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KANSAS
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July 4—The 88th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, the day when every American heart should swell with pride and gratitude toward those noble men who gave their all to establish a free and independent government as an inheritance for future generations. Little did they think that there would be millions at this day trying to overthrow and destroy the fruits of that seven years of toil and blood; but so it is. May they not succeed, is our daily wish.

A salute of fifty guns was fired at noon; then we had a splendid dinner: roast beef, veal, mutton tongue, pies, cake, etc. Table neatly spread and decorated with wreaths and ornamental cake stands. The officers were invited to dinner with us, but having mess dinner of their own, none but the officer of the day, Lieut. Pettijohn, responded. Officers and ladies visited our quarters and praised our taste very highly. Quite nice, a spread eagle of cedar in each room and one at the top of the arbor.

Boys were very busy putting up seats and canvas for the performance tonight.¹⁷ Copied programmes. Great rush around the door. Seats crowded. Performance good, consisting of pantomime, burlesque, songs, etc. Salute of fifteen guns fired after eleven. Fine sight.

July 7—Acting secretary for the minstrels. Weather quite cool

17. These "Laramie Varieties" must have been colorful entertainments. There seems to have been a good military band at the fort, with several soloists. Also there was a melodeon. One wonders how it happened to be there, perhaps to please some army officer's wife. Among the soldiers were good singers, who no doubt sang some of the popular airs, such as "Lilly Dale," "Bonny Eloise," and "In the Hazel Dell," as well as patriotic songs, such as "A Shout for Our Banner." Several of the medleys then popular are still preserved in the Hull family. Then, too, there were numerous comic war songs, such as "Our Jamie Has Gone to Live in a Tent," as well as the more sentimental ones. Among the parodies on the latter type was one which probably originated at Fort Laramie. Eliza Sinclair (the "Lide" of the diary) was singing at home, in Ohio, the sentimental song:

"Dearest love, do you remember when we last did meet,
How you told me that you loved me, kneeling at my feet?
Oh, how proud you stood before me, in your suit of blue,
When you vowed to me and country ever to be true!
Weeping sad and lonely,
Hopes and fears how vain, yet praying
When this cruel War is over,
We shall meet again."

But after seven hundred miles of marching, L. B. Hull was singing the parody:

"Dearest love, do you remember when we marched away,
With our guns upon our shoulders, looking neat and gay?
Now the shining regimentals all in rags appear,
Rags and tatters all about us: awful times out here!
Weeping sad and lonely:
I'm homesick now, I fear.
I'd give my bounty for a substitute
To take my place out here!"

The singing of parodies was not confined to the "Varieties." Upon one occasion, after the commissary had received a consignment of particularly tough beef, the boys spirited it away, and out on the plains they buried it with much pomp, singing the hymn:

"Ye living bulls (souls), come view the ground,
Where ye must shortly lie!"

(N. B. The information in this note and in several others is supplied from recollections of the diarist's children as we gathered about the fireside in the long winter evenings of pioneer days to listen to the stories of L. B. Hull and his brother-in-law, Tom Sinclair, of the years on the plains, while Mrs. L. B. Hull supplemented the accounts with what went on at home in Ohio during the dark days of the sixties.—M. E. H.)



for July. Boys getting ready for another performance tonight. Better fixed than before; seats raised. Admittance, front seats, 50 cents, back 25 and 15. Sold tickets. Show good. Took in \$107.

July 9—Colonel pleased with results; says there must be another show tomorrow night. Paymaster here. Finishing payrolls; none to be mustered as veterans.

July 10—Mail in. Letter from Mae [Marian Kelley]. Paid off in evening. Six of us received the veterans' bounty, an order having been received from the adjutant general. Paid from date of enlistment up to the present time after deducting advance pay. Received \$100, \$50 bounty, and \$13 a month regular pay, the paymaster not having received an order to pay me \$16 a month.

Another entertainment last night. Some disorder caused by there being too much whiskey on hand; some of the performers the worse for it.

July 13—Dispatches received from up the road that the Indians are killing the emigrants at different places. Company E and some men from Company I, and twelve men from Company K and two pieces of artillery sent up. General Mitchell is expected in a few days. An escort going to meet him tomorrow. News from down the road that there is trouble with the Indians. Mr. Lorey writes from the agency that the place will probably be attacked tonight by a large body of Missouri Sioux, each with a hundred warriors. Considerable excitement. Sitting up late writing and waiting for news.

July 14—Still excitement. Gen. Mitchell telegraphs to send no escort. Herds to be brought in at night and strongly guarded. Two of Co. A sent with a dispatch.

July 15—No Indians around here yet. A dispatch from Fickland¹⁸ that Indians attacked that place and that there are 60 or 70 emigrants corralled there. Think they can hold out until reinforcements arrive from here. Co. B gone down to help them through. Co. A men report a large body of hostile Indians advancing in this direction.

July 16—No news; apprehensions beginning to abate.

July 19—Croughan and Woods went out with the mail as far as Mud Springs. Going to stay there awhile.

July 20—Heavy rain.

July 21—Detailed for guard. Row at taps; took one man to the guard house.

July 22—Remainder of government train came in from below.

¹⁸. Fickland is also spelled Ficklin in the diary.

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Two deserters from Co. I last night, Carter and Baker. Took Grace, Co. I, to the guard house for making a disturbance.

July 23—Dispatch received that Lieut. Brown, Co. E, was killed in a charge on the Indians over near Powder river; his body shot full of arrows and scalped.

July 24—Co. B going over on the Rawhide after a party of Indians.

July 25—Co. B came back, having taken one scalp.

A detail of 15 men of Co. K to go over on Rawhide to bring in what plunder was left at the Indian camp. I thought I would go along. Sergeant Channel, Co. B, took charge. Two other Co. B boys with us; all on ponies. Started at three o'clock. Two ponies gave out at Beauvais, leaving our party at sixteen. At Bordeaux we were joined by two Indians. Crossed the Platte without accident a mile below the ranche. Struck a northeast direction and in about seven miles came to where the dead Indian was. Found several old saddles, lariat ropes, robes, paint, and other Indian paraphernalia. A dead one lay in the sun scalped. Our Indians took what they wanted and we fired what remained, then struck for the river. Reached it at sunset, crossing where it was deep and swift. Two B boys got set off; got a complete ducking. Had some milk and biscuits at the ranche and came on up to the fort, arriving after 11 o'clock. Several ponies tired out. Mine fell with me; no damage done though.

July 26—Reported fight on Upper Platte bridge. Several Indians killed. Detailed for guard, but as I was tired, Corporal Martin took my place.

July 27—Gen. Mitchell came in from Kearney with an escort of 7th Iowa. Salute of seven guns fired in honor of his arrival. Agent in. Says it was a friendly Sioux that Co. B killed. Indians talking of revenge. Mail in; received six letters and two papers.

July 29—Boys came in from scouting. Reeshaw says the fighting is a humbug. Change reported in this department; Maj. Wood to command the post. Lieut. Reeves to be inspector general in the department. Salute of 13 guns fired before tattoo. Was ordered to help. Don't know what it was for.

July 30—Went out riding ten miles up the river. Stopped at a train. Had dinner of peaches, sardines, crackers, and pickles. Went across to the Laramie, where Co. B had camped for the night. Boys came in from the scout. Lieut. Brown dead; shot with two arrows, one in the back and one in the neck. Lived till morning.

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July 31—Heavy wind. Very dusty. Provosts brought in some prisoners; arrested one man for raising a row. Patton, Co. G, shot accidentally, thought to be mortally.

August 1—Busy all day making out monthly returns and clothing requisitions. Co. H gone down the road. Iowa boys moving into their quarters.

August 2—Ladies in camp.

August 3—Coe, Gibson, and myself got a pass and went up the river. Got all the currants we could eat. Came back and stopped at a train. Got a pressing invitation to take dinner with some ladies but declined. Made the acquaintance of some ladies from Missouri; had a pleasant talk and found them educated and refined. Sergt. Weaver bought a jug of molasses and sent it down in the hay wagon. Gibson left his pony for Settle. It broke loose; could not catch it. I came to camp and got a pass for Charlie and me till ten o'clock to bring in the pony. It was here before we started, but we went up to the train anyway, Scott with us, and got picked up by the patrol. We were reported to the Lieutenant, and Scott reduced to the ranks. We were ordered to quarters.

August 4—Gen. Mitchell and Dr. Hitz and Mrs. Collins started for the States. Mrs. Collins took Flora Schneider with her to give her an education; a prairie flower for sure.

August 5—Mail went out early. Indians stole part of the Quarter Master herd a mile above the fort. De Rush came in to give information. Iowa boys sent out immediately.

Attack on a train at Star ranch. One man seriously wounded. Five boys of Co. K detailed to go with the ambulance for the man.

August 6—Boys came in during the night with the wounded man. The Indians got off with the stock. They were close on to the Indians, but from some cause they did not overtake them. Stable call. Order for twelve men to be equipped for scouting, ready at any time. Grasshoppers by the myriad in the air, eating everything up—destroying the garden. Detail of eight men and Corp. Curtis for artillery drill.

August 8—Sunday. Inspection by Maj. Wood and Maj. Underhill. Co. K ahead in neatness. Corp. Martin and two privates sent down to the agency. 13 men transferred, 7 to Co. E and 6 to Co. H, leaving 71 yet in Co. K, with a fair prospect of being permanently organized. Col. Collins and escort started this evening for Cache la Poudre. Caldwell, Hutchinson, Keating, Burns, and Tubbs gone.

August 9—Mail came in last night after dark. Received six let-

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ters and two papers. An alarm of Indians crossing four miles above late last evening.

August 11—Go to sick call and get my regular ration of quinine. Alarm of Indians at the herd. Iowa boys went out. They proved to be a war party of 150 Utes after the Sioux but friendly to us. Sutler's train came up at last.

August 12—Hewett's camp destroyed and everything stolen by Indians.

August 13—Windy—dust and sand. Returned to duty this morning. Back still weak and feel out of order. Mail in; received six letters and two papers.

August 14—Inspection at 10 o'clock; dress parade at sunset. A multiplicity of orders read. Three prisoners escape from guard while bathing. Clifford of Co. B brought in in irons. Five men detailed to go up the river.

August 15—Alarm last night; pickets firing. All get up, but nothing to pay as the alarm was without cause. Departure of mail postponed. Church down from the sawmill. Prisoners brought in by Pierson, who caught them up near his herd.

August 16—Made up ordnance returns for the first quarter of 1864.¹⁹ Opened a considerable sutler's account, \$8 worth of paper and a pair of suspenders. Old Maj. Bridger is in Fort Mequire badly hurt by being thrown from a pony. Sent to the hospital. Nichols, Co. H, gone deranged.

August 17—Inspector Reeves back. Corp. Brown and Wheeler, Stephenson, and Gibson are gone to the sawmill.

August 18—Mail leaves this morning. Lieut. Humfreville goes with it, being ordered to Kearney, probably to bring up the balance of the recruits, leaving Sergt. Brown in charge of Co. K. Inspection is over, a regular bore. Had to lead the ponies out and stand in the rain for two hours. We were an interesting outfit and worth looking at, too. Report of hard fighting at Atlanta and Petersburg. Overland company drawing off the mail coaches. Poor prospect for mail. Don't know what we will do. Will be rather lonesome.

August 19, 1864—Capt. Koehne, Sergt. Patton, and one of the Co. A men came down yesterday. They report new silver and gold leads discovered near Deer creek and South Pass. Went with Lee to hunt horses. Struck directly back from the Platte for about seven miles, when we struck the trail and followed it three miles, lost it, and went over on Rawhide, 15 miles from the fort, then up the creek two or

19. Hull is evidently acting as quartermaster sergeant.



three miles, then home. The country is rough and broken with large sand hills. Along the creek is a little timber and plenty of berries. Drank water from a wolf hole. Got back just before retreat. Nothing to eat since breakfast.

August 20—Spent a part of the day in the reading room. A good letter from Mae, such as I like. Overland route closed until road is better protected.

August 21—Sunday. Inspection at nine. All go out on parade ground. Had to open our jackets and show shirts; a new inspection, but a good idea. Sutler's train starting east. O'Brien's company go along as escort. Indians getting troublesome.

August 22—Pickets fired during night; no cause for it. Lieut. Collins is here. Feast on raisins, nuts, lemonade. Four of the boys have gone down to the agency. Brown and the other boys back from the sawmill.

August 23—Early reveille. Odell gone to Sweetwater with a team. Camp full of Indians.

[Five pages of the diary missing.]

Sept. 5— . . . Nature seems holy. No outward noise but the distant howl of the wolf. Keeler up from Mud Springs. Too much drunkenness in the company tonight.

Sept. 6—Made another receipt roll.

Sept. 7—Charlie and I went fishing. Caught nothing, but killed a rattlesnake. Tore up the house and threw it out of the window. Glorious time killing bedbugs. Smoked the room full of brimstone. Charlie and I move in together. . . . The escaped prisoners brought in. They tell a hard tale of starving and eating grasshoppers.

Sept. 8—Nothing said about the mail leaving. Postponed indefinitely. Odell back from Sweetwater. I drew a free suit of clothing from the overplus.

Sept. 10—Played barber part of evening. Wood-pile burned through Tyler's carelessness in building fire.

Sept. 11—Sunday. Morning inspection by Capt. Fouts. Quarters pronounced in fine order. Circular sent round that the mail will leave tomorrow. Excitement caused by seeing something out on the bluffs west of the fort. Thought to be Indians. Co. D of the 7th sent out to learn what is up. Hewett sent to the guard house drunk. Had a large musk melon, good. Got a box to keep my clothes in; cost only \$5. Mail went out before daylight. It is said that the



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ambulance will have to go to Kearney and that we will not receive any mail for 18 days.

Sept. 13—Two years ago this morning I went on picket duty for the last time in Virginia, at Harper's Ferry, when there was a picket skirmish and a fight on Bolivar Heights. Our men were driven back across the river.²⁰ No news; very dull. Col. Collins came in late this morning.

Sept. 14—Built a fire in the stove again. Opened the barber shop and shaved several. Colonel's escort came in; had a good time hunting, having killed buffalo, elk, and deer. Went fishing with Charlie Bolton²¹ and caught half a dozen frogs and ate two for supper. Like them; good and sweet. Sergt. Merwin of Co. D down. Too much whiskey again. Played the violin till tattoo.

Sept. 15—Inspection by Lieut. Reeves. Marched down in the bottom and were inspected. Co. I and K drilled on the parade. Our company did splendidly. Nine Co. K ponies condemned.

Beautiful night, calm, clear; moonshiny and pleasant. The full moon makes it almost as light as day. What is more calmly beautiful than September moonlight? All is quiet, and nature's million voices are hushed into quiet, peaceful repose. What a happy world it would be could man's existence be as peaceful and he sink to rest like the moon's going down!

A great difference between tonight and two years ago. Then I was lying on the Bolivar heights above Harper's Ferry, a prisoner, surrounded by dirty rebels, not knowing what was in store for us. But all came out well.

Sept. 16—Rumor that Mitchell's force has divided and a part is coming this way.

Sept. 18—Sunday. Stable call about "winked out": not much attention paid to it. Inspection at half past nine. Our company in good order. Sleep and read the balance of the day.

Sept. 19—With Burt and Behymer I got a pass and went out to the woodyard for plums. Went out to the hills but missed the orchard. Came back on the creek and ate our dinner of sardines, crackers, raisins, and pineapples. Stopped at the camp and fed our horses. Got back to the fort before sunset. Went over some very rough country; hills rocky, the rocks edged in together, making it

20. Cf. Note 1.

21. C. R. O. (Charlie) Bolton was an intimate friend of Hull. He was a young Canadian, a musician who had been presented a silver bugle by Queen Victoria's own hands. Once to relieve the monotony of camp routine, Hull sent Bolton to a superior officer with a sealed note. The officer read it, sealed it again, and sent him to another officer. This procedure continued until Bolton, becoming suspicious, opened the note and read: "Pass the fool along!" Bolton returned and sticking his head into Hull's tent, shouted, "Ull, go to 'ell!"



appear more like a work of art than nature. Provosts returned, bringing thirteen of Co. G under guard, charged with stealing shirts and boots from emigrant traders.

Sept. 20—Lieut. Wilcox, mustering officer, here. Co. G men all released but five, who are still in the guard house. Considerable whiskey about. Dance in Co. I's kitchen. Four women present, nearly all drunk. Hewett dressed in women's clothes and went with Dr. Dryden. Dance broke up in an uproar.²²

Sept. 21—No sergeant nor corporal at stable call. Co. G gone back to Deer creek. Mail going out again in a few days.

Sept. 23—Busy all day making out enlistment papers for Lee and Hewett and reenlistment rolls for Co. A men.

Sept. 24—Finish muster-in papers. Run "barber shop" in the evening.

Sept. 25—The usual Sunday morning inspection. Lieut. Wilcox left, the mail going at the same time. Col. Collins gone to Cache La Poudre. Weir with him. . . . Heard yesterday of Sheridan's victory, Fremont's withdrawal, and that peace negotiations are going forward.

Co. K's pantry and kitchen arrangements in good shape. Splendid dinner, something like living. Post going down rapidly.

Sept. 26—Mail said to be at Cottonwood, laying over on account of sickness in the Major's family.

Second anniversary of our arrival at Camp Douglas (Chicago). Would not object to being there now. Evening dark and gloomy. Iowa company relieved from duty. Mobile taken. Good news coming rapidly.

Sept. 27—Co. D of the 7th are getting ready to start for Halleck.

Sept. 28—Upward mail at Julesburg. Look for it Saturday. Dispatch from Humfreville, saying that he was back at Kearney and would start up in a few days. Alarm a little after dark; pickets firing. "Boots and saddles" sounds, and Co. K falls in for battle. Twenty men sent out to see what is up. We run all over the bluffs and at last divide off into squads to hunt the pickets. Find them in a ravine, apparently asleep. They had not fired a shot nor heard

²² Charlie Adams, in his *Reminiscence*, speaks of one of these Fort Laramie "drunks": "When the boys were getting boisterous and some crazy, I did not feel safe in the quarters, where there were so many guns and revolvers. So I went to the stables but found it no better there. I then thought I would go up on mechanics row to the barber shop and stay with our company barber. I went to the door, but found it locked. I went around to a back window and opened it so I could look in, and the room looked like a small cyclone had been turned loose in there: razors, brushes, towels, pictures from the walls, were scattered all over the floor, and the barber was lying in his chair almost too full for utterance. I asked him what was the matter. He said, 'There's nothing the matter with me, but this room has been on an awful tear.'"

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one; so we saw there was nothing to do but come back and report to Major Wood, who said he heard firing distinctly. All a hoax. Came to quarters and went to bed.

Sept. 29—Beautiful morning, clear and cool, with only a little frost. Only two out for roll call. Wip and I took a ride and went about seven miles up the Laramie. Looked for grapes but found none.

Sept. 30—Caldwell first relief, Brant second, and myself third. Came in soon after daylight, finding a new pair of boots on the way. Sergt. Hoover of Co. A down.

Good news from Virginia; Sheridan following up his advance. Also a success near Richmond, but this is counterbalanced by the news from Missouri. Price at the head of a large army, murdering all the Union men they can catch in the state.

Oct. 1—Some appearance of winter, and no preparations being made for it. No wood here, and little prospect of a sufficient supply.

Oct. 2—Sunday morning inspection. Affray last night at Bordeaux' ranche. Smith, a mountaineer, attacks Bordeaux and attempts his life. The latter in self-defense shoots the former, killing him, then comes to the fort and gives himself up. Camp out of wood. Help haul and chop some, tho it is Sunday. Feel lonesome, and almost have the "blues." Will read over some old letters as there are no new ones to occupy my attention. Eight months in the service, and all is well yet.

Oct. 3—A ball in the reading room. Some quarreling.

Oct. 4—Made out the clothing requisition and as Sergt. Burt was sick I issued it. Mail team has given out below Bordeaux'. Wip takes a team and goes down to help them in. Mail arrives after dark; four sacks. Will not get it before morning. Maj. Wood's family came up with the mail. Boys very anxious to get the news. Got ten letters; hear much bad news of old friends dying, being killed or wounded. Receive three letters from Marian in which are her photo, her mother's, some very bad news, and a ring. Will have to bid her farewell forever. It is a hard task but must be accomplished. Will try to forget her.²³ Received a good letter from Lide. A good girl, truly.

Oct. 5—Finish the returns. Not in a state of mind to do business. Commence a letter to Marie. Write till midnight.

23. L. B. Hull enlisted in the Army of the West against the protest of Marian Kelly, who wished him to stay at home that they might be married. He, however, was not ready to settle down. In October, 1866, after he returned to Ohio, he married Eliza Sinclair, the "Lide" of the diary. Many years later, in their pioneer Kansas farm home, she used to pore over this portion of the diary, and much to her children's amusement, wax indignant over Marian's cruelty in marrying some one else!



Oct. 6—Co. K evacuate the stables and take old Co. D's stables. Dance at the band room. Invited to attend. Sergt. Patton here.

Oct. 7—Dance broke up before midnight. Six women present. Danced two sets. Too much whiskey entirely, the greatest drawback to a good party. Sergt. Brown received a dispatch from Lieut. Humfreville. He is at Mud Springs and will be here in three days. Good! Will be glad to see him. Finished my last letter to Marian, —ten pages filled—bidding her a last farewell. Hard to say the word. Co. D came in, some of them on a drunk. I scrubbed out the room and cleaned everything up. Co. A now attached to Co. K, now about half the company.

Oct. 9—Lieut. Humfreville arrived after dark. Glad to see him looking so well. He left the boys at Ficklin's. Sixty horses taken up; good, if we only get to keep them! Chryst ordered to take charge of the provisions at the corn pile. Sergt. Brown very sick with bilious colic. I stayed up the greater part of the night. Went for the doctor at one o'clock. Lay down on the floor then and slept till daylight. A light mail came in today. Don't know where the heavy mail is. We are to have 61 more horses.

Oct. 11—Turn in the ponies, but take them back to the stable to brand. Col. Collins and Maj. Underhill back at the fort. Brown still sick. Made him toast for supper. Chryst is ordered to take charge of the prisoners at the corn pile. Co. A at Star ranche. The band came to life; gave a serenade after taps. Beautiful night, pleasant and moonshiny. Got up to listen to the music. Good! Sleep in the orderly room, to be close if Brown is worse. Recruits arrive and camp back of headquarters. Band goes out and escorts Co. A in. Sergt. Brown better. Sixteen of the recruits attached to Co. K; more attached to Co. I. Election for company officers held in Co. I. Lieut. Apt elected captain. No opposition. Sergt. Maloney elected second lieutenant.

Oct. 13—Co. K holds election: Humfreville, captain; Sergt. Behymer, second lieutenant; Brown and Applegate, judges; Hull and Morrow, clerks. The boys carry the new captain to the store and make him treat to a box of bitters. As a natural consequence, half the company drunk. A few fights. Everybody apparently pleased with the election. Odell comes into Co. K. Freeman gets away from the guard, takes a horse, and leaves. Boyer, riding over the parade grounds, ordered under arrest; he runs, and is shot at twice. Rice and Humfreville go after him, bringing him back tied

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to his horse. A general drunk this evening; am perfectly disgusted with it.

Oct. 14—Mail goes east. Co. A men ordered to their company.

Oct. 15—Make out QM accounts for August. Order for Brown and Behymer to do duty as lieutenants. Horses issued to Co. K. Did not want to go to stables as I was busy. Captain chose a horse for me. Like him passably well. Went to stable call and got back just as bugle sounded for parade: Capt. Apt, sergeant; Lieut. Harland, officer of the day. Too much on hand for a half hour. I help issue clothing and wind up for the evening by copying letters organizing Co. K. Dance at band room breaks up in a row. Welsh and his wife part.

Oct. 16—Sunday. Inspection. Lieut. Brown officer of the day. Wedding "down street." Sergt. Cummings to Miss ——. The band serenades them. Music sounds very well; night still and moonlit.

Oct. 17—Behymer officer of the day for the first time. Orders for drill twice a day, in the morning mounted and in the evening on foot. Mounted drill for the first time. When will be the last? That is more than can be told by any of us. Men drill very well. My horse full of life; can hardly manage him at times. Brown moves to new quarters; seems like breaking up a family. Captain told me to act as orderly sergeant today, perhaps henceforth. Hardly time to get ready for dress parade. I have the company fall in and act as orderly for the first time.

Oct. 18—Mounted drill in the morning; on foot in the evening. Rode the captain's horse, my own too lively. Dress parade. Florentine and Mack ordered under arrest on account of absence. Florentine released to go on guard tomorrow. Fill out descriptive rolls and clothing accounts until bedtime.

Oct. 19—Very windy; neither drill nor dress parade today. So dusty that one can't see—almost enough to choke a person.

Oct. 20—Drill mounted at the trot gives a good appetite for dinner. Poor turnout at evening drill. Wedding "down street": Sergt. Schnyder to cross-eyed Julia. Band serenades them. Big supper. Must be going to have a cold winter as weddings are all the rage.

Oct. 21—Col. Collins out to see us drill. Provoked at some of the men. Orderly's position not an easy one. Can begin to see through the press of business.

Oct. 22—Mail came in today, two sacks. Received seven letters. Orders read for a salute of 15 guns to be fired in honor of Sheridan's



victory. Face to the south in the rear of guns while firing is going on.

Oct. 23—The usual inspection of men and horses. The major was complimentary to our neat stables.

Oct. 24—Weather hazy, like Indian summer. Dress parade. Sergt. Tom Sinclair²⁴ and myself called to the front of the column. Major ordered two men of Co. D and one of Co. K to stand at attention for 15 minutes after companies left parade, because of non-attention.

Laramie "Varieties" perform tonight: I act as cashier and ticket agent. Take in \$93, then go in to the performance. Better than before; not quite so much whiskey. Splendid music: violin, guitar, melodeon, and brass band. The best playing on the melodeon I have ever heard; Mr. Raymond from Salt Lake.

Oct. 25—Commence the pay and muster rolls. Dress parade; two absent; I am ordered to send them to the guard house. Don't like the business but it must be done. Hard for men who work all day to attend parade.

Oct. 27—Nearly all the company on detail: Odell's horse fell dead with him, hurting him considerably. Drill at the gallop. Men busy repairing fireplaces. Haul wood from the hills. Boys fix up for concert by Prof. Raymond. Promotion of Sinclair and Patton read on parade. \$80 taken in at the concert. The money is going toward furnishing the reading room with papers for winter reading. Night clear; beautiful starlight; myriads of stars.

Oct. 28—Co. A veterans start for the States with three cheers for Ohio. They will see some rough weather before they get to Leavenworth.

Oct. 29—No drill today; policing to do. Mail started out, Lieut. Williams with it, also Tallman, who is going to Omaha to clerk. Orders read for general inspection tomorrow; everybody to come out. Draw stable frocks for the company.

Oct. 30—Sunday. Battalion drill; do rather poorly; too windy to hear the commands; Lieut. Brown acting adjutant. Company drill afterwards. Go to stables, carry out all the saddles, and then lead out all the horses in line. Reeves, inspector. Maj. Wood says that

24. Thomas Corwin Sinclair, brother of Eliza Sinclair Hull, was born in Highland county, Ohio, September 17, 1848. When fifteen years of age he enlisted in Co. G, 11th Ohio volunteer cavalry, and served through the Indian campaigns as an intrepid fighter. After an honorable discharge, he returned to Ohio. He came to Kansas in the early seventies and pre-empted a claim near Rose Hill, a half mile from the Hull homestead. He married Hattie Hostetler in 1881. They pioneered also in Oklahoma, where he was killed, in 1911, by a falling tree. (Cf. Note 39.)

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quarters are clean and look well. Have to make out new pay rolls; first one torn up by a dog; rather bad joke.

Oct. 31—Snows all day and still snowing after taps. Looks very much like winter. Muster for pay; 58 of Co. K on hand. Telegraphic dispatches from adjutant general of Ohio state that our officers have this day been commissioned. This will quiet the complainers. Old non-commissioned staff very much dissatisfied with the election. Think they should be officers. Three years today since my first enlistment. Then I thought the war would close before a year, but still the strife goes on.

Nov. 2—Some signs of mutiny. The non-commissioned staff and companies A and D want to go home. They send in a remonstrance to the colonel demanding that they be sent home, or they will take the matter into their own hands and go.²⁵

Nov. 3—No mounted drill, but every one to turn out on foot. Issue cartridges to all. Drill until time for recall, but none comes. Stay out till noon, when we learn that we are kept out under arms to prevent mutiny in old companies. Old sergeants under arrest. Go to water just before dinner. No evening drill, but dress parade earlier than usual. Orders read containing sentence of Sergt. Eldrid of Co. B. He was publicly reprimanded before the battalion and sent to his company.

Nov. 4—Mounted drill at the gallop. Dissatisfied men willing to let their remonstrance slide. They did not expect that the matter would prove so serious.

Nov. 5—Owing to commissary clerk's error we have no beef today. Lieut. Brown and Fish arrive from Halleck. Report snow three feet deep in the mountains.

Nov. 18—Been sick for two weeks; not able to do any duty. Bad cold and mountain fever. Took quinine until I was tired of it and quit off and am getting well.

A few nights ago the boys gave an entertainment for the Indians who came to see the colonel. While it was going on, the orderly room caught or was set on fire and came very near burning down. Our sabre belts were burned and company papers damaged. Co. K ordered to Halleck, to start tomorrow; Florentine to be orderly, me commissary sergeant. Cpts. Humfreville and Apt are gone to Denver to get money to pay companies. Martin in hospital.

²⁵. Often defection and desertions among the soldiers on the plains were due to the fact that Southern sympathizers from Missouri and other border states, who had enlisted in the Indian campaigns to avoid being drafted for service against the South, stirred up mutinies. (Cf. item for May 7, 1865.)

Nov. 19—I conclude to risk the trip to Halleck and see if it will cure me. Help pack up and draw rations. Company starts about ten o'clock, leaving all the cooking utensils to be packed up. Only have three wagons started at about 11; seventeen of the boys left behind on daily duty as escort for the captain. Moved out 19 miles and camped on the Laramie. Weather cold for camping out without tents.

VI. FORT LARAMIE TO FORT HALLECK

Nov. 20—Arise at four and have breakfast and are ready to start by daylight. A sprinkle of snow during the night, not enough to hinder our sleeping well. March 30 miles and camp on the Sabeal. McFaddin and I go on ahead to hunt. See deer and antelope. Had six shots but killed nothing. Traveled over some nice country.

Nov. 21—March twelve miles and camp in the canon, a pass in the mountains, where the rocks on one side are five hundred feet high. Four of us scrape away about a foot of snow and make our beds together and roll pine logs from the mountains and build a big fire, then cut brush for a shelter from the wind, which is very strong. Wip and I went hunting back of the rock. Saw 16 deer and each took a running shot. Have a great time getting down to camp, jumping and sliding in drift and out. Saw some signs of bears.

Nov. 22—The eight supply teams went ahead yesterday and camped on the Laramie river. Hard work getting teams up out of the canon. Have to hitch ten mules to a wagon. Company pass on, leaving some men behind. March 30 miles over a high rolling prairie on a level with the first range of the Laramie mountains. Weather very cold, with a strong wind. Overtake the foremost team and camp on Rock creek. Not a stick of timber in sight. Shovel away snow for a bedroom. Our company teams not in till dark. Camp behind a bank where the wind is not so strong.

Nov. 23—Lieut. Brown and Florentine go on to Halleck. Begin to get into rough country again. See a herd of deer on rocks. Boys try to shoot them but give it up. March 26 miles and camp on Medicine Bow creek in a nice grove. Snow eight inches deep. Lieut. Behymer, Keating, and I go hunting over the bluffs. I get two shots at a deer and break its leg. Go to camp and get my horse, and McFaddin and I follow the deer but to no purpose. Get three more shots at a deer and one at a sage hen, the first I ever saw. Get back to camp at dusk. Boys have a big fire burning. Sergeant of the guard for the night. Stay up to post the second sentinels and then go to bed.



VII. AT FORT HALLECK

Nov. 24—Up at daylight as usual. Have a bad time crossing the creek. Reach Halleck²⁶ about ten. Distance from Laramie 125 miles. Have to go into open quarters without bunks, tables, or floors, the Iowa boys having taken everything out when they heard we were coming. Take everything into our own quarters to keep it from being stolen. Fort Halleck is situated at the foot of Medicine Bow mountain, which is 10,000 feet high. Snow very deep next to the mountains.

Nov. 25 and 26—Go hunting. Iowa boys not to leave till our captain comes over from Laramie, November 30. Draw rations for ten days, corn meal and flour.

Dec. 1—Ten months since I left home. Fine time at the dance. Six ladies present. Far ahead of Laramie, for there are ladies here but none there. Supper free at midnight. Splendid! Oysters, pies, cakes, peaches, etc. Some Iowa boys try to raise a fuss and run off with the wagon, but are ordered to the guard house.

Issue 130 rations to Curtis for the men at the herd. Our horses sent to herd leaving us nothing to do. Looking for the captain. Begin to think he is snowed in.

Feb. 16, 1865²⁷—Wagons start to Rock creek. Sergt. Curtis and I start in afternoon. Maxwell lost two mules in the snow. My first time away from fort; like the place tolerably well.

26. Fort Halleck, 125 miles southwest of Ft. Laramie, at the foot of Elk mountain, was established in the summer of 1862. The site was located and the fort constructed by Major O'Farrell, who, with Co. A of the 11th O. V. C., had just opened up the new Denver road. (Cf. item, April 30, 1864.) Being located on this new Overland trail, it became the center of the fiercest fighting of that bloody year, 1865, as its inadequately equipped garrison attempted to guard the trail, protecting the emigrant trains, wagon trains, Overland mail coaches, and telegraph lines from the Indians.

27. Here begins the second volume of the diary. Between the two volumes is a gap from December 1, 1864, to February 16, 1865. Since the intervening events are important to the reader in understanding the rest of the diary, the most important omissions are supplied from Coutant's *History of Wyoming*, pp. 425-440.

November 29, 1864, occurred the battle of Sand creek, Colorado, in which the notorious Col. John M. Chivington wiped out Black Kettle's band of Cheyennes and eight lodges of Arapahoes under Left Hand. This was an event of great importance, as it was one of the chief causes of the Indians' going on the warpath in 1865, when there were uprisings in Kansas, Colorado, Wyoming, and the Dakotas.

Hostilities opened January 7, 1865, when Capt. N. J. O'Brien defended Fort Sedgwick against overwhelming odds. On February 4, 1865, Indians attacked a small detachment at Mud Springs, the Overland station 105 miles east of Fort Laramie. Colonel Collins with one hundred and twenty men of the 11th Ohio cavalry and the 7th Iowa, rushed from Fort Laramie to the rescue, and an engagement occurred February 6 in which seven soldiers were wounded. February 8, Lieut. W. H. Brown arrived from Fort Laramie with a howitzer. A successful attack was made by Lieutenant Patton, who, with a small band, defeated the Indians in a hand to hand combat, with the loss of two men, John A. Harris of the 7th Iowa cavalry and William H. Hartshorn of the 11th Ohio cavalry.

Two other engagements took place in this region, in both of which Colonel Collins was successful. On February 14 the detachment returned to Fort Laramie. The official report of Colonel Collins throws additional light on the seriousness of the Indian situation:

"The party was made up of all the Cheyennes, Ogalallas, and Brule Sioux south of the Platte, together with probably a few Kiowas, Arapahoes, and perhaps some straggling Apaches and Comanches. It numbered from 800 to 1,000 lodges and from 2,000 to 3,000 warriors." Colonel Collins was right in his prediction that a large number of these Indians were planning to move northwest to the Mud river and the Powder river and that they would greatly endanger the Overland posts at Deer Creek and Platte Bridge.



Feb. 17—Snowed very hard all day; did not get out to look for cattle. Fisk down for cattle but does not get them without an order. Chryst and Greaney lost; Greaney fell from his mule frozen so badly that he died during the night. Chryst stayed by him till morning.²⁸

Feb. 18—Curtis and I started out hunting cattle. It was not snowing when we started, but we got caught in a very thick storm about eight miles from camp. Got back safe; went twelve miles down the creek. Saw hundreds of cattle, but no game except wolves and rabbits. Chryst was found about ten miles from the post, badly frozen. Little hopes of his recovery.

Feb. 19—Sunday. Was up to ranche with Curtis last night; could not see the road, snowing so hard. Let the mules have their own way. Went down creek and found some of the cattle. Warm and pleasant. Went hunting in the evening. Greaney found frozen solid, and taken to post.

Feb. 20—Curtis and I start for Post, driving the cattle. Arrived just as Greaney was being buried.

Feb. 28—Muster for pay. Inspection. Issue rations by mess, for Dominique and Koerner. Half the mess leave. Adams has splendid living.

Mar. 1, 1865—Glorious news from the East: Charleston ours. Stars and Stripes waving over Fort Sumter. Bad news for our mess; Mr. and Mrs. Adams leaving, going to Big Laramie. Have to go to the company to board; very hard.

March 2—took our last breakfast at Adams'. Had a big time last night; made taffy and had a pleasant time, altho rather melancholy. All sorry to see our landlady leave. Never formed so strong an attachment for strangers before; seemed like home to me. Sergt. Chryst died this morning.

Mar. 3—19 degrees below zero; ground frozen too hard to dig grave. Coach from the east but no mail.

Mar. 4—Lieut. Brown back from Platte; chartered coach. Adams compelled to wait for the next one. Cain and Caldwell up from the herd.

Mar. 5—No inspection. Helped lower the remains of Sergt. Chryst to their last resting place. Coach in from the east, but no mail. Spent part of the evening at the captains' waiting for western coach.

Mar. 6—Issue clothing to company. Grand time at the store. Whiskey in the ascendant. Heavy snow storm going on; no coach from west yet.

28. Daniel Chryst and J. J. Greaney. (Adams, *op. cit.*)



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Mar. 7—Coach down at breakfast time. Go down to store and see them off. Behymer and Florentine going, Behymer to Rock creek and Florentine to the Dale. I bid Mrs. Adams goodbye and a safe journey. Their coach breaks down and they have to go to another one. Pack up clothing and sweep the commissary. Boys back from the herd.

Mar. 8—Cold and very stormy. Can not see the mountains for the snow. Hutchinson again in charge of kitchen. No wood in Post; all playing "freeze out." Finish writing to Maggie Bowerman and go to bed under the folds of the Stars and Stripes.

Mar. 9—Very stormy, the worst since we came to Halleck. Snow blowing all day; no wood yet; have to tear down old shop for fuel to keep from freezing. Too cold to work, so go to bed to keep warm. No coaches; roads completely blockaded.

Mar. 10—Issue rations to company, to hospital, and to boys at herd. Brown's mess broken up; board in company now. They give company sack of beans, peas, and rice; not going to starve. Simpson and Johnson bring in fresh antelope. Prospect of better weather.

Mar. 11—Getting up wood. Mail long looked for arrives. Good letters. Four letters and a photo; one from Lide. Good news from Virginia, Early whipped by Sheridan.

Mar. 12—Snowing considerably, but pleasant. Company at work cleaning out and repairing stables. Another mail. Great victory: Sherman defeats Johnson, capturing 6,000 prisoners. The end is approaching. Thompson over from Laramie. Indians killing all the stock. Captain Rinehart killed by them.

Mar. 13—Make out inventory of the effects of Greaney. Write to Lide and stay up till after midnight.

Mar. 14—Coach came up, but no mail, not even papers. Florentine back from Big Laramie. Was near being shot by the outlaw, Jennings. Behymer sick at Rock creek. Company having more to eat. Had splendid roast antelope for dinner. Tomatoes and potatoes for supper.

Mar. 15—Behymer back. Coach up. Captain Humfreville's birthday. Jolly time for some people. Splendid dinner, barrin' the hardtack. Have lunch at nine o'clock and write to Amy until bed time. Rumor that Lieut. Brown and captain are ordered home.

Mar. 16—Lieut. Jewell, A. D. C. to Gen. Connor, passed down on the coach. Coach up, bringing Denver papers to the 11th.

Mar. 17—Went hunting with "Chuff" and Ed Lewis. Walked about twelve miles. Saw jack rabbits and antelope, but could not



get a shot. Lieut Brown sick. Gen. Connor²⁹ stops on his way down, inquiring how matters are at the post.

Mar. 18—Odell and Marriot up from the herd.

Mar. 19—Sunday. McFaddin goes to Medicine Bow for deer and antelope. I take charge of the kitchen for him. "Chink and daub" the stables.

Mar. 20—Issued Odell some cartridges for the boys at herd. Issue rations to company and hospital. Coach came up, but no mail.

Mar. 21—Captain and Florentine came back at noon, bringing the herd with them. Horses look rough. Some of the horses left behind, unfit for service. Caldwell, Odell, and Page in charge. Stable call at reveille and at 5 P. M. Water call at 10 A. M. Coach came up, but mail lost in Cache la Poudre river.

Mar. 22—Commence moving corn pile; a great many open sacks and considerable loose corn. Horses sent out to herd.

Mar. 24—Mail up at noon, part of it wet.

Mar. 26—One year since we arrived at Fort Kearney.

Mar. 28—Finish pay rolls and get them signed. Captain ready to start to Denver, but coach is full, so he has to wait. Russell moves to the post to keep mess. Caldwell up from the herd and stays with us.

Mar. 29—Capt. Humfreville and Dr. Finrock³⁰ start to Denver. Only one passenger inside. Have plenty to do while they are gone. Clean up the quarter master and commissary department. Clear the snow off the corn pile and cover it with canvas, and take inventory of clothing.

April 2—Whitcomb over from Laramie; was five days coming through the canon. Feel quite "blue" all day.

April 4—Sort and issue clothing, then pile corn till recall. Train passes east. Butter for supper, a present from Mrs. Finrock.

April 5—The coldest April weather I ever saw. Balance of the herd brought up with the whole outfit. One horse died in the stall at stable call. Have a big oyster supper after taps. Odell and Caldwell sleep in my bed; I sleep with Be—. No coach up today at all.

April 7—Received two letters, one from home and one real good one from Lide, with a photo; glad to get it. Letters from Laramie state that rumors say we are going back to Omaha.

29. Gen. Patrick E. Connor, born in Ireland, 1820. Emigrated to New York. Served five years in regular army. Moved to Texas, 1846. Served with distinction in Mexican War. Moved to California, 1850. Colonel of California Third volunteer infantry, 1861. Appointed to the command of the Military District of Utah, July, 1862. After battle of Bear river, he was promoted to brigadier general, and after the battle of Tongue river was offered a colonelcy in the regular army. He was a brave soldier, greatly beloved by his men. (Cf. Notes 40 and 50.)

30. Dr. Finrock was assistant surgeon of the 11th O. V. C.



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April 8—L. L. Adams came on coach last night. Glorious news in Denver extra. Richmond captured, Petersburg evacuated by rebels and Grant after them close.

Walked about twelve miles; no game; so snowy I could hardly see.

April 9—Sunday. Capt. H. and Dr. F. arrived from Denver. Will be paid off tomorrow. No bounty for veterans; paymaster refused to pay it.

April 10—Guard mount for first time here. Guard placed at stable. Have to act as Sergt. Major as I have nothing to do. Receive \$93.09. Some of the boys can't pay their debts. Behymer gone to Platte to marry a couple.

April 11—Snow very deep. No mail. Behymer back. Beef cattle brought in. Killed one of Foote's oxen by mistake.

April 12—Wagons getting ready to go over to Little Laramie for hay. Rumor says that Lee has surrendered.

April 13—Caldwell appointed corporal.

April 14—Brown gone down the road on business. "Ota" music, fiddles, banjos, and guitars.

April 15—Make our requisition for 700 men, one year's rations. Quite a pile, but perhaps will be needed. Make out ordnance returns for Post since Sept. 1864. Orders received from District No. 2.

April 16—News of Lee's surrender confirmed with more good news. Very fair prospect of an early peace. Hay wagons come back loaded.

April 17—Boys that were down the road are nearly blind from snow blindness. I officiated at guard as no officers were present.

April 18—Received a letter containing a gem.

Bad news in the Denver papers. The nation is mourning. The days of the French revolution are upon us. President Lincoln and Secretary Seward assassinated, supposed by rebel emissaries. Burning at stake too mild for assassins' punishment.

April 19—Wip and I went hunting. Too stormy to go far; never saw snow come down so before. Three deserters captured and put in guard house; one chained to axle of wagon. They belong to 1st Colorado cavalry. Have a big supper, fruit, oysters, sardines, only \$6.25.

April 20—Issue rations, all the flour and hardtack.

April 21—Coach yesterday brought down mail that had been carried past. A letter from Lide. Eggs at a dollar a dozen for supper. California troops to be here in two or three weeks. Johnson has surrendered.

3—2785

April 23—Sunday. Shotwell and I went hunting over towards the bluffs. Saw one rabbit and one sage hen. Come in nearly blind. News of capture of Mobile received.

April 25—Dig ditches to carry off water; had six men in forenoon and four in evening; two "camped" from "imbibing" too freely. News of Mosby's surrender received. Brown and Be— going to Rock creek. Have to mount guard without help. Lieut. Hawley of Gen. Connor's staff came up on coach.

April 26—Keating thrown from his horse at drill. Letters from Laramie speak of more trouble. Crow Indian to be hung.³¹

April 27—Brown and Be— came back at noon. Hay wagons back; all broke down except one.

April 28—Slept about ten hours last night, generally about six. Lieut. Hawley gone to Denver; Lt. Brown gone down the road after a deserter. Coach passenger reports commissary train at Cooper's creek. Mooney and "Yank" dismounted without orders on drill.

April 29—Lt. Brown back with his man. Receive letter from home, containing news of Grandfather's death. Another heir at Hulls.³² Father has bought a piece of woodland at Irwin. Captain gave me permission to go to Laramie.

April 30—Sunday. Inspection and muster, the largest turnout we have ever had, 67 present. Will, Wip, and I take a walk up towards the mountains; snow ten or fifteen feet deep. Paper states that Booth is killed. Supply train arrives. Unload twenty wagons; balance in morning.

May 1—Finish unloading the supplies and loading the wagons with corn, 2,500 lbs. flour short. Issue 25 days' rations to teamsters. Coach up. Hay teams back. Gen. Hughes here.

May 2—Johnson's surrender. Receive letters from "Sorrel," Maggie B. and Bro. John.

May 3—Finish Com. papers, pack mess chest and get ready to start tomorrow. Wagon train camped by Russel's. Whitcomb moved up.

VIII. FORT HALLECK TO LARAMIE CITY AND RETURN

May 4—Load up and get ready to start for Laramie at nine o'clock. Hutch going after meat. Iowa boys and six of Co. K compose the squad. Run into snow at Sage creek and have to back

31. It was a very serious mistake to kill a Crow Indian, as the Crows were traditionally the friends of the white man against the warlike Cheyennes, Arapahoes, and Sioux.

32. The heir referred to is now Ella Hull McWilliams of Los Angeles, Cal. The "grandfather" was Edward Byram II, a soldier in the War of 1812, and the farm mentioned is still the Ohio Hulls' homestead.

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off. See plenty of game, but too wild to kill. Pass village of Arapahoes on Dry creek. Camp on Rock creek and go hunting, but kill nothing. McCadams, Preston, and Robinson desert.

May 5—Covered up with snow. Hard finding the road; get lost once and have to turn back. Meet the wagons and afterwards keep the road. Take dinner in Laramie. Had to go around snow and cross above the ford. Deep wading. Snow from six to ten inches deep. Reach the canon about three o'clock. Upset one wagon in canon and have to cross a drift from four to fifteen feet deep. Camp on prairie. Stand guard till 11:45.

May 6—Start from camp at six. Cross over to Sabeal and take dinner at Lone tree. Cross the ridge—eighteen miles—no water; get very thirsty. Camp below the mouth of the Chugwater. Grass looks green. Sergt. Meek and Lee nearly blind with snow blindness. Lieuts. Brown and Morrow stand first guard.

May 7—Somebody around in the night, rather suspicious, but no visible danger. Three guards wade the river twice but wagons take to the bluffs. Large herds along the river. Reach Laramie at ten. Cross the river, but wagons have to go to bridge. Most of the troops gone after Indians. Two companies Third U. S. arrive, enlisted rebels from Rock Island.

May 8—Buy a supply of paper at sutler's from down the river. Go up to a "squaw" camp to get moccasins; first time I have ever been in a lodge. Crow hung in Evans two weeks ago can be seen from the post, "waving in air."

May 9—Nearly ready to start back to Halleck, but will not start while it is so cold. Slept on floor last night. Talked to rebels awhile.

May 10—Very tired of the place. Two mules lost and half our outfit stolen.

May 11—Boys hunt mules but do not find them. Load up the wagons with salt, sugar, blankets, apples, etc. Get rations of corn and eight days' rations for ourselves. Drive out and camp at first crossing of Laramie.

May 12—Have aching in bones but it wears off before night. Take a last hunt for mules, but can't find them and have to draw two from QM. Lee's family going over in one wagon. Get started about noon. Glad to be off. Wagons take bluff road. I cross Laramie below "Chug." Horses and eight men got wet.

May 13—Camp; no guards. Cross the ridge and go hunting. Stay at Lone tree and find Bennett and Baily there. Wait for wag-



ons and go to camp six miles up the Sabeal. Camp where Arapahoes camped.

May 14—Go hunting but only see one deer. Go north on bluffs and come into canon at prairie. Camp up near head of canon. Go out south hunting, but no game to be seen, so I amuse myself by rolling stone down mountain. Have dinner and wash up dishes while others go and shovel snow out of roads.

May 15—Double teams and get out of canon by noon. Too cold for comfort with overcoat on. Have to walk to keep warm. Laramie high; nearly floats the wagons. Get across all safe. Camp by big snow drift eight miles from Laramie.

May 16—Start out hunting. Shoot one antelope near road. It starts running, but I run it for a mile; it lies down; I shoot again, cut off hams, and overtake wagons. Cross Rock creek. Cripple another antelope but don't get it. Leave wagons and strike Medicine Bow about four miles below road. Supper with Simpson. Take Hutch with me. Camp on Bear creek. Fried antelope, "slap jacks," and molasses.

May 17—Arapahoes around thick and more coming. Reach home (Halleck) at noon without accident. Many changes. Russell shot by Jennings. Dr. Finrock and lady going to leave. Dr. Harstick in charge of hospital. Lt. Behymer and squad down the road. Post looks clean and nice. Got seven letters. Good.

May 18—Squad brought up Bob North, now in guard house. Dr. F. and lady gone. Seems like Post is nearly deserted. Indians swarming. Arapahoes a-plenty. Give them rations and corn.

May 19³³—Issue rations to Arapahoes. They want everything in the commissary. Emigrants passing. Some camp close.

May 20³⁴—Keating and Wilson want to be transferred to engineer's corps. Jennings brought in by Comstock and the Arapahoe scouts. Desperate looking man. Jeff Davis reported captured.

May 21—Sunday. Jennings tried; pleads guilty of shooting Olds and killing Russell. Sentenced to be hanged immediately. Sentence executed between one and two. He did not repent at all: said that he did murder Russell and was not sorry for it. He remarked that he was going to Hell a-whooping, but as he was good at finding

33. Cf. item for August 29, 1865.

34. On May 20, 200 Indians attacked Deer creek station but were repulsed. They drove away twenty-two horses. Lieut. Col. Preston Bierce Plumb of the 11th Kansas cavalry, with thirty men, gave chase, killing one Indian but losing one man. June 1, 1865, Colonel Plumb, who was operating along the line from Fort Laramie west, in his official report from Camp Dodge, a short distance above Platte bridge, stated that Rock Ridge station had been attacked by Indians, the stock run off, and the telegraph wires cut. Lieutenant Collins, of 11th O. V. C. discovered that the station was in flames. This was one of the events in the Sweetwater region preliminary to the Platte bridge massacre. (Cf. Note 38.)

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trails, he would look for a trail to Heaven. His last words were: "Hurrah for Jeff Davis and the Southern confederacy." Next moment he was swinging about twenty-five feet in the air. Cut down an hour later.

Give Indians a large quantity of corn. Plenty of them around, big, little, old, and young.

May 22—Have sale of Jennings's effects; amount to nearly \$800; proceeds to go to Mrs. Russell. One pony sold for \$240. Drove of 4,000 or 5,000 sheep go past, going from New Mexico to California. Trade with an Arapahoe chief for a buffalo robe.

May 23—Hear that Capt. Humfreville is mustered out of service. Several small trains pass. Dr. Smith from Ft. Collins here. Dr. Finrock writes that Co. L is at Julesburg on the way home, and that Co. I and K will follow soon.

May 24—Odell, Caldwell, and Pumpelly on the mountain. Wagons go down the road with corn. Write out copy of charges and proceedings against Jennings. Make out descriptive roll of Keating and Wilson.

May 25—Lieut. Drake up from Ft. Collins. Went back on evening coach. Fine drill today. Charlie Stout "Dismounted without orders." First ox train passes up. Play ball after supper.

May 26—Had a good drill. Some of the horses very bad to ride; one down several times. Capt. Brown came down. Says his men will be in soon. California boys came in after dinner; look like they have seen hard times. Seem clever,³⁵ good sort of fellows. Issue rations to teamsters. Music and dancing in quarters.

May 27—Issue rations to California boys; no trouble; agree well. They are from all states. Went down and visited with them this evening.

May 28—Beautiful evening, everything seems so fresh and growing. Busy all day issuing rations and forage to California boys and teamsters.

May 29—California boys leave for Cache la Poudre.³⁶ Trains passing up don't like to pay toll.

May 30—Have fine drill; charge through mud and brush and close up well. Splendid fun.

May 31—Monthly inspection. Company looks very well. Inspection of horses and equipment. Some of the men charged with

35. *Clever* in the Hull family meant *generous* or *open-handed*.

36. Cache la Poudre was a station between Julesburg and Fort Collins, on the new stage line to Denver. It was so named by French traders, who cached their powder there from the Indians.

equipments lost. I take as correct an inventory of stores as possible.

June 1—Mail stopped at Rock creek by high water; bridge gone. Coach and team lost in Platte; one man drowned. Sale of Russell's property.

June 2—Messenger down from Platte for assistance; says Indians are running off stock and killing station keepers. Lt. Brown and thirty men go up to see what the trouble is. Captain gone to Rock creek. Halleck looks rather deserted.

June 3—Lieut. James A. Brown writes that he has found two dead men; will go on till he opens the road. Captain up from below. Judge Kinney and other notables go up on coach, escort of four men with them.

June 4—Sergt. McFaddin and ten men to wait as escort for Colfax.

June 5—First coach escort back. Bring no news from north of river. Was up to emigrant camp last night. Nothing going on at post. Dull.

June 6—Lieut. Brown, Florentine, and nine men back; others stationed at different stations north of the Platte. Colfax, Bross, Richardson,³⁷ and Otis came up with the escort from Co. F. Lt. Behymer went with them. Great bear chase. About forty shots fired, fifteen of which took effect. Bear steak for supper.

June 7—Write letters to Capt. Cochrane. Issue rations to Dominique. Behymer back; Sergt. Brown going up to take charge of the men. Martin writes that five Indians were seen near Sulphur Springs.

June 8—Bodine and Stewart killed at Sage creek. Caldwell and Wilson wounded. One citizen killed. Duckett and citizen missing.³⁸

37. Hon. Schuyler Colfax, speaker of the house of representatives, Lieut. Gov. William Bross of Illinois, Samuel Bowles, editor of the *Springfield Republican*, and Albert D. Richardson of the *New York Tribune*. Richardson, who was one of the group of young reporters sent out by the *Tribune*, had spent some time in Lawrence during its bloodiest years, and later wrote of this California trip in *Beyond the Mississippi*.

It was upon this trip that Colfax repeated, upon every occasion, the "posthumous speech of President Lincoln," in which he spoke of the inexhaustible mineral wealth of the region from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific. "Tell the miners for me," said Lincoln, "that I shall promote their interests to the utmost of my ability because their prosperity is the prosperity of the nation, and we shall prove in a very few years that we are the treasury of the world."

Coutant comments: "Verily, this was the first full and complete recognition of the West by a president of the United States."—*History of Wyoming*, p. 444.

38. (Cf. Note 34.) The Indian attacks in the Sweetwater region were becoming more furious. May 27, 150 savages destroyed Saint Mary's station, the garrison escaping to South Pass. The Indians cut 400 yards of telegraph wires and burned the posts. On June 8, Lieutenant Brown left Sage Creek station in charge of five soldiers. They were attacked by a hundred Indians, but held them off for an hour, until their ammunition gave out. The five soldiers and two citizens, all mounted, left the fort. They were immediately surrounded and, fighting desperately, were pursued eight miles. Of the five soldiers, all of Co. K, 11th O. V. C., L. B. Hull's own company, George Bodine and Perry Stewart were killed; Orlando Duckett was captured; Corp. W. H. Caldwell and William Wilson escaped, wounded. Caldwell and Wilson were brought back to Fort Halleck by Sergeant McFaddin and ten other men of the 11th O. V. C. (Cf. item for June 10.)—*Coutant*, p. 452.

Large trains passing up; some women. Captain organizes the train and passes them on. Brown and Gregory go up on coach.

Three years ago tonight I was lying on battlefield at Cross Keyes. I go down to Whitcomb's teepa. See young elk, a pretty animal. "Mountain dew" in the ascendant.

June 9—Large trains passing up, and Mormon train going down. Cooper leaves with [omission]. I get permission to take a ride and go down to Medicine Bow. Have a dance with the Mormon ladies, "Brighamites" and "Josephites." Get up from Mormon camp about midnight.

June 10—Escort back from up the road, bringing the boys that were killed and Caldwell and Wilson. Boys look very bad; faces all bruised and black. Thirteen wounds in Bodine and eight in Stewart. We bury them in one grave, with honors of war; six rounds fired over the grave. The colonel shot the chief, as they suppose, when quite near them, as the pursuit was ended by his death. All the boys but three back. Indians seen on this side of the river.

June 11—Got a pass and with Curtis and Maxwell go to Medicine Bow. Stop at Mormon train, then go down to station and across to emigrants' camp. Get "home" about 11 P. M. Have quite a talk with the ladies.

June 12—Warm; mosquitoes very bad; almost eat a fellow up. Captain Posy and Stephenson and Merrid going to Platte on coach. False bear alarm by a mule. No trains passing; all stop at Medicine Bow. Race up at stations between Badkin's pony and Behymer's. Be—'s horse won—\$25. Citizens stopping till the road is opened.

June 13—Take a ride with Behymer; meet train. Behymer found an old acquaintance from Ohio and had a long talk with him. Beauvais train camps with Whitcomb. Buy seventeen beaver skins of a trapper for only \$59.

June 14—Captain back from up the road; uneasy about Brown's squad; nothing heard of them for five days. Captain ordered to Laramie, but goes up the road with eleven men passengers armed with muskets. Behymer saw two Indians this side of Pass creek. We move into commissary and fortify.

June 15—Was on mounted patrol all night; did not go to bed at all. No alarm. Sleep all forenoon and go hunting in the evening. See no Indians but plenty of sage hens and antelope. Have Whitcomb's glass and can see all over the country. Trains camping on Pass creek. Hear that Duckett is safe; greatly surprised.

June 16—Cold and disagreeable; snowing nearly all day. Went up to Pass creek. Saw that the train was organized; over a hundred wagons altogether. Eight of the boys down from Sulphur Springs. Report that Indians have stolen stage's stock below Rock creek. Mormons camped by Q. M. stable today.

June 17—Coach from below; no trouble yet. False reports yesterday. Orders received for us to go to Laramie as soon as relieved here.

June 18—Apt and some of the boys down. Ten of the boys left at Sulphur. Evacuate our fortifications and return to quarters again. Don't fear any attack now. Colorado boys up from forage. Boys anxious to go to Laramie.

June 19—Col. Potter and Capt. Cochrane came up last night. Have regular guard mount again. Issue corn to Colorado boys. Paper states that all volunteers are to be discharged immediately. F boys fire on Arapahoes.

June 20—Capt. Wilson with a squad of Colorado boys came up. Very busy all day making inventory and counting everything in Q. M. Dept.

June 21—Lieut. Brown with escort gone up to Sulphur. Capt. Cochrane gone back to Denver. Train attacked at Pass creek. Arapahoes up for rations.

June 22—Alarm early in morning. Stage stock run off from Elk mountain by Indians. Our boys ran after them but could not catch them. Train fired on four miles below the fort. Issue rations to Indians. Arapahoes come up and say that Cheyennes will be here in the morning.

June 23—Alarm at midnight. All move into corral. McFaddin and I went up to the station and had all come down. Several of us went scouting over the bluffs, saw signs of Indians but could not see Indians with a good glass. Beeshaw's herd stolen; saw old and young elk; chased a young antelope. Indians seen on bluffs during evening; squad out.

June 24—Slept in commissary last night; no alarm of any kind. Move back to quarters. Col. Plumb and Lieuts. Thornton and Booth of the 11th Kansas came up. Lieut. Brown with all the boys but four came down; expect to leave Wednesday. Emigrant train camped close by.

June 25—Sunday. Fine inspection for our last one at Fort Halleck. Went up to train and had a talk with ladies. Commence turn-



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ing over stores. Sergt. Florentine and squad going up after the boys at Sulphur Springs. Burns shot horse for throwing him.

June 26—Issue rations to company for last time. Three companies of the 11th Kansas came in. Boys packing up getting ready to start.

June 27—Commissary turned over. Move out and give possession of office. All boys in once more.

June 28—Load the wagons and move down about three-fourths of a mile and camp. Mr. and Mrs. Adams camped near us, on their way to Bannock; likely see them no more. Caldwell left in hospital, not quite able for trip. Will drive cattle to kill on road.

IX. FORT HALLECK BACK TO FORT LARAMIE

June 29—Leave Halleck at reveille. Wagons heavily loaded. Get a sack of sugar of government train below fort. Have a pleasant ride and camp on Rock creek. Indians' campfire a short distance away.

June 30—No alarm during night. Start at daylight. Find Laramie high. Unload wagons and raise loads, then splice ropes and haul them across by hand. Get to canon middle of afternoon. Go up to snowdrift and wash. Have antelope for supper. Mosquitoes very bad.

July 3—Have breakfast and march out. River too high to cross. Take to the bluffs and haul the wagons up hill by hand. Pass camp of 16th Kansas. Ford river half mile above and arrive at Fort Laramie about nine. Camp in dirt between band room and officers' mess room. Get old commissary office to work in temporarily.

July 4—Sunrise gun fired and national salute at noon. Big drunk going on. Keating and squad detailed as mail escort. Men going back to sawmill. Co. I band playing.

July 5—Finish muster roll and Halleck ordnance returns. Draw 45 more horses, making over a hundred in the company.

July 6—Gen. Henry arrives; salute of 11 guns in his honor. Keating and squad back. Martin and squad gone with mail.

July 7—Gen. Connor gone to Fort Collins. Co. K relieved of further post duty; talk of moving out to herd our stock.

July 8—Dress parade. Man named Simpson drummed out of camp to Rogue's march, labeled "Thief." He made too much noise and was gagged with a bayonet. Several orders read, one relieving Companies E and K from further duty at the post. General Henry and lady pass our camps. General very complimentary.



July 9—Detachment of Co. G down. See Sinclair, Johnson, Smith, and others. Had not seen them for a long time.

July 10—Busy getting ready to move out. Turn in sabres and leave box of equipment in arsenal. Have supper of oysters, sardines, veal, cake, pies, and fruit; only three dollars; very cheap. Pack up box of furs, robes, etc. and leave at Mr. Bullock's.

July 11—Get ready to march. Throw away a great deal of clothing. Leave Laramie directly after guard mount. Camp four miles up the Laramie. Have rations and forage for the balance of the month. Nice camp; two tents; balance sleep in kennels. Go fishing at night.

July 12—"Slap jacks" for breakfast. Captain with wagon gone to fort. Play washer woman after a long rest from it. Considerable firing by boys. Kansas officers come to see what the matter is. Set "trot line" to get fish for a change.

July 13—Lieut. Brown and wagon goes to Ft. Halleck. Mail over. Co. G arrives from Ft. Collins, bringing news that Foote's ranche is burned and his herd stolen by Indians.

July 14—Captain gone down to fort.

July 17—About half the company gone to the fort, one wagon load, balance walking. Show going off tonight. Officers go down.

July 19—Performance went off last night. Boys coming up all day. Went out to look for Indians; some seen near camp. Capture two horses and hunt lost beef.

California boys attacked on Deer creek; infantry attacked near Bordeaux ranche. Pickets out. Officers up from fort.

July 20—Pickets still out. Camp named Camp Greenwood. Went down to show and got back about midnight.

July 21—Go down to Laramie with wagon and get beef, bacon, and rubber blankets or ponchos. Have real drunken crowd coming back.

July 22—Placed in charge of cook house again. Prospect of remaining.

July 23—Go fishing with seine. Have plenty of fun and catch plenty of fish. No pay for us this time; money ran short.

July 24—Mounted skirmish drill for the first time. Some of the horses wild and unmanageable. Show going off tonight. Wagon load of boys going down. Halleck mail in. Receive six letters, four good.

July 25—Lieut. Brown ordered to fort. Corp. Martin ordered to report to Capt. Robins for instructions.



July 26—Late reveille. Skirmish drill by platoons. Wagon train coming down. Capt. Marshall in camp. Have a big swim and then sleep.

July 27—Report that Col. Collins and 26 men were killed at Platte bridge. Indians attacked a train, and they went to assist teamsters.³⁹

July 28—Report of Platte bridge fight confirmed. Only one more killed; eight wounded; Collins dead. Lieut. Lewis here for supper. Skirmish drill by platoons; dismounted firing.

July 29—Go down to fort and wagon follows. Get bacon, salt, and vinegar. Take dinner at Flannigans. Troops on the move. 16th Kansas getting paid and raising mutiny. One man shot last night. Infantry gone towards Denver. California boys up Platte have big horse swim.

July 30—Writing letters and policing over camp. Ready for inspection tomorrow. 16th Kansas threaten mutiny; want to release their prisoners, but a battery planted at guard house keeps them quiet.

July 31—Wagons going down to fort draw twenty days' rations and forage; get no flour nor sugar. None on hand. Companies at post short of grub. Inspection passes off well. Set trot line.

39. During July, 1865, the Indians began attacking both lines of travel across Wyoming simultaneously. Almost every station on the southern route, from Virginia Dale in northern Colorado to Bitter creek in the Green river region, was attacked. One of the most serious of these battles was the massacre at Platte bridge, July 26. During the night of July 25, Lieutenant Bretney, Tom Sinclair, and others of Co. G, 11th O. V. C. had seen the wagon train of Sgt. Amos Custard, of the famous Co. H, 11th Kansas cavalry, encamped at Willow springs, about half way between Platte bridge and Sweetwater. Lieutenant Bretney reported at Platte bridge fort that this train was in danger of being wiped out, as Sioux, Cheyennes, Arapahoes, and Black Foot Indians to the number of 2,500 to 5,000 were on the warpath in that region. Major Anderson prepared to send a relief party. Young Lieut. Caspar Collins, who had just received his commission as lieutenant, volunteered as leader. He with twenty-five mounted men crossed the bridge, but before they had gone more than a half mile, five or six hundred Cheyennes were upon them while at the same time several hundred more savages came pouring over the bluffs. Part of Lieutenant Collins' band started back toward the fort. But as Lieutenant Collins stopped to rescue a wounded comrade, his horse became unmanageable and dashed into the midst of the savages, carrying him to his death. A volley from the fort and a rescue party on foot, under Lieutenant Bretney, came too late to save Collins and eight of his men. According to Tom Sinclair's account, two hours later, the Indians having disappeared, three boys from Collins' own company, William Worrell, John C. Friend, and Tom Sinclair, crossed the bridge in search of Collins' body. They found it with two other bodies, which they lifted to their saddlebows, Sinclair rescuing the body of Collins, dripping blood. At that moment they heard the yells of the returning Indians and barely escaped with the bodies to the fort. (Cf. Note 24.)

Lieutenant Collins, the son of William O. Collins for whom Fort Collins was named, was only twenty years old. In his honor the name of Platte bridge fort was changed to Fort Caspar, and thus the name came to Wyoming. (It should be spelled *Casper*, not *Casper*.)

The afternoon following Lieutenant Collins' defeat, Custard's wagon train was seen coming down the hill west of the fort, as five hundred mounted Indians charged along the ridge toward them. (Coutant, pp. 474-475.) The soldiers guarding the train formed a corral in a ravine and prepared to defend themselves. Three of these men escaped to the fort, but the remaining eighteen, after a valiant fight, were slain.

Major Anderson's Platte bridge garrison of 200 men, two companies of the 11th Kansas cavalry, were reinforced the next day by two more companies of the same regiment. General Connor also ordered Col. J. H. Kidd, 6th Michigan cavalry, to the assistance of the fort, but upon their arrival at Platte bridge, July 28, they found that the Indians had withdrawn and were headed for the Powder river region.

The eighteen men who were slain with Custard's wagon train, were Kansans who had seen hard service under their distinguished leader, Lieut. Col. Preston Plumb. At the close of the campaign he returned to Kansas, where he was three times elected to the United States senate.



August 1—Wagons bringing up 55 bags of corn. Train arrived at post. Not so many troops about now. None of Co. G's men killed but Lieut. Collins; mostly 11th Kansas men.

X. TONGUE RIVER AND POWDER RIVER EXPEDITION⁴⁰

August 8, 1865—Company left Laramie at 8:20.⁴¹ I stayed behind with the captain and finished and compared muster rolls in Capt. Anderson's office. Went to old camp, saddled up, ate lunch, and came on to company's camp, below Star ranche on the Platte. Lindsay and others with us besides guide, Antwine.⁴² March 8 miles.

August 9—Start early; have to wait for wagons; move very slowly. Reach camp on Bitter Cottonwood at twelve. March 16 miles. Plenty of shade. Have currants and cherries to eat.

August 10—Reveille at daybreak. Have to wait on wagons often. Meet some of Co. G boys. Camp below Horseshoe station at twelve. Several of the boys sick. Michigan boys in front today. Part of Co. K are rear guard and part in front of train.

August 11—Stopped at Horse Shoe; left the telegraph road and

40. "No fact in history has been more obscured than the operations of Gen. P. E. Connor in the Powder river country. A careful search among the records of the War Department makes it clear that there are no official reports on file there. . . . It has always been supposed that General Connor made an official report, but it now transpires that he never did. Smarting under the injustice done him at the close of this campaign, he hastily boxed his reports and papers and sent them to Salt Lake City, explaining that he wished to examine them carefully before making a formal report to the War Department. It chanced that the building in which these reports were stored was shortly after burned, and hence the official data of the Powder river expedition were destroyed. Fortunately Capt. H. E. Palmer of the Eleventh Kansas cavalry, who was acting quartermaster for General Connor, kept a diary of events from the time the column started from Laramie until its return, and thus a reliable record has been preserved." (*Ibid.*, p. 505.)

Countant follows this statement with Capt. H. E. Palmer's report. All references in notes to Captain Palmer are to this article. (*Ibid.*, pp. 506-532.)

The diary of Lewis B. Hull, who was quartermaster sergeant on this expedition, dovetails neatly with the Palmer report and supplements it with several facts, which later footnotes indicate. Additional facts are supplied also from Charlie Adams' *Reminiscence*. The authenticity of the three sources is evidenced by their agreement in all important facts.

The entire Powder river expedition was commanded by Gen. P. E. Connor, who, for the most part, accompanied the left or main column. The middle column was commanded by Lieut. Col. Samuel Walker, who, with 700 men of the 16th Kansas cavalry, made a successful expedition into the Black Hills. The right column, under Col. Nelson Cole, consisted of 797 men of the 2d Missouri light artillery, equipped as cavalry, 311 men of the 12th Missouri cavalry, a train of 140 wagons, and a section of three-inch rifles. This was the disastrous Rosebud river expedition referred to in the diary. The main column, which according to Palmer left Fort Laramie July 30, 1865, was made up of the following forces: Capt. N. J. O'Brien, with 88 men, Co. F, 7th Iowa cavalry, First Lieut. John S. Brewer, Second Lieut. Eugene F. Ware; Capt. Marshall, Co. E, 11th Ohio cavalry, 60 men; Capt. J. L. Humfreville, Co. K, 11th Ohio cavalry, 70 men, and Co. E, 11th Ohio cavalry, 57 men; Capt. Albert Brown, Co. M, 2d California cavalry, 61 men; Capt. George Conrad, Co. L, 2d California cavalry, 44 men, and 2d Missouri artillery, 14 men; 15 men on detached service from 11th Ohio cavalry, serving in the quartermaster department. (Capt. H. E. Palmer was quartermaster and L. B. Hull, quartermaster sergeant.) This command totaled 404 soldiers, 145 Indians, and 185 teamsters and wagonmasters, with 185 wagons, Robert Wheeling, chief train master. The Indians mentioned were seventy Winnebago and Omaha scouts, under Capt. E. W. Nash, and seventy-five Pawnee scouts, under Capt. Frank North. There were also six companies of 6th Michigan cavalry, 250 men, under Colonel Kidd, going to fortify a new fort, later named Fort Connor. The guides were Maj. James Bridger, Nick Janisse, Jim Daugherty, Mich. Bouyer, John Resha, Antwine LaDue, and Bordeaux. (Countant, p. 507.) General Connor's staff included Capt. N. J. O'Brien, Capt. H. E. Palmer, Lieut. Eugene F. Ware (later to become the well-known Kansas poet, "Ironquill"), and Lieut. A. V. Richards, of the United States army signal corps.

41. The command started July 30, according to H. E. Palmer.

42. Antwine LaDue (*Cf.* Note 40).