The Kiowa and Comanche Campaign of 1860 as Recorded in the Personal Diary of Lt. J. E. B. Stuart

Edited by W. STITT ROBINSON

I. INTRODUCTION

The duties of the United States army on the frontier were many and varied during the decade preceding the Civil War. There were both military and nonmilitary services to perform. The military involved primarily campaigns against hostile nomadic Indians, campaigns which were on the whole limited to minor skirmishes and which can hardly be classified as wars. Nonmilitary duties involved the army as policeman rather than soldier and as the builder of forts which ringed the frontier area. Both military and nonmilitary services were vital parts of the mission of the army on the eve of the Civil War.

Greatest attention in the writing of American military history has been devoted to the fighting role. Even with this emphasis, the story is not complete as evidenced by the lack of printed material concerning some of the campaigns on the frontier. The diary reproduced here has only recently come to light and supplies new and detailed information on the Kiowa and Comanche campaign of 1860. The record was kept by Lt. James Ewell Brown Stuart who is best known to history as “Jeb,” the dashing cavalry leader of the Southern Confederacy. The military units included Companies F, G, H, and K of the First regiment of cavalry with some attention to the two attached companies of the Second dragoons, Companies C and K. As an appropriate background to the diary of the 1860 campaign, a brief résumé will be given of Stuart’s early military career which involved mainly his service with the First cavalry.

Dr. W. STITT ROBINSON, a graduate of the University of Virginia at Charlottesville, is associate professor of history at the University of Kansas, Lawrence.

The author acknowledges the aid of a research grant from the General Research Fund of the University of Kansas for investigation at the National Archives, Washington, D. C., of materials relating to this publication.

1. Francis Paul Prucha’s Broadax and Bayonet: The Role of the United States Army in the Development of the Northwest, 1815-1860 (Madison, Wis., 1953) is a recent study that concentrates on the nonmilitary services of the army.

A Virginian by birth, Stuart received an appointment to the United States Military Academy at West Point and graduated in the class of 1854. His first assignment as an officer was with the regiment of mounted rifles under the command of Maj. J. S. Simon-son, who was then carrying out orders for both military and non-military services along the Texas frontier from Fort McIntosh near Laredo to Fort Davis and El Paso. Federal troops were responsible for protecting the area from Indian raids, securing the emigrant routes, fortifying the Mexican border, supporting the enforcement of revenue laws, and curbing the activity of bandits and murderers. Stuart’s service in Texas was cut short by his appointment to the First regiment of cavalry which along with the Second cavalry was organized in March, 1855, by act of congress to expand the number of mounted troops in the army. Command of the First cavalry was assigned to Col. Edwin V. Sumner and Lt. Col. Joseph E. Johnston. Stuart reported in June, 1855, to Colonel Sumner at Jefferson Barracks in Missouri where the regiment was being organized, and before the end of the month the unit moved on to Fort Leavenworth in Kansas. Colonel Sumner assumed command of the post and appointed Stuart to his staff as regimental quartermaster and as assistant commissary of subsistence of the post. While organization was still under way, orders were issued for the First cavalry to participate in the campaign against the Sioux Indians in August and September, 1855. The major skirmish of the expedition involved Bvt. Brig. Gen. William S. Harney and Lt. Col. Philip St. George Cooke of the Second dragoons in an attack on the Sioux on Blue Water creek near Ash Hollow along the North Platte river in Nebraska territory. But for the First cavalry, the venture was little more than an exercise in organization and an orientation to the Plains, for on the march to Fort Kearny and beyond toward Fort Laramie, no Sioux were encountered.

Upon return from the Sioux campaign, Lieutenant Stuart completed plans for his marriage to Flora Cooke, daughter of Lt. Col. P. S. G. Cooke of Virginia, plans which had been tentatively made

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7. “Regimental Returns,” First cavalry, September and October, 1855, National Archives.
after a whirlwind courtship following their first meeting at Fort Leavenworth. The event was solemnized on November 14 at Fort Riley where Lieutenant Colonel Cooke was stationed with the Second dragoons.8

The increased tensions of the Kansas struggle in late 1855 and 1856 resulted in the call for military personnel for a wide variety of assignments, more as policemen than as soldiers. Commanders of federal troops were ordered by the Secretary of War to assist the territorial governor in enforcing the law and maintaining the peace. While many of the assignments were common for normal frontier conditions, the number increased for such missions as the following: preventing bloodshed between Proslavery and Free-State factions; guarding the polls and land sale offices; stopping the raids of freebooters and bandits; providing military escorts for the mail, for Indian agents delivering annuities to the tribes, and for visiting or local officials; and prohibiting white encroachment upon the land reserves of friendly semisedentary Indians. Calls were made upon the First cavalry for all these tasks.9

Preoccupied during 1856 with these problems, the First cavalry was not able until 1857 to undertake a campaign against the Cheyenne Indians. Although signers of the treaty at Fort Laramie in 1851,10 the Cheyenne had been guilty of raiding Western trails and murdering whites. The purpose of the campaign, therefore, was to punish the tribe for depredations and at the same time to overawe them by a show of force that peace would be maintained. Two moving columns led by Col. E. V. Sumner and Maj. John Sedgwick were employed from May until August, the major encounter with the Cheyenne occurring on July 29 on Solomon’s fork of the Smoky Hill river.11 Lieutenant Stuart began the expedition as regimental quartermaster officer, but was relieved during the campaign by Colonel Sumner because of a difference of opinion over the question of signatures for responsibility of government property.12 Continuing as a company officer, Stuart was in the thick of the fight with the Cheyenne on July 29; and while attempt-

9. Examples of these assignments are given in my essay on “The Role of the Military in Territorial Kansas,” Territorial Kansas: Studies Commemorating the Centennial (University of Kansas Social Science Studies, Lawrence, 1954), pp. 84-98.
11. “Governor Walker’s Administration,” Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, v. 5, pp. 299-301.
ing to save a fellow officer, he was wounded in the chest by a pistol shot of an attacking Indian.\textsuperscript{13}

Further expeditions against the Cheyenne were prevented by the order for federal troops to join the forces being organized in 1857 for the Utah campaign. The Mormons were reported to be in rebellion against the United States; and only two U. S. officials, both being Indian agents, remained in Utah. Alfred Cumming was appointed as new governor of Utah territory, and orders were issued to organize some 2,500 troops at Fort Leavenworth to accompany the governor and other new officials to the Mormon country.\textsuperscript{14} Companies of the First cavalry were assigned to various columns that were to march at designated intervals. Stuart was a member of the column under Major Sedgwick and served as quartermaster officer of the expedition. However, agreements worked out by negotiators in the Mormon country ended the campaign without fighting; and Stuart’s column, not leaving Fort Riley until May 29, 1858, went beyond Fort Laramie only as far as the Valley of the Sweetwater in present Wyoming before returning to Fort Riley on August 29.\textsuperscript{15}

Following a winter in quarters at Fort Riley, the First cavalry received assignments for field duty for the summer of 1859 to protect the emigrant route along the Arkansas river. Stuart obtained a six months’ leave and returned to Virginia. While on leave he completed his invention for a sabre attachment devised in Kansas. By means of “a stout brass hook” Stuart made it possible for the mounted soldier to leave his sabre on the pommel of the saddle when dismounting to fight; when remounting, he could easily return the sabre to his belt. Stuart patented the invention (patent number 25684 dated October 4, 1859)\textsuperscript{16} and he was successful in selling to the United States government the right to use the improvement for mounted troops.\textsuperscript{17}

While in Washington on October 17 waiting outside the office of the Secretary of War for a conference about his invention, Stuart

\textsuperscript{13} II. B. McClellan, \textit{The Life and Campaigns of Major-General J. E. B. Stuart} (Boston and New York, 1883), pp. 20-22.

\textsuperscript{14} LeRoy R. Hafen and Francis Marion Young, \textit{Fort Laramie and the Pageant of the West, 1834-1890} (Glendale, 1938), pp. 284-299.

\textsuperscript{15} Summary of the marches of the regiment, “Regimental Returns,” First cavalry, 1858, National Archives; “Muster Rolls,” Company G, First cavalry, June-August, 1858, National Archives.

\textsuperscript{16} The patent may be found in “Records of the War Department,” Office of the Chief of Ordnance, Ordnance Special File, Inventions Section, National Archives.

\textsuperscript{17} Receipt for the sale is in special files of the Ordnance Department, Record Group 150, Box 46, National Archives.
was asked to deliver a message to Lt. Col. Robert E. Lee across
the Potomac at his Arlington home. Learning that the mission
involved quelling the uprising at Harpers Ferry, Stuart volunteered
his services and accompanied Lee as his aide to the scene where
John Brown was captured on October 18. Writing to his mother
on January 31, 1860, after returning to Fort Riley, Stuart stated
that one of his greatest services was the recognition from his expe-
rience in Kansas, that the insurgent leader Smith was actually “Old
Brown.”

Back in Fort Riley, Stuart rejoined the regiment and assumed
command of Company C on December 15, 1859, until Capt. Will-
liam S. Walker returned from leave. Orders from army head-
quarters were received in March to begin preparations for a
campaign against the Kiowa and Comanche Indians. These two
tribes along with the Apaches had signed the treaty in 1853 at
Fort Atkinson on the Arkansas river (near present Dodge City).
The agreement was made to maintain “Peace, friendship, and amity”
with the United States and to preserve peace among the signatory
Indian tribes. The right was provided for the United States to
build roads or highways and military or other posts in territories
occupied by the Indians. The three tribes also promised “to make
restitution or satisfaction for any injuries done by any band or any
individuals of their respective tribes to the people of the United
States” legally residing in or traveling through their territories, and
not to molest them in any way but rather to aid them if possible.
In return the United States was to pay $18,000 annually in annuities
for ten years and to protect the tribes from depredations by people
of the United States. Violation of the treaty, it was agreed, could
result in the withholding of annuities; and if at a later date it
seemed desirable to establish farms among the Indians, the United
States could use the annuities for that purpose.

By 1857 the Kiowas and Comanches were reported in large
numbers for extended periods of time on the Arkansas river, and
by 1859 were residing permanently in the area between the Cana-
dian and Arkansas rivers. Indian Agent Robert Miller (or Millar)
met the Comanches, Kiowas, and other tribes on July 19, 1858, at

18. The original of this letter is owned by Stuart B. Campbell of Wytheville, Va. Most
of it has been reproduced in substance in McClellan, op. cit., pp. 29, 30.
Archives.
Pawnee Fork and found the Comanches unwilling to treat with the United States, threatening to annul the treaty of 1853. The Kiowas were more amenable, but parties from both tribes had been guilty of attacking and robbing two Mexican trains in sight of the agent's camp. Miller found both Kiowas and Comanches arrogant and confident of their superiority over U. S. forces, an opinion held by them, he thought, because of their lack of knowledge of the size and resources of the United States. In his report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, he concluded that "Nothing short of a thorough chastisement, which they so richly deserve, will bring these people to their proper senses." 22

A few weeks later Colonel Sumner en route from Fort Kearny to the Arkansas river met a band of Kiowas under Little Mountain, one of the leaders with whom Miller had conferred. Sumner found the leaders of the Kiowas desirous of peace, although they indicated great "difficulty in restraining their turbulent young men." Pledges were made to Sumner to exert every effort to keep the young braves off the warpath. 23

The Kiowas and Comanches were "encountered" the following year on September 16, 1859, at the mouth of Walnut creek by Agent W. W. Bent, who reported their number as 2,500 warriors. As to conduct, they appeared peaceable in the presence of federal troops; but when troops returned to Fort Riley, Agent Bent stated that they "assumed a threatening attitude, which resembles the prelude of predatory attacks upon the unprotected whites" along the Santa Fe road. Bent was convinced that a "smothered passion for revenge agitates these Indians"; and he recommended the establishment of two additional military forts along the Arkansas river to provide the "perpetual presence of a controlling military force." Because of the pressure of white settlement, he foresaw a war of extinction unless the federal government provided for the reduction of the nomadic tribes to an agricultural and pastoral way of life. 24

Orders from army headquarters of March 10, 1860, ordered "active operations" against the hostile Comanches and Kiowas with instructions to hold no intercourse with them until punishment had been inflicted by military attack. Columns of troops, operating independently, were organized to begin the march in May. Six com-

panies of the First cavalry (A, B, C, D, E, and I) were dispatched under Capt. S. D. Sturgis. The other four companies of the regiment (F, G, H, and K) along with Companies C and K of the Second dragoons were assigned to the column commanded by Maj. John Sedgwick.  

Writing to his sister in April about the command appointment, Sedgwick stated that “I have no desire for it, but if I have it I shall do my best to bring it to a successful issue.”

Special instructions of May 9 were forwarded to Major Sedgwick from Colonel Sumner at headquarters of the Department of the West in St. Louis. Drawing upon his varied experience as an Indian fighter, Sumner advised that in order to be able to pursue, overtake, and attack the enemy, it was necessary to leave the wagon train at Pawnee Fork and to make the expedition from there with supplies conveyed by pack mules and beef cattle on foot. In pursuing Indians traveling with their families, a “steady determined march” would overtake them and when closely pressed, the warriors would separate themselves to protect the families. This, according to Sumner, was an excellent time to strike them; and in case the Comanches and Kiowas should unite to pose a strong threat, efforts should be made to turn their flanks for “Indians can never stand that.” One further suggestion from Sumner reflected the problem of the military in distinguishing friendly from hostile Indians and the tendency of Federal troops to make little or no distinction within one tribe when punitive expeditions were under way. When “proffers of peace and disclaimers of all connection with the hostiles” approach you, stated Sumner, it is impossible to make distinctions; therefore, “whenever Comanches or Kiowas are found they must give the character to the whole party.”

Lieutenant Stuart accompanied Major Sedgwick’s column as a company officer in Company G, and he was appointed journalist of the expedition. In addition to keeping an official record of events, he recorded a more informal and personal impression of the expedition in a “Daily Miniature Diary for 1860” which had been printed by the New York concern of Kiggins and Kellogg. There are gaps in the personal diary, mainly in July. But it is

26. John Sedgwick, Correspondence of John Sedgwick, Major-General (New York, 1903), v. 2, pp. 10, 11.
27. Sumner to Sedgwick, May 9, 1860, loc. cit.
28. A copy of the official journal kept by Lt. J. E. B. Stuart is in the Coe Collection, Yale University library; microfilm copies are in the libraries of the University of Kansas and the Kansas Historical Society.
valuable for giving new information of the 1860 expedition and the terrain over which it was made, as well as affording some insight to the personal reaction of Stuart and other military personnel to the events of the campaign.

The Stuart diary presented here is a literal transcription from photographic reproductions of the diary in the possession of the Alderman Library of the University of Virginia and is reproduced with the permission of that institution. Raised letters in the manuscript have been uniformly lowered and deletions by the diarist have been omitted. All other changes have been indicated by the usual square brackets.

Stuart's references to the streams of western Kansas are of considerable interest since history has recorded 1860 as a year of Great Drought for Kansas and adjacent Plains area.

II. THE DIARY, MAY 15-AUGUST 15, 1860

MAY, Tuesday, 15, 1860. Left Fort Riley on Kiowa campaign, take route up Smoky Hill for Pawnee Fork of Arkansas. camped first night on chapman's creek. cmd. composed of cos F G H & K 1st. cav. under Maj Sedgwick.29 We expect a 5 mos arduous campaign principally with packmules having our grand depôt at Pawnee Fork. Walker & I mess together the 2d Lt absent I like co duty far better than staff. Detailed in camp to get wagons over chapman's creek. Hard work. Some ladies came to cr from Fort R[iley] but could nt cross

MAY, WEDNESDAY, 16, 1860. I am the Journalist of the Expedition, continue up Smoky Hill 16. miles camp just beyond Sand creek & spring, on bank of Smoky Hill. Water of this stream salt—banks boggby. passed settlements all the way—farm houses with wells and springs. Rock Sp and a cluster called 7 springs opposite Kansas Falls.31 Soil very rich in Smoky Hill bottom Miles 16

29. John Sedgwick, a graduate of the military academy at West Point in 1837, was assigned to the First cavalry as a major in March, 1855. During the Civil War he remained with the Union and attained the rank of major general before being killed on May 9, 1864, at the battle of Spotsylvania, Va.—George W. Cullum, Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U. S. Military Academy (New York, 1879), v. 1, pp. 533, 534; Francis B. Heitman, Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army (Washington, 1903), v. 1, p. 872.

30. William Stephen Walker served as a first lieutenant in the Mexican war and in March, 1855, was assigned as captain to the First cavalry in command of Company G. He resigned from the U. S. army in May, 1861, and served as brigadier general in the army of the Southern Confederacy.—Heitman, op. cit., v. 1, p. 907; Thomas H. S. Hamsley, Complete Army and Navy Register of the United States of America (New York, 1888), p. 857.

31. Kansas Falls was located on the Smoky Hill river six miles west of Junction City. It was organized in September, 1857, and incorporated by the territorial legislature in 1858. —George A. Root, "Ferries in Kansas," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, v. 4 (February, 1955), p. 17. Its location was marked on "New Map of Kansas and the Gold Mines" by O. B. Gunn (Wnyadotte, K. T., 1859), and "Map of Kansas and the Gold Mines" by O. B. Gunn and D. T. Mitchell (Lawrence, 1866).
MAY, THURSDAY, 17, 1860. Crossed Solomons Fork at Ferry—8 miles farther camped on Saline Fork days march. 13. miles—Smoky Hill Fork all day in sight to our left. Solomon's Fork has good water at Cloud on east bank thriving settlement caught a fine cat in Saline water of saline salt.

MAY, FRIDAY, 18, 1860. Passed up Saline to Ferry two miles above delaying half I caught another fine cat. Advanced 4 miles through town on Smoky Hill called Salina—thriving place. Houses weather boarded with clapboards belongs principally to one Phillips of Laurence [Lawrence] K. T. Much corn raised in vicinity. This is the last settlement. 2 miles crossed Dry cr. with water (?) in it. 1½ miles pond to right. 2½ miles to camp on Spring creek

MAY, SATURDAY, 19, 1860. Country from here west barren & unproductive. passed up Spring creek and its tributaries through country broken & hilly camp on clear creek—days march. miles—clear creek is tributary to Smoky Hill

MAY, SUNDAY, 20, 1860. Pass at 1½ miles from camp fine Spring in ravine to left of road peculiar formation supposed to be a buffalo lick. come in sight of Smoky Hill in front 5 miles from camp cross Smoky Hill at Bryans bridge of which only foundation is left at rocky bottom ford. camp on south bank Jo. Taylor's horse Roderick took French Leave of camp to day— not recovered.

MAY, MONDAY, 21, 1860. Passed several creeks where water was expected now all dry. passed in afternoon to our left immense lake thought at first to be the Arkansas— but found to be lake of good water— in centre of a very large basin of parched soil passed through myriads of buffalo lassoed a calf at head of column & put it in wagon. at 42 miles strike Walnut creek. having passed 3 tributaries of cow cr. all now dry.

MAY, TUESDAY, 22, 1860. spent to-day in camp resting after the

32. St. Cloud was a small settlement on the left bank of Solomon's fork. Its location was also marked on the two maps listed in Footnote 31.

33. William Addison Phillips, a native of Scotland, emigrated to the United States about 1838 and in 1853 came to Kansas as a correspondent of the New York Tribune. Active as an antislavery journalist and politician, he also, along with four associates, founded the town of Salina in 1858 and later served in the United States congress as a representative from Kansas.—Dictionary of American Biography, v. 14, pp. 548, 549.

34. Lt. Francis T. Bryan, Corps of Topographical Engineers, arranged in 1855 for the construction of bridges along the Santa Fe trail at crossings of Solomon's fork, the Saline, and Smoky Hill rivers. Contract for construction was awarded to J. O. Sawyer, and the bridges were accepted by Bryan for the United States government.—W. Turcotte Jackson, "The Kansas Historical Quarterly", v. 17 (February, 1899), pp. 40-44.

35. Joseph Hancock Taylor was a graduate of West Point in 1826 and was assigned to the First cavalry. He later reached the rank of colonel in the United States army.—Cullem, op. cit., v. 2, pp. 436, 437; Heitman, op. cit., p. 947.
long march yesterday caught a small cat. Thunder storm in after-
noon—very refreshing shower.

MAY, WEDNESDAY, 23, 1860. At 12 miles march to-day strike
Santa Fe route at Pawnee rock. Many wagons on route to Santa Fe
& Pike’s Peak—6 miles on Santa Fe road bring us to Ash creek—a
ranch—and here turning to right 7 miles farther reach Pawnee
Fork cross it at Bell’s bridge. Substantial structure built by Bell D.
& mail agent. Camp Alert on west bank and above. Called on
Maj Wessells.Lt W. F. Lee & lady treated me with
marked kindness also Maj W & wife. I gave the calf to Maj W’s
boys. Visited camp of 2d Drag. Squadron under Capt Steele.
Cos C & K. Armstrong & Sol Williams with it. In afternoon
got odometer Lt Lee Mrs L & Mrs Wessells went down to camp
in Wing’s ambulance. The young officers rather on frolic. Arm-
strongs horse in leaping pole in Newby’s hands shied & knocked
N. senseless. 1 serenaded ladies at night.

MAY, FRIDAY, 25, 1860. Pack mules & saddles distributed this
morning generally gentle—the day was consumed in adjusting
saddles & packing experimentally. Walker went to Camp Alert
to-day—six miles off.

MAY, SATURDAY, 26, 1860. To-day Maj Sedgwick determined to
sent a party of 80 men, south of Arkansas to reconnoitre & if
expedient attack the enemy if there. A smoke having been seen

36. Camp Alert was established on the Santa Fe trail about six miles west of present
Larned. The camp was renamed Fort Larned in honor of Col. B. F. Larned.

37. Henry Walton Wessells was a graduate of the military academy at West Point in
1859 and was assigned to the Second Infantry. He served in the Mexican war and in 1860
was still a member of the Second infantry with the rank of brevet major. He remained
with the Union and later attained the rank of brigadier general.—Cullum, op. cit., v. 1,
p. 457; Heitman, op. cit., p. 1019.

38. William Fitzhugh Lee, of Virginia, was a lieutenant in the Second Infantry. He
resigned from the U. S. army in April, 1861, and served as a captain in the Confederate
army before being fatally wounded at the first battle of Bull Run in July, 1861.—Heitman,
op. cit., p. 626.

39. William Steele was a graduate of the U. S. Military Academy in 1840 and was
assigned to the Second dragoons in which he was serving as captain in 1860. He resigned
his commission in May, 1861, and served as brigadier general in the Confederate army.—
Cullum, op. cit., v. 1, p. 619; Heitman, op. cit., p. 919.

40. Francis C. Armstrong was a first lieutenant of the Second dragoons in 1860. He
resigned from the Union army in August, 1861, and served as brigadier general in the
Confederacy.—Heitman, op. cit., p. 169; Hamersly, op. cit., p. 265.

41. Solomon Williams was a graduate of West Point in 1835 and was assigned to the
Second dragoons. Having resigned his commission in May, 1861, he served as colonel in
the Confederate army before being killed in action at Beverly Ford, Va., in June, 1863.—

42. Edward W. B. Newby served in the Mexican war and in March, 1855, was
assigned to the First cavalry as captain. He retired from the U. S. army in September,
1893, with the rank of major.—Heitman, op. cit., p. 744; Hamersly, op. cit., p. 661.
the night previous I go in command also Jo Taylor & Sol Williams. go S. E. 25 miles & arrive at Otter cr. at 9 P.M. no Indians, camp without cooking. having 2 days rations on our horses— suffered some from cold.

**May, Sunday, 27, 1860.** Continued at 4.30 AM up creek N. E. for 32 miles halting 2 hours at noon to graze & rest— then left creek & went nearly due north reach 20 miles to the Arkansas just before sun down. & camped. Having a fine roast of buffalo on sticks Saw no trace to day of Indians. Otter creek has no timber, good grass, thousands of buffalo Saw also antelope, duck, curlew, plover, snipe, sand hill cranes otter & muskrat to say nothing of prairie dogs. & such ilk.

**May, Monday, 28, 1860.** Proceeded at 4.30 AM up Arkansas— south bank over waste of barren sand hills full of gofer holes & recrossed river opposite camp— days march 25. Whole march 102 miles in 48 hours. Men & horses in fine condition. Find letters & package from wife. Bless her heart. Who with my experience could live without a wife. heighthening every joy, lightening every sorrow. Mrs. Ruff in camp near here visit her. She is en route to M.

**May, Tuesday, 29, 1860.** Camp at Pawnee Fork. Saw D W Scott. Sent letter to wife by Mrs. Ruff & list of Distances.

**May, Wednesday, 30, 1860.** In camp reading “what will he do with it” Office of the Day. Dine with Lee at Fort. 

“[“]Be joyous at forebodings of evil but tremble at day-dream of happiness.”

**May, Thursday, 31, 1860.** In camp preparing for departure tomorrow on pack mules. Bayard & Merrill arrived about 11 at night in the outward bound mail.

**June, Friday, 1, 1860.** Marched about 8 o’clock up Arkansas. Recd. letters of mail, 1 from wife— no news Camp on Arkansas.

43. Present Battlesnake creek in Stafford county.

44. Probably the wife of Charles F. Ruff, graduate of the U. S. Military Academy in 1838. Ruff was stationed in New Mexico in 1860 and participated in the Comanche expedition as a major in the Mounted Rifles.—Cullum, op. cit., v. 1, pp. 570, 571.

45. A novel by the English writer Edward George Earle Lytton, Bulwer-Lytton, 1st Baron Lytton (1803-1873). The work was originally published in *Blackwood’s Edinburgh (Scott.) Magazine* in 1857 and 1858.

46. George Dashiel Bayard was a graduate of West Point in 1856 and was assigned to the First cavalry. On the 1860 expedition against the Kiowas and Comanches, he received a severe arrow wound in the face on July 11. During the Civil War he served as brigadier general in the Union army before being fatally wounded at the battle of Fredericksburg, Va., in December, 1862.—Cullum, op. cit., v. 2, pp. 425, Heitman, op. cit., p. 209.

47. Lewis Merrill was a graduate of the U. S. Military Academy in 1855 and was assigned to the Second dragoons. He served in the Kiowas and Comanche campaign in 1860 as a second lieutenant and later attained the rank of brevet brigadier general in the United States army.—Cullum, op. cit., v. 2, pp. 406, 407; Heitman, op. cit., p. 705.
Kiowa and Comanche Campaign

[blank] miles beyond crossing of coon cr. several of the ladies go out as far as coon creek in Capt Hayden's ambulance. I never commenced a march with more buoyant feelings. Everything smiles auspiciously notwithstanding Friday Scott came this far with us & took back our last dispatches for home. I gave Gaffner a strong recommendation for wagon mr at Pawnee. days march 15.33/100 miles

June, Saturday, 2, 1860. Marched up Arkansas & camped on its bank. Bayard has dubbed Merrill "Gig Lamps," a very appropriate soubriquet, taken from Verdant green. Merrill is mounted on a mule wears spectacles & a citizen's dress! 20. 20/100 miles

June, Sunday, 3, 1860. March up River along Santa Fe road. Coon creek is very little to our north. Camp about 18 miles farther 5 [?] miles above Jackson's Island. Bright Sabbath day. A few Arrappahoe lodges on river in sight. In afternoon their chief came in bearing aloft on a pole the stars and stripes which he rightly conjectured was the surest passport through our lines. He was dressed in a dressing gown and wore a[n] Infantry Cap 18 43/100 miles

June, Monday, 4, 1860. Forded the Arkansas & without difficulty sending back all the wagons but a Light ammunition wagon & sick ambulance 49 at 3½ miles reach Mulberry cr. which empties into Arkansas a few miles below our camp. ½ mile above cross its dry bed. Cross near waters of Nuscantunga R 50 & camp. plenty of timber & water grass in timber. S. 17 45/100 miles

June, Tuesday, 5, 1860. Travelled down the dry bed of stream, 15 miles & camped in wide valley groves of cottonwood. Last year this valley must have been thronged with Indians. Camped at holes of water. grass tolerable, water unpleasant & boggy to the taste. Citric acid corrects it sufficiently. Bayard caught some fine perch here. S. E. 15 miles

June, Wednesday, 6, 1860. March East 3 miles then S. E. at

48. The reference is to the writing of Cuthbert Bede, pseudonym for Edward Bradley (1827-1889): The Adventures of Mr. Verdant Green, an Oxford Freshman (1835); The Further Adventures of Mr. Verdant Green, an Oxford Under-Graduate . . . (1854); and Mr. Verdant Green Married and Done for . . . (1857).

49. The ambulance as used by the army at this time was a four-wheeled vehicle similar to a wagon. In the 1857 Cheyenne expedition after part of the ambulance had broken down J. E. B. Stuart was transported on the "sick wagon" which he described as "the two hind wheels of the ambulance, with a tongue attached, the cushions being fastened on the spring."—McClellan, op. cit., pp. 21, 22.

50. It is obvious that there was a lack of exact knowledge of streams on maps being used by the military at this time. On the map of "Kansas, Texas, and Indian Territory, With Parts of Colorado and New Mexico" issued by the Engineer Office of the U. S. army, division of the Missouri, 1868, Crooked creek flows into the Nuscantunga river which then becomes the Little Arkansas river (present Salt fork of the Arkansas). Crooked creek, as is now known, flows into the Comanche river. A map containing the errors of the 1868 sketch was probably being used by the expedition of 1860.
5 miles from last camp a tributary running S W joins the one we follow, & after junction their course is nearly South.\textsuperscript{51} Camp on it. water scarce wood plenty, grass sufficient for a squadron only. E & S. E. 14 68/100

\textbf{JUNE, THURSDAY, 7, 1860.} Leaving valley of streams Cross S W 8 miles to another which must be the main Nuscatonga now dry— pools deep & clear of fresh water full of fish in a beautiful grove of timber. Quail & deer abound here. birds singing at the greatest rate. Some horse shoes gems of Civilization found here. fine grass. Then S for 12 miles then S. E to camp on small tributary of Cimaron Cimarone is here dry— water in tributary stagnant grass very bad water & soil worse S W & S. S. E. 25. 42/100

\textbf{JUNE, FRIDAY, 8, 1860.} Crossed dry bed of Cimaron & going south 1½ miles crossed distinct wagon trail. probably Col Johnston\textsuperscript{52} 1857 outward route\textsuperscript{52} days march over very rough & broken country. find dry bed of stream with holes of water impregnated with salts, incrustations on ground of Gypsum. Scarcely any grass. Soil red & barren. this is probably the Red Fork of Cimaron.\textsuperscript{53} S 10. 17/100 miles

\textbf{JUNE, SATURDAY, 9, 1860.} Cross directly South for 7 miles. country intersected by deep & rugged ravines with a few clumps of cedar & cottonwood. Two streams in full view. cross the first above their junction. It is the north Fork of Canadian the other Middle R. Both well-timbered. 4 bear & several deer & buffalo killed. water slightly salt but clear Grass better than since left Arkansas. Col J's return trail found near camp. S & S. E. 9. 91/100

\textbf{JUNE, SUNDAY, 10, 1860.} Ly by in camp on north Fork of Canadian.\textsuperscript{54} just above junction with it. majority of officers are inclined to make scout towards Antelopes Hills on Main Canadian. But Maj S. is going up the north Fork of Canadian but will take Middle River as we afterwards ascertain

\textsuperscript{51} Probably Bluff (or Buff) creek and its tributaries in present Clark and Comanche counties.

\textsuperscript{52} The reference is to the 1857 route of Lt. Col. Joseph E. Johnston in command of the surveying party for marking the southern boundary of Kansas from May through October. Johnston's private journal is in Nyle H. Miller, ed., "Surveying the Southern Boundary Line of Kansas," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, v. 1 (February, 1932), pp. 104-139. Other journals on the expedition may be found in ibid., v. 8 (November, 1937), pp. 339-377, and in Ralph P. Bieber, ed., Frontier Life in the Army, 1854-1861, by Eugene Bandel (Glendale, 1932), pp. 121-211.

\textsuperscript{53} Probably Buffalo creek and its tributaries in present Harper county, Oklahoma.

\textsuperscript{54} The camp was on Middle river rather than the North fork of the Canadian. See diary entry for June 13, Middle river is now identified as Wolf creek which flows from Texas into Oklahoma and empties into the North Canadian river in Woodward county, Oklahoma.
JUNE, MONDAY, 11, 1860. Marched up what we believed to be north Fork of Canadian (Middle River) at 10 miles enter a very extensive bottom of fine grass. Remains of Indian camps passed. Timber & grass fine. water good. Camp on south bank S. S. W. 26. 81/100

JUNE, TUESDAY, 12, 1860. Continued the march. This stream abounds in bear deer & turkey. Cross & recross several times finally camp on north bank. after reaching camp we were so fortunate & [as] to find a surveying party Boundary commission, one of whom Mr Weyss 55 was with Col Johnston in 57. We get a copy of Col J's map find that we are in Middle fork or River. main canadian dry. No Indians. our Long is 100°. Lat 36°. 16' W S W 17. miles

JUNE, WEDNESDAY, 13, 1860. To-day we left the Boundary party who follow up 100° degree of Longitude. we continue up Middle R. our camp on 10th. was on north Fork now about 30 miles north of us. This stream gives indications of continuing very little farther up. West 21. 70/100

JUNE, THURSDAY, 14, 1860. up Middle River. Timber scarcer. Bluffs bolder & valley narrows. Passed remains of Indian camp 2 months old. abrupt cedar bluffs. water now in detached holes banks very steep & high. Evidence of great freshet on the banks early in spring. Camp the last time on Middle R. a very romantic & picturesque camp. bird serenade at night also thunderstorm—West 13. 50/100

JUNE, FRIDAY, 15, 1860. Struck across from Middle River 5° [15°?] west of north to north Fork of Canadian. 34 miles about 10 AM a large herd of mustangs to the N. W. are pronounced by the Delawares 56 Kiowas. We make preparations for battle—march by squadrons in two columns All are eager for the fray Dragoons too far behind to join us. But Armstrong co trotted up. Steele was ordered to remain behind with the pack mules. we were sadly fooled. This ended mustang battle. north 24 75/100

55. John E. Weyss was surveyor with the party for the southern boundary line of Kansas in 1857 and was a member of the Texas and United States Boundary Commission in 1860. For a map of the survey and a discussion of the Texas boundary, see Marcus Baker. The Northwest Boundary of Texas (Bulletin of the United States Geological Survey, No. 194, Washington, 1902).

56. Colonel Sumner requested permission for use of 12 Delaware Indians as guides for Major Sedgwick's command, but Secretary of War J. B. Floyd approved the request only for six—Sumner to Headquarters of the Army, April 16, 1860, "Letters Received," A. G. O., National Archives. Stuart's personal diary lists six Delawares by the following names: Fall Leaf, Sarcois, John Williams, Bacoom, Wilson, and Bollit.
JUNE, SATURDAY, 16, 1860. Went up north bank of stream Camp on N. Fork Canadian 57 march 19. Finished the Disowned 58
JUNE, MONDAY, 18, 1860. Marched up N. F. Canadian 19. miles & camped on good grass no fuel.
JUNE, TUESDAY, 19, 1860. Lay by to-day. took bath ponds full of cat & sunfish. fish for every meal. Dr. Madison's mustang potatoes [?]
JUNE, WEDNESDAY, 20, 1860. Lie [?] by to reconnoitre for water volunteered to go on march with 2 men to see if water is 40 miles ahead. start at 5 am. find water at 40 miles at 2/ P. M. rest 1½ hours & starting back reached camp at 1½ at night. slept 1½ hours and marched at 5 am back with command over the 40 miles. Walker characterizes my reconnaissace as very successful & creditable service.
JUNE, THURSDAY, 21, 1860. Arrived at camp 4.10 P M. I have marched 120 miles in 35 hours during all which time I have slept but 1½ hours.
JUNE, SATURDAY, 23, 1860. Went up stream 4 miles & camped on better grass. Lay by remainder of day.

57. The march of Major Sedgwick's column from Middle river to the North fork of the Canadian is shown on the map of the Texas boundary in Baker, op. cit. facing p. 11, and also on the map of "Kansas, Texas, and Indian Territory, With Parts of Colorado and New Mexico" issued by the Engineer Office of the U. S. army, Military Division of the Missouri, 1868.

58. Another novel by Edward Bulwer-Lytton published in 1828-1829. As an explanation of the Disowned, Bulwer-Lytton stated in 1832 that out of his study of metaphysics and ethics "grew the character of Algernon Mordaunt, . . . as a type of the Heroism of Christian Philosophy—an union of love and knowledge placed in the midst of sorrow, and laboring on through the pilgrimage of life, strong in the fortitude that comes from belief in heaven."—The Complete Works of Edward Bulwer-Lytton (New York, n. d.), v. 2.

59. Aubrey's crossing of the Cimaron river was in present Cimarron county, Oklahoma. Aubrey's crossing and Aubrey's trail were named for Francis X. Aubrey (also spelled Aubry), a Santa Fe trader. In an effort to shorten the Santa Fe trail, he selected a route that left the trail near Cold Springs in Cimarron county, Oklahoma, and ran northeast across the Cimaron river, along Bear creek, and then to the Arkansas river at Fort Aubrey near the boundary line of present Hamilton and Kearny counties, Kansas.
JUNE, MONDAY, 25, 1860. See preceding page. Found Otis here, who had been sent forward to reconnoitre for water.

JUNE, TUESDAY, 26, 1860. Fine antelope killed by Johnny Williams (Delaware). I got the antlers—a superb pair—to present to P W H of N C. Lay by till about 4 P. M. when saddling up we go down Bear river about 18 miles & find water & large cottonwoods. about 10 P. M. camp by moonlight. take cold lunch & to-bed.

JUNE, WEDNESDAY, 27, 1860. Lay by till P. M. Loll in the shade of the gigantic cottonwoods. all day. At 4 P. M. saddle up & march on aubrey's trail 21 miles, picket out about 10 P M on roadside, & with cold lunch to-bed. N E 21 miles

JUNE, THURSDAY, 28, 1860. At first dawn saddle up & continue march warming some cold coffee we brought in a canteen, & after 15 miles march N. E. reach the long wished for arkansas. How comparative all our joys are. That stream upon which I have heaped so much abuse, appears now—lovely & most welcome to view. Fall Leaf's rifle burst today mangling his face a good deal. I crossed with Mcf.*1 & Lom*2 to a train no news no nothing N E 15 miles

JUNE, FRIDAY, 29, 1860. Yesterday the same Arrapahoe visited us, now on his way to Bents Fort with one of Bents trains on the other side. Crossed to north bank of arkansas & camped. aubrey's crossing.*4 a very extensive bottom— many islands with brushwood in the river. And some large trees on an island above.

June, SATURDAY, 30, 1860. Muster at 8 A M— Horses & mules inspected. G has best horses but worst mules. Our ration expires to-day.

JULY, SUNDAY, 1, 1860. In camp. Col. St. Vrain*5 the old trader

60. Elmer Otis was a graduate of West Point in 1833 and was assigned to the First cavalry in March, 1835. He later attained the rank of colonel in the U. S. army.—Cullum, op. cit., v. 2, p. 358; Heitman, op. cit., p. 762.

61. Probably James B. McIntyre, West Point graduate of 1833. Assigned to the First cavalry in March, 1835, he was serving as regimental quartermaster officer in 1860 and later served as brevet lieutenant colonel before his death at Fort Larned in 1887.—Cullum, op. cit., v. 2, pp. 364, 565; Heitman, op. cit., p. 669.

62. Lansford Lindsay Lomax was a graduate of the U. S. Military Academy in 1856 and was assigned to the First cavalry. He resigned his commission in April, 1861, and served as a major general in the Confederate army.—Cullum, op. cit., v. 2, pp. 490, 491; Heitman, op. cit., p. 639.

63. The reference is to Bents' New Fort which was built on the north bank of the Arkansas river in the area of the Big Timbers near present Prowers, Colo., in 1833 by Col. William Bent. The New Fort was located about 38 miles downstream from Bents' Old Fort. William Bent leased the New Fort to the War Department in 1859 and in the following year additional fortifications were built and it was named Fort Wise (later Fort Lyon). In 1860 William Bent was still active in the Indian trade.—See George Bird Grinnell, "Bents' Old Fort and Its Builders," in Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, v. 15 (1919-1922), pp. 29-91.

64. Aubrey's crossing of the Arkansas river was at Fort Aubrey.—See Footnote 59.

65. The reference may be to Ceran St. Vrain who had been engaged in the Indian trade with the Bents and was still active in 1860.—Grinnell, loc. cit., pp. 81 and passim.
passed in ambulance P. M. Says our supply train left Pawnee Fork on 28th, & ought to be here tomorrow. Pegram 66 has passed en route to New Mexico. Kiowas reported to be on cow creek & south Platte Randall & Reuben kill six ducks.

JULY, MONDAY, 2, 1860. In camp
JULY, SATURDAY, 7, 1860. Marched up Arkansas & camped just below Big Timbers. 20. 00/100 miles
JULY, SUNDAY, 8, 1860. Contind march up River passing Boon of Mo & several other Pike’s Peak trains. Scattered trees continuation of Big Timbers, soil sandy & poor grass good in bottoms. 22. 40/100

AUGUST, WEDNESDAY, 1, 1860. Left at 6 A M on scout Merrill & 36 men Fall Leaf Wms. & Wilson— at 8½ AM reached trib[utary] to Smoky Hill. Signs— halt half hour— march at 9 AM 10° E of N, halt at dry bed half way to skin antelope—pack it and at 11.20 reach another creek same signs. go down it at 12.20
AUGUST, SUNDAY, 5, 1860. Crossed northward and taking ridge several miles from river marched generally East parallel to genl course of river. No grass buffalos have devoured all— timber at intervals water in bed in holes. Emigrant road coincides generally with our course— no grass arr. 2.20 P. M. feed on cottonwood 24½ miles [profile sketch included]
AUGUST, MONDAY, 6, 1860. Gen course East coinciding with Emigrant road. crossed many ravines springs of del. water oozing from banks & sinking immediately no grass. Camp on Smoky Hill march 20.95 miles I killed fine antelope buck, at spring named antelope spring. no grass fed horses on cottonwood & elm & grape vine. ar 12.20 [profile sketch included]
AUGUST, FRIDAY, 10, 1860. Travelled S. W. from Sarcozie spring & after 12 miles came to walnut cr. halted & grazed. then crossed S. W. the Santa Fe road and camped on arkansas. Here we met Sedgwick’s guides who informed us that Sedgwick had preceded us several days at Fort Larned and that the Expedtn. was broken up— 4 cos of cav ordered to Bent’s Fort to winter & build post. Startling news. 2 cos 2d Drags to take post at Fort Larned. Wins

66. John Pegram was a graduate of West Point in 1854 and was assigned to the First dragoons. In March, 1855, he became a member of the Second dragoons where he was serving as first lieutenant in 1860. He resigned his commission in May, 1861, and became a major general in the Confederate army. He was killed in February, 1865, at the battle of Hatcher’s Run, Va.—Gulian, op. cit., v. 3, p. 374; Heitman, op. cit., p. 780.
& I left camp about sundown & went up to Larned 18 miles that night. Lee told me I had a fine son. 67

August, Saturday, 11, 1860. Steele's command came in about 11 a.m. McIntyre is going in to Riley for co property. I apply for 7 days leave to go with him. granted. We are to leave tomorrow, with 6 wagons & 4 sergts. Every body is blue & disgusted.

August, Sunday, 12, 1860. Start for Fort Riley. Go by Larned—take in my two mules. They follow. I ride my roan Kiowa, leaving Beppo[?] with Lee at Larned. camp on Walnut creek.


August, Tuesday, 14, 1860. Marched beyond crossing of Saline. Left the train late in afternoon on our ponies to make Riley tomorrow. About dark reach Solomon's Fork where Col Crittenden 68 with an encampment of 20 or 30 families & 700[?] recruits horses &c. for New Mexico. Spent the night there. Saw Dr. Webster, Forney, McNally, Kelly, Moore [?], I. N. McRane [?], Wheeler of N. Y. [?], Gibbs, Lane, Whitall.

August, Wednesday, 15, 1860. Early this morning left Crit's camp & after 40 miles jog arrived with joyous tramp at our own doors at Fort Riley, taking our families completely by surprise. This page need not be filled out.

III. EPILOGUE

Stuart's personal diary falls silent during most of July except for the few entries printed here. During this time the command continued the march up the Arkansas river as indicated for July 8 and went a little beyond Bent's New Fort near present Prowers, Colo. The return march was then made along the Arkansas to the vicinity of present Garden City where a turn was made to the northeast with three companies proceeding along the Smoky Hill river, the other three along Walnut creek. Stuart marched with the Smoky Hill group which continued to present Ellsworth

67. James Ewell Brown Stuart, Jr. There is some evidence that the son was originally named for his grandfather, Col. Philip St. George Cooke, but the name was changed when the grandfather did not resign from the U. S. army to join the Confederacy.—John W. Thomason, Jr., Jeb Stuart (New York, 1941); see, also, Bingham Duncan, ed., Letters of General J. E. B. Stuart to His Wife, 1861 (Emory University Publications, Sources and Reprints, Ser. 1, Atlanta, 1941), pp. 21, 23, 26, 27.

68. George Bibb Crittenden, a West Point graduate of 1832, was serving as lieutenant colonel in the Mounted Rifles in 1860. He resigned from the U. S. army in June, 1861, and served as major general in the Confederacy.—Cullum, op. cit., v. 1, pp. 409, 410; Heitman, op. cit., p. 335.
county before turning back to the southwest to join the remainder of the command about 18 miles south of Fort Larned. From there Stuart returned to Fort Riley.

By August 11 when orders were received to break up the expedition, Sedgwick’s column had marched 1,404 miles. The only skirmish for the command involved Lieutenant Stuart and a detachment of 20 men who pursued a small body of Kiowas near Bent’s New Fort on July 11 and combined with forces under Capt. William Steele to kill two warriors and take prisoner 16 women and children.70

In the same campaign the column of six companies of the First cavalry under Capt. S. D. Sturgis encountered a large group of Kiowas and Comanches along the Republican fork on August 6. Reporting on all of the summer’s expedition, Sturgis claimed 29 of the enemy killed.71

These skirmishes of 1860 along with the appearance in force of U. S. troops on the Plains contributed to the restoration of peace with the Kiowas and Comanches and to the security of the emigrant route. Indian Commissioner William F. Dole reported in November, 1861, that recently the two tribes had “manifested a disposition” to resume friendly relations with the U. S. government and to be “restored to its confidence.”72

70. Ibid., pp. 15-17.
71. Ibid., pp. 19-22.