

Notes and Documents

The Texas Frontier in 1850: Dr. Ebenezer Swift and the View From Fort Martin Scott by: CALEB COKER AND JANET G. HUMPHREY

The Texas Frontier in 1850 was guarded by a line of army forts ranging from Fort Worth to Fort Duncan near Eagle Pass. With the end of the Mexican War, settlers had begun pushing toward the Texas interior, and troops became available to furnish new towns some measure of protection from raiding bands of Indians.¹ Fort Martin bScott, established between the towns of Fredericksburg and Zodiac in December 1848, was one such military post. The letter reproduced here, from the fort's physician, provides a marvelous glimpse of frontier Texas in 1850. It includes candid descriptions of a farm in Austin, life at the fort, and relationships with the local Indians.

Native Americans living in the vicinity of Fort Martin Scott belonged to a number of tribes. The least predictable and most feared, however, were the Comanches. White settlements disrupted their wide-ranging lifestyle and threatened the abundant supply of game. In the mid-1840s their primary tactic was to attack settlers in small raiding parties and then vanish, often taking with them horses and other livestock. These hit-and-run assaults terrorized those on the frontier for decades.²

The Society for the Protection of German Immigrants in Texas had purchased 10,000 acres of forested land just north of the Pedernales River on Barron's Creek in December 1845. By the following May, settlers began arriving from New Braunfels at the town site named Fredericksburg. Relations between the Germans and local Indian groups developed amicably. The Native Americans traded meat and bear grease for manufactured goods. However, the newcomers still felt ill at ease. One citizen recalled, "several times settlers in Fredericksburg, while out in their gardens or near their log houses, were shot at with arows [sic]." In addition land, under contract for further settlements, needed to be explored. Negotiating a peace treaty with the Comanches in the area became a high priority. The pipe was finally smoked and gifts were exchanged in the spring of 1847.³

During the next two and a half years, more settlers arrived. No fewer than four expeditions explored routes from San Antonio toward the west by way of Fredericksburg. With the prospect of increasing numbers of travelers passing through the area, the Eighth Military Department sent in Captain Seth Eastman with a detachment of the 1st Infantry. In December 1848, they set up their tents at Camp Houston "in the vicinity of the fair grounds." A cavalry unit under the command of Maj. Hamilton W. Merrill soon joined them.⁴

Beginning in 1849, many wagon trains bound for California formed up at Fredericksburg or took advantage of the last opportunity for hundreds of miles to replenish supplies. Others sought a military escort through the reputedly perilous country from soldiers at the fort, now renamed for a hero of the battle of Molino del Rey in the Mexican War.⁵



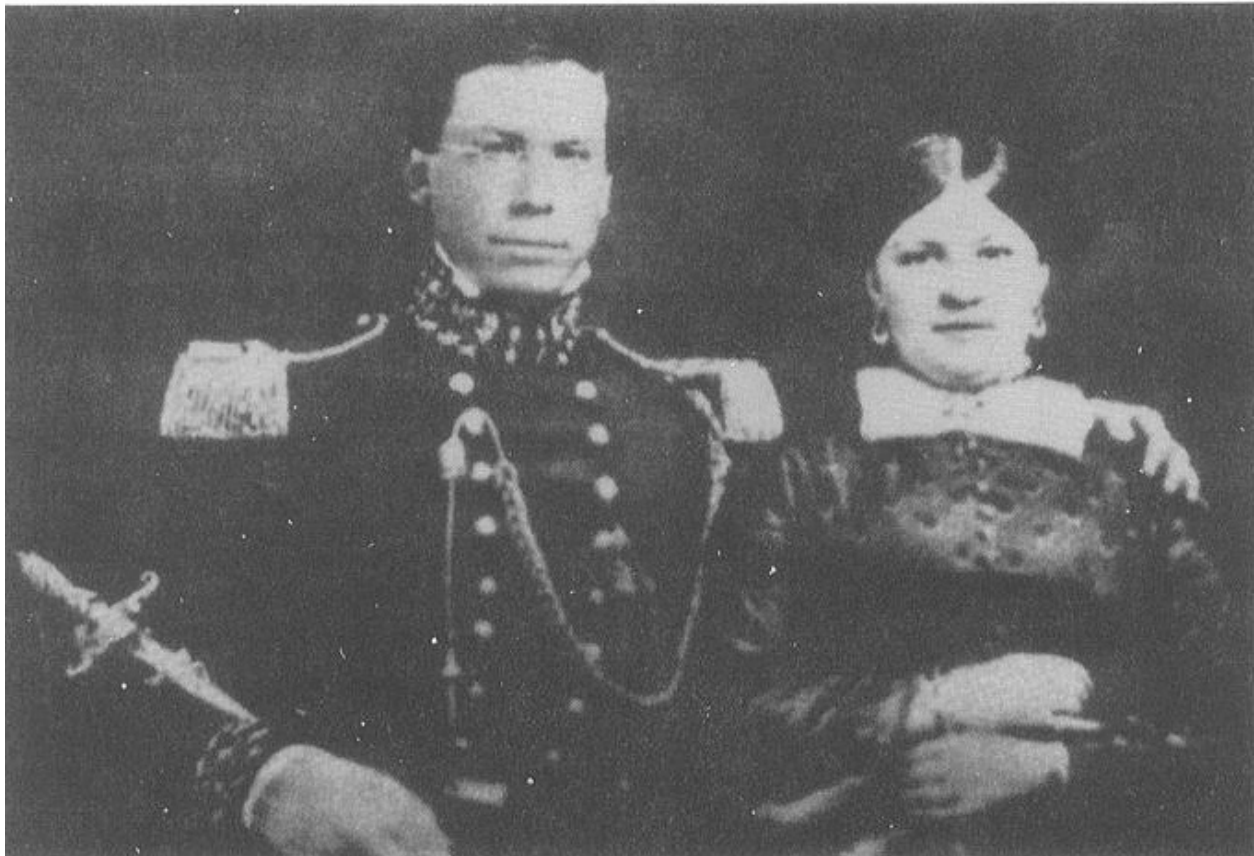
Camp Houston near Fredericksburg, Texas, 65 Miles North of San Antonio, Dec. 1848 by Seth Eastman, 1848. Pencil sketch, 418 x 71/2 inches. Courtesy Marion Koogler, McNay Art Institute, San Antonio.

Construction at Fort Martin Scott, two miles from town, proceeded at a snail's pace. Citizens of Fredericksburg were eager to earn ready money by hauling wood and supplies and helping with construction.⁶ Yet as late as April 1850 the post doctor, U.S. Army Assistant Surgeon Ebenezer Swift, was still living in a tent without a flap, getting soaked when it rained. His hospital was a tarpaulin-covered log building, without proper windows or doors. Despite these conditions, he lamented good-naturedly, "In the depths of my affliction's, I've been led to exclaim, "Our suffering is intolerable!" In all probability, Swift first met Maj. William W. Chapman, to whom this letter is addressed, when both were stationed at Brazos Santiago on the Gulf Coast in 1849.⁷ Both men hailed from Massachusetts, but they traveled different routes before arriving in South Texas. Swift was born in Wareham in 1817 Or 1819, Chapman in Springfield in 1814. In one account Swift left home for adventure on the high seas at age fifteen. He attended the medical department at the University of the City of New York, from which he graduated in 1842. After practicing medicine for five years, he joined the army from Ohio. William Chapman was educated at Westfield Academy and at West Point with the class of 1837. Before departing for the Mexican War, Chapman was assigned to Fort Foster in Florida during the Second Seminole War (1837-1838), Fort Niagara (1838-1841), and Governor's Island, New York City (1841-1846). Both men saw duty in the Mexican War, although Swift served under Gen. Winfield Scott and Chapman was on Gen. John Wool's staff.⁸

When Ebenezer Swift wrote to William Chapman, he was addressing an old friend. Army officers stationed together on the frontier quickly grew close as they coped with

the deprivations of frontier life. No doubt Swift relied on Chapman's abilities as quartermaster to provide the basics of his existence at Brazos Santiago, just as Chapman needed Swift's medical knowledge. In particular, the cholera epidemic, which hit the Brownsville fort in the spring of 1849, drew the men together. Chapman helped Swift tend his patients, and when Chapman's wife Helen became ill, the physician kept careful watch over her progress. His experiences with the disease in Texas stood him in good stead when he faced a similar epidemic at Fort Harker, Kansas, in 1867. For his meritorious service he was brevetted brigadier general at that time.⁹

Ebenezer Swift left Fort Martin Scott in March 1852 for the newly established Camp Johnston on the Concho River. When the post was abandoned in November he was assigned to Fort Chadbourne, where he remained until 1856. He left the state permanently with his next posting, to Fort Snelling, Minnesota.¹⁰



Ebenezer Swift and his bride, Sarah Edwards Capers Swift, at the time of their marriage, February 18, 1852, in San Antonio. This image appears in Edgar Erskine Hume's *Ornithologists of the United States Army Medical Corp* (1942). Courtesy *The General Libraries, The University of Texas at Austin*.

Fort Martin Scott April 27 1850¹¹

Dear Major,

I received a letter from you last fall after I left Austin and had gone to Fort Gates. I did not answer it then because you had left the country and it would not reach you.....¹² In New Orleans, I met several friends and acquaintances what I didn't anticipate and in spite of foreformed resolutions and promises to myself and you, I found myself imperceptibly drawn into a life of dissipation and frolicking, julep drinking, and horse racing. All of which you have heard, I presume, and to which I frankly subscribe baring the embellishment. I think I didn't seek the folly and dissipation of which I was the victim but that they were in my path and I stumbled over them. A lame excuse, very. Isn't it? or clumsy. I think I am social in my disposition and fond of the excitement of society. In it I live and have a being am gay and happy. Without it I become stupid and indolent morose and misanthropic, though, perhaps relatively and negatively a better man. I find I very much require active employment. I have it here or its similitude, in hunting, or in joining the occasional scouting parties in pursuit of Indians, and sufficient leisure for mental culture, in a barren field, when little else can be done than to keep the weeds out. I am reading German with renewed zeal and energy, and refreshing my memory with the collaterals of my profession: Botany, Chemistry, Geology, etc.

I was painfully detained in New Orleans very much longer than I desired and was happy when the hour arrived for my departure for the frontier. With Genl. Brooke, Lieut. Garnet and our very estimable chaplain Mr. Fish I came to San Antonio.¹³ At Indianola I found my things had safely arrived from the Brazos, thanks again and weighty obligations which I hope some day in some manner to repay professionally? No, God forbid! that your "comely proportions" &c should ever require physicing. All had gone on, save and except one bay horse with white saddle marks that had gone off or had been taken off to someplace to me unknown, by, perhaps, another friend of mine just for a joke being in a merry mood but unfortunately absent minded and forgot to bring him back. I remained but a few days in San Antonio. The weather was very warm, the streets very dusty, every body very uncomfortable and I very ill natured. I didn't fall in love with your friend Maj. Babbitt and I never shall.¹⁴ I can't warp my affections into such a narrow channel. I wish you could replace him. A wish that meets a hearty response from many anxious souls along this unhappy line.

With Genl. Harry I went to Austin where I was stationed the remainder of the summer till October.¹⁵ I think this the most pleasant post on the line. I don't mean Fredericksburg. Tis delightfully situated and contains some good society from the fact of its being the seat of Government and the residence of state officers. The inhabitants are hospitable social gay and polite, as the old geography would say, fond of dancing and light amusements. My opinion, however, of Texians is much the same as when I left the Rio Grande, and I have seen the best products of their state. There are some good, among the much bad, some excellent people, but they compose a very meager minority.

I became well acquainted with your brother Thomas in Austin last summer.¹⁶ I saw him every day for four months and have seen him often since. I sometimes go to Austin 'tis only 80 miles distant a three days journey horseback. His house is situated only about 200 yards from the arsenal or garrison. He owns the finest farm in the State, and lives in affluence [.]¹⁷ It is situated on the Colorado about half a mile from the capitol and centre of the city, and lies chiefly within the corporation. It contains about 300 acres finely fenced, and in excellent cultivation. It is bounded on the North by the Arsenal, on the West by the town proper, on the South by the Colorado, and on the East by Judge Luckett's farm.¹⁸ He owns other land in the neighborhood, and 12, 000 acres on the San Antonio river.

He has comfortable buildings of every kind, storehouses, cookhouse, smokehouse; he preserves his own meat, and a New England barn, substantial, spacious and ornamental. In every respect it will compare well with any in his native state. His dwelling does not come under the description grand magnificent etc. 'Tis very much such a house as the one you built for me at the Brazos. It contains two rooms, one of which is his office. A most admirable arrangement for a bachelor. He has another house about the same size as this and standing near it, now vacant, formerly occupied by the sutler and his family, Mr. Nash. You know him.

We all think him to be a gentleman, an excellent man, and honest, some reports that lightly floated over the scandal atmosphere to the contrary notwithstanding. I say scandal in contradistinction to the more salubrious and healthy. "Tis a noted fact and a source of some consolation to the more humble as well as the great, that unnamed missiles are aimed high and only hit to hurt the fair fame and reputation on the towering height.

Your brother "made," in local parlance, in '48, more than 3000 bushels corn [,] 300 sweet potatoes [,] a large quantity of oats and sold 150 worth of butter during the previous winter. He anticipated a much larger yield of everything last year and that his corn crop would amount to 8 to 10,000 bushels. He has a ready market for every thing except his melons and vegetables of which he has enough to supply half the State. He sold his corn for 75 cents and the other articles proportionately high. He is rich of course and growing richer. He gathers gold more abundantly from his farm than his brother will from the placers of California. Have you recently heard from him? I often went with Thomas to look at his fields and gardens at the corn and potatoes the pumpkins melons beans peas cows hogs chickens and a hundred things I couldn't mention to save my life. The rare and beauti[ful], the native and the exotic. I often wished, and not always mentally, you were with me to feast your eyes on this loveliness of nature, but you have been north since, and seen what you can't have.

Your brother owns two carriages horses etc. and half a dozen Negroes or "niggers," but this "entre no[u]s" I would mention low, in a whisper. He thinks you would not like to hear it or at least Mrs. C would not. So don't speak it out loud! He has apologized to me for this anti-New England act; I was satisfied and think you will be. He assured me it was impossible to work his farm with free labour, it could not be depended on, and I

question whether his melons would be any sweeter or his butter richer flavoured and as to the right and wrong etc. morally, that's another thing. His slaves are warmly attached to him and closely, not with manacles and chains but with kindness and gentle manners. They seem to be cheerful and gay, comfortable and happy. They are better fed and clothed and I think enjoy more freedom than thousands poor mechanics and labourers of the North who are fettered to poverty and want. I would love to see them emancipated. I have less sympathy for the blacks. Slavery is a knotty question on which I prefer not to commit myself, however, as a politician would say, or perhaps more guardedly still, think...

I urged upon your brother the importance of making a change in his present course of life. I mean from bachelorship to the silken cords of matrimony. My eloquence failed on him either from precept or example. He has promised however to make your son his heir and to give you his homestead if you will come and live on it.¹⁹

I was relieved in November at Fort Gates on the Leon River by Dr. Johns and came to this post.²⁰ I have been here since. In some respects there is not a pleasanter on this line or perhaps on the Rio Grande. In point of location and climate. We have very few days we could wish warmer or colder 'tis so uniformly temperate. We have no such weather as is called wet and rainy yet the ground is sufficiently watered by copious showers. During this month we have had 4.6 inches rain and the monthly mean of the thermometer has been 63°. In summer the latter seldom rises above 96° and in winter it rarely falls below 40°. The nights in summer are always cool and require a blanket and more than half the time in winter a fire is necessary. I have not had any however except[t] a basin of coals occasionally in my tent. When it is disagreeably cold I visit my more comfortable friends.

Fort Martin Scott is located in a beautiful live oak grove on a gentle grassy slope in a bend of Barron's creek about a mile from its mouth[.]²¹ Tis a stream of excellent water and flows more than half way around the garrison and in a valley ten miles long and five broad bounded on three sides by ranges of high hills and on the fourth by a country spreading out towards the East in undulating prairie alternating grass and post oak timber[.] The fertile valley of the Pedernales. It is elevated about two thousand feet above the sea and free from the fogs and vapours of the coast. The streams are all rapid clear and transparent having their source among the mountains and hills in a thousand living springs of cold sparkling water.

About two miles from us on opposite sides are the towns of Fredericksburg and Zodiac. The former contains 1,000 the latter 200 inhabitants both on the Pedernales. The former is Dutch, the latter Mormon; the former the more honest; the other the more thrifty, both poor very poor. They enjoy none of the luxuries of life save filth and indolence, and have but few of what are called necessaries. They furnish the garrison partially with butter eggs, and vegetables and get drunk with they [sic] soldiers. They chiefly belong to the lowest grade of society and compose the last link of humanity.²²



Fort Martin Scott by Richard Petri ca. 1853. Unfinished oil painting, 16 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 23 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches. *Courtesy Texas Memorial Museum.*

I visit the towns but seldom and have formed the acquaintance of but few. There are two clergymen in Fredericksburg, a Catholic and a German Lutheran. The latter is highly educated and refined a most excellent gentleman and his wife is a very intelligent and interesting lady. They speak English a little and [I speak German a little].²³ My visits to his family are very pleasant.

The Fort as it is called contains a few log houses for officers and soldiers quarters built by the men from the timber in the neighborhood and enclosed with a stick and brush fence that don't keep the hogs out. I have a miserable thing made of round logs chinked with mud and clay covered with a [tar]paulin and designated by the proud name of Hospital. It has a hole in each end for the purpose of windows without frame sash or glass, but a piece of woolen blanket a foot and half square which serves for all. I must stoop very much on entering the doorway or knock my head[.] The entire fabric would tumble down but for the kindly support of sundry posts and stakes, which prop it on all sides. Col. Staniford has a house for himself and family nearly completed, it is regularly framed, is walled and partitioned with logs, and contains four rooms and kitchen.²⁴ It is to have glass windows, adobie chimnies and to be whitewashed inside and out.

The face of nature here is lovely, noble hills fine fields and beautiful streams but botched and deformed by the works of man. I am living in a tent with a floor, but without a fly I am drenched in every storm and it usually rains at night and am roasted every day that the sun is unclouded. My tent seems to act as a kind of a calorificator[.] I often sigh for the comforts of the Brazos and the lower Rio Grande, which I might have enjoyed much longer and I was I think quite as much intitled as Dr. Anderson and it was well known some one must relieve Dr. Abadie before I left.²⁵ I have however enjoyed all the pleasures and novelty of frequent change, have marched to the remoter posts and back, lived all Winter in a tent wet and cold, and living so now not so cold but quite as wet, lost horses, and baggage, lived beyond my means, and have been as delightfully uncomfortable as it was possible to be on all occasions save one and that the steam passage I took from the Brazos which made Dr. J so wretched, and my mortal foe, though it afforded him an excellent subject for gossip and in which I find he most liberally indulged, consistent in him very.²⁶ In the depths of my afflictions, I've been led to exclaim "our suffering is intolerable!" I was however well situated at Austin only annoyed with the daily anticipation of being moved. The post was only temporary for the distribution of troops. We have two companies here one of Dragoons, and one of Infantry. About one hundred more Sunday soldiers, and weekday artisans and labourers except drunkards and prisoners. Col. Stanniford commands the post Maj. Merrill, the Dragoons, and Capt. Beardsley the Infantry Lt Blake, the C. S. and Q. M. departments, and I, the Hospital.²⁷

The agreeable society of three Ladies, Mrs. Stanniford Mrs. Mumford and Mrs. Beardsley enlivens the heavy monotony of the place.²⁸ Mrs. M is seemingly comfortable and happy, her time engrossed in the cares of her little charge Tomy who grows and increases in intelligence and fat, stands alone has got his teeth or some of them and says "da da" most distinctly and emphatically. His precocity delights Mama and astonishes everybody as all such juveniles have a happy faculty of doing. A faculty however even they most unfortunately loose before they have an opportunity of making the most of it. Mrs. M has written to you and Mrs. C to Springfield and to the Rio Grande. I have anticipated hearing from you through her but have been disappointed.

She has heard nothing from her husband.²⁹ I was delighted that she came to this post, she seems to me like a friend of years rather than the acquaintance of months. We often meet and talk of Brazos and Fort Brown and those who lived there a year ago. We are so far off we hear nothing of the gossip and slander of your post except a recent courtship of the Doctor and the rivalry of Lt. Denman[-] highly amusing but as we judged a diversion from the truth incident to distance long travel or peculiar meteorological phenomena.³⁰

Representatives of various tribes of Indians have visited us some of them are almost constantly in and about our camp and more than two hundred have been here at a time. They are Comanches Kickapoos Seminoles Delawares and Cado's.³¹ The Lipan's have been here also or some of them.³² They came to beg a little land to plant with corn and vegetables peaceably and quietly. The Col. has given them permission to do so. Their story was a sad one simple and truthful but uncomplaining. They live 150 miles to the N.

West and wish to move within the protection of our garrison. They number about 120 men women and children.

These are they of whose savage exploits you have heard so much. This is the formidable army of woo warriors that invaded the lower Rio Grande and Brownsville a year ago. These are the very shields that killed 100 men at Corpus Christi burned two rancho's and stole 777 mustangs from Col. Kinney and property enough to make them all rich, yet they are all poor, miserably poor, and wretched.³³ These are the savages who "murdered fathers and husbands and carried mothers wives and children into captivity worse than death." The same who killed Maj. Brian of Corpus Christi last winter.³⁴ They of whom ten thousand horrid things are told, not one of which do I believe.

I knew Maj. Brian very well. I saw him a few days before he left Austin to go home. He had several dollars in gold with him. He was killed for that and robed by a party of white men. They were seen by women at a house distant from the road. One of those tremendously brave and efficient ranger companies went in pursuit.³⁵ They did nothing and consequently the necessity of a flaming newspaper report. They got near enough to know they were a formidable band of Indians but owing to some unforeseen, unaccountable, and unprecedented accident they did not capture them.

A Delaware chief who has lived a long time on this frontier told me the following. He knows the tribe well. The Lipans who are now but a handful poor and weak were once strong and powerful. They were the earliest and oldest friends of the [illegible], were soldiers and spies in war against the Comanche and Mexican, and are noted by the former and other tribes on that account still. They received some pay from the republic and lost their warriors fighting its battles. Like Logan their misfortunes all came from being the friends of the white man.³⁶ Three years ago they lived about twenty miles from here peaceably and happily planting corn and hunting. A party from a distant tribe who had been stealing horses and committing other depredations in the settlements passed through their town, led their pursuers into it and made their escape.

The gallant ranger captain came on foaming with rage and glowing with noble zeal for deeds of mighty daring and found the Lipans remained at work in their fields and killed them. He burned their town and plundered and destroyed everything. A few were absent, hunting or fishing, others saved themselves by flight. Some women and children strayed, were lost and died of hunger in the woods and on the prairie.

Since then the Lipan has been the lawful pray and plunder of white men and Indians, everybody. White men have stolen robed and killed and said the Lipan did it. Comanches and other Indians have done the same and circulated a similar report.

I have become acquainted with many of the Indians they seem very friendly and amiable. My Buggie is an object of great curiosity they all collect in great crowds around it, feel of it, and the horse, and seem to think the wood and leather a part of the animal. They regard me also as something remarkable, another evidence of their simplicity, and greenness, or ignorance of the world of men and things.

A few weeks ago, I had an opportunity to astonish them as well as very much to surprise myself. A chief by the name of Mos-Cho-Co-te was found very ill upon the prairie by some of his tribe and was conveyed into the trading house on the Lleano.³⁷ The medicine men of different tribes assembled and expended all their skill upon him without success. His disease grew worse every day. His Doctors could do no more and they and he and everybody expected he would die. He desired to see me. I received his message a little after noon, set out immediately and arrived at the trading house late at night. I found him very low, in fact, I did not think he could live twelve hours. He could scarcely speak was muttering deliriously, breathed with great difficulty, and was quite insensible. He did not know me.

Runners had been sent out to the Indians in the neighbourhood for them to come in to see him die and to bury him. A large number had already assembled. I found my patient with pneumonia, he had been sick two weeks. He had been steamed and sweated drycuped and vomited, most excellent treatment for a milder attack. I wet cuped and blistered, and all that "sort o' thing,["] gave him some relief, and went to bed. On the following day he was better, on the third he was so much improved as to allow me to leave him. His friends considered it a miracle of the Great Spirit and so did I. I have not written this to impress you with the idea that the Lord had given the power to any one here to do miracles and to cast out devils etc; but to give you the character of my private practice, and more than all an excuse to write the following.

A few days subsequent to the above some Delawares came into the garrison and reported they had met on the Lleano three Waco's who had just returned from a robing expedition in Mexico.³⁸ They had horses, mules etc. they had stolen. They said their party all together numbered twenty, that the remaindin[g] seventeen would be up the next day with a large amount of stolen property. Maj. Merrill was sick, Capt. Beardsley is lame and can't ride, and besides it was quite time I made my patient a visit. The Col. was kind enough to give me a command of fifteen Dragoons and a corporal with orders to intercept the Indians, take them prisoners or "rub them out" in Indian phraseology.

The Sun was going down when I rode out of the garrison with my little squadron and I had 35 miles to march before I could arrive at the point where I was informed the Indians would pass the next day. The stars my only guide over a broken country through woods among rocks across ravines and small rivers without a road and only occasionally a blind trail I pursued my way as briskly as the nature of the ground would permit.

About 10 o'clock when I judged I had traveled seventeen or eighteen miles, and had arrived at the top of a high ridge of hills, I saw in the valey below me, among the trees at the distance of a mile and a half a fire. I conceived this could be no other than that of the Indians I was looking for as I was in the neighbourhood of their trail and presumed they had encamped in this rather secluded spot for a few hours at night intending to proceed only in the morning. I was quite elated with my success. I ordered my men to proceed with the greatest caution, to make as little noise as possible with their horses

and being myself at their head I regulated their gait. Advancing nearer I was able to make out their position and strength.

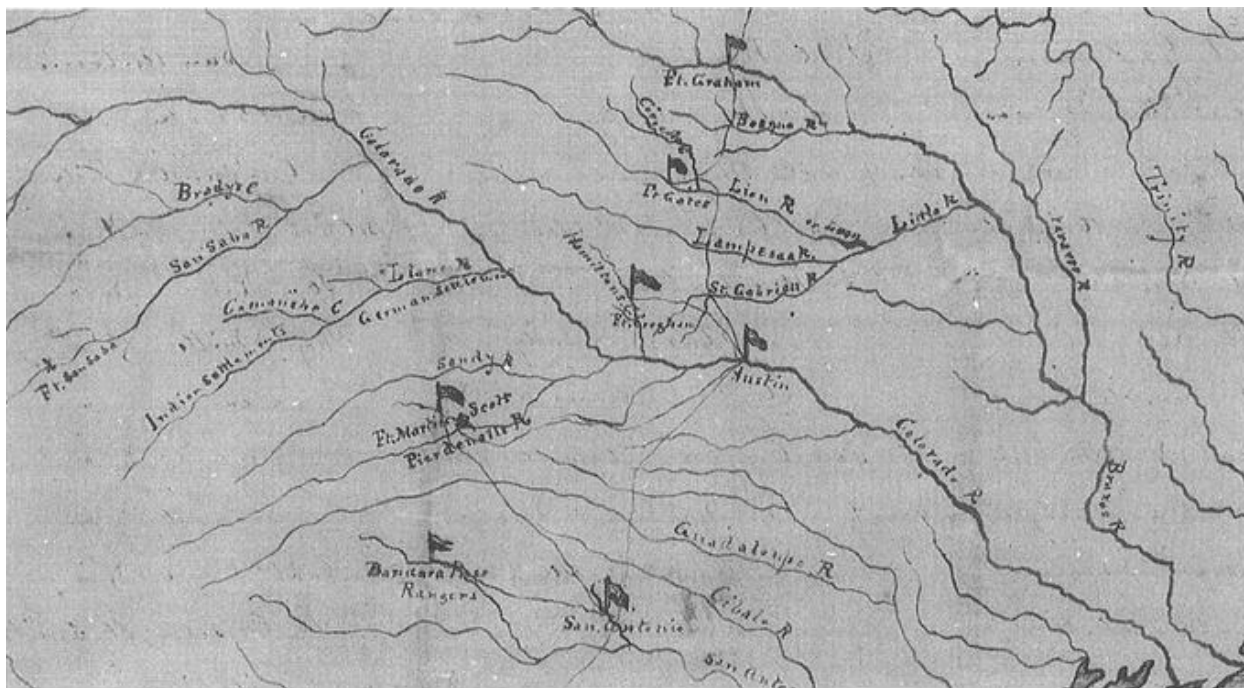
They were encamped in a post oak grove on a small stream and had four or five fires. I accordingly judged they numbered perhaps twenty as one fire accommodates five or six Indians. Continuing on slowly and very cautiously to within two hundred yards of the camp, I dismounted gave my horse to one of the men and proceeded to reconnoitre the enemy, to find the most accessible point in the wood and where his horses were picketed in order to get between him and them, and prevent his escape. Being well satisfied with my observations I mounted my horse, and in a low suppressed voice, through the corporal ordered my men to take their arms, to follow me in a close body to the fires, then deploy right and left, surround the camp and permit no one to escape.

A slight murmur and rattling along the line was an impressive and satisfactory response. I gave the word "forward!" and in a moment we were in the centre of the camp. They had not discovered us they were all asleep even the dogs that did not honour us with a growl. I say they were asleep. I thought they were but I saw no one. All was as calm and quiet as the grave. I kept my seat and looked about me with astonishment wondering what had become of my enemy and began to think the death-like silence ominous. I ordered the men to keep their positions and look sharply about. Suddenly twenty savages or more made their appearance from under skins as if from the ground after the manner of their traditionary origin. We were prepared for a desperate rencontre knowing the Indians would fight if cornered and had less fear of death than of capture and besides they were well armed. At this moment of tremendous excitement an Indian came forward and addressed me with "How di do?"

It was Props-so-no-qua-it) or Buffalo Hump, the chief of the Comanches.³⁹ I was disgusted and could scarcely treat my old friend and acquaintance with proper cordiality. We talked together a few moments in very bad Spanish ascertained each others business[. I] consigned him to the kind care and protection of the Great Spirit and bid him "Adios" with a heart heavy and sad with disappointment. A glorious enthusiasm that had soared high and played sportively among the stars fell like a meteor to Earth and went out. I resumed my journey and found its end about two o'clock in the morning. I hid my men and horses at the bottom of a deep ravine through which ran a stream of most excellent water and at the place where the Indian trail crossed[.]

I posted my sentinels and rolled myself in my blanket to sleep. The night was rather cold and I had got chilled being so long in the saddle and I dare not make a fire for fear of being discovered. Being fatigued however I went promptly into a state of forgetfulness and felt as comfortable as I ever did in my life. Early that morning I sent my horses out to graze a few minutes then hid them again in the ravine. I cooked a piece of bacon on the end of a forked stick, made some coffee in my tin cup and with a piece of bread I brought along with me, enjoyed a sumptuous breakfast. I have become a very good woodsman.

During the day many friendly Indians came to see me, more than a thousand were in the neighbourhood. Among others some old friends of yours. Co-ah-coo-che and Gofer John.⁴⁰ I wont bore you with any farther detail but will occupy the remainder of this sheet more profitably. I will say however Co-ah-coo-che is planting corn and rice on the Lleano and has about 200 of his people with him. He has become dis- gusted with the laws of the Medes and Persians, or in other words, the fixed and arbitrary [rules?"] of the Creeks and has peacebly dissolved the union.⁴¹



Detail of the map drawn by Dr. Swift, which takes up the last page of his letter to Chapman. Courtesy Barker Texas History Center, University of Texas at Austin.

The following is a list of names of officers and the different post on this line commencing with the most northerly:

- Fort Graham on the Brazos⁴²
- Bvt. Lt. Col. Bomford Com.dg
- Bvt. Maj. F. Hamilton & Lady
- Lt. Street
- Lt. Stewart
- Doctor Steiner

- Fort Gates on the Leon⁴³
- Bvt. Lt. Col. Montgomery Com.dg
- Bvt. Capt. Snelling
- Lt. Pickett
- Lt. Haldeman
- Lt. Alvord
- Doctor Johns

Fort Martin Scott on the Pierdinalis

Lt. Col Staniford and family

Maj. Merrill and Lt Blake

Capt. Beardsley and Lady

Yrs Truly Doctor Swift

Fort Worth⁴⁴

Bvt. Maj. Arnold & Lady

Bvt. Capt. McClay

Lt. Bold

Lt. Starr & Lady

Doctor Williams

Fort Croghan Hamiltons Creek⁴⁵

Bvt. Maj. G.A.H. Blake

Capt. A. Lee & Lady

Lt. Fink

Doctor Barnes & Lady

Austin Hd. Qs. 2d Dragoons⁴⁶

Lt. Col Fauntleroy and family

Lts. Steel [?] and Tree

Ft Lincoln on the Seco⁴⁷

Maj. Morrison and family

Lts. Oaks and Dodge

Lts. Cummings & Roy

San Antonio⁴⁸

Gen Brooke

Gen. Garland & Lady

Bvt Col. Johnson & Lady

Bvt. Lt. " Reeve & Lady

Bvt. Maj. Smith & Lady

Bvt. Maj. Deas & Lady

Bvt. Maj. Babbitt & Lady

Bvt. Maj. Longstreet & Lady

Bvt. Capt. Wood & Lady

Lt Crozet - Lt. Smith

Lt. Pitcher – Lt. Mickler

Lt. Benton – Lt. Bryan

Majs. Hutter and Belger

Dr. Wright & Chaplain Fish

Fort Inge on the Leone⁴⁹
Lt. Col. Hardee & Lady
"Tyler and Lady
Mai. Sprague Lt. Merchant & Jackson
Doctor Getty
Two Cos. at a post, usually one of Dragoons and one of Infantry. One Co. of
Rangers at Bandera Pass

Truly yours,
Ebenezer Swift

[The last page of this letter is a hand-drawn map of most of the State of Texas showing many of the rivers and forts in the state. Written vertically at the top of the first and second pages is this addition.]

P.S. Since I came to this post I have lost my father. He survived my Mother a year and died on the same day and nearly the same hour. In them I've lost the best, the truest & the dearest of friends and in that loss was severed the strongest tie of humanity[.]⁵⁰

My Father lived to a good age and died of disease of the heart[.] His illness was brief and void of suffering[.] He was the best and purest man I ever knew. I shall never know his like.

Since I came to Texas I have lost both my parents and now tis very necessary for me to go home if I may be said to have a home and shall make an effort to get a leave of absence. If I survive in which I have but little hope, I shall be off by the middle of August.⁵¹ My heart has overflowed with gratitude to you for your many favours and kindnesses to me and my thanks though pure and sincere are much too poor to cancel so great a debt.

Give my kind regards to Mrs C._ tell her I have not quite forgotten my promise to prepare some specimens of birds for her. The first fruits of my labours were destroyed by the cats. I shall be more careful and hope to be more fortunate in my second[.]⁵²

We have heard of Lt. Hudson's misfortune and that he was probably mortally wounded. I hope 'tis not so mortally.⁵³

Give my respects to my friends at your place. Such changes have been made since I left I don't know what officers are with you

Truly yours &c
Ebn. Swift

END NOTES

*Caleb Coker, a great-great grandson of the recipient of this letter, is a lawyer living in Jacksonville, Florida. He is the author of *The News from Brownsville, Helen Chapman's Letters from the Texas Military Frontier, 1848-1852*. Janet G Humphrey is a freelance writer and historian living in Austin. She is the author of *A Texas Suffragist Diaries and Writings of Jane Y. McCallum*.

¹ Rupert N. Richardson, Ernest Wallace and Adrian Anderson, *Texas, The Lone Star State*, 5th ed., (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice Hall, 1988), 171

² Robert M. Utley, *Frontiersmen in Blue, The United States Army and the Indian, 1848-1865* (New York, MacMillan Co. 1967), 59-60, I. R. Fehrenbach, *Lone Star, A History of Texas and the Texans* (New York: MacMillan Publishing Co., 1968), 469-470, 477

³ William W. Newcomb. Jr., *German Artist on the Texas Frontier, Friedrich Richard Petri* (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1978) 47,50-54, 58, 59, LaGrange, *Deutsche Zeitung*, Aug. 19, 1915, quoted in R. L. Biesele, "The Relations Between the German Settlers and the Indians in Texas, 1844-1860," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXXI (Oct., 1927), 121 (Quotation) (cited hereafter as SHQ) The legend of the Easter Fires dates from the time of treaty negotiations. See Wilhelm Petmecky, *Legendary Tales – Easter Fires of Fredericksburg* (4th ed., Fredericksburg: Fredericksburg Publishing Co., 1963) 11.

⁴ William C. Pool, *A Historical Atlas of Texas* (Austin: Encino Press, 1975), 98– 101, Elise Kowerts *Historic Homes In and Around Fredericksburg* (Fredericksburg: Fredericksburg Publishing Co., 1980), 181; Robert Penniger (ed.), *Fredericksburg, Texas. The First Fifty Years*, trans, Charles L. Wisseman (Fredericksburg, Fredericksburg Publishing Co., 197 i), 37 (quotation). Eastman (1808-1875) graduated from West Point in 1829. A talented artist, he made numerous sketches and watercolors of the area while stationed at Fort Martin Scott. Of particular interest to this period is *A Seth Eastman Sketchbook, 1848-1849*, intro Lois Burkhalter (Austin: University Of - Texas Press, 1961). In the 1850s he was stationed at Forts Duncan and Chadbourne in Texas, and he illustrated Henry Rowe Schoolcraft's six-volume study of Indians, published between 1852 and 1857. Walter Prescott Webb, H Bailey Carroll, and Eldon Stephen Branda (eds.), *The Handbook of Texas* (3 vols, Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1952, 1976), 1, 539. Hamilton Wilcox Merrill, West Point '38, was brevetted during the Mexican War and died in 1892. Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, September 29, 1789, to March 2, 1903*, (2 vols., 1903, reprint, Gaithersburg, Md. Olde Soldiers Books, 1988) 1, 705.

⁵ Mabelle Eppard Martin, "California Emigrant Roads Through Texas" SHQ, XXVIII, (Apr, 1925), 295-296. See also Mabelle Eppard Martin (ed.), *From Texas to California in 1849*

⁶ Penniger (ed.), *Fredericksburg*, 33

⁷ Chapman served as quartermaster at both the Brazos Santiago military depot and Fort Brown in Brownsville at this time. Caleb Coker (ed.), *The News From Brownsville: Helen Chapman's Letters from the Texas Military Frontier, 1848-1852* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1992), 83 n 7

⁸ *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography* (1891, 1907, reprint, Ann Arbor University Microfilms, 1967), V, 177; M. I. Crimmins, "Experiences of an Army Surgeon at Fort Chadbourne," *West Texas Historical Year Book*, XV (Oct., 1939), 31-32, Heitman, *Historical Register*, I, 940-941. Biographical material on Chapman is from Coker (ed.), *The News from Brownsville*, XII, XVI

⁹ William Chapman to Emily Blair. Mar 4, 1849, William W. Chapman Collection, Eugene C. Barker Texas History Center, University of Texas at Austin (cited hereafter as CC). Helen Chapman to Emily Blair, Mar. 24, Apr. 13, May 5, and July 14, 1849, CC, Heitman, *Historical Register* I, 940-941

¹⁰ Crimmins, "Experiences of an Army Surgeon," 35-36, 38

¹¹ This letter is in the Chapman Collection. Our transcription retains original spelling and punctuation. Much of the paragraphing is the editors', as is the material in square brackets.

¹² Swift must have been the first surgeon at Fort Gates, as it was established in October 1849. This fort was located on the Leon River near present-day Gatesville. Webb, Carroll and Branda (eds.), *Handbook of Texas*, I, 623-626. The Chapmans left Fort Brown on a trip north in September 1849 and returned in January 1850, Coker (ed.), *The News from Brownsville*, 148-149. Material deleted here and in one other instance is irrelevant to Swift's posting at Fort Martin Scott.

¹³ George Mercer Brooke commanded the Eighth Military Department of Texas, headquartered in San Antonio, when this letter was written. He entered military service in 1808, became a major general during the Mexican War, and died on March 9, 1851 Webb, Carroll, and Branda (eds.), *Handbook of Texas*, I, 248. Lt. Garnet is probably Robert Selden Garnett, whose career included service as a brigadier general in the Confederate army. He was stationed at Ringgold Barracks in 1853. Heitman, *Historical Register*, I, 447, M. L. Crimmins (ed.), W. G. Freeman's Report on the Eighth Military Department," SHQ, LII (Oct 1948), 230. Chaplain John F. Fish was stationed at Fort McKavett, Texas, after leaving San Antonio He died in 1878, Heitman, *Historical Register*, I, 420.

¹⁴ Edwin Burr Babbitt, West Point '26, rose through the ranks of the quartermaster's department and died in 1881 Heitman, *Historical Register*, I, 177-178.

¹⁵ "General" Harry Love was a jack-of-all-trades—sailor, scout, ranger, and Army express rider – on the frontier, where he arrived in 1846. He explored the upper Rio Grande between March and August 1850. In 1851 he went to California, where he died at age fifty-eight in 1868, Coker (ed.) *The News From Brownsville*, 347.

¹⁶ Thomas Finley Chapman, William's older brother, was born in Springfield, Mass., on July 20, 1812. Chapman Family Bible, private collection. He relocated to Louisiana some time between 1858 and 1866, Thomas Chapman to William Chapman, Mar 15, 1858, and diary of Helen Chapman, 1866, both in private collection.

¹⁷ The 1850 census reports the value of his real estate as \$2,670. Mrs. V. K. Carpenter, transcriber, *United States Seventh Census (1850), Travis County, Texas, Population Schedules, City of Austin* (Huntsville, Ala.: Century Enterprises, 1969), 1,895

¹⁸ Since the federal arsenal was located on Water Street between Sabine and East Avenues, Thomas Chapman's farm would have been southeast of present-day East First Street and Interstate 35 David G. Humphrey, *Austin An Illustrated History*

(Northridge, Calif.: Windsor Publications, 1985), 38. The 1850 census lists Nolen Luckett, a forty-five-year-old farmer, as a head of household, Carpenter, transcriber, *Seventh Census (1850), Travis County*, 1, 896

¹⁹ On February 18, 1852, Swift married Sarah Capers, whom he had first met in San Antonio in 1850. Their son Eben, who had a distinguished military career, was born in May 1854, Crimmins, "Experiences of an Army Surgeon," 33, 35, Webb, Carroll, and Branda (eds.), *Handbook of Texas*, II, 698. Chapman's son Willie was ten years old in 1850.

²⁰ Assistant surgeon Edward W. Jones joined the army in June 1849, served in the Confederate army and died in 1892, *Historical Register*, I, 574.

²¹ Barron's Creek is a tributary of the Pedernales, Webb, Carroll, and Branda (eds.), *Handbook of Texas*, I, 115

²²²² Zodiac was founded by Lyman Wight and his followers, who split with Brigham Young over his plan to move to Utah. The settlement was established in 1847 and abandoned in 1851. Wight was elected Gillespie County judge in 1850, *ibid*, II, 235, 907. Swift has overestimated the population of Fredericksburg. Census data give the total population as 754, U.S. Census Office, *Statistical View of the United States*, 7th Census, 1850 (Washington, D.C.: B. Tucker, 1854), 354. While only a few stone houses had been constructed in the town by 1850, there were several stores, two churches, and a hotel, Terry G. Jordan, *German Seed in Texas Soil: Immigrant Farmers in Nineteenth-Century Texas* (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1966), 166; Penniger (ed.), *Fredericksburg*, 33, 47, 59, 61. A traveler to the town in 1849 also remarked on the poverty of the town where "acorns were used as coffee, and grass and cactus served as substitute foods", Gilbert J. Jordan (trans and ed.), "W. Steinert's View of Texas in 1849." *SHQ*, LXXX (Oct. 197), 199. An incident occurring several months after Swift's letter indicates that relations between the fort and the settlers were not always tranquil. A soldier appearing at Hunter's store was refused liquor on the grounds that he was already drunk. When he verbally abused the owner, Hunter stabbed him to death. The next day the soldier's comrades returned, seeking vengeance. Upon discovering that Hunter had escaped, they burned down his store. The fire also destroyed county records. Penniger (ed.), *Fredericksburg*, 33, 47, 61.

²³ The priest may have been either Father Menzel or Father Dubois. The Fredericksburg Catholic Church had no regular clergyman during these years, but both served intermittently from other parishes Penniger (ed.), *Fredericksburg*, 61. The German Lutheran was Pastor Gottlieb Burchard Dangers, who with his wife Mathilda had arrived in Fredericksburg by 1849. He taught school for a time and served his church until his death in 1869. Gillespie County Historical Society *Pioneers in God's Hills a history of Fredericksburg and Gillespie County People and Events* (Austin- Von Boeckmann-Jones, 1960), 27-29. The bracketed material was originally written in the outdated German Kurrent script. The editors are grateful to Prof. Hubert Heinen, University of Texas at Austin, for his translation of Swift's grammatically incorrect phrase.

²⁴ Thomas Staniford took command of Fort Martin Scott on December 22, 1849, and remained there until October 1852. He had joined the army in Vermont in 1812 and by June 1846 had attained the rank of lieutenant colonel of the Eighth Infantry. He was

breveted during the Mexican War and died on February 3, 1855, Kowert, *Historic Homes*, 183, Heitman, *Historical Register*, I, 915.

²⁵ Assistant surgeon William Wallace Anderson served from June 1849 until he resigned to serve as a surgeon in the Confederate army, Heitman, *Historical Register*, I, 165. Both Swift and Chatman knew French native Eugene Hilarian Abadie in South Texas. He joined the army as an Assistant surgeon in 1836 and died in 1874, Heitman, *Historical Register*, I, 149.

²⁶ "Dr. J _____" is probably Nathan S. Jarvis, a mutual friend from South Texas.

²⁷ Company B of the Second Dragoons and Company K of the Eighth Infantry were stationed at Fort Martin Scott in 1850, Arrie Barrett, "Federal Military Outposts in Texas, 1846-1861" (M A thesis, University of Texas, 1927), 193. West Pointer John Beardsley was breveted captain in 1847 and was at Fort Chadbourne in 1853 He served briefly as a colonel In the Civil War. Edward O. Blake, West Point '47, was promoted to captain in 1860 and served as assistant inspector general in the Confederate army He died in 1882, Heitman, 1 *Historical Register*, 1, 203, 223, Crimmins (ed.), " W G Freeman's Report," *SHQ*, LIII (Apr. 1950), 445. In addition to ninety-six soldiers, the 1850 census lists five dependents, a hospital matron, a clerk, a merchant, and nine laundresses with their dependents as living at Fort Martin Scott, *United States Seventh Census (1850)*, II, 838-839.

²⁸ Jane Stamford, age forty, was born in New York, as were thirty-four-year-old Jennie Mumford and Mary Beardsley, age twenty-five. *United States Seventh Census (1850)*, 11, 839. Jennie Mumford lived at Fort Brown between October 1848 and March 1849 and was a close friend of the Chapmans. See Helen Chapman to Emily Blan, Oct. 22 and Oct. 24, 1848, GC

²⁹ Ferdinand Mumford had resigned, from the military in August 1849 He and Jennie were divorced in the early 1850s. Heitman, *Historical Register*, I, 735, Coker (ed.), *The News from Brownsville*, 82

³⁰ "The Doctor" may be Nathan S. Jarvis, who married Jennie Mumford after her divorce. Frederick John Denman graduated from the military academy in 1842. He was killed in an accident in March 1853, Heitman, *Historical Review*, I, 367.

³¹ Comanche bands entered Texas from the north following buffalo herds and threatened Spanish, Mexican, and Texian Settlements alike, as well as other Native Americans. Kickapoos, Seminoles, and Delawares were forced into Texas from the east, primarily because of Anglo encroachments on then territory. The agricultural and highly cultured Caddoes had lived in Texas for centuries, W. W. Newcomb, 11 , *The Indians of Texas From Prehistoric to Modern Times* (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1961), 155-158, 279-282, 336, 347.

³² The Lipans, a group of eastern Apaches, had a long history of belligerent relationships but had become much subdued by the mid-nineteenth century. *Ibid*, 107-109.

³³ "Colonel" Henry L. Kinney came to Texas in 1838 and settled on a ranch in Corpus Christi, which he helped found, in 1841. During the Mexican war he was initially a staff member in the northern campaign. A trader and promoter, Kinney also served in the state Senate, Webb, Carroll, and Branda (eds.), *Handbook of Texas*. I, 962

³⁴ Maj. Benjamin Bryant was ambushed by Indians of uncertain tribe who had also taken horses from a nearby rancho. Dorman H. Winfrey and James M. Day (eds.), *The Indian Papers of Texas and the Southwest, 1825-1916* (5 vols., Austin: Pemberton Press, 1966) 1 III, 113.

³⁵ "Ranging companies," as they were then known, were locally recruited, mounted militias, authorized and sometimes equipped by the state, Fehrenbach, *Lone Star*, 472 (quotation). 473

The official version of the pursuit is that Capt. J. Cr Grumbles, with a "detachment of twenty-three men," chased the Indians for over 300 miles without overtaking them. Winfrey and Day (eds.), **The Indian Papers**, 111, 113. The rangers were more mobile than the U S Army but were criticized by the regulars for their lack of discipline Robert Wooster, *Soldiers, Sutlers and Settlers - Garrison Life on time Texas Frontier* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1987), 195

³⁶ In two attacks against Comanche camps, Col. John H. Moore's forces included Lipans. On the San Saba in January 1839 with Chief Castro and in September 1840 on the Red Fork of the Colorado Lipan Chief Flacco was a scout for ranger Jack Hays in 1841, Fehrenbach, *Lone Star*, 455, 463.

³⁷ The Llano River is about thirty miles north of Fredericksburg.

³⁸ The Wacos, a subgroup of Wichitas, maintained peaceful relations with Texians: Fehrenbach, *Lone Star*, 260. Even a raid into Mexico would have been highly unusual.

³⁹ In August 1840 Buffalo Hump had led his clan on a sa the lung of Victoria and the destruction of Linnville. Retreating from their deep strike, they were pursued and decisively defeated by ranger companies, *Ibid*, 460-462. It is not at all clear how Swift became his friend.

⁴⁰ Co-ah-coo-che, or Wild Cat, and Gofer John were e two Seminoles whom William Chapman had known when he was stationed at Fort Foster, Florida. Gofer John was a black guide and interpreter: Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1934), 258, See Edward C. Coker and Daniel L Shafer, "A West Point Graduate in the Second Seminole War: Witham Warren Chapman and the View from Fort Foster," *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, LXVI I I (Apr, 1990, 447-475.

⁴¹ When the Seminoles were transplanted to Texas, they were settled in Creek Country. According to an 1845 treaty, the Creeks permitted them to maintain town councils, which were in turn, subject to thee rule of the general Creek council. At issue then, and in 1850, was the status of the "Seminole Negroes" whom the Creeks wanted as slaves and the Seminoles wanted for their tributes. Foreman dates the end of the relationship between the tribes as of a treaty in 1856: Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, 242-243, 253, 270.

⁴² In the following notes officers are identified by their full names. Readers wishing information about the military careers of these men are referred to the appropriate page in Heitman: *Historical Register*, Vol. 1, by the numbers in parentheses. Many of these men had long and distinguished records Additional information about the officers is included as available. The officers of Fort Graham were James Voty Bomford (229), Fowler Hamilton (493), Washington Posey Street (931), Joseph Stewart (925) and

Josephus M Steiner (920) Bomford was commanding an infantry company at Fort McKavett in 1853 Crimmins (ed.). "W. G. Freeman's Report," LIII (Jan, 195), 311.

⁴³ Serving at Fort Gates were William Reading Montgomery (720), James G Soulard Snelling (906), who was at Fort Chadbourne in 1853 (ibid., LIII [Jan. 1950] 310), George Edward Pickett (790), also at Fort Chadbourne in 1853 (ibid., LIII, [Apr , 1950], 445). Horace Haldeman (487), at Fort McKavett in 1853 (ibid., LIII [Jan. 1950], 311), and Charles Benjamin Alvord (161).

⁴⁴ Stationed at Fort Worth were Ripley Allen Arnold (172), Robert Plunket Maclay (675). John Bold (228), Samuel Henry Starr (917), and Thomas H. Williams (1,042). By 1853 Maclay was stationed at Fort McKavett: ibid., LIII (Jan. 1950), 311.

⁴⁵ At Fort Croghan were officers George Alexander Hamilton Blake (223), Arthur Tracy Lee (623), Theodore Fink (419), and Joseph K. Barnes (192) Lee had been transferred to Fort

⁴⁶ Stationed in Austin with the Second Dragoons were Thomas Turner Fautleroy (415) and Arthur D. Tree (969), who was at Fort Mason in 1853: Crimmins (ed.), "W. G. Freeman's Report," LIII (Oct, 1949), 205. Lt Steel is possibly William Steele (919).

⁴⁷ Fort Lincoln was home to Pitcairn Morrison (729), James Oakes (754), Richard Irving Dodge (377), Alfred Cumming (343), and James Philip Roy (849). Dodge served at Forts Martin Scott and Chadbourne in the 1850s and published several books on the West and Native Americans. Ibid., LIII (Apr., 1950), 444-445; Newcomb, *German Artist on the Texas Frontier*, 124

⁴⁸ San Antonio, as headquarters of the Eighth Military Department, was heavily staffed: John Garland (447), Richard W. Johnson (577), Isaac Van Duzer Reeve (822), Larkin Smith (901), George Deas (363), James Longstreet (640-641), Lafayette Bowyer Wood (1,055), Alfred St. Arnaud Crozet (342), Edmund Kirby Smith (896), Thomas Gamble Pitcher (793-794), Nathaniel Michler or Mickler (708), James Gilchrist Benton (213), Francis Theodore Bryan (257), George C Flutter (560), James Belger (207), and Joseph Jefferson Burr Wright (1,063). In 1852 Dr. Wright bought a one-half interest in the 640 acres on which Fort Martin Scott was located. Kowert, *Historic Homes*, 180. By 1853 Garland was commander of the Ninth Military Department and Richard Johnson was commander of Fort Terrett, while Reeve, Crozet, and Pitcher had been transferred to Fort McKavett. Crimmins (ed.), "W. G. Freeman's Report," LIII (Jan, 1950), 310, 311, 316; (Apr, 1950), 445 Belger, Wood, and Hutter were serving in San Antonio: Ibid., LI (Oct., 1947), 167, 169, 170-171. Larkin Smith was at Fort Chadbourne and E. K. Smith had moved to Ringgold Barracks Ibid, LII (July, 1948), 231; LIII (Apr, 1950), 445. Michler had explored the land from the Pecos to the Red River in 1849 and established a route from San Antonio to Ringgold Barracks in 1850. Pool, *A Historical Atlas of Texas*, 99.

⁴⁹ Staffing Fort Inge were William Joseph Hardee (499), Charles Humphrey Tyler (976), John Titcomb Sprague (912), Charles George Merchant (703), Thomas Klugh Jackson (568), and Thomas Murray Getty (452). All but Dr. Getty had been reassigned by 1853: Hardee and Tyler to Fort Graham, Sprague and Jackson to Fort McKavett, and Merchant to Fort Chadbourne: Crimmins (ed.), "W. G. Freeman's Report," LIII (July 1949), 75; (Jan. 1950), 309, 311 (Apr. 1950) 463.

⁵⁰ Swift's parents were Ezra and Lucy Swift of Wareham, Massachusetts. Crimmins, "Experiences of an Army Surgeon." 32.

⁵¹ He apparently did not leave until December and returned in March Ibid, 33.

⁵² In fact, Swift donated specimens from Fort Chadbourne to the Smithsonian Institution S Geiser. "Men of Science in Texas, 1820-1880: V. " *Field and Laboratory*, XXVII (Oct, 1959). 219.

⁵³ Teresa Vielé commented on Walter Hudson's death on April 19 from wounds received in an encounter with Indians on April 7: *Following the Drum A Glimpse of Frontier Life* (1858, reprint, Lincoln University of Nebraska Press. 1984), 233-234: Heitman, *Historical Register*. I, 55

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