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Article Title: Gouverneur Kemble Warren, Explorer of the Nebraska Territory

Full Citation: Vincent J Flanagan, "Gouverneur Kemble Warren, Explorer of the Nebraska Territory," *Nebraska History* 501 (1970): 171-198

URL of article: <http://www.nebraskahistory.org/publish/publicat/history/full-text/NH1970GKWarren.pdf>

Date: 6/30/2015

Article Summary: Warren explored, surveyed and charted a vast tract of land in the West during three expeditions (1855-1857). Later explorers relied upon his reports and maps. Information that he had recorded also facilitated the post-war construction of the Northern Pacific Railroad.

Cataloging Information:

Names: Gouverneur Kemble Warren, William S Harney, Little Thunder, J Hudson Snowden, Black Shield, Bear's Rib

Place Names: West Point, New York; St Louis, Missouri; Nebraska Territory

Forts Visited by Warren: Fort Pierre, Fort Kearny, Fort Grattan, Fort Lookout, Fort Union, Fort Laramie, Fort Randall, Fort Leavenworth

Keywords: Gouverneur Kemble Warren; William S Harney; Sioux Expedition (1855); Grattan Massacre; Pacific Railroad Survey; Battle of Blue Water; *Explorations in the Dakota [sic] Country*, by G K Warren; *Clara*; *Genoa*; Corps of Topographical Engineers; J Hudson Snowden

Photographs / Images: Gouverneur Kemble Warren, map of Warren's 1855 travels indicating dates spent at each location, map of 1856 travels, map of 1857 travels, Fort Kearny

Gouverneur Kemble Warren, Explorer of the Nebraska Territory

By VINCENT J. FLANAGAN

THE DISCOVERY of gold in California in 1848 with the consequent rush of prospectors, adventurers, and settlers to the Far West, made it imperative that the vast tract of land between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains be thoroughly explored. Under pressure from numerous special interest groups, Congress gave this task to the United States Army whose major function in the decade before the Civil War had been to protect travelers and settlers from frequent Indian depredations. One military man deeply involved with the two-fold problem of survey and protection was Lieutenant Gouverneur Kemble Warren, a young topographical engineer from New York. In the five years since his graduation from West Point, he had gained considerable experience in his profession serving on the Mississippi Delta Survey and in the Pacific Railroad Survey Office. From this latter assignment on April 20, 1855, he received an unexpected order that was to change the entire course of his life. Warren was instructed to repair as soon as possible to St. Louis and report to General William S. Harney, commander of the Sioux Expedition. With his new assignment on the frontier, he would now be able to exercise his own judgment, to assert his individuality, and to initiate actions free of bureaucratic restrictions. In the course of three years Warren explored the upper reaches of the Nebraska Territory, entered the Black Hills, and drew maps and presented reports that greatly facilitated the construction of the Northern Pacific Railroad in the post-war era. Unfortunately, Warren's contribution to the exploration of the West has largely been overlooked by writers delving into this episode of American History.

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I

The Sioux Expedition of 1855 in which Warren served as staff engineer was motivated by the Grattan Massacre (the slaughter of Lieutenant J. L. Grattan and twenty-nine men of the Sixth Infantry by the Bois Brule and Oglala Sioux). Dispatched from Fort Laramie to the lodges of the Bois Brule to seize an Indian who had killed a white man's cow, Lieutenant Grattan demanded the surrender of the culprit by Black Beaver, chief of the Bois Brule. The chief refused, since the perpetrator was an Oglala who was a guest in his camp. Fighting started when Lieutenant Grattan, who was drunk, ordered his men to open fire. The first volley killed Black Beaver. In retaliation for the loss of their chief, the Indians killed all but one soldier, who managed to escape.¹

A large punitive expedition was gradually collected by General William S. Harney at Fort Kearny. Given *carte blanche* to take all actions necessary against the hostile Sioux, Harney gathered troops and experts in many military skills to insure the success of his well-planned movement. Warren's extensive knowledge of the topography between the Upper Missouri River and the Platte River made him a valuable addition to the expedition and he was detached from the Pacific Railroad Survey to serve on Harney's staff.²

For three weeks, from April 21 to May 12, 1855, Warren was kept busy completing his activities in the Pacific Railroad Survey Office. Shortly thereafter, realizing that he faced the possibility of death in the forthcoming campaign, he journeyed to Cold Spring, New York to take leave of a devoted family that he might never see again. On May 17 he went over to West Point to a parade and on the following day left Cold Spring at 9 a.m. for New York, where he boarded an Erie Railroad train for St. Louis, arriving at 2 a.m. on May 23. Later that day he met with Harney. Since the general had no immediate orders for him, the impatient junior officer was forced to mark time for two weeks, having no chores other than to purchase needed engineering tools.³

Finally, on June 7 Warren received his orders. Instead of being directed to report to the headquarters of the punitive expedition at Fort Kearny, he was assigned to temporary service at Fort Pierre, an isolated post on the upper reaches of the Missouri River. Boarding the boat *Clara*, he began an unpleasant journey lasting more than five weeks to reach Fort Pierre. The boat's pilot was incompetent and on more than one occasion the *Clara*, buffeted by heavy winds, went aground. In addition the delivery of cargo

to several small posts further delayed its up river progress. It was a travel-weary Warren who reached his destination early on the morning of July 16, 1855.⁴

For the next three weeks Warren was assigned the duty of surveying the land in and around Fort Pierre. While this work had considerable merit, he was apprehensive that he might miss his first military encounter if Harney moved as planned against the Indians. Realizing that any attempt to descend the river by boat to St. Louis and then to start anew for Fort Kearny would be futile, Warren worried about the circumstances that had placed him in this remote post, and devised a plan to reach Harney by striking out overland southward from Fort Pierre to Fort Kearny — a project fraught with danger because it would require a journey through the unexplored Indian inhabited sand hills.

In referring to a map outlining the route followed by the young lieutenant during his tour of duty in 1855, it will readily be observed that Warren made a sagacious decision. Only by taking the direct overland route from Fort Pierre southward to Fort Kearny on the Platte could Warren be assured of reaching Harney in time to join the punitive expedition.

One might consider this decision to have been rash, but Warren, after investigation, calculated the odds and decided to take the risk. In his official report he offered an extensive apology to justify what many officers at Fort Pierre considered an act of insanity. "When I was preparing for the undertaking," Warren reported,

and had secured a party of six persons, exclusive of Mr. Carrey and myself, I was counselled most earnestly by my brother officers not to make it, and the commanding officer at Fort Pierre thought seriously of interposing his authority as my military superior to prevent so "rash" an attempt, which presented to him nothing but a prospect of my certain destruction. The route was known to lead through the country of the Brules, (supposed to be our worst enemies,) and nothing was known as to their position or intention. We would, also, it was said, meet the Poncas and Pawnees, and neither would hesitate to rob, or even "wipe out" a party as small as mine, well knowing the offence would be charged upon the Brules. Moreover, much of the route was wholly unknown and untravelled, and there was no estimating the obstacles and delays we might encounter. My intention, however, had not been formed without due consideration of these things, and careful conversation with the men of the country. The weather was as yet too warm, it being the first of August, for the war parties to have formed, and it was the season for making "sweet corn," so that the Indians would likely be thus engaged. The party was made up of the most

experienced prairie men; four of them being half-breed Dacotas, and we were determined to be constantly on our guard, and to travel in the night if we came in the vicinity of an enemy; no fire was to be lighted at night, nor tent pitched. Mr. Galpin, of the Fur Company, assured me he did not believe I would meet an Indian, and the result verified his prediction. We saw fresh trails of the Poncas on L'Eau qui Court, and of the Brules in the Sand Hills, and some deserted Pawnee camps on Loup Fork, but no Indians. We performed the journey in fifteen days. I was thus enabled to carry out the instructions under which I had gone to Fort Pierre to participate in the campaign under General Harney, and perform the duties required of me as topographical engineer of the expedition.

I hope this explanation will free me from any charge of having acted with rashness and imprudence.⁵

Lasting more than two weeks, this journey was the first indication that Warren was to be more than just another army-post desk officer. His fertile mind, adventurous nature, and scientific outlook led him on this and later occasions to seek opportunities to delve into the unknown. Arriving at Fort Kearny on the Platte River on August 22, Warren reported to General Harney.

Harney's orders were to take all measures necessary to protect the frontiers of Kansas and Nebraska against Sioux depredations and to safeguard the wagon train routes leading from the Missouri River to the Far West. To carry out these instructions an expedition left Fort Kearny on August 24 and for one week advanced without incident in a northwesterly direction towards Fort Laramie. The troops traveled at such a leisurely pace that Warren was able to explore several of the many tributary valleys of the Platte.⁶ Then, about noon of September 2, Harney received information that a large body of Brule under Little Thunder were encamped opposite Ash Hollow near a meandering creek known as Blue Water. Summoning his officers to obtain their opinion, General Harney devised a plan to attack the Sioux the following day. A mounted force, consisting of three companies of dragoons and one of artillery, was to be sent out of camp the next morning at 3 a.m. and would endeavor to gain the enemy's rear, while five companies of infantry were instructed to advance directly upon the Indian camp beginning at 4 a.m.⁷

Early the following morning, acting under Harney's orders, Warren moved out to the right. Finding a prominent height, he reconnoitered the enemy's position, where he discovered that a large force of Indian braves occupied all the high ground in the immediate vicinity of the army's left front. Indian scouts soon discovered his presence; seeing that nothing

further could be accomplished by remaining at his isolated post, he returned to camp and reported his observations to his superiors.

In order to gain precious minutes for his mounted force to move into position, Harney had already proposed through an interpreter that he would be willing to talk with Little Thunder. The Indian Chief had agreed and a lengthy but inconclusive discussion ensued. Returning to camp in time to hear a part of this conversation, which he faithfully recorded in his journal, Warren noted that Little Thunder admitted that there were bad braves in his camp but explained that he had done all that could be done to maintain peace. Harney rejected this argument and denounced the Sioux for their slaughter of the Grattan Party and other warlike acts. Upbraiding Little Thunder, the general demanded that the Indians should come out and fight. At this point the Indians, discovering the presence of the dragoons in their rear, broke off the conversation. Harney now ordered an immediate attack. The infantry regiments advanced, driving the Indians before them. Since most of the Sioux were mounted and the infantry was not, Little Thunder and his braves were soon able to outdistance their pursuers. As they fled, however, they encountered the mounted dragoons, who gave chase, killing between eight and twelve braves and capturing many others.⁸

Warren did not actively participate in this engagement. Although mounted, he was a staff officer and remained in the rear, going out with others in search of the wounded only after the fighting had ceased. He was deeply moved by his view of the aftermath of battle. "The sight on top of the hill was heart-rending," he recorded with great emotion in his journal:

Wounded women and children [were] crying and moaning, horribly mangled by the bullets. Most of this had been occasioned by the creatures taking refuge in holes in the rocks, and armed Indians sheltering themselves in the same places. These latter fired upon our men killing 2 men & wounding another of the Artillery Company Two Indian men were killed in the hole and two as they came out. 7 women were killed in the hole & 3 children, 2 of them in their mothers' arms. One young woman was wounded in the left shoulder the ball going in above and coming out below her arm. I put her on my horse. Another handsome young squaw was badly wounded just above her left knee. . . . I had a litter made and put her and her child upon it. I found another girl of about 12 years lying with her head down in a ravine and apparently dead - observing her breathe I had a man take her in his arms. . . . With this piteous load we proceeded down the hill and placing them on the bank of the Blue water, I made a shelter to keep off the

sun and bathed their wounds with the stream. . . . I did not get back to camp till the last of the command, 10 p.m. . . .

After getting to camp I aided to dress their wounds. I had endeavored to take a topographical sketch of the scene, but the calls of humanity prevented my doing much.⁹

The following day Warren added to his journal an incident that was characteristic of his compassionate feelings. "The wounded baby died this morning. Its mother does nothing but cry and moan, and as my tent is near the hospital it distresses me greatly."¹⁰ From the time of the Battle of Blue Water, Warren's actions were long remembered by the Indians of the region. Among them he was referred to as "the good Lieutenant."¹¹

At Harney's request Warren on September 5 laid out plans for a fort to be located on the site of the recent battle. Under his constant supervision construction was begun on the post which was to be named Fort Grattan. When completed, the structure measured one hundred feet square with sod walls six feet high and three feet thick at the base. The finished fort was a tribute to Warren's ability as an engineer.¹²

The Harney Expedition reached Fort Laramie on September 16. Its one bloody encounter at Blue Water had completely cowed the Sioux who returned to their strongholds deep in the Black Hills. Within a few days representatives of the Crow and Arapaho nations visited Fort Laramie, professing their friendship for the white man and avowing their enmity for the Sioux. A delegation of Brule and Oglala arrived at the post with the Indian agent, a Mr. Twiss, on September 22. Harney received them cordially, informing their leaders that if peace was to be restored they must surrender the members of their tribe who had committed acts of violence upon the whites. He, in turn, promised to return their women and children. After discussing the offer, the Indians promised to comply and vowed that they would return to their lands and hunt buffalo in peace.

On October 23 Warren was directed to report immediately to Washington to make preparations for the further exploration of the Nebraska Territory the following year.¹³ Back at the Army Engineer Office on January 1, 1856, he spent the next three months preparing a report of the 1855 campaign. Titled *Explorations in the Dakota Country* it was designed to present a comprehensive picture of the routes followed by the Sioux Expedition, the land examined between Fort Pierre and Fort Kearny, and the topography along the Platte River from Fort Pierre to the mouth of the Big Sioux River.¹⁴ In this account Warren made observations

Gouverneur Kemble Warren was graduated from West Point in 1850, second in a class of forty-four. He was first assigned to the Topographical Engineers.



on the potential value of the land to the United States and the necessity for the extensive settlement of the region. He wrote:

The country north of White river is clayey; south of this stream it is sandy. This difference has an important bearing on roads through the two sections, as the former is almost everywhere impracticable in the wet seasons, while the latter is not materially injured by rain, and in some parts is improved by it. . . . The grass in the clay region, is, a general thing, superior to that in the other being finer and more nutritive; . . . Wood generally exists along the banks of all the streams where it has not been destroyed by fire, or by the Indians for forage and fuel. . . . From my observation, I think that continuous settlements cannot be made in Nebraska west of the 97th Meridian, both on account of the unfavorable climate and want of fertility in the soil.¹⁵

In this latter point Warren was in error. At that time, like most of his contemporaries, he subscribed to the theory of the "Great American Desert" and viewed most of the western portion of the "Dacotas" as not fit for habitation by large numbers of settlers.

While writing his narrative, Warren found it expedient to prepare two maps illustrating the extent of the white man's knowledge of the Dakota Territory as of the year 1855. The first map of a part of the "Dacota country," on a scale of one to six hundred thousand, showed all explorations within the area mapped; the second, on a scale of one to

three million, gave the location of the various bands of Indians inhabiting Dakota, as well as all other information on the territory that was obtained from trappers and hunters. The maps proved invaluable to Warren and others who entered the region during the next two decades.¹⁶

Warren conceded that his report, *Explorations in the Dakota Country*, had limited value because little reliable information was available concerning the geography and topography of the Nebraska Territory west of the Missouri and the road from Fort Pierre to Fort Laramie. It was his contention that to allow this geographical ignorance to continue might one day lead to a major defeat of the United States Army by the Sioux. "The same causes that brought on the war with the Sioux," he reasoned,

will no doubt, continue to operate, and the time is not distant when we shall have a similar necessity of chastising the Crows and northern Missouri Dakotas, who have, as yet, seen nothing of the power of the United States, nor feel any respect for it. It seems to me, therefore, in a purely military point of view, of the greatest importance to gain a knowledge of that region, while the peaceful disposition of these tribes may permit, and before they become maddened by the encroachments of the white man.¹⁷

Believing that expediency alone should dictate an immediate geographic and scientific exploration of the Nebraska Territory, he suggested that the War Department make an immediate request for \$50,000 to finance the proposed expedition.¹⁸ It may be assumed that Warren was confident he himself would be given the task of completing the work he had begun the previous year.

Secretary of War Jefferson Davis was favorably impressed by Warren's official report. Struck by its logical presentation of newly acquired information and painstaking care taken to include the most minute detail, Davis suggested that Senator John B. Weller, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, consider printing it. The Secretary of War and Weller agreed that the information contained in Warren's brief narrative would be extremely useful both to troops on the frontier and to travelers and emigrants forced to traverse the northern reaches of the Nebraska Territory. Accordingly, they ordered it printed by the government.¹⁹

II

By the first week of April 1856, Warren had completed his reports, purchased equipment, and employed assistants for another expedition to

the Missouri country commissioned by the War Department. Accompanied by his assistants, W. H. Hutton, J. H. Snowden, and F. V. Hayden, he left St. Louis for Fort Pierre aboard the steamboat *Genoa* on April 16. During the journey up the Missouri the party made a careful sketch of the river northward from the southern border of Nebraska. Using the elevated pilot house as an observation post, Warren was able to gain an expert knowledge of the course of the river. With the aid of the *Genoa's* pilot, he determined the size and location of sandbars that obstructed the Missouri, the quality of timber along both banks of the river, and the depth and composition of the river bottom.

The first leg of the journey was uneventful as the *Genoa* made good speed up river. As the travelers advanced beyond the James River, however, they encountered heavy currents produced by recent spring rains, and the boat was able to make little headway. Captain Throckmorton, the commander of the *Genoa*, was forced to tie her to the river bank for an entire day until the Missouri calmed. Resuming its interrupted journey, the boat sailed for five days up stream until it struck a sandbar and went aground.²⁰

Impatient to find General Harney without further delay, Warren decided to leave the steamboat and strike out overland to Fort Lookout, a camp of dragoons near the mouth of the American Crow River, where he had been informed that he might meet the general. Accompanied by a Captain Frost, sutler at Fort Pierre, and three other men, he traveled for three days and arrived opposite the army camp on the evening of the third day, only to be told that no boat was available to cross the river. After bedding down that night on the bank of the river, the next morning Warren's men attempted once more to signal the dragoons on the other side. But they failed to communicate with Fort Lookout, and, because their provisions were growing short, they decided to travel directly to Fort Pierre, eighty miles distant. Its food supply having been exhausted, the party, during the latter part of its journey, was forced to subsist almost entirely on birds killed. After a forced march lasting three days, the group arrived at Fort Pierre completely exhausted and with blistered feet. Despite the arduous nature of his six-day, 160-mile journey, Warren viewed the experience with enthusiasm. "The journey," he noted in his report, "gave me an opportunity of viewing the country and its appearance a few miles back of the Missouri."²¹

Warren arrived at Fort Pierre at an opportune moment. Representatives of all the Sioux bands residing west of the Missouri, except the Oglala and

Sichangu or Brule, were meeting in council with General Harney. The Sioux agreed to give up all the animals they had stolen and to surrender the culprits who had massacred Lieutenant Grattan and his command. At the close of the council Harney informed them that he was sending Warren with an expedition up the Missouri to make a map and made it clear that no harm was to come to this party.²²

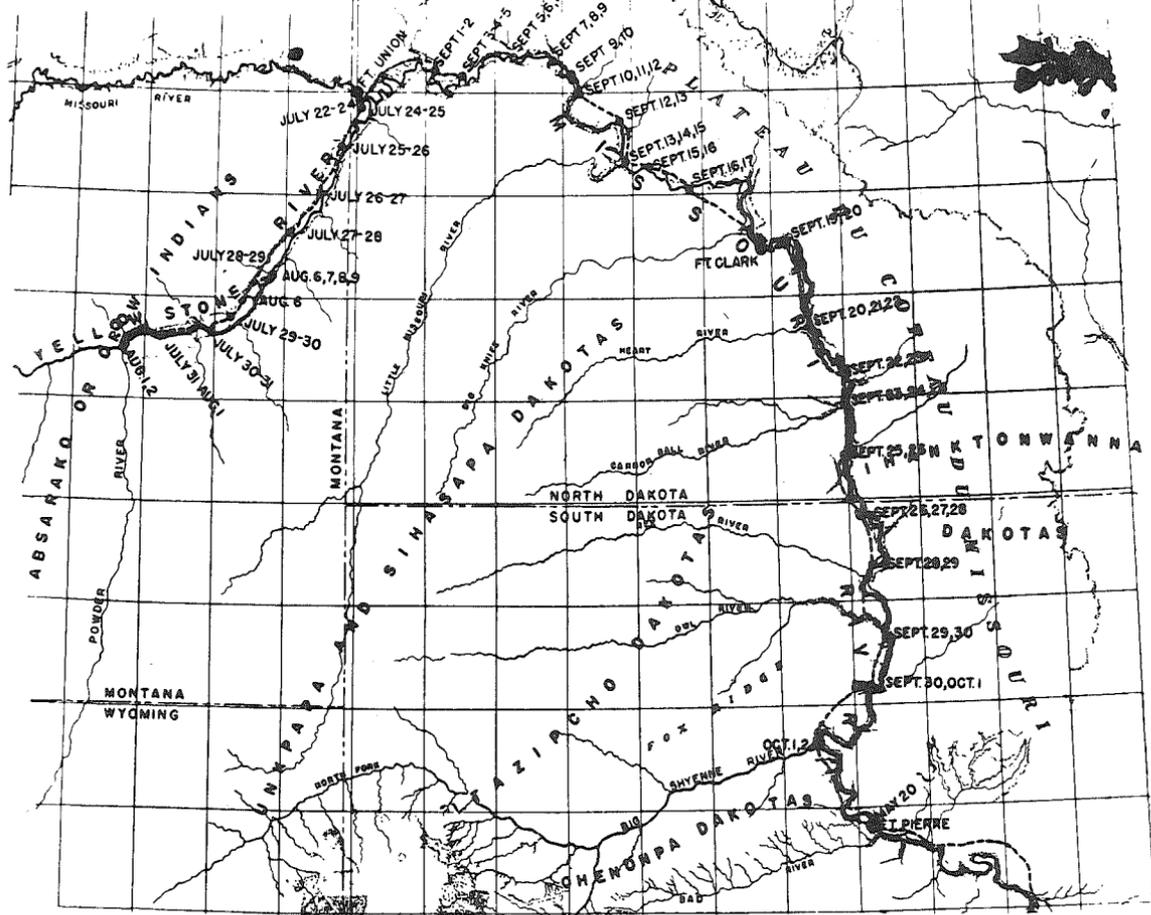
Accompanied by his assistants and an escort of fifteen soldiers and two non-commissioned officers of the Second Infantry, Warren on June 28, 1856, left Fort Pierre on the American Fur Company boat, *St. Mary*, bound for the mouth of the Yellowstone. His assignment was to ascend the Yellowstone River as far as possible to determine what sites, if any, would be suitable for the construction of military posts. Moreover, Harney directed him to gather any and all information concerning the nature of the region bordering the river.²³

The responsibility placed on Warren by General Harney was considerable. One has only to glance at a map of the northern reaches of the Nebraska Territory to observe the vast tract of land to be traversed by the expedition. To fulfill Harney's expectations Warren was required to sketch the upper reaches of the Missouri from Fort Pierre to Fort Union. From the latter post he would be obliged to fully explore along the Yellowstone from its mouth as far as possible toward its source. During the course of a few short months, Warren would be required to investigate the topography of hundreds of miles of terrain along several of western America's most important waterways.

Warren's handling of the expedition made it clear that at the age of twenty-six he not only had the qualities of leadership expected in a West Point graduate, but in addition ability as an explorer and scientist. He reported:

While ascending the river, the sketch of it was taken above Fort Pierre, as it had been below, by Messrs. Hutton and Snowden, and observations were made by me for latitude. At Fort Union a 16-inch transit was set up, and observations taken during a whole lunation; but owing to the cloudy condition of the nights themselves, only two sets of observations were obtained on the moon and stars. The result of these gave the longitude of that post $104^{\circ}02'$, with a limit of error of about $10'$.

We left the mouth of the Yellowstone July 25, and, traveling leisurely up the left bank, reached a point one hundred miles from its mouth, beyond which it was impossible to advance with wagons along



In May of 1856 Lieutenant Warren again returned to Fort Pierre. In July and August he explored the valleys of the Missouri and Yellowstone. His return trip from Fort Union to Fort Pierre was made in September and October.

the valley of the Yellowstone without crossing to the opposite banks. Here we made a camp with the main body, and with a party of seven I proceeded, with pack animals, over a very difficult country (known as the Bad Lands of the Yellowstone) to the mouth of Powder River, thirty miles further.

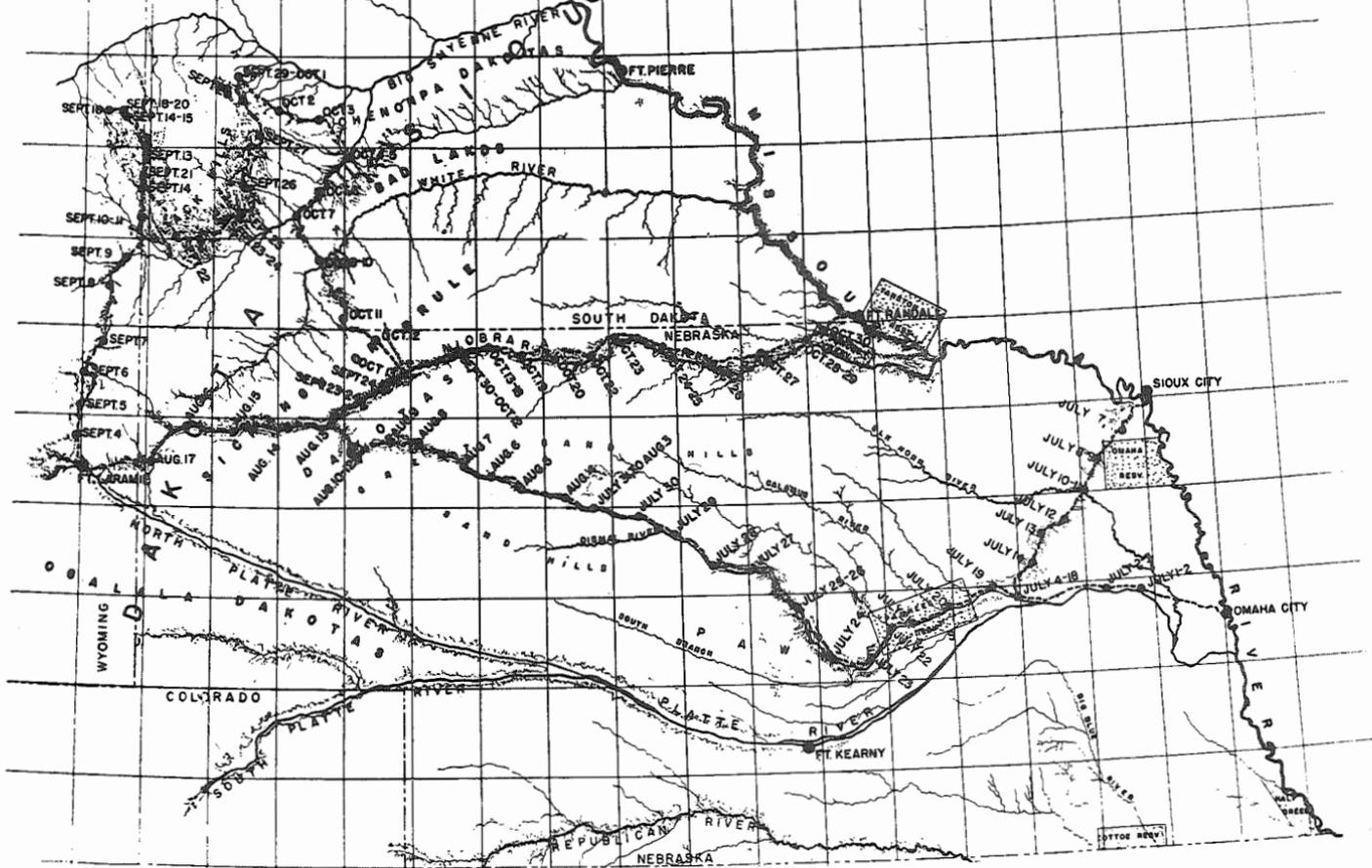
This was the furthest point up the Yellowstone that I intended to proceed, and I was anxious to reach it and fix its position, as being a good and certain point with which any further reconnaissance could connect. . . . On returning to our wagon [camp], we all traveled a short distance down the Yellowstone to a convenient point, where we made a boat eighteen feet long and five feet wide, by stretching the skins of three buffalo bulls over a frame made of small cottonwood and willow trees. With this vessel a small party navigated the Yellowstone to its mouth, carefully mapping the islands and bends of the river. The wagons and land party returned to the Missouri by traveling over nearly the route by which they ascended.²⁴

The expedition returned to Fort Pierre in early October where the pack animals were sold and most of the escort disbanded. At this point its leader learned of his recent promotion to first lieutenant in the Corps of Topographical Engineers.²⁵ Accompanied by his assistants, Warren journeyed to Sioux City where he embarked on a steamboat for St. Louis on November 15, preparatory to continuing on to Washington. Warren could be justly proud of his accomplishments. At a nominal cost to the government of \$10,000 his party had been able to sketch and chart the Missouri River from St. Louis to Fort Union on the Yellowstone, take thermometer and barometer observations of the land traversed, make a sizeable collection of the native fauna and flora of the region, and penetrate into the unexplored regions of the Yellowstone.

III

For months the impatient topographical engineer remained in Washington, engaged in completing official reports while anxiously hoping for a War Department directive that would once more order him into regions that few, if any, white men had ever visited. Finally on May 7, 1857, the suspense was broken. Secretary of War John B. Floyd ordered Warren to determine the best route by which a military road to the South Pass from Sioux City could be built. He was also to proceed northward and make such explorations of the Black Hills and the valley of the Niobrara River as time and circumstances would permit.²⁶

One glance at a map will clearly reveal that the proposed third expedition was to be much more extensive in scope than its two



Lieutenant Warren crossed the Sandhills between Sioux City and Fort Laramie during July and August of 1857. He explored the Black Hills in September and returned to Fort Randall via the Niobrara River in October.

predecessors. Not only was Warren expected to explore and chart the topography of a large tract of uninhabited country along the Loup Fork, he would be required to enter the Black Hills, a domain little known by the white man of that day. In this endeavor he was given the assistance of five men, all experts in their field. The expedition's surgeon was Dr. S. Moffitt; its geologist was Dr. F. V. Hayden; W. P. C. Carrington served as meteorologist, and J. H. Snowden and P. M. Engel were engaged as topographers. In addition Warren added the name of his brother Edgar to the list of assistants.²⁷

From the start Warren's path to the Black Hills was beset with obstacles that would have persuaded a less dedicated man to cancel the expedition. After a trip to New York in early May to purchase needed instruments and a short visit at Cold Springs, he left Washington on May 25, 1857, and traveled to Sioux City, Iowa, with stops at St. Louis, Fort Leavenworth, and Omaha to procure animals and wagons, purchase supplies, and hire teamsters and other needed men. His journal clearly indicated the nature of the problems he had to face even before the explorations were truly started:

Reached Sioux City — Here informed the escort of 30 men under Lt. McMillan had been waiting for me 3 days. I immediately sent up to Lt. McM. to move down and cross the river [Big Sioux River] but he had no teamsters and could not move, the harness was in inserviceable condition, and his men breaking thro' all discipline were constantly leaving camp without permission. Some days were necessary to prepare the trains and this took us into the fourth of July, and the following Sunday during which time most of the escort were drunk and insubordinate and 12 of them deserted, carrying off with them two of my horses. . . . ²⁸

Incensed at the debauchery, dereliction of duty, carelessness, and thievery of his men, Warren in his official report noted, "These losses occurring in a civilized community, where we supposed ourselves among friends, were quite annoying and gave rather unpleasant forebodings of what might occur to us when we should come among our enemies, the Indians."²⁹

The lieutenant finally set out with his party on July 6 for the mouth of the Loup Fork of the Platte River, where he was to join a second group which had fitted out in Omaha under the charge of Chief Topographer Snowden. It took the party eleven days to travel the 110 miles to Loup Fork. The road was a sea of mud. Super-human efforts had to be expended to move the wagons through the mire. The explorers built a thirty-foot

bridge to cross over the swollen Middle Creek, and wasted another day constructing a twelve-foot log raft to cross the Elkhorn River.³⁰ It was a wonder that in those backbreaking eleven days the remainder of Warren's escort did not desert. Meeting at the Loup Fork on July 19 the united party moved westward up that stream. For three weeks the command inched its way over difficult terrain. On crossing the north fork of the Loup the first wagon got stuck in the quicksand bottom of the river so that it had to be unloaded to free it from the mud and Warren had to order the teams doubled to bring the remaining wagons across the water. Slowed countless times by creeks that emptied into the Platte, Warren's men were forced to become experts in bridge building.³¹

Additional difficulties lay ahead. Within fifty miles of its source the Loup Fork became shut up in a gorge that was impassable for wagons. The party was forced to travel over sand hills which greatly retarded its progress, and further delay was encountered when one of the teamsters, who had been ill with bilious typhoid fever for several days, grew worse. Dr. Moffett informed Warren that the man might die if he were not kept quiet until the crisis passed. Consequently, Warren had to order the expedition to remain in camp and a three-day period of inactivity ensued. The lieutenant utilized the time to investigate the nature of the country to the south of the camp until on August 4, when the expedition, with the teamster well on the road to recovery, was able to advance once more.³²

Not until early August was the first phase of Warren's mission completed. As he himself summed up the results:

Travelled 7 ¼ miles and came to the head of the Loup Fork. . . . We have now traced the river from end to end and found the impracticability for almost any purpose so marked that it seems like a great waste of time to have made the exertion we have. Our greatest wish is to get away from it as soon as possible and never return.³³

Withdrawing from this region was not an easy undertaking. Provisions intended to last for a month had become nearly depleted, the expedition's water kegs were nearly dry, and there was in the Loup Fork region almost no potable water. The numerous lakes of the sand hills were saline and could not be used to slake the explorers' thirst.

In an attempt to relieve the hunger and thirst of his men, Warren, accompanied by a hunter, went into the hills in search of game and water. Finding neither, the lieutenant and his companion prepared to make a joyless return to camp when a storm broke, and while they were forced to spend an unpleasant night under the stars — wet and tormented by

mosquitoes — the main expedition quickly channeled the falling rain into water barrels. Upon his return the following morning, Warren was greeted by several Indians who were uneasy about the presence of the white man in their country. Informing them of the peaceful nature of his expedition, he gave each of them a shirt and a knife.³⁴

Once more supplied with fresh water, the expedition was able to continue its travels. Reaching longitude 102°30', the party was fortunate in finding a large open plain with a clearly marked Indian trail which led directly north to the Niobrara River. From that point the lieutenant found little trouble in leading his men back to Fort Laramie.

Warren was disappointed at the meager accomplishments of his latest explorations. Two months of summer had been wasted with few results, and visions of another winter of inaction in Washington haunted his mind. Most likely, he feared that the negative aspects of his recent explorations might persuade Congress to oppose further appropriations for future scientific explorations, and he was anxious to refit his party as soon as expedient. But Colonel Hoffman, commanding officer at Fort Laramie, invited Warren to dinner at his quarters, where he promised him all possible aid in resupplying the material needs of the expedition. However, delays followed since almost all the supplies that might have been furnished to him had already been requisitioned for another expedition. While he fretted and waited for new supplies to arrive, he dispatched a party led by Dr. Hayden and Mr. Engel to make an excursion to Laramie Peak. After ascending the mountain these men brought back considerable information concerning the nature of the terrain between the fort and the peak. Engel's report indicated that the land in this region, in contrast to that encountered on the Loup Fork, had great potential for development. Warren's assistant further reported, "Timber is abundant and so the grass, game of every description fills the valleys & ravine, but the road becomes rather rough for the traveller."³⁵

The topographer also indicated that a large source of fresh spring water was readily accessible. Such reports brightened Warren's hopes for the future of the Platte region as an area for new white settlement.

In early September Warren made a difficult decision. The lateness of the season dictated the necessity of dividing the expedition in two in order to carry out fully the expectations of the Secretary of War. Warren realized that he was taking a considerable risk, since each party would be too weak to fight off possible Indian attacks. Nevertheless, he turned in half his wagons to the quartermaster at Fort Laramie and, accompanied by

his brother Edgar, three of his assistants, an interpreter, and seventeen men he left Fort Laramie on September 4 and headed north for the Black Hills. Remembering the delays of the previous months, he did not allow his party to be slowed by wagons, but ordered all necessary supplies to be packed on mules. Meanwhile, the remainder of the expedition, under the protection of Lieutenant McMillan, journeyed down the Niobrara River to await Warren at longitude 101° 30' with Chief Topographer Snowden assigned to make a study of this still largely unexplored region.³⁶ Warren had high hopes for the success of his plan. He wrote his father before setting out from Fort Laramie, "we anticipate much pleasure and some hardships. . . ." ³⁷

After crossing the south fork of the Cheyenne, the Warren party traveled rapidly toward the sacred sanctuary of the Sioux. In the distance the explorers were soon able to observe their goal — the Black Hills. Encouraged by this sight, Warren urged his men forward, and the following day the party entered the Black Hills and headed for Inyan Kara, a basaltic peak whose height dominated the outcroppings around it.³⁸ At this point, the small force encountered a sizeable band of Dakotas, who strongly objected to the presence of the white men on their soil. Realizing that his expedition had as its purpose scientific investigation and not military adventure, Warren prudently agreed not to advance farther into the last sanctuary of the Sioux. His decision was partially humanitarian. He reasoned:

The grounds of their objections to our traversing this region were very sensible, and of sufficient weight, I think, to have justified them in their own minds in resisting; and as these are still in force for the prevention of the passage of any other party of whites not large enough to resist successfully, they are of sufficient importance to be repeated here. In the first place, they were encamped near large herds of buffalo, whose hair not being sufficiently grown to make robes, the Indians were, it may be said, actually herding the animals. No one was permitted to kill any in the large bands for fear of stampeding the others, and only such were killed as straggled away from the main herds For us to have continued on then would have been an act for which certain death would have been inflicted on a like number of their own tribe had they done it; for we might have deflected the whole range of the buffalo fifty or one hundred miles to the west, and prevented the Indians from laying in their winter stock of provisions and skins, on which their comfort if not even their lives depended. Their feelings toward us, under the circumstances, were not unlike what we should feel toward a person who should insist upon setting fire to our barns. The most violent of them were for immediate resistance

when I told them of my intentions; and those who were most friendly, and in greatest fear of the power of the United States, begged that I would "take pity" on them and not proceed. I felt that, aside from it being an unnecessary risk to subject my party and the interests of the expedition to, it was almost cruelty to the Indians to drive them to commit any desperate act, which would call chastisement from the Government.³⁹

Conceding that their treaty with General Harney gave the white man the right to travel on the Platte and along the White River, between Forts Laramie and Pierre and to utilize the Missouri River, the Indians pointed out that the agreement barred the whites from penetrating the Black Hills, which had been designated as the preserve of the Sioux. Moreover, the Indians informed Warren that they were well aware that the primary purpose of the expedition was to gain a knowledge of the character of the Black Hills in case war should once again break out between the United States and the Sioux nation. Warren confessed, "I was necessarily compelled to admit to myself the truth and force of these objections."⁴⁰ Not wishing to antagonize the Indians further, he decided against advancing deeper into their sanctuary.

For the next few days Warren surveyed the outer fringe of the Black Hills. On September 16 he, Carrington, and the interpreter, Morin, proceeded unnoticed to an Oglala camp of forty-five lodges. "They gave us some meat to eat," Warren recalled,

and I told them that I had been sent by the Great Father to look at the country and tell him what was here. They made no objection to it further than to request I would not go along the stream they were camped on, as there were a few buffalo on it and they were afraid it would drive them away; and said I would take pity on them and not make them starve if I would pass down the next branch . . . to the east of us. I invited the head man with ten of his warriors to come over to my camp and I would give them something to eat, and that I was glad to find they were friends.⁴¹

In response to this cordial invitation forty Indians, representing this band and another of eighty lodges nearby, swarmed through the army encampment. Warren had violated a cardinal rule of the West. Because of defense considerations, mountainmen, pioneers, and settlers rarely allowed large numbers of Indians in their midst. However, he realized that his small party was, by its position at any rate, at the mercy of the Sioux, and it mattered little if the Indians were inside or outside of the camp. His daring stand impressed the Indians, who admired courage, and the expedition was not molested.

When the Indians had satisfied their curiosity about the white man and his camp, their leader, Black Shield, with the aid of an interpreter, began a long conversation with Warren. Stating that General Harney had promised them that no white man would be allowed to come into their lands, the chief asserted that Harney had given them permission to drive out interlopers, if the latter did not heed warnings to immediately depart from the Black Hills. Without hesitation Warren replied that Harney had given them the right to drive out traders, not soldiers, and that he himself had been dispatched by the Great White Father, Harney's chief, to observe and not to build roads, forts, or in any other way interfere with the Indian way of life. Black Shield appeared impressed by Warren's demeanor, and promised that if the latter would remain in camp for three days, he would send for Bear's Rib, an important chief, to come and speak with him.⁴² But the Indian leader did not make an appearance. After waiting in vain for three days Warren ordered his party to break camp and return to Inyan Kara peak. Striking out eastward through the southern portion of the Black Hills, he was courting disaster by his movement into a portion of the Indian's land that no white man had ever entered. Within two days he was overtaken by Bear's Rib, who said he had arrived at the old camp the day after Warren had left and that he had followed the expedition ever since.⁴³ As recorded in Warren's official report, the two men had a frank discussion about the presence of the white men in the Black Hills. Warren observed:

He [Bear's Rib] reiterated all that had been said by the other chiefs, and added that he could do nothing to prevent our being destroyed if we attempted to proceed further. I then told him that I believed he was our friend, but that if he could do nothing for us, he had better return to his people, and leave us to take care of ourselves, as I was determined to proceed as far as Bear Butte. After a whole day spent in deliberation, he concluded to accompany us part of the way, and he said he would then return to his people and use his influence to have us not molested. In return for this, he wished me to say to the President and to the white people that they could not be allowed to come into that country; . . . All they asked of the white people was, to be left to themselves.⁴⁴

As Bear's Rib made ready to leave, Warren gave him many presents as tokens of his esteem.⁴⁵

Bear's Rib was as good as his word. For a week the expedition traveled extensively through the eastern portion of the Black Hills without encountering an Indian. The party was permitted to journey to Bear Butte

where Warren and all his assistants climbed the height and quickly agreed that the peak would be an accurate starting point for future reconnaissances into the region. Only when satisfied that he had learned all that could be learned at that time did the expedition begin its long trek back to meet the Niobrara Party.⁴⁶

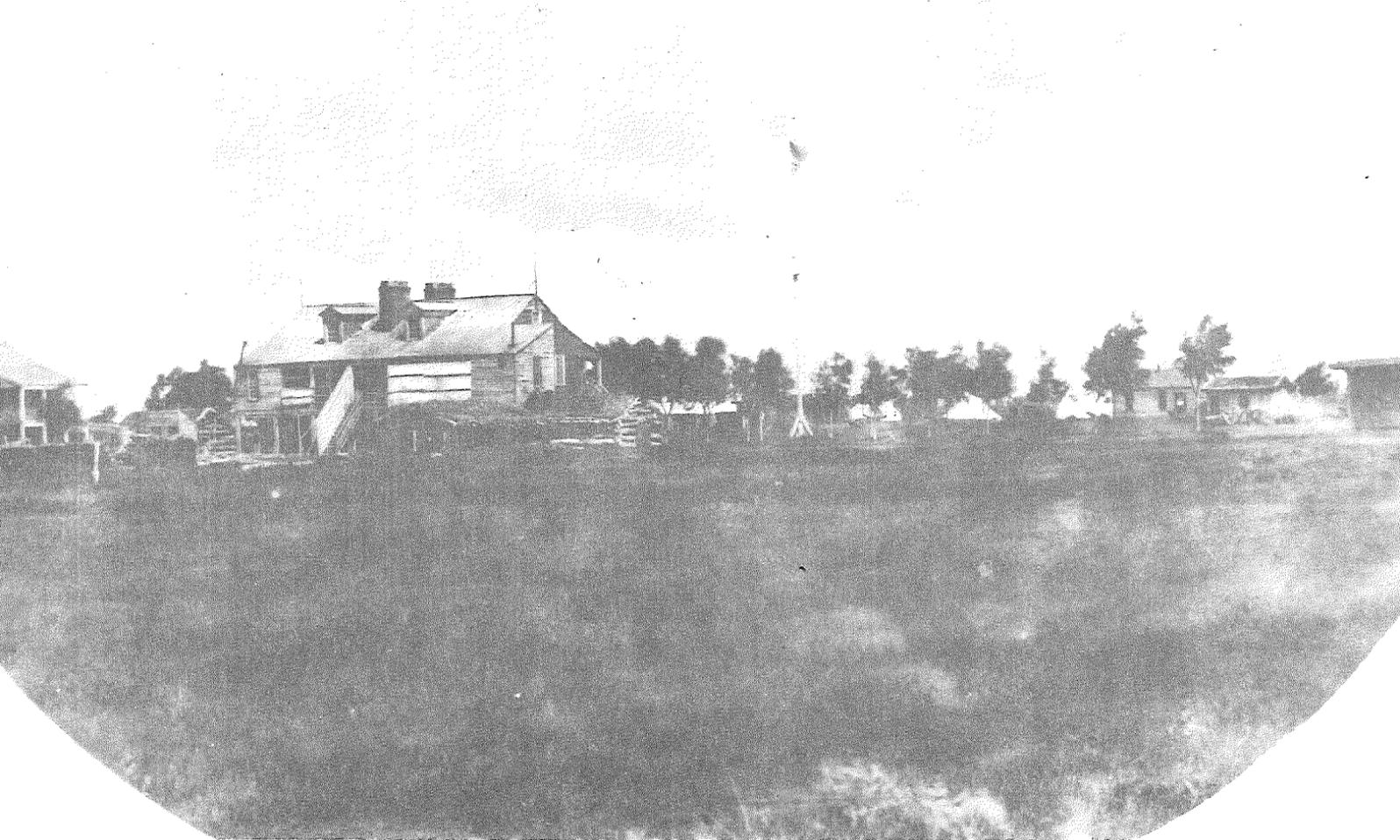
Warren's return was welcome to his fellow officers. In his journal entry for October 15, 1857, J. Hudson Snowden, commander of the Niobrara expedition, related:

About 10 o'clock this morning we were all surprised by hearing a shot & whoop on the hills, shortly after which one of the Black Hill party accompanied by an Indian rode into the camp. He said Mr. Warren & party were close behind and in a few moments they came defiling down the hill, their long string of pack mules and the motley groups of men presenting quite a fantastic appearance.⁴⁷

After being separated for nearly six weeks the two halves of the expedition were united once more. The next few days were spent reorganizing the party, discharging some of the men, and dividing provisions. Warren was cheered when he discovered that Snowden's explorations had been as successful as his own. Snowden had thoroughly examined, mapped and studied a large area of land bordering the Niobrara River in spite of several Indian threats, which were firmly checked by Lieutenant McMillan's soldiers. To prevent further incidents Chief Little Thunder assigned four of his warriors to accompany the expedition.⁴⁸

Although Warren was pleased with the extent of his accomplishments, his problems had not ceased. On October 17, as the explorers prepared to return to Sioux City, four inches of snow fell. The weather turned bitterly cold, the temperature dipping to 22 degrees during the early morning hours of October 19. As the ground froze, it became more and more difficult to move the wagons and animals across the hilly terrain. It was a tired, cold group of men who at the close of October reached the sanctuary of Fort Randall on the Missouri River.⁴⁹

Despite all his success Warren was still not satisfied. With winter closing in he delayed his return east to make topographical observations of the fort and its immediate environs. At last satisfied that he could accomplish nothing more at that time, on November 7 he ordered his small band to depart from Fort Randall for Sioux City, which it reached on November 16. Finding that no steamboats were expected because ice was forming on the river, he was forced to lead his men overland to Fort Leavenworth — a march which resulted in eleven men contracting influenza because of the



Lieutenant Warren arrived at Fort Kearny in August of 1855 after marching across the Sandhills from Fort Pierre. This view of the parade ground at the fort was made in 1858. (Courtesy, Library of Congress)

extremely cold weather. Only upon reaching Leavenworth on December 4, was he fortunate enough to find a steamboat about to sail to St. Louis, where he boarded a train for Washington.⁵⁰

Believing that his stay in Washington was to be, as it had been the past two winters, a temporary one, Warren was hopeful that his explorations would soon resume. He considered himself to be the best qualified officer in the United States Army to command further missions. However, delay was necessary. Over the course of two seasons, the lieutenant and his assistants had compiled a mass of information which would of necessity take a great deal of time to organize and classify. For more than a year he remained in Washington, critically examining all aspects of his recent expeditions in an attempt to enlighten the government and people about the exact nature of the lands still possessed by the Indians. Observing that the Niobrara River, though a "beautiful little stream of clear running water," was of limited usefulness for navigation because of the shallowness of its bed, the existence of rapids in its upper course, and the presence of numerous sand bars near its mouth, Warren was lavish in his praise of the potentialities of the Missouri.⁵¹ In a letter drafted during January 1858, he noted:

In the year 1856 I made a careful survey of the Missouri from the northern boundary of Kansas to 80 miles above the Yellowstone and the Yellowstone itself for 125 miles. I am convinced that the navigability of the Missouri is not properly appreciated by the public generally. It is the second navigable stream in the United States, the Mississippi being the first.⁵²

Recalling his service on the Pacific Railroad Survey, he was able to touch on the question of the construction of a railroad to the Pacific. "Looking to a road to the Pacific in a national point of view," he observed, "I think there is no route north of the Arkansas by which the barren portions of our Territory between the Missouri and Rocky mountains can be passed that is so favorable as the valley of the Platte, and a cheap rail road combining both horse and steam power could be built . . . almost without grading."⁵³ In order to strengthen his feeling that there should be a railroad along the Platte he declared that within a reasonable period of time large numbers of Americans would settle there and that it would be necessary to provide easy communication between the region and the East.⁵⁴ He firmly believed that the United States Government should take an active role in encouraging settlement along the Platte. "I think it exceedingly desirable," he wrote,

that something should be done to encourage settlements in the neighborhood of Ft. Laramie. The wealth of that country is not properly valued, and the Indian title not being extinguished there is no opportunity to settle it. Those who live there now, support themselves by trade with the Indians and it is to their interest to keep others away.

In addition, he advised that the government extinguish the Indian title and extend the protection of the territorial government so as to be effective there. It was his belief that if this were done a settlement would spring up in this region that would rival that of the Great Salt Lake.⁵⁵

Most of Warren's writings during this period were permeated with thoughts about the Indians who lived in the valley of the Platte. As the first explorer to penetrate deep into the Black Hills, he was impressed by the intelligence displayed by the Sioux chiefs, their sense of justice, and their desire to maintain their way of life free from the encroachments of the white man. He reported to his superiors:

I have always found the Dakotas exceedingly reasonable beings, with a proper appreciation of what are their own rights. What they yield to the whites they expect to be paid for, and I never have heard a prominent man of their nation express an opinion in regard to what was due them in which I do not concur.⁵⁶

And he displayed pangs of conscience when he realized that the result of his exploration would mean the destruction of the Sioux as a nation. "I sympathise with them in this their desperation," he confessed, "and almost feel guilty of crime in being a pioneer to the white man who will ere long *drive* the red man from his last nich [*sic*] of hunting ground."⁵⁷

Smallpox, the scourge of the Indian, had struck the Dakotas in 1856 and 1857, when at least 3,000 of the tribesmen succumbed to the epidemic. A humane man, Warren was touched by their suffering and suggested in his official report that the government hire a competent medical man to visit the Indians annually in order to vaccinate them against this disease.⁵⁸

Still, he was realistic, if not always consistent, in his opinions concerning the future of the Sioux. He knew that the large white migration into the region of the Platte, which was inevitable, would drive out the buffalo, the mainstay of Indian life, and with the destruction of the herds, the death knell for the Sioux would be sounded. Believing that a "vigorous course of action" by the government against the Indians might in the long run be more humane than allowing them to die slowly of starvation, Warren nevertheless cautioned that any war with the Sioux

would be both lengthy and bloody. He correctly predicted as early as 1858 that in the inevitable struggles with the Sioux that lay ahead, the Black Hills would be the key to breaking Indian resistance.⁵⁹

Many years later Warren's thoughts still turned toward the plight of the Sioux, a people destined for cultural extinction. In a memorandum titled, "Thoughts about the Red man 1867," he observed:

The Dakotas, now engaged in probably their last notable struggle for their rights and the purity of their race, present to us in the hopelessness of their attempt, a case for the commiseration of merciful men.

.....

When they perish many traits of mankind, worthy of preservation for our study and investigation into the origin of the human race will disappear forever to us: who are probably but the descendants of men in similar state of existence. How we regret to hear of the extinction actual or probable of some race of wild animals as a destruction of the links of natural history and should we not wish to preserve in unimpaired native vigor and honor a race like this which is truly filled with the most noble human attributes, and whose only crime had been a desire to preserve their birthright to themselves which desire in our neglect of right and guided only by the purist selfishness we have steadily deprived them of solely for our own advantage without thought of them. Thus resistance to this encroachment, which has proved their manhood, is the only foundation for a charge against them for deceit or cruelty. Noble warriors they have proven even to those who most misrepresented them.⁶⁰

Warren labored nearly a year to complete his extensive reports. It was not until mid-December, 1858, that he was able to inform his father, Sylvanus Warren, with great satisfaction:

The great hurry which we have been in to get our reports ready for Congress is now over. . . . I will send you tomorrow a copy of the report of the Secretary of War in which you will see we are spoken of in very high esteem. . . . Our map of the Territory west of the Mississippi is now coming out and is very satisfactory. My map of Nebraska is most ready for publication.⁶¹

As part of his final report, he made extensive suggestions on the preparations necessary for a future expedition to the Yellowstone. He urged that the expedition be organized and equipped by May 1, 1859, and should remain in the field until December 1, 1860, a period of nineteen months. The intervening winter, according to his plan, would be passed at some point on either the Yellowstone or Big Horn River. Postulating that an escort would not be necessary because the region was occupied by the

friendly Crow Indians, he observed that the cost of the expedition would reach \$60,000, two-thirds of which would be to provide salaries for forty men and assistants.⁶² He assumed that he would be the commander of the proposed expedition.

But personal tragedy intervened. During early February, Sylvanus Warren died, leaving the responsibility of caring for seven children upon the shoulders of the eldest son. The lieutenant, postponing his plans, wrote:

The death of my father, has entirely changed my plans. I shall not now wish to go to Nebraska again. I must stay awhile with my mother. His loss is a great one to us, besides my mother requiring me to be with her. I feel so sad about it, that all my ambitions have forsaken me. There was no person in the world whose death could make me so unhappy as my father's has.⁶³

Consequently, when on September 1, 1859, he was ordered to West Point near his home to serve as an assistant professor of mathematics, he could not have been disappointed. He was to remain at this post until the outbreak of the Civil War.⁶⁴

His days of exploration and discovery were over, yet the expeditions he had led in 1855, 1856, and 1857 made discoveries that proved valuable for decades. Future explorers relied upon his reports and maps to further their own investigations.⁶⁵ History has recorded John Fremont as the Pathfinder; legend has glorified the heroic deeds among the Indians of Kit Carson and Davy Crockett. Still, in the years before the Civil War, Warren explored, surveyed and charted a vast tract of land in the American West. An inquisitive soldier-explorer, he truly deserves the title, Explorer of the Nebraska Territory.

FOOTNOTES

1. L. U. Reavis, *The Life and Military Services of Gen. William Selby Harney* (Saint Louis: Bryan, Brand & Co., 1878), 250-251. The "Grattan Massacre" took place August 19, 1854.

2. Warren's knowledge of this area was secondhand, and gained through the preparation of the Pacific Railroad Survey map.

3. Warren, *Journal of 1851*. Warren's personal and public papers are to be found in The New York State Library, Albany, New York.

4. *Ibid.*

5. Gouverneur K. Warren, *Explorations in the Dakota Country in the Year 1855* (Washington: A.O.P. Nicholson, Senate Printer, 1856), 21.

6. Emerson Gifford Taylor, *Gouverneur Kemble Warren* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1932), 24.
7. Warren, Journal for 1855, entry for September 2, 1855.
8. Warren, Journal for 1855, entry for September 3, 1855.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*
11. John B. Fiske et al., *Dedication Services at the Unveiling of the Bronze Statue of Maj. Gen. G. K. Warren at Little Round Top, Gettysburg, Pa., August 8, 1888* (Brooklyn: Press of Brooklyn Daily Eagle Book Printing Department, 1888).
12. Warren, Journal for 1855, entry for September 5, 1855.
13. Warren, Journal for 1855, entry for October 23, 1855. Within a week Warren left Fort Pierre for the East via Sioux City on the Missouri River.
14. Gouverneur Kemble Warren, *Preliminary Report of Explorations in Nebraska and Dakota in the Years 1855 - '56 - '57* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1875), 14. Hereafter referred to as *Preliminary Report of Explorations in Nebraska*.
15. Warren, *Explorations in the Dakota Country in the Year 1855*, p. 5-6.
16. *Ibid.*, 20.
17. *Ibid.*, 19.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*, Report of the Secretary of War, n.p.
20. Warren, *Preliminary Report of Explorations in Nebraska*, 14.
21. *Ibid.*, 15; Warren to William Warren, May 24, 1856, Warren Papers, I, 2; Warren, Journal for 1856, entry for May 12, 1856.
22. Warren, Journal for 1856, entries for May 23-24, 1856.
23. Warren, *Preliminary Report of Explorations in Nebraska*, 15.
24. *Ibid.*, 15-16.
25. Louis H. Manarin, "Major General Gouverneur Kemble Warren: A Reappraisal," (Duke University, unpublished master's thesis, 1957), 6. Warren was promoted on July 1, 1856.
26. Warren, *Preliminary Report of Explorations in Nebraska*, 16-17.
27. Warren, Journal for 1857, entry for June 8, 1857.
28. *Ibid.*, Numerous entries for June and early July 1857.
29. Warren, *Preliminary Report of Explorations in Nebraska*, 17.
30. Warren, Journal for 1857, entries for July 7 and July 11, 1857.
31. J. Hudson Snowden, Journal for June 27 - November 15, 1857. Snowden was a member of Warren's Nebraska Expedition. His journal is found in the Warren Manuscript Collection, Albany, New York.
32. *Ibid.*, entries for August 1, 2, and 4, 1857.
33. Warren, Journal for 1857, entry for August 7, 1857.
34. Warren, *Preliminary Report of Explorations in Nebraska*, 17-18; Warren, Journal for 1857, entry for August 11, 1857.
35. P. M. Engel, Report of Reconnaissance to Laramie Peak, August 22 - August 27, 1857. This report is found in the Warren Manuscript Collection.
36. Warren, *Preliminary Report of Explorations in Nebraska*, 18.
37. Warren to Sylvanus Warren, September 3, 1857, Warren Papers, I, 2; Warren, *Preliminary Report of Explorations in Nebraska*, 18.
38. Warren, Journal for 1857, entries for September 8-9, 1857; Warren, *Preliminary Report of Explorations in Nebraska*, 18.

39. Warren, *Preliminary Report of Explorations in Nebraska*, 19.
40. *Ibid.*, 19-20.
41. Warren, Journal for 1857, entry for September 16, 1857.
42. *Ibid.*
43. Warren, *Preliminary Report of Explorations in Nebraska*, 20.
44. *Ibid.*
45. Warren, Journal for 1857, entry for September 25, 1857.
46. Warren, Journal for 1857, entries for September 30 and October 2, 1857.
47. Snowden, Journal for June 27 – November 15, 1857, entry for October 15, 1857.
48. Snowden, Journal for June 27 – November 15, 1857, entries for October 10 through 18; Warren, Journal for 1857, entry for October 15, 1857.
49. Snowden, Journal for June 27 – November 15, 1857, entry for October 17-18-19, 1857.
50. Warren, *Preliminary Report of Explorations in Nebraska*, 22; Samuel H. Moffitt, Medical Report for 1857 Expedition, Warren Papers, V, 8.
51. Draft of Letter by G. K. Warren, January 29, 1858, concerning tributaries of the Niobrara River and about Nebraska Territory, Warren Papers, VIII, 4, 6. Hereafter referred to as Draft of Letter . . . January 29, 1858. Warren was not enthusiastic about the future of the region adjacent to the Niobrara.
52. *Ibid.*, 11.
53. *Ibid.*, 13½.
54. Warren, *Preliminary Report of Explorations in Nebraska*, 46.
55. Warren, Draft of Letter . . . January 29, 1858, 12-13. Fort Laramie was in the southeast corner of the present state of Wyoming. It was an important post on the Oregon Trail.
56. Warren, *Preliminary Report of Explorations in Nebraska*, 54.
57. Warren, Draft of Letter. . . January 29, 1858, 9.
58. Warren, *Preliminary Report of Explorations in Nebraska*, 48, 51.
59. *Ibid.*, 48-54 *passim*. At this time according to Warren, the Sioux numbered 3,000 lodges with 24,000 inhabitants, including 4,800 warriors.
60. "Thoughts about the Red man 1867," Warren Papers, addendum 1962, II, 15.
61. Warren to Sylvanus Warren, December 9, 1858, Warren Papers, I, 2.
62. Warren, *Preliminary Report of Explorations in Nebraska*, 10-11. Salaries were for 30 men at \$30 per month and 8 assistants at \$125 per month, \$10,000 for animals and outfits, \$7,000 for provisions, \$4,000 for Indian goods, and \$3,000 to serve as a contingency fund.
63. Taylor, *Gouverneur Kemble Warren*, 44.
64. War Department Order, Warren Papers, XIV, 65.
65. War of the Rebellion, *A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880), I, 48, I, 366-367.
66. For a life study of Gouverneur Kemble Warren see Vincent J. Flanagan, "The Life of General Gouverneur Kemble Warren" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The City University of New York, 1969).