sept. 1862; 1st Lieut. 6 May 1864; Capt. 7th U. S. Cav. 28 July 1866; Bvt. Major 7th U. S. Cav. posthumously.—Heitman, *op. cit.* Hamilton was a grandson of Alexander Hamilton; and at the time of his commission in the 7th U. S. Cavalry he was reputed to have been the youngest captain in the regular army.

⁴⁴ Sergeant-Major Walter Kennedy. Sergeant-Major Creek was named in his memory.

⁴⁵ Albert Barnitz. Born Pa. Sgt. 2nd Ohio Cav. 22 Aug. 1861; 2nd Lieut. 1 June 1862; 1st Lieut. 18 Feb. 1863; Capt. 11 Sept. 1865; Maj. 20 March 1865; mustered out 11 Sept. 1865; Capt. 7th U. S. Cav. 28 July 1866; Bvt. Lieut. Col. 2 March 1867; Bvt. Col. 27 Nov. 1868 for gallantry at the Battle of the Washita; Retired 15 Dec. 1870.—Heitman, *op. cit.* He was gifted in literary talent and was the author of a volume of poetry.

⁴⁶ Thomas J. March. Born Pa. Grad. Military Academy 1 July 1864; 2nd Lieut. 7th U. S. Cav. 15 June 1868; Resigned 10 March 1872.—Heitman, *op. cit.*

Lieutenant Custer,⁴⁷ a brother of General Custer. We captured eight hundred ponies and mules, afterwards killing them all and leaving them behind. We afterwards retreated back ten miles, where we laid overnight. No rations tonight. The Indians captured them all from us by us leaving it while charging. We will reach our old train tomorrow by noon, then we will have plenty. I am very well so far. Plenty of snow.

10 miles On Dry Creek, Ind. Ter. Nov. 28, 1868. Reveille at six o'clock and we started without any breakfast. Met our supply train⁴⁸ at noon. The Indians have not bothered us much. They ran into our pickets last evening, none hurt. Plenty to eat and drink now. There is plenty of wood.

24 miles Camp on Skunk Creek, Ind. Ter. Nov. 29, 1868. Reveille at five o'clock. Packed up and started on back for Camp Supply. It is very pleasant to what it has been since we left on our scout. The snow has nearly all gone off. We have gone over some pretty country and some nice streams. The Big Canadian River is from a mile to three-quarters wide.

30 miles On the Big Canadian River, I. T. Nov. 30, 1868. Reveille at five o'clock and we started on for a day's march. We marched over some hard looking country and made a big march. Arrived in camp about eight o'clock today. It is pleasant and warm.

Near Camp Supply, Ind. Ter. Dec. 1, 1868. The morning is very nice and pleasant. We had some fun today with seeing the Osage Indians having a war frolic⁴⁹ on horseback. They would sing and fire their pieces (guns) off in the air so as to make it look nice. General Sheridan is here and is pleased at the victory we have won in his department. He gives us his thanks.

Near Camp Supply, Ind. Ter. Dec. 2, 1868. The day is cloudy but warm. I think it will rain before many more days. There is no news yet of what we will do in order to go to our quarters.

⁴⁷ Thomas Custer. Born Ohio. Pvt. 21st Ohio Inf. 2 Sept. 1861; 2nd Lieut. 6 Mich. Cav. 8 Nov. 1864; Bvt. Maj. Vol. 13 March 1865; Bvt. Lieut. Col. 2 March 1867; 2nd Lieut. Inf. 23 Feb. 1866; 1st Lieut. 7th U. S. Cav. 28 July 1866; Capt. 2 Dec. 1875; Killed at Little Big Horn 25 June 1876.—Heitman, *op. cit.* Tom Custer had the distinction of having been awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor twice.

⁴⁸ "At daylight the next morning we were again in our saddles and wending our way hopefully toward the train. The location of the latter we did not know, presuming that it had been pushing after us since we had taken our abrupt departure from it. Great was our joy and satisfaction, about ten o'clock, to discover the train safely in camp. The teams were at once harnessed and hitched to the wagons, and without halting even to prepare breakfast, the march was resumed, I being anxious to encamp at a certain point that night from where I intended sending scouts through with despatches to General Sheridan."—Custer, *op. cit.* p. 176.

⁴⁹ "On the night after the return of the troops from the Washita, the Indians proposed to celebrate the victory by giving a scalp dance. Shortly after dark a huge log fire was built upon the banks of the Beaver. A number of officers, including the Commanding General, resorted to the spot to witness, in all its wild originality, this triumphal celebration. The savages were seated around the fire, uttering not a word, and looking the personification of the denizens of some infernal region. Notwithstanding the wintry winds sweeping through the valley, they had dispossessed themselves of their blankets, and about their persons wore the trophies taken in the battle."—Keim, *op. cit.* p. 123.

I think we are good for another march. I am satisfied to go if we can find any more Indians' camps. It is very hard out here.

Near Camp Supply, Ind. Ter. Dec. 3, 1868. The morning is cool and very pleasant. We are going to bury our dead today—Captain Hamilton, two soldiers of B. troop and one of H. Troop. They were buried in honors of war at three o'clock this afternoon.⁵⁰ We are going back in a few days after the Indians. No more news.

Near Camp Supply, Ind. Ter. Dec. 4, 1868. The day is very nice and warm and pleasant. We had Regimental Inspection this afternoon by General Forsythe. He condemned our old things, old horses, blankets, old tents, old swivel bores, also our old carbines. We are going to move soon.

Near Camp Supply, Ind. Ter. Dec. 5, 1868. The day is very cold. I went after some wood today and had a good fire. I saw a mule team run away today and I helped catch it. It broke the tongue of the wagon off. It is very cold today. I am well.

New Camp Supply, Ind. Ter. Dec. 6, 1868. The morning is cold and disagreeable. It snowed all night. Sunday's Inspection ordered. Still snowing. We got some brandy issued to us today by order of General Sheridan on account of it being so cold.

⁵⁰ "We had brought with us on our return march from the battle-ground of the Washita the remains of our slain comrade, Captain Louis McLane Hamilton. Arrangements were at once made, upon our arrival at Camp Supply, to offer the last formal tribute of respect and affection which we as his surviving comrades could pay . . . On the evening of the day after our arrival at Camp Supply the funeral took place. A little knoll not far from camp was chosen as the resting place to which we were to consign the remains of our departed comrade . . . In addition to the eleven companies of the Seventh Infantry, the regular garrison of Camp Supply, numbering several companies of the Third Regular Infantry, the regiment in which Captain Hamilton had first entered the regular service, was also in attendance. The body of the deceased was carried in an ambulance as a hearse, and covered with a large American flag . . . The pall-bearers were Major-General Sheridan, Brevet Lieutenant-Colonels J. Schuyler Crosby, W. W. Cook, and T. W. Custer, Brevet Major W. W. Beebe, Lieutenant Joseph Hall, and myself."—Custer, *op. cit.* p. 182. The reference by Pvt. Harvey to the burial of three enlisted men brings additional information to hand on the Battle of the Washita, as all other sources mention only the burial of Capt. Hamilton. The fortunate circumstance that Pvt. Harvey mentions the troop assignment of the three makes it possible to determine their names from the Regimental Returns for November and December, 1868. The two from Troop B are thus Pvt. Charles Cuddy and Augustus Delaney. The return for December, 1868, contains the entry: "Pvt. Benjamin McKasey, Troop H, Died 1 Dec. 1868, Camp Supply, I. T., of wounds recd at Battle of Washita I. T. 27 Dec. 1868." Pvt. McKasey is thus the third member of the trio of enlisted men buried with Captain Hamilton. The Oklahoma Historical Society is continuing in an effort to determine the present resting place of Hamilton. There is no record of re-interment at Fort Gibson National Cemetery, and the National Archives has reported (1959) that they have no information on the place of burial.

10 miles Near Camp Supply, Ind. Ter. Dec. 7, 1868. Reveille at three o'clock. We started⁵¹ on another raid, south in the same direction as before.⁵² I do not know where we will fetch up at. Some say at Fort Cobb, Indian Territory. I do not know for my part, only that we are going after the Indians. The weather is cool but getting warmed. I am well.

On Center Fork⁵³ of Canadian River, I. T. Dec. 8, 1868. The day is pleasant. Plenty of wood and water and a nice camp. No news of any account. No Indians yet to be seen.

20 miles On the Main Canadian⁵⁴ River, I. T. Dec. 9, 1868. Reveille at four o'clock in the morning. We camped on an old Indian camping ground. This is a pretty camping ground for cavalry. Not much wood, but plenty of water. No Indians yet since the fight.

5 miles On a Branch of the Washita River, I. T. Dec. 10, 1868. Reveille at three o'clock. We crossed over the Canadian River,⁵⁵ and it is very cold and windy. David Ryan⁵⁶ shot himself by accident through the foot. We encamped on the Washita River near⁵⁷ where we had the fight of the 27th of last month.

⁵¹ "The expedition consisted of the eleven companies of the seventh cavalry, ten companies of the volunteers, Pepon's scouts, and fifteen Osage and Kaw Indians, making a total of about seventeen hundred men. The supplies for men and animals for thirty days, together with shelter tents, cooking utensils and baggage, were conveyed in three hundred wagons. Three of the Cheyenne squaws were also taken with the expedition, to be used in giving information respecting the country."—Keim, *op. cit.* p. 128.

⁵² The march for 7th December was up Wolf Creek along its north bank for about 10 miles, then crossing the creek and making camp along the south bank in the vicinity of present Dunlap, Harper county.

⁵³ The march for 8th December was due south across present Ellis County. Camp for the evening was made on Hackberry Creek in the vicinity north of present Peek, Ellis County. "After a march of 30 miles the column went into camp on Hackberry Creek, so named by the Commanding General on account of that tree predominating on its banks. The stream was insignificant in itself, but important as the only desirable camping place between the Wolf and Main Canadian Rivers." Keim, *op. cit.* p. 134.

⁵⁴ The march for 9th December was 15 miles south to the main Canadian where camp was made on the north bank "in a bend of the river, where there is plenty of tall grass so our horses can have a good feed. They get a quart of corn every morning and graze at night. We can see a high hill west of here and are told it is Antelope Hill. The river bottom seems to be very fertile and is over a mile wide and covered with grass a foot high. There is not much water in the channel although about 100 yards wide, but only a couple of inches deep. The sand bars indicate a large stream at certain times."—Diary entry of Pvt. Spotts for 9th December.—Brininstool, *op. cit.* p. 73.

⁵⁵ "The crossing of the river occupied about five hours and was effected without the loss of a single wagon, notwithstanding several were frozen fast while delayed in the stream and had to be cut out."—Keim, *op. cit.* p. 138.

⁵⁶ Pvt. David Ryan, native of Ireland, enlisted in Troop K on 31 August 1866 and was discharged 16 August 1871. Apparently Pvt. Ryan recovered without difficulty, as the incident does not appear upon the regimental return for December, 1868.

⁵⁷ Regarding the camp for 10th December, Custer (*op. cit.* p. 193) reports they camped a "few miles below" the battleground; Keim (*op. cit.* p. 141) says the site was "but eight miles from the scene"; while Pvt. Spotts (Brininstool, *op. cit.* p. 74) records it was "about a mile."

On the Washita River, I. T. Dec. 11, 1868. Reveille at six o'clock. The morning is very nice, but cold. We will lay over here tomorrow or rather today. General Sheridan and General Custer went out to see if they could find any of the bodies of our lost at the Battle of the Washita on last November 27th. They found the body of Major Elliott, the body of the Sergeant Major and 13 enlisted men's bodies. Major Elliott's body was very much cut⁵⁸ and mangled up. They were all scalped but the Major. They also found the body of a white woman⁵⁹ and her child, both killed and scalped by the bloody villains. She was a prisoner in their hands and they killed the woman.

9 miles On the Washita River,⁶⁰ I. T. Dec. 12, 1868. The day is very disagreeable. It is snowing, it has snowed all day. We have had some very cold weather since we left Camp Supply, but the evening is getting warm and the sun is melting the snow very fast.

9 miles On the Washita River, I. T. Dec. 13, 1868. The morning is very warm and beautiful. The snow leaves very fast. Have seen no Indians yet. Troop G and Troop K, 7th U. S. Cavalry are building bridges⁶¹ today over small streams. It is very warm.

10 miles On the Washita River, I. T. Dec. 14, 1868. Reveille at six o'clock. The morning is beautiful. We travelled over some very hard roads where there was never a wagon before. We crossed over the big Washita River and the country is not so bad as on the opposite side. There is some very pretty farming land on this river. Plenty of wood.

10 miles On a Branch⁶² of the Washita River, I. T. Dec. 15, 1868. Reveille at three o'clock. We had stable call and ate our breakfast. Then we packed up and started on our day's march. Old Colonel R. M. West made us walk very nearly all day. Some of the boys were cursing and I do my share at it too. We saw twenty Indians today but could not catch them. They ran very fast and got away. We will catch them yet. Plenty of wood and water.

⁵⁸ The report of Henry Lippincott, Regimental Surgeon, on the condition of the bodies has been widely reprinted. It appears in *Executive Doc. 40*, 40th Congress, 3rd Session, 4 Feb. 1869; in Custer, *op. cit.* p. 195 and Keim, *op. cit.* p. 147.

⁵⁹ Mrs. R. F. (Clara) Blinn and her two year old son, William. She had been captured at an Arkansas River crossing near Ft. Lyon, Col. A letter she had written on 7th November from her captivity "near Antelope Hills" is quoted in Rister, *op. cit.* p. 117.

⁶⁰ The march for 12th December was downstream along the south bank of the Washita. "We have passed several abandoned villages, for the frames of their tepees, made of willows, are left behind. There are pieces of broken saddles, broken lodge poles, pieces of canvas and blankets, so it is easy to tell where a camp has been."—Diary entry of Pvt. Spotts for 12th December, Brininstool, *op. cit.* p. 76.

⁶¹ In his Diary entry for 13th December, Pvt. Spotts reports: "Sometimes we come across the pioneer corps when they have a bad crossing to make or several close together, but seldom have to wait long as they go before the column and can call out for help if needed." Camp for the night of the 13th was northwest of present Hammon.

⁶² Camp for 15th December was south of present Butler in Custer County. "On the night of the fifteenth, upon the column going into camp in a heavy timber on the river, it was discovered that we were in the midst of a favorite roost of immense numbers of wild turkeys."—Keim, *op. cit.* p. 154.

15 miles On the Washita⁶³ River, I. T. Dec. 16, 1868. Reveille at three o'clock. The morning is very beautiful and warm. The snow is leaving fast. Company C of our Regiment charged some Indians and drove them out of sight. Killed one. We soon will arrive at our stopping place. It is forty miles to Ft. Cobb, Indian Territory. A nice camp we have tonight, plenty of wood and water. The Indians want peace and we will give it to them if they behave themselves. Everything is nice and I am well.

20 miles On the Washita River, I. T. Dec. 17, 1868. We camped⁶⁴ just on the river bank. The day is very warm, all of the snow is gone and it makes it very muddy and disagreeable under foot. Our Company Commander made us walk pretty near all day. Some of the boys are very tired and their feet are very sore. Our horses are very poor and played out. Plenty of wood and water and a nice camp.

Near⁶⁵ Fort Cobb, I. T. Dec. 18, 1868. The morning is cool and nice. The Indians have come in for to make peace. We saw lots of Indians and they want to make a treaty. I do not know what General Sheridan will do with them. They are very cunning and sharp. They are afraid of General Custer. Plenty of wood and water. This is a very pretty place.

Near Fort Cobb, Ind. Ter. Dec. 19, 1868. The day is very nice. The Indians are around in large numbers. No news today. I am well and nice.

Near Fort Cobb, Ind. Ter. Dec. 20, 1868. Reveille at five o'clock. Fed our horses, then took them out to graze. We had General Inspection today by General Custer. The day is very pleasant. There has been no treaty yet with the Indians. Two chiefs are under guard, one by the name of Satanta, and the other by the name of Lone Wolf. They will be kept⁶⁶ for the good of their tribes. They will be let loose just as soon as they send for their tribes to come in and sign a treaty such as is provided for them. Today is very nice.

Near Fort Cobb, Ind. Ter. Dec. 21, 1868. This morning is very cold and very windy. I did not get very much sleep. I am Corporal of the Stable Guard tonight. The Indians are all out yet and there is not very much sign of them coming in. I think we will have to go after them and thrash them good so they will mind it for awhile. I am very well, considering my wages.

Near Fort Cobb, Ind. Ter. Dec. 23, 1868. The morning is very cold also the day. I am on guard today and just now relieved from duty by Corporal Blunt. I think I can sleep pretty well tonight. I will try it very hard. No treaty yet. I am well and feel well.

⁶³ Camp for 16th December was in the vicinity of Clinton, Custer County.

⁶⁴ Camp for 17th December was near present Cloud Chief in Washita County. ". . . My Osage scouts came galloping back on the morning of the 17th of December, and reported a party of Indians in our front bearing a flag of truce."—Custer, *op. cit.* p. 196. The Indian delegation presented a letter from Gen. Hazen to the effect that all local Indians were friendly and had not been on a war path that season. Before the day was done Sheridan and Custer was in a pow wow with Satanta, Black Eagle and a number of lesser Kiowa, Apache and Comanche luminaries.

⁶⁵ The expedition reached Fort Cobb on the 18th and went into bivouac on the low ground just southeast of the present town of Fort Cobb, Caddo County.

⁶⁶ To insure the success of his plans, Gen. Sheridan seized Satanta and Lone Wolf and held them under guard for several weeks.

Near Fort Cobb, Ind. Ter. Dec. 24, 1868. Reveille at day break. The morning is very pleasant. I went for wood and found plenty of it where I was. We had a scare last evening about nine o'clock. The whole regiment came out under arms, but it was only a false alarm and nobody was hurt. No treaty yet but we expect the Indians all in soon.

Near Fort Cobb, Ind. Ter. Dec. 25, 1868. The morning is cool and windy and very dusty. Today is Christmas Day⁶⁷ and I have only two hard tacks for my dinner and a quart of bean soup that a hog would not eat if he were starving. This is the kind of a dinner I have to sit down to today, alright. Everything is lovely.

Near Fort Cobb, I. T. Dec. 26, 1868. Reveille at six o'clock. Ate breakfast, then we had orders to black our saddles for mounted inspection tomorrow morning at nine o'clock by order of Major General Custer, commanding the 7th U. S. Cavalry, in the field near Fort Cobb, Indian Territory. I am well today.

Near Fort Cobb, Ind. Ter. Dec. 27, 1868. Reveille at six o'clock. Sunday's inspection today mounted and fully equipped. I am Corporal of the Stable Guard tonight and very fine I feel today. Not much to do so as the Indians are all gone and they soon will be here to stay for good. Then we will have peace for a while. They have gone out after the rest of their families in to the Wichita Mountains, some two hundred miles from here.

Near Fort Cobb, Ind. Ter. Dec. 28, 1868. Reveille at six o'clock this morning. The morning is cool and looks like rain. We have run out of hardtacks and we will have to bake our own bread. You would laugh to see us mix our dough. The news is very dull. It is damp today. I am well.

Near Fort Cobb, Ind. Ter. Dec. 29, 1868. Reveille at day break. It rained all last night and all day and is still raining. It is very muddy and disagreeable. I am afraid our camp will overflow before it stops raining. We are all wet and our blankets are damp. I hope to see it stop soon and before it gets cold.

Near Fort Cobb, Ind. Ter. Dec. 30, 1868. Reveille at any time we see fit as the morning is still very wet and disagreeable. Everything is in a dreadful⁶⁸ state. Part of our troop have left our camp

⁶⁷ "Christmas day . . . was duly celebrated in camp. Milk punch, concocted of the condensed material, sugar, and Texas 'spirits,' was the popular beverage. With their usual facility for discovering everything that is going on, the leading warriors in the vicinity of camp in some way or another found out that the day was more than an ordinary affair . . . Several delegations, painted and plumed, and mounted of their best war ponies, set out for the various headquarters. At the time at Hazen's tent a number of officers were present. As the warriors came up, and heard the conversation within, they probably felt reassured that something was going on . . . In the afternoon Sheridan gave a Christmas dinner, however, was not so bountifully supplied with the game of the country as the feast of Thanksgiving-day at Camp Supply—Keim, *op. cit.* p. 171.

⁶⁸ Pvt. Spotts was having the same trouble. He wrote on 30th December: "It is still raining and we still have to dip water. We hope it will not get so soaked, so the ground will cave in. The camp is nearly all under water and when we got up this morning the camp of my company was deserted and the tents gone. All we could see was a row of holes full of water. The water came into their tents in the night and they had to get out of bed and grab bed, clothing and tents and hunt for higher ground."—Brininstool, *op. cit.* p. 91.

and fled for the woods half a mile off. I soon will leave and go along. We have to do the best we can for our own good and to keep ourselves dry. I am Stable Guard tonight as Corporal. I will stay in my tent all night. I am in charge, so I will do as I please.

In the Woods near Fort Cobb, I. T. Dec. 31, 1868. Reveille at the usual time. We have been driven from our camp on account of mud and water. We are stuck along the bank of the river like a lot of prisoners of war. It is impossible for us to get our blankets dry as there is no sun to dry them. I have a bad cold.

1869

Near Fort Cobb, I. T. Jan. 1, 1869. The day is cool and wet. Making a Treaty⁶⁹ with old Satanta. No news.

Near Fort Cobb, I. T. Jan. 2, 1869. Reveille at day break. The morning is cool and clear, also things are drying fast and the mud. I have not heard of our Treaty yet that Gen. Sheridan made. Everything is nice.

Near Fort Cobb, I. T. Jan. 3, 1869. Reveille at 6:00 o'clock and still it is clear. Sunday and inspection, also dress parade. In the evening a big train arrived here from Fort Arbuckle loaded with flour and rations for our regiment, also the 19th Kansas Volunteers. You would be tickled to see us bake, making what we call "slap jacks" and heavy cakes. I am a good baker and cook.

Near Fort Cobb, I. T. Jan. 4, 1869. The day is most beautiful. I am on herd duty today, in charge of the stable guard. Another big train of wagons came in today with rations for our regiment and the 19th Kansas Volunteers. Plenty of grub to eat. Some of the Indians will soon come now as they are getting hungry and out of rations.

Near Fort Cobb, I. T. Jan. 5, 1868. Reveille at day break. I will be on pass today to go on business over to the Fort. The day is very pleasant and nice. The mud soon will be all dried up. Orders⁷⁰ are for our command to move tomorrow morning. We will go some 35 miles from this post to establish a new post called New Fort Cobb,⁷¹ I. T.

⁶⁹ After several weeks of backing and filling, Gen. Sheridan lost patience with the Indians and directed Custer to advise Satanta and Lone Wolf that unless their people came into Fort Cobb by sundown of the next day, Sheridan would hang them both. Satanta dispatched his young son as a courier, and the prompt arrival the next day of the two missing tribes would indicate that the two Chiefs took Sheridan at his word.

⁷⁰ On the morning of the 28th December a reconnaissance party under Col. B. H. Grierson, 10th U. S. Cavalry, departed from Fort Cobb to survey a site on Cache Creek some miles south of Fort Cobb previously seen by Col. Grierson. The details of the scout to Cache Creek are given in W. S. Nye, *Carbine and Lance* (Norman, 1943) p. 75 *et seq.* Colonel Nye indicates that the downpour of rain was the last straw in convincing Sheridan that a change of location was for the best, but from the diaries of Pvts. Harvey and Spotts, the downpour did not commence until after the departure of the Grierson party. Mr. Keim accompanied the survey, and gives many details. Colonel Nye states the party departed from Fort Cobb on the 27th, whereas Keim states it was on the morning of the 28th.

⁷¹ This sentence will be of value to those especially interested in the history of Fort Sill. The name Elliott, in honor of Major Elliott, had been proposed by his colleagues of the 7th Cavalry, but it is believed this is the only reference to the possibility of the name New Fort Cobb.

On Asher⁷² Creek, I. T. Jan. 6, 1869. Reveille at 3:00 o'clock this morning. Packed up our things and started on our day's march towards our new post called New Fort Cobb. This old post is abandoned. A very pretty morning. We travelled through the entire Kiowas Indian Camp this morning and also the Comanches Camp. I saw some very pretty Indian women; a very pretty sight for one, who has never seen an Indian; all of the Indians are not here yet.

On Cash⁷³ Creek, I. T. Jan. 7, 1869. Our Reveille at day break this morning. It is cloudy and warm. Three men deserted from our troop; their names are as follows: 1. Cruzan, 2. Foulk, 3. Warren.⁷⁴ They took nothing except their carbines. Plenty of wood and water and the very best of land, very rich. Too bad to let the Indians have it. They ought to be driven off and the land given to the poor white man of different states.^{74a}

At the Foot⁷⁵ of the Wichita Mts., I. T. Jan. 8, 1869. Reveille at day break. It rained all night and is still trying it yet. We have passed over some very pretty country today and seen some very pretty mountains and plenty of game, such as hare, deer, elk, rabbit and antelope, also plenty of quail, and other birds, such as wild turkey and pigeons.

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Jan. 9, 1869. Sunday Inspection. Three men carrying a log⁷⁶ for being dirty, Clair, Curley and Long. The day is cool and windy.

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Jan. 10, 1869. The morning is cool and very nice. We had Sunday's inspection and there were three men of our Troop had to carry saddles for not being out for inspection at the first call. I was not out for my part, but nobody has anything to do with me as I am in charge of the blacksmith shop.

⁷² Without doubt the reference is to Cache Creek. Neither Pvt. Harvey nor Spotts mention the prairie fire and "the great waves of flame" encountered on the 6th by Mr. Keim (*op. cit.* p. 255).

⁷³ Camp for the night of the 7th was probably in the vicinity of Richards, north of Fort Sill. The main body of the 7th Cavalry did not arrive at the new site until the 8th. Nye, *op. cit.* p. 85.

⁷⁴ The regimental return for January, 1869, has the entry: Pvt. Benjamin F. Consour, Pvt. Warren Foulke, Pvt. Henry E. Warren, K Troop, deserted 7 Jan. 1869, Fort Cobb, I. T."

^{74a} This remark against Indian ownership of lands in the Indian Territory is significant for it reveals Custer's military expedition of 1868-69 as the beginning of a great movement in Oklahoma history. The remark that was voiced by white settlers in the Great Plains region, and the rallying cry of "boomer colonists" who claimed the right to invade lands for homestead settlement in central Indian Territory a decade later. The name of David L. Payne appears on the roster of the 19th Kansas Volunteer Cavalry as Captain of Company H (Brininstool, *op. cit.*, p. 23) on this expedition of 1868-69. It was Payne who championed the cause as leader of the "boomers" that finally brought about the first opening of lands to white settlement in Oklahoma, by the run of April 22, 1889.—Ed.

⁷⁵ On the 8th Gen. Sheridan selected the site for the new post; and 8 January 1869 is considered the official date for the establishment of Fort Sill. Sheridan chose a site 300 yards southeast of the location planned by Col. Grierson, who had not contemplated that a permanent garrison type post was projected by Sheridan.—Nye, *op. cit.* p. 85.

⁷⁶ Carrying a log was a favorite form of Troop punishment. See *Diary* entry for 1st November and also Murphy, *Reminiscences*, *loq. cit.*

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Jan. 11, 1869. Reveille at day break. The day is very pleasant and beautiful. We had two corporals broke today, Corporals Blunt and Springer. The reason why is this: They would not come out to Roll Call in time this morning.

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Jan. 12, 1869. Reveille at 3:00 o'clock. The morning is very cool and looks very much like rain and snow. I am at work in the blacksmith shop. I shod Lt. Godfrey's horse and also Lt. Laws. Everything is lovely and the goose hangs high.

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Jan. 13, 1869. Reveille at the usual hour and the morning is very wet and windy. It rained all night and is still raining. I got an order to shoe Co. B and Co. F. horses today. I quit at three o'clock on account of rain. I am well.

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Jan. 14, 1869. The morning is clear again but very cool and damp. I got a letter from Mary E. Feuster also one from Lizzie Reppert. I must answer them soon, especially Mary's. No news of any account.

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Jan. 15, 1869.⁷⁷ Reveille at a good time—at day break. The morning is cloudy again. It cleared up at noon time and got warm and nice. This is a very queer country for it changes so soon and often. I baked some "slap jacks" for my supper. They eat very well; just as well as if my wife had baked them. So good.

On Medicine Creek, I. T. Jan. 16, 1869. I am still at work in the blacksmith shop shoeing our regiment's horses. The day is very nice and clear. Plenty of Indians in camp this afternoon; they are drawing rations from our commissary. Lots of pretty squaws in along with old bucks. Oh! What savage looking men some of them are, but very big cowards. They will run.

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Jan. 17, 1869. Reveille at day break. The morning is cool. We had Sunday inspection mounted.

⁷⁷ Pvt. Spotts (Brininstool, *op. cit.* p. 103) recorded in his *Diary* for 15th January: "Gen. Custer has taken about forty of his picked sharpshooters to visit all of the tribes that have not come in yet. Gen. Sheridan is still with us and when Custer proposed to visit the Indian camp he told him he would not advise or order him to go nor would he oppose him." Custer (*op. cit.* p. 213) relates, "I decided that with General Sheridan's approval I would select from my command forty men, two officers, and a medical officer, and, accompanied by my two chiefs, Little Robe and Yellow Bear, who regarded my proposition with favor, I would set out in search of the hostile camp From my tent to General Sheridan's was but a few steps, and I soon submitted my proposition to the General, who from the first was inclined to lend his approval to my project." Custer selected as his two officers, his brother, Captain Tom Custer, and his Aide, Captain Samuel M. Robbins. Robbins had been a junior officer in Troop D, and on 7 Dec. 1868, the date of the departure from Camp Supply, he had been detailed as Aide-de-camp to Custer. He continued to meet with Custer's favor for on 17 Dec. 1868 he was promoted to captain by S. O. No. 141, Hq. Military Division of the Missouri. The regimental return for January, 1869 (dated Ft. Hays, Kans. 11 May 1869) shows the date of departure of the detachment under Custer as 22nd January, but this editor prefers to use the date given by Pvt. Spotts as more probably correct. Custer and his party returned 7 February 1869 with no Indians.

They had a race between the Companys. Our Company came out 3rd best. Company D, 1st. Company A, 2nd. I was not out myself.

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Jan. 18, 1869. Reveille at six o'clock. The morning is very cool and nice. I am in good health, hoping to be so all the time. Report came in today that Cheyennes are on their way in to camp to make a treaty with General Sheridan and General Custer. I am at work in the blacksmith shop.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Jan. 19, 1869. Reveille at half past six o'clock. The morning is very nice and pleasant. I am shoeing horses in the Q.M.D. in charge of the outfit. The Indians are not in yet or no signs yet of them. I think they will not come in for fear of our capturing and making prisoners and putting them into the Guard House.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Jan. 20, 1869. Reveille at six o'clock and the day is cloudy and cool. Looks like rain or snow. I wrote a letter to Miss Lizzie Reppert and sent it to Camp Supply by scout by the name of Corben.⁷⁸ Everything is lovely and the goose hangs high. No Indians yet or no signs of them.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Jan. 21, 1869. Reveille at five o'clock. The morning is cool and it snowed some last evening. It cleared up at noon and got some warmer. I finished shoeing our Troop's Horses to-night.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Jan. 22, 1869. Reveille at day break. The morning is very warm and nice. A soldier by the name of Conklin⁷⁹ was shot by mistake last evening. He belongs to Troop G, 7th U. S. Cavalry. He will be buried to-day in "Honors of War." Everything else is lovely and sound.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Jan. 23, 1869. Reveille at the usual hour. It rained last night but rains none to-day. Still is warm and cloudy, and I think it will rain some more soon, if it keeps on getting warm. Shoeing Troop I's horses. As soon as we have finished them, we will be through for sometime, then we can rest and have a good time.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Jan. 24, 1869. Reveille at five. Sunday's inspection to-day, but I did not go on. I washed my clothes and then I went to get⁸⁰ my likeness; alone and my bunkmate's and mine together. The day is warm. I helped to pack a lot of mules with rations to send out to General Custer. He is in the Arapahoe's camp. He will not be in for 18 days yet. He will try to bring in the Indians with him to make their treaty. If they do not come, he will make them.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Jan. 25, 1869. This morning is cool and cloudy. We sent our horses out to graze for a month. Our whole regiment is down the river five miles. A forage train came in.

⁷⁸ Jack Corbin, a renowned scout.

⁷⁹ The regimental return for January has the entry: "Dennis Conghlin, Pvt. G. Troop, died of wounds recd by the accidental discharge of a carbine, 21 Jan. 1869, Med. Bluff Creek, I. T."

⁸⁰ That a traveling portrait photographer had already arrived and set up shop at future Fort Sill is noteworthy.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Jan. 26, 1869. Reveille at six o'clock. The morning is very cool. It rained all night and it is some muddy. I saw a horse race between Little Raven, the Arapaho Chief, and Captain Currey⁸¹ of our regiment. The Captain's horse came out best—only Ten Dollars aside; not much of a loss. The Indians are very thick around our camp in good times.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Jan. 27, 1869. Reveille at five o'clock. The morning is very pleasant. General P. H. Sheridan took a ride out to visit the Kiowa's reservation, on Kasher Creek. General Custer has not arrived from his scout yet, but we expect him soon. I have no work to do. The horses are all shod and on herd. No news. The mail went out.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Jan. 28, 1869. Reveille at six o'clock. The morning is very warm. We had a big thunder storm to-night about six o'clock, but it did not rain very fast or much. The wind blew very hard and got cold and clear. No news of Custer yet. More rations for him yet.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Jan. 29, 1869. Three of Gen. Custer's men came in to-night. He has found⁸² the Indians at last. They will come into Camp in a few days.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Jan. 31, 1869. Reveille as usual. The day is beautiful. I saw 150 rattle snakes⁸³ killed to-day by a soldier in Troop K and Troop I of our regiment. They found them in the rocks of the Wichita Mountains. I also took a visit up to Lover's Leap,⁸⁴ a very high mountain and a very pretty view, we have of our camp; about 2 miles from our camp. The ending of January 1869. My news is scarce at present.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 1, 1869. Reveille at day break and everything looks nice.⁸⁵ The day is pleasant, but raining some. There is not any news of General Custer yet, or any shoeing yet to be done. The 19th Kansas Volunteers is shoeing mules on our forge. We expect to move north soon by way of Camp Supply Indian Territory to Ft. Hays, Kansas.

⁸¹ The reference is not certain. There was no officer whose name would approximate this in either the the 7th U. S. Cavalry, the 10th U. S. Cavalry, or the 19th Kansas Volunteers. It has been suggested that Pvt. Harvey had reference to Captain Miles Keogh, a noted horseman of the 7th, but the regimental returns indicate that Captain Keogh had been on detached service at Fort Harker, Kans., for the months of December and January. He, of course, could have been temporarily visiting his regiment at Fort Sill.

⁸² For the details of what was happening with Custer and his detachment, see Custer, *op. cit.* p. 115, *et seq.*

⁸³ Pvt. Spotts (Brininstool, *op. cit.* p. 106) tells of killing 103 rattlesnakes on 17th January. Mr. Keim (*op. cit.* p. 269) relates the appearance of the den after the visit by the soldiers: "A mass of enormous 'diamond,' rattlesnakes were lying about in all states of mutilation. Some were without heads. All without tails. The largest and in fact the majority were without skins."

⁸⁴ Known to hundreds of artillerymen as "M. B. 3" the Medicine Bluff is still a scenic attraction. Mr. Keim devotes several pages (*op. cit.* p. 238, *et seq.*) to its legends and its importance.

⁸⁵ Notwithstanding his obvious dislike (see footnote 15) for Captain West, the commanding officer of Troop K, Pvt. Harvey fails to record that the previous day had been the last day of command for Robert M. West. He was placed on leave by S. F. O. #12, Hq. Department of the Missouri, 30 Jan. 1869, and on 1st February Lieut. Godfrey assumed command of the Troop. West never returned to duty with the 7th Cavalry.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 2, 1869. Reveille at day light. The morning is cold and snowing some, but still my bunky and myself have plenty of wood and a good fire, all day. We have had no news at present.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 3, 1869. The day is windy and cloudy. Also cool. I got a letter from home. I hear no news of any account. All is well and also I am well. Nothing to do to-day. No Indians.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 4, 1869. The morning is cool and nice. Very pleasant. A big train of wagons came in from Ft. Arbuckle and Ft. Gibson, loaded principally with rations for this Command. It is very near time; we have been living on 2 hard-tacks per day for some 8 or 10 days. We will live fine now. No work and plenty of fun.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 5, 1869. Reveille at six o'clock. The day is cool and windy. I slept very soundly last evening and night. We had a transfer⁸⁶ of horses in our regiment. We had all of the 19th Kansas Volunteers' transferred over to ours, so this makes more work for us blacksmiths. Our Troop got eleven. We turned all of our serviceable ones in and they will be taken to Ft. Arbuckle and be turned in.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 6, 1869. The morning is warm and pleasant. I went up to work and made a letter "K": to brand our horses that we got from the 19th Kansas Volunteers. Then I sent it down to the herd and told the horse Farrier to brand the whole herd.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 7, 1869. General Custer arrived here from the Cheyennes, but they did not come in with him; so I expect we will have to go along. The Arapahoes are coming in. One man of Company I captured and lost.⁸⁷

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 8, 1869. The morning is cool and windy. The day is changeable, along with some rain. Troop A and D, numbering three hundred men, under command of Brvt. Col. Weir,⁸⁸ started out after or to meet the Arapahoes, and to hurry them up to make their Treaty. I shod the Troops' teams today, eleven of them, ready for the coming march to Ft. Hays.

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 9, 1869. The morning is very pleasant. The remainder of General Custer's men came in to-day. Their horses look very bad and tired, so I think we will not leave this place for sometime yet. They are building a commissary at present, so if we were going soon, they would not bother with this work.

⁸⁶ Pvt. Spotts (Brininstool, *op. cit.* p. 118) relates for 5th February: "We had to turn our horses and equipment to the 7th Cavalry this afternoon. The poor ones go to Arbuckle as will those of the Seventh which our best ones will replace. While I hated to see mine go I have nothing to worry about and no horse to feed and groom."

⁸⁷ The regimental return for February, 1869, has the entry: "Adolph Sufferheld, Pvt. I Troop, deserted 3 Feb. 1869, while on scout back from Red River, Tex."

⁸⁸ Thomas B. Weir. Born Ohio. 2nd Lieut. 3rd Mich. Cav. 13 Oct. 1861; 1st Lieut. 19 June 1862; Capt. 1 Nov. 1862; Major 18 Jan. 1865; Lieut. Col. 5 Nov. 1865. Mustered out 12 Feb. 1866; 1st Lieut. 7th U. S. Cav. 28 July 1866; Captain 31 July 1867; Died 9 Dec. 1876.—Heitman, *op. cit.*

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 10, 1869. The morning is very nice and warm. I got an order to show some Privates' horses of Troop A. I will shoe them in the morning if nothing happens. I am acting Headquarters Blacksmith. No news of any account.

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 11, 1869. The morning is cool but very pleasant and nice. No Indians yet, but reports say that they will be in tomorrow morning. I do not know how true it is. I wrote a letter to John W. Hammitt. My friend, Joseph Bell, also wrote to him.

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 12, 1869. Reville at the usual hour. The morning is very pleasant, but some rain through the day, and is still raining. A big train of wagons came in from Fort Arbuckle, loaded with forage and rations for our Command. No news of any kind today.

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 13, 1869. The morning is very windy and disagreeable. Also it is cold. I wrote a letter to my father. Also one to my friend Mary E. Feuster. There is no news today of any importance. We will move soon.

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 14, 1869. The morning is cool and feels like snow. Sunday's inspection. I did not go on, as I intended to work and did so. There is dress parade this evening. The mail went out today for Camp Supply. I sent two letters myself. It may not get there safely on account of Indians on the Route.

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 15, 1869. The morning is clear and warm, but it feels like rain. Satanta, the Indian Chief, was released⁸⁹ today by Gen. G. A. Custer. He says he will bring in the Cheyennes for General Sheridan. They also released Lone Wolf, the other Chief we had in the Guard House.

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 16, 1869. The morning is cool and disagreeable. It rained all morning, but it is clearing up at present and getting cool and windy. There is no news of any account, or any Indians yet to be seen or heard of. We will march after them soon if they do not come in by the first of March. I am well, so no more.

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 17, 1869. The morning and day is pleasant. Some sun and warm. We are getting our things condemned today by Inspector General Moore, of General Sheridan's staff. I had a big Lapachey Chief eating supper along with me this evening. He is a good Indian and fond of the white soldier, and man; a nice squaw for me he has. I will go for her.

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 18, 1869. The morning is pleasant. Also the day. Sergeant Henderson and Private Harry Smith had a fuss on hand and Henderson drew his revolver on Smith. Finally, old Henderson was put under arrest and Smith carried a log a few minutes by order of Lt. Godfrey, Commanding Troop K, 7th U. S. Cavalry.

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 19, 1869. The morning is clear and nice; very pleasant. A big train loaded with forage, came in from Fort Arbuckle. It is very heavily loaded with forage for the march, through the Wichita Mountains, to make a raid after the Cheyennes. I expect we will move on the 1st or 2nd of March.

⁸⁹ Details of the release of Satanta and Lone Wolf by Gen. Sheridan are given in Nye, *op. cit.* p. 89, *et. seq.*

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 20, 1869. Reveille at day break. The morning is pleasant and nice. I wrote a small letter to Miss Lizzie Reppert. I sent it to Camp Supply with Jack Corben, our Chief Scout. I will send in an order for our shoes for Troop horses and have some of them sent in to be shod. No news of marching yet. No Indians to bother us.

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 21, 1869. Reveille as usual. The morning is very damp. It rained last night some and this makes it very disagreeable. It changed and blew very cool. I finished our Troop horses this evening. Got an order for Troop G, 7th U. S. Cavalry.

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 22, 1869. The morning is very warm and pleasant. Not much to do at present. We were put on half rations today and it will go rather hard for some of the boys to be cut down on half, but still we have to put up with it. The roads are so bad that trains cannot get to us. I am not well today.

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 23,⁹⁰ 1869. The morning is very pleasant and also the day. Received a letter from Mr. Norcross. He and all of the folks are well at home. Also I received a letter from father and sister Alice. They are all well. I am in the best of health at present. I answered them all today. I received my postage stamps.

On Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 24, 1869. The northern wind blew very cool and it feels very cold. Private Curley is tied up all day for not being clean on guard mount. The news is that we break camp on the 5th of March and move for Camp Supply, Indian Territory. The Indians are as thick in our Camp today as the soldiers. Some pretty squaws and ugly bucks. No news of any account.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 25, 1869. The morning is very pleasant and warm. I shod 3 mules for Troop D, 7th U. S. Cavalry, and a horse for Lt. Johnson⁹¹ of Troop E, 7th U. S. Cavalry. Two men of Troop D deserted⁹² last night and took a horse that belongs to Lt. Smith and another one that belongs to Sergt. Athey. Their names are as follows:—Private Flin and Corporal Miners, both of Troop D, 7th U. S. Cavalry.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 26, 1869. The morning is very pleasant and comfortable. We are at work in the blacksmith shop shoeing horses for the Troops belonging to the 7th U. S. Cavalry, as they were brought in from herd today. Shoeing ready for the march. We expect to move on the 1st or 2nd of March to Camp Supply, I. T.

⁹⁰On 23rd February Gen. Sheridan departed from camp and returned north. He had been away from Department Headquarters since Fall. On this day he was tendered a fairwell review by the 7th Cavalry. As the ceremonies are not mentioned by Pvt. Harvey, the latter must have been occupied with his farrier duties. Mr. Keim returned north with Sheridan.

⁹¹John M. Johnson. Born Iowa. Pvt. 20th Iowa Inf. 14 Aug. 1862; Grad. Military Academy 7 Nov. 1863; 2nd Lieut. 7th U. S. Cav. 17 June 1867; 1st Lieut. 1 November 1867; Hon. discharged 31 Dec. 1870 at his own request.—Heitman, *op. cit.*

⁹²The regimental return for February, 1869, has the entry: "Corpl. George Hudson and Pvt. Henry W. Flynn, D. Troop, deserted, 25 Feby. 1869, Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T."

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 27, 1869. The morning is pleasant and nice. At work in the Q. M. D. shoeing horses. A big train of wagons came in from Fort Arbuckle, Indian Territory, loaded with rations and forage; more forage than rations. No more news of any account.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. Feb. 28, 1869. The morning is very pleasant and nice today. Today is general inspection and muster for four months pay. There were five men⁹³ of our Troop deserted last night and took six horses with them. Their names are as follows:—Sergt. Sullivan, McNeil, Curley, Tompkins and Root. They will go for Texas.

Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T. March 1, 1869. The morning is very fine and nice. We intended to break camp this morning, but something happened that we did not go. We move tomorrow morning at three o'clock, if everything is right.

Camp on Small Little Stream, I. T. March 2, 1869. The morning is warm. Orders to break camp at one o'clock, p.m. this day. Broke camp and marched five miles⁹⁴ into the Wichita Mountains. Not in course of Camp Supply at all—on a route not known to our Command. Left Bluff Creek.

Camp in Wichita Mountains, Ind. Ter. March 3, 1869. The morning is very windy and disagreeable. It rained last night very hard and it made it very bad, but the day is cold and the country is very bad and rough. Very big mountains overlook our camp tonight and plenty of wolves and coyotes howling around us. I am on guard tonight as Corporal.

Camp Rataminskey in the mountains, I. T. March 4, 1869. The morning and day awful cold and snowing and blowing. It is most terrible. Went into Camp at three o'clock in the afternoon on an old camping ground, called Rataminskey.⁹⁵ I borrowed \$3.00 from Phillips to get some bread stuff. There is plenty of wood and water. Today is the day that President Grant takes his seat. No Indians yet to be seen; gone southwest.

⁹³ The regimental return for March, 1869, has the entry: Sergt. Michael Sullivan, Pvt. Patrick Curley, Pvt. Thomas McNeil, Pvt. Thomas Root, Pvt. William Thompkins, K Troop, deserted, 1 March 1869, Medicine Bluff Creek, I. T."

⁹⁴ With the departure of Gen. Sheridan, Custer assumed command of the expedition. He determined to return to the vicinity where he had been the previous month to complete his pacification program. Sheridan wished Custer to force the absent Indians north to Camp Supply, and to aid in his operations, Sheridan had directed that a supply train proceed south from Camp Supply and await Custer at a point selected as a temporary base some miles west of Cache Creek. On 2nd March the entire command, consisting of the 7th U. S. Cavalry and the 19th Kansas Volunteers, moved to the west. For the first night camp was made in the vicinity of Signal Mountain.

⁹⁵ Camp Radziminski, named in honor of the late Lieut. Charles Radziminski, had been established in September, 1858, by Major Earl Van Dorn and four Troops of the 2nd Cavalry. Throughout its short period of service it sheltered a host of renowned officers, and was abandoned 6 December 1859. Pvt. Spotts (Brininstool, *op. cit.* p. 138) records that "it was a camping place of the 3rd Dragoons on their way to Mexico during the Mexican War."

Camp on Red River, Ind. Ter. March 5, 1869. The morning is pleasant. Camped on the north side of the north fork of Red River. Plenty of wood and water, but the water is very bad. Crossed over the Wichita Mountains at noon today.⁹⁶ Corporal Morris' horse gave out. Also my own very near it. A great deal of walking must be done in order to save our horses and keep them up. The Sergt. Major of the 19th Kansas Volunteers was shot⁹⁷ by accident and killed. He was buried in Honors of War tonight. We have a long march to go yet before we reach Camp Supply.

On North Fork of Red River, I. T. March 6, 1869. The day is pleasant. Our command is broken into two parts, one Command under General Custer and the other one under Captain Myers.⁹⁸ One is to go south and the other to go north west. I am under Myers to go north west. General Custer took 25 men of each Troop and six Co. of the 19th Kansas Cavalry and went South.⁹⁹ There is 31 men left back with Lt. Law. No Indians to be seen yet. I think General Custer will find the "red skins" before he comes back. The evening is cool and cloudy. No news yet.

Camp on Wild Cat Creek, I. T. March 7, 1869. The morning is very pleasant. Cloudy and warm. Plenty of wood and water, but no Indians yet. No news of any account. The country is hilly and poor. Am well.

In the field on the South Fork of the Washita River, I. T. March 8, 1869. The morning is cool. Two men got lost on the prairie. Got all of our cattle. One Troop killed a wild cat. Going to Camp Supply.

In the field, Camp on the Washita River, March 9, 1869. The morning is damp and is bad for marching. Away went our cattle again, bad luck for them; one horse gave out, Private Kellison. No news yet.

Camp on the Washita River, I. T. March 10, 1869. The morning is cold and snowing like thunder. Arrived at our old battle ground. A big train of wagons here for us and plenty of rations. The Command is not here.

Camp on the Washita River, I. T. March 11, 1869—in the fields. The morning cool but clear. I am on guard in charge of our Stable

⁹⁶ The statement by Pvt. Harvey that the command "crossed over the Wichita Mountains at noon today" would indicate that the temporary supply base was on the north side of the North Fork as far north as the vicinity of Lugert.

⁹⁷ It was not the Sergeant Major but the Chief Bugler of the 19th Kansas Volunteers, William Gruber, who was killed. Without doubt this is the soldier whose grave is described by James B. Shaeffer, "A Military Burial at Lake Altus," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 4 (Winter, 1958-59), pp. 411-15. The Diary of Pvt. Spotts for the same date gives details of the tragedy (Brininstool, *op. cit.*), excerpts from which are given in *Appendix, q. v.*, at the end of Harvey's Diary.

⁹⁸ Edward Myers. Born in Germany; enlisted man in 1st Dragoons 26 Aug. 1857 to 26 Aug. 1862; 2nd Lieut. 1st Cav. 17 July 1862; 1st Lieut. 23 Sept. 1863; Lieut. Col. 1 April 1865; Capt. 7th U. S. Cav. 28 July 1866; Died 11 July 1871.—Heitman, *op. cit.*

⁹⁹ For the details of the scout to the south, see Custer, *op. cit.* p. 233, *et seq.* The portion of the command under Myers was ordered to proceed to the site of the Battle of the Washita and there await Custer and the other detachment. Pvt. Spotts was in the column that accompanied Custer.

Guard. Plenty of wood and water. The bones of our dead lay all over the ground; the wolves dug them up and ate all of the flesh off of them.

Camp on the Washita River, I. T. March 12, 1869. The morning is clear and warm. We intend to lay over here until General Custer comes back and then go in to Camp Supply, Indian Territory.

Camp on the Washita River, I. T. March 13, 1869. The morning is cool and clear. I shod Col. Myers horse. He is Captain of Troop E, 7th U. S. Cavalry. No Indians yet, or any news of General Custer yet. He is after the Indians.

Camp on the Washita River, I. T. March 14, 1869. Sunday morning and cool. Had detachment inspection. Got 35 head of our cattle, that which ran off a few nights ago. No news yet, and no Indians.

Camp on the Washita River, I. T. March 15, 1869. The morning is cool and no news. Everything is quiet at present. Looking for General Custer. Plenty to eat and very bad water. I am alright.

Camp on the Washita River, I. T. March 16, 1869. The morning is still cool, but cleared up at noon and got warm. We draw rations today and a big fuss in camp about something.

Camp on the Washita River, I. T. March 17, 1869. The morning is cool and windy. It is St. Patrick's Day. Plenty of fun in camp, but no news. On our old battle ground, nothing to be seen but some old skull bones of dead Indians, killed in the fight.

Camp on the Washita River, I. T. March 18, 1869. The morning is warm. I got a letter from my sister, Alice, stating that my father is not well. I got a letter from my Lady. No news of any account.

In the field on the Washita River, Ind. Ter. March 19, 1869. The morning is fine. I wrote a letter to my sister, Alice, and also to my friend Lizzie Reppert.

In the field on the Washita River, I. T. March 20, 1869. The morning is cool, but the day pleasant. No news of General Custer yet. We expect the Regiment in, in a few days. News of a consolidation of the U. S. A. not now.

In the field on the Washita River, I. T. March 21, 1869. The morning is cool. Sunday inspection. Rained this evening. A big race in camp between three Indian ponys, belonging to some of the boys.

In the field on the Washita River, I. T. March 22, 1869. The morning is very warm and pleasant. Moved our Camp, this forenoon, three miles farther up the river. No news of any account.

In the field on the Washita River, I. T. March 23, 1869. The morning is very cool and damp. Am on Stable Guard, as Corporal in Charge. General Custer came in this evening. He brought two white women¹⁰⁰ in that he captured from the Cheyennes that the Indians held as prisoners. Also 3 Indians (Chiefs). Our herd in charge of the herd of three Troops. Our Command is all in at present.

¹⁰⁰ Miss Brewster and Miss White. A brother of Miss Brewster had accompanied Custer throughout the entire expedition in his effort to aid in the release of his sister.

In the field on the Washita River, I. T. March 24, 1869. The morning is cool. I saw two white women that came in, that had been with the Indians. They look very bad. Three horses left, with Company.

In the field on the Washita River, Ind. Ter. March 25, 1869. The morning in fine. I shod Lt. Law's horse this evening. We intend to move in the morning, north to Camp Supply. Plenty of wood and water, but the water is bad.

On the Main Canadian River, I. T. March 26, 1869. The morning is pleasant. Not very well this evening. A bigger part of our men are dismounted and more than half of the Troop camped on old camp grounds of Dec. 19, 1868.

On a dry prairie, Ind. Ter. March 27, 1869. The morning is very fine. The news is that we are going to go to Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas, for recruiting up, to make another raid on the Platte River, Neb.

Camp Supply, I. T. March 28, 1869. The morning is fine and pleasant. The news is not very much. We are going to Ft. Leavenworth this next winter to quarter. No Indians yet to be seen.

Camp Supply, Ind. Ter. March 29, 1869. The morning is cool, but the day pleasant. Our Troop drew clothing this evening. Also tobacco. I gave mine to my bunky. We are going on tomorrow.

In the field on Sweep Stakes Creek, I. T. March 30, 1869. The morning is very cool and windy. No wood and very little water. March 8 miles, ate dinner, and then went 12 miles further. Then went into Camp for night.

In the field on Bluff Creek, I. T. March 31, 1869. The morning is pleasant. Reveille at four o'clock. March 18 miles. Ate dinner on Cimarron River and then marched on 18 miles further. Plenty of wood and water. Two more days to Ft. Dodge.

In the field on Chalk Bluff Creek, Ind. Ter. April 1, 1869. The morning is cool and pleasant to walk, but it is very disagreeable to ride. Marched over some very bad country. Plenty of wood and water. I received a letter from J. W. Hammitt this evening. He is well. Thirty miles to Ft. Dodge, Kansas.

On the Big Arkansas River, South of Ft. Dodge, April 2, 1869. Reveille at six o'clock. The morning is cool and nice. No wind of any account. Came into Ft. Dodge, Kansas, at three o'clock this p.m. Co. H., 7th U. S. Cavalry will stay here this summer. Plenty of water but no wood. Got wood from Ft. Dodge. We will move on tomorrow.

On Saw Log Crossing, Kans. April 3, 1869. The morning is very cool and our Command will move on at twelve o'clock; on east to Ft. Hays, Ka. John E. Spruce came to the Troop today.

Poney Fork, Kans. April 4, 1869. The morning cold and snowing like thunder. This is a very bad country, no grazing for our horses. Plenty of wood and water. Met our Suttler. The evening fine.

The winter campaign of Sheridan and Custer was at an end, and with its conclusion the troops returned for a measure of garrison life. The *Diary* of Pvt. Harvey continues until

the close of his military career, in September, 1871. The remaining portions of his journal should be presented in some future number of *The Chronicles*.

With the *Diary* is as copy of a letter which appears to be have been issued by Custer to his command prior to the departure for the return march to Camp Supply. It does not appear in other sources, and is an important addition to the documentation of the Battle of the Washita:

Camp, 7th U. S. Cavalry
In the Field on the North Canadian
River, Indian Territory
November 27th, 1868

We regret the loss of such gallant soldiers as fell at and in the Battle of the Washita, November 27th, 1868, and thank "Our Maker" that we are still spared to still fight the battles of our "Beloved Country" and we call on all good, loyal citizens to help aid us. Also all good soldiers to still hold on, and our Victory is already won for us by winning our yesterday's hard fought battle in which we repulsed the Red Foe, which loss we will have to feel for some time.

We hope the campaign south of the Big Arkansas is at a close.

I also thank the officers and men of my command, comprising of eleven troops of the 7th U. S. Cavalry, for our great and gallant victory.

Yours,
Lt. Col. G. A. Custer¹⁰¹
and Bvt. Major Gen. U. S. A.

All in all, the Winter Campaign enjoyed a measure of success; and the efforts of Custer to meet the Plains Indians on their own ground and convince them short of gun fire, of the need to adopt reservation life do much to counter balance his actions on the Washita. Of the measure of success thus achieved, due portion must be accorded Pvt. Winfield S. Harvey of Pennsylvania.

APPENDIX

Excerpts from the Diary of Pvt. Spotts for "Friday, March 5, 1869" (Brininstool, *op. cit.*, pp. 139-40) and the day following:

"Vann and I were some distance ahead of the train about 4 o'clock when we passed two soldiers lying on a mound on our left. When we were the nearest to them someone fired a gun and the ball passed so close to our faces that we imagined we could feel the air from it. Just then one of the men jumped to his feet and grabbed his comrade. We stopped and he said, 'Come here, quick!' When we came close we saw that the man had been shot and I hurried toward the train for help and met the trainmaster and told him. He rode back a short distance and soon had an ambulance and we

¹⁰¹ Those interested in pursuing further the mystery in "The Case of the Plagiarized Journal," *log. cit.*, will enjoy comparing the style of this letter with the style in Custer's *My Life on the Plains*.

put him in it. The man was William Gruber, our chief bugler, who appeared to me dead. He was shot in the head. We could see some boys on the right who were apparently shooting at prairie dogs.

"We came on to a camp that the 7th Cavalry had located for the wagon trains, near the North Fork of Red River. There was considerable excitement in camp over the accident for Gruber was generally a favorite with everybody. After we had our supper we went to see what the fuss was about for officers were hurrying in all directions and soon learned that the man who fired the fatal shot was Wm. J. Froman of Company L, and he was under arrest for the shooting. A Court of Inquiry was held and after witnesses were examined it was decided it was an accident from not being too careful about the direction he was shooting.

"Saturday, March 6, 1869

"Reveille at 4 o'clock and breakfast before daylight. Our chief bugler was buried, with honors of war, before the sun came up."