Annals of Wyoming

Vol. 17 January, 1945 No. 1

A HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Sketch of Fort Laramie in 1864 donated to the Wyoming State Historical Department by A. S. McCullough of Clifton, Ohio. For a fee of one dollar, the original water color sketch on bed ticking was made by an unidentified soldier, a German, for Mr. McCullough's uncle, Joseph McCluskey of Company G, 11th Ohio Volunteer Cavalry, Second Battalion, which arrived at the fort on October 13, 1863 under the command of Col. William O. Collins and the guidance of James Bridger.

Published Bi-Annually
by
THE WYOMING HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT
Cheyenne, Wyoming

Annals of Wyoming

Vol. 17 January, 1945 No. 1

Contents

ILLUSTRATIONS

Printed by
THE WYOMING LABOR JOURNAL
Cheyenne, Wyoming

Soldiers drilling on the parade ground at Fort Laramie, about 1885. Note peaked helmets. Officers Quarters in background. Gibbon collection, Wyoming Historical Department.

Fort Laramie, Guardian of the Oregon Trail

A COMMEMORATIVE ESSAY

By Merrill J. Mattes*
Historian for Fort Laramie National Monument

I

In these fateful days marked by the scream of aerial bombs and the rolling thunder of artillery, when Americans are once more summoned to defend their freedom, Fort Laramie National Monument becomes a vivid reminder of another time when history was written with the blood of courageous fighting men. The time was nearly a hundred years ago, and the battlefield was Wyoming, but the victory belonged then, as now, to the United States Army.

From its weak beginnings of 1776 to its colossal growth of 1944, the Army has been an invincible sword of Democracy, carving out the tortuous pathway of America to nationhood and enlightened world leadership. After fighting the war for American Independence, the Army protected the advance of civilization from the Appalachians to the Pacific Coast, meanwhile defending the Union in the agony of Civil War; and since the "conquest of the continent" it has twice been called upon to uphold the banner of freedom in world-wide conflict. The proud military tradition is symbolized by heroic names—

---

*Merrill J. Mattes, an employee of the National Park Service of the United States Department of the Interior, was officially designated Historian for Fort Laramie National Monument on November 1, 1941, although he has been engaged in research activities connected with that area since 1938, when it was deeded to the Government by the State of Wyoming. His research work has covered broad phases of the Western fur trade, the Oregon Trail and Indian warfare, in addition to the more specific problems pertaining to Fort Laramie. The research program which is being undertaken at the present time is an essential preliminary to the improvement program which is scheduled for Fort Laramie after the war.

In addition to his Fort Laramie duties, Mr. Mattes has served since 1935 as Custodian of Scotts Bluff National Monument near Gering, Nebraska. The interests of Scotts Bluff and Fort Laramie are closely tied together by the Oregon Trail. While Fort Laramie, like Fort Bridger and Fort Hall, was one of the famous way stations on the Oregon Trail, Scotts Bluff compares with Register Cliff and Independence Rock as one of the prominent landmarks on that great Highway of Western expansion.

Mr. Mattes was born at Congress Park, Illinois in 1910, graduated from Central High School at Kansas City, Missouri, received an A. B. degree from the University of Missouri in 1931, a Master's degree from the University of Kansas in 1933, and was awarded a fellowship in Special Studies at Yale University in 1938-39, taking graduate courses in American History and Prehistoric Archeology.

Saratoga, Tippecanoe, New Orleans, Buena Vista, Gettysburg, San Juan Hill, Argonne, Bataan, Normandy and a host of others. These are all battlefields. In the period of westward migration there were battles too—Beecher Island, Sand Creek, Julesburg, Platte Bridge, Little Big Horn, Wounded Knee—but the name which stands out is the name of a frontier Army post—Fort Laramie, Guardian of the Oregon Trail!

Today's titanic battles of Africa, Asia and Europe are far removed in space and time from the Indian warfare which once reddened the Wyoming Plains. And today millions are involved; then the combatants could be numbered by the hundreds. Further, the global concepts of World War II seem hardly related to the territorial problems of the Nineteenth Century. But the differences are not as profound as they seem. The remoteness is illusory. The warriors of the American frontier, on foot or horseback, fought just as bravely as the mechanized and air-borne troops of today; they died from an arrow point or a lead ball just as surely as they die today from the explosion of a four-ton bomb. And they fought then as they do now for one primary reason, love of country, faith in the American destiny. Fort Laramie on the Oregon Trail was as much a part of America's destiny as Valley Forge or Guadalcanal. The great highway of westward expansion had to be defended then, as the world's highways and skyways have to be defended now. And then, as now, the job was done by the United States Army![*]

A monument to another heroic age, old Fort Laramie still stands on the banks of the Laramie River near its junction with the North Platte. Of the sixty-odd buildings which once comprised the fort only a score remain today, huddled together in various stages of decrepitude—long rambling barracks and grotesquely ornamented officers' quarters with sightless windows, buildings of whip-sawed pine and rough concrete and adobe, and mere skeletons of buildings, with walls gaunt, white and crumbling. These are the veterans of an heroic age, honored survivors of the endless battle against time and the elements, standing mute and resolute and defiant in the same lonely, desolate setting of a century ago. They eloquently tell of men who lived dangerously, fighting for the land, of the men who molded Western America.

---

[*]Let this remark be not misconstrued by members of the U. S. Navy or the U. S. Marine Corps, who are very much "on the job" in the present war. But there were no sailors or marines at old Fort Laramie!

II

It was in 1849 that Fort Laramie was transformed from a sleepy decadent trading post of the American Fur Company to a bustling garrison of the United States Army. Although the California gold rush of that year was the immediate cause, the wisdom of setting up such an establishment had long been determined by the earlier migrations to Oregon and Utah, when lengthening ox-drawn wagon trains frightened the buffalo away from their accustomed haunts along the North Platte, much to the alarm of the Indians. Reporting on his expedition of 1842 Lt. John C. Fremont had described the point of land at the confluence of the Laramie and the Platte as ideally suited for a military establishment. In his account of his travels of 1846 Francis Parkman urged that troops be speedily stationed in the Fort Laramie region, as a precaution against the mounting Indian fury; and in 1847 Thomas Fitzpatrick, government agent for the wild tribes on the upper Platte, strongly recommended an army post at this point. Through Missouri's fiery Senator Thomas Hart Benton, Congress became fully aware of the perilous situation and on May 19, 1846 it enacted a law providing for the establishment of military stations on the route to Oregon. The Fort Laramie project was delayed by the Mexican War and by the prior establishment in 1848 of Fort Kearny on the lower Platte; but early in 1849 rumors of the impending gold rush spurred the army to decisive action.

On June 16, 1849 Major Winslow F. Sanderson arrived at Fort Laramie with four other officers and fifty-eight men who comprised Company E, Mounted Rifles. Lt. Daniel P. Woodberry of the engineer corps was commissioned to negotiate the purchase of the American Fur Company's quadrangular adobe fort. This business was transacted with Mr. Bruce Husband, the proprietor, who was glad to get rid of the place for the $4,000 offered, since the fur business was in a decline. Company C, Mounted Rifles and Company G, Sixth Infantry, augmented by large stocks of supplies, arrived later in the summer; and the sleepy trading post became a large military encampment, alive with soldiers hauling and sawing timber, burning lime, erecting buildings, making hay and otherwise indicating that the stars and stripes of the Federal Union had come to stay, and to conquer the wilderness. Thus began the epic history of Fort Laramie as the frontier headquarters of the United States Army, an epic of empire-building which began with the "forty-niners" and ended with the era of the "homesteaders" in 1890.

The primary function of Fort Laramie during its forty-two years of military service was to protect the emigrants

and the transcontinental communications which followed the Oregon Trail, and in the fulfilling of this function are to be found some of the most stirring episodes in American frontier history. There was a multitude of duties which the troops performed to aid the emigrants, such as operating a ferry across the Platte, succoring parties stricken by cholera, or stranded in the mud, or bereft of provisions; but the one big problem was that of the Plains Indians, whose justifiable indignation at the white man's invasion was a perpetual menace.

Among the frontiersmen and in official circles alike there was always a quota of irresponsibles who believed that there was only one solution to the Indian problem, namely, a war of extermination. In the light of subsequent history and the dominant "hero versus Indian" theme in American fiction, it might seem that the Indian was always officially foredoomed; yet Fort Laramie history reveals that the majority of serious-minded citizens, and those most influential in government quarters, hoped to profit by the bitter lesson of Indian warfare east of the Mississippi, and find a peaceful solution to the Indian problem of the Great Plains. Fort Laramie was the scene of the greatest council of Indian tribes in western frontier history, and this was a council of peace.

Congress appropriated $100,000 to finance the Fort Laramie treaty council of 1851. Here assembled more than 10,000 gaily bedecked and mounted savages from a radius of five hundred miles, Sioux, Cheyenne and Arapahoe from the Plains, Snakes and Crows from the mountains, Assininboines, Minnetaree and Arickaree from the upper Missouri country. Besides a few hundred Dragoons, the white men assembled included the commissioners D. D. Mitchell and Thomas Fitzpatrick, the missionary Father de Smet, and Robert Campbell, a St. Louis merchant, one of the founders of the original Fort Laramie. The horses of so vast a throng made it necessary to move the council to the mouth of Horse Creek, near present Lyman, Nebraska, where grass was more abundant. Here, after much ceremony and delicate maneuvering to prevent an outbreak of hostilities between hereditary enemies, the Commissioners offered the assembled chiefs an annuity of $50,000 in merchandise and provisions to compensate for the hunting grounds ruined by the emigrant trains, and as an exchange for promises of unmolested passage of white men, and the right to build military posts. These terms were solemnly acceded to by all, and thus was concluded the "First Treaty of Fort Laramie." Following the lavish distribution of gifts by the Commissioners, the council broke up and the several tribes returned to their accustomed haunts. The outlook for peace and brotherly love on the High Plains was bright.

The peace so auspiciously begun was shattered by a massacre in August, 1854, at a point about eight miles east of Fort Laramie, near present Lingle, Wyoming. Sioux Indians assembled near the fort awaiting the distribution of annuities killed and feasted upon a stray cow. In response to the complaint of a Mormon emigrant, Lieutenant Fleming in command sent Second Lt. L. Grattan, 6th Infantry, with twenty-nine men and an interpreter to apprehend the culprits. Not being properly versed in Indian psychology the rash young lieutenant marched into the large Sioux encampment and precipitated a fight which resulted in the annihilation of himself and his comrades. Subsequently the fort itself was in great danger; and the small garrison there would quickly have been overwhelmed by the maddened Indians, but for some reason the attack did not come off, although due to the temper of the savages who hovered about it was virtually in a state of siege until late in the year when Col. William Hoffman arrived with reinforcements. This was the nearest that Fort Laramie itself ever came to being assaulted.

In August of the following year Col. William S. Harney set out from Fort Kearny with 600 men, included four mounted companies, on a punitive expedition. On Blue Water creek near Ash Hollow, about 150 miles east of Fort Laramie, he encircled an encampment of hostile Sioux and, in the subsequent attack, the band was virtually massacred. This served to quiet the Sioux difficulties temporarily; but in 1856 the Cheyennes committed a series of hostile acts along the Oregon Trail, and the following spring an expedition under Col. Edwin V. Sumner set out against them from Fort Leavenworth via Fort Laramie. The Cheyennes proved too slippery, and the campaign was indecisive, leaving the Indians only more hostile and embittered than before.

Meanwhile federal agents reported that the Mormons in Utah were in rebellion against the United States, and in 1857, a regiment of 2,500 troops under Col. E. B. Johnston, later a Confederate general, was dispatched towards Utah by way of Fort Laramie. This expedition entailed an unprecedented problem for the quartermaster, and interminable supply trains rolled across the prairies. East of Fort Laramie the Cheyenne Indians made destructive lightning raids on the supply columns; while in the mountains Mormon raiders, deep snows and transportation difficulties combined to end the expedition in a fiasco. In the following year, just when the dispatch of reinforcements under General Harney promised a successful campaign against Salt Lake City, a peace was effected, putting an end to the "Utah War," which had cost the government around five million dollars, no small sum in those days.

During the sixties the responsibility of Fort Laramie as the guardian of the Oregon Trail was greatly augmented by the exigencies of the Civil War, which broke out in the spring of 1861. In addition to the continuing emigrant and freighting trains there came the first transcontinental telegraph, following close upon the heels of the Pony Express, all following the great Central route past Fort Laramie. To the duty of protecting these was added the daily overland stage coach and mail service, transferred from the southern route via El Paso. At the same time, notwithstanding the increasing signs of Indian unrest, the Fort Laramie garrison was reduced considerably below the normal complement of 300, to aid in the defense of the Union.

In 1862 there were sporadic outbreaks of violence at isolated stage stations, which were only momentarily quelled when Col. William O. Collins and his battalion of Ohio Volunteer Cavalry established outposts between Fort Laramie and South Pass. The stage line was subsequently moved south to the Cherokee or Overland Trail, 100 miles south of Fort Laramie, but the telegraph line and the emigrant road remained. By this move the local danger was heightened because now the frontier troops were spread out more thinly than ever. In 1863 attempts to negotiate a peace treaty with the Sioux, Arapahoes and Cheyennes proved fruitless, and Colonel Collins went east to recruit more men in anticipation of the approaching crisis. By now the Indians understood the bleak future destined for them by the white men who came in ever-increasing numbers. Considering their desperation, and the attitude of most white men that all Indians were enemies, capable of any atrocity, it is clear that a major conflict was inevitable.

In 1864 commenced a series of Cheyenne and Arapaho raids on the stage road along the South Platte. To keep the Sioux from joining in hostilities General Robert B. Mitchell, commanding the Platte district, held a series of councils with them, to no avail. The warlike intentions of the Sioux were demonstrated by a sortie in which they stampeded a number of cavalry horses from the Fort Laramie parade ground, right under the nose of the post commander. Late in the summer the raids were intensified along the Platte, paralyzing all travel for several weeks. Bungling peace negotiations on the part of Colorado authorities and the infamous massacre at Sand Creek of a peaceful Arapaho band by General Chivington's volunteers, made the Indians furious. Early in 1865 Julesburg and other stations on the South Platte were sacked, after which the hostiles moved toward the North Platte. At Mud Springs near modern Bridgeport, Nebraska they were intercepted by troops from Camp Mitchell (at Scottsbluff)

and Fort Laramie, under Colonel Collins, but this engagement was indecisive, and the Indians withdrew to the Powder River country.

The end of the Civil War and the release of large numbers of troops for frontier duty did not awe the Indians, who were made insolent by their success to date; and in the spring of 1865 their raiding and murdering on both branches of the Platte was resumed. Colonel Moonlight in charge at Fort Laramie failed in an attempt to engage the enemy, who preferred guerilla warfare. In June a band of friendly Sioux, while being escorted from Fort Laramie to Fort Kearny, decided to become hostile and escaped from their guard with some bloodshed, at the mouth of Horse Creek, the scene of the great treaty council of 1851. Colonel Moonlight attempted a large-scale pursuit, but only succeeded in having all his horses stolen, and a 120 mile hike back to the fort, for which failure he was mustered out of the service. In July 3,000 warriors of the combined tribes laid siege to Platte Bridge station on the upper North Platte. In the fights which ensued twenty-six white men lost their lives, including the gallant Caspar Collins, son of the former Fort Laramie commander, from whom the present metropolis of Casper, Wyoming derived its name.

Despite the eagerness of General Grenville M. Dodge, who commanded the western troops, and General P. E. Connor, in charge of "the district of the plains," retaliation for the Indian outrages was slow in forthcoming, due to enlistment and transportation difficulties; but in mid-summer of 1865 the famous Powder River expedition got under way from Fort Laramie. Although an Arapaho band under Black Bear was destroyed near the site of modern Ranchester, Wyoming, several detachments of troops barely escaped starvation and annihilation. General Connor was recalled and the expedition was considered a failure, due partly to inexperience in the art of Indian warfare, and partly to hamstringing of the military by peace advocates in Washington, D. C.

Peace commissioners assembled at Fort Laramie in June, 1866, together with about 2,000 Sioux. The gesture of Col. H. E. Maynadier, post commander, in permitting Chief Spotted Tail to bury his daughter at the fort, augured well for the success of the conference, but the hopeful atmosphere was shattered by the appearance of Col. Henry B. Carrington and a large expedition intent on establishing posts along the Bozeman trail to Montana, through the heart of the Sioux hunting grounds. Due to this glaring demonstration of the conflicting policies of the War Department, and the Office of Indian Affairs, a large contingent of Sioux under the implacable Red Cloud withdrew in enmity; and this action nullified the signature of the peace treaty by the few Sioux and Cheyenne

chieftains who remained. When Colonel Carrington moved north to establish Forts Reno, Phil Kearny and C. F. Smith along the Bozeman Trail, Red Cloud's warriors opened up a bitter campaign of sniping and harassment which steadily undermined the morale of the garrisons, and culminated in the massacre of eighty men under the reckless Capt. W. J. Fetterman, in the vicinity of Fort Phil Kearny, near modern Buffalo, Wyoming. Advised of the disaster on Christmas

Group of unidentified officers from the Fort Laramie garrison, on field maneuvers, about 1885. Courtesy of Mrs. May Morrison of Torrington, who was born at old Fort Laramie.

Infantry from Fort Laramie on field maneuvers, about 1884. Courtesy of Mrs. Joe Wilde of Lingle. Mr. Wilde was for many years proprietor of the tavern at Fort Laramie which was converted from the old Cavalry Barracks.

night, 1866 by a trader and scout named "Portugee" Phillips, who rode 235 miles through bitter cold, Gen. W. H. Wessels immediately set out from Fort Laramie to relieve the beleaguered garrison. In 1867 these hostilities continued, highlighted by the so-called Wagon Box Fight near Fort Phil Kearny in which a small force under Capt. James Powell, armed with new breech-loading rifles successfully withstood the repeated assaults of an overwhelming force of Sioux. Meanwhile the savages made incessant raids on the Union Pacific construction gangs which were pushing westward from Omaha to Cheyenne and Promontory Point.

In the spring of 1868 peace commissioners again arrived at Fort Laramie, with instructions to abandon the Bozeman Trail. This was bitter medicine for the Army men, who felt that all of their heroic sacrifice had been in vain. Red Cloud did not sign the peace treaty until late in the year, after all soldiers were withdrawn and all the stockades along the Bozeman Trail were destroyed. This treaty was ratified by the Senate in February, 1869.

Although the "Second Treaty of Fort Laramie" conceded the Dakota lands to the Sioux, it also stipulated they abandon the North Platte (Oregon Trail) country entirely. This was, in turn, "bad medicine" for the Indians. Fort Laramie had been their trading center since the establishment of the original fur company post in 1834, and they were reluctant to part company with it, for it was like home to them. For a time, therefore, a concession was granted by the United States in the form of a temporary agency for Red Cloud's people about thirty miles east of Fort Laramie, near the site of modern Henry, Nebraska, on the Nebraska-Wyoming line. This was occupied from 1871 to 1873, when an agency site was selected on the White River in what is now Western Nebraska. Meanwhile certain factions of the Sioux and Cheyennes under the aegis of Sitting Bull remained in the Montana country, and demonstrated their continuing hostility by attacks on Northern Pacific railroad surveyors. Inspired by their example, the agency Indians, bored by civilizing influences, trickled away from their reservation to join the malcontents.

The final conclusive struggle between red man and white for the possession of the Plains was precipitated by the alleged discovery of gold in the Black Hills in 1874. Excited miners who illegally entered the Sioux country were arrested by the military and sent to Fort Laramie for confinement. To verify the gold situation the government in 1875 sent Prof. W. P. Jenney of New York City to the Black Hills in 1875. At Fort Laramie he was given a cavalry escort under Col. R. I. Dodge. Arriving at the Black Hills he found hundreds of white miners ahead of him, defying the government edict to stay away.

Subsequent efforts by the government to purchase the Black Hills from the Sioux were unavailing, while the Black Hills gold rush became a torrent which the authorities were unable to check. Anticipating trouble, particularly with the outlaw Sioux under Sitting Bull, an elaborate military campaign was launched early in 1876.

From his Fort Laramie base General Crook pushed north with ten troops of cavalry and two companies of infantry. The first general engagement near the mouth of Little Powder River was a victory for the Sioux, and a withdrawal of the troops was compelled. A second campaign was launched from Fort Fetterman, eighty miles northwest of Fort Laramie, with fifteen troops of cavalry, five companies of infantry, and several hundred Crow and Shoshone allies. On the banks of the Rosebud, Crook met a force of Sioux and Cheyennes under Crazy Horse, greatly augmented by deserters from the agencies. After a fierce melee, in which the Sioux general demonstrated his remarkable prowess, Crook's campaign was virtually stopped cold. Meanwhile General Terry moved up the Yellowstone River, directing Col. George Armstrong Custer to effect a junction with him in the valley of the Little Big Horn. The ensuing disaster to Custer's command on June 25, 1876 was perhaps the most famous as well as the most hotly debated episode in the annals of the frontier; but it is not within the scope of this story. While Terry and Crook nursed their wounds, the frenzied Indians scattered in all directions.

Later in the year, while Gen. Nelson A. Miles was on the trail of Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse, Gen. Crook started another Powder River expedition from Fort Laramie, consisting of twenty-five well equipped companies, calvalry, infantry and artillery. The upshot of this last important campaign based at Fort Laramie was the destruction of a Cheyenne village under Dull Knife, on the Crazy Horse fork of Powder River. Early in 1877 most of the hostiles recognized the hopelessness of their case, and surrendered; but Sitting Bull and a small ban of irreconcileables took refuge in Canada. The Cheyenne escape from Indian Territory (Oklahoma) into Wyoming in 1878-79 and the Wounded Knee massacre at Pine Ridge, South Dakota in 1890 were isolated incidents, without portent. After the tragedy of the Little Big Horn the power of the Plains Indians was broken forever.

Though there was an end to large-scale warfare, Fort Laramie continued in active service for fourteen more years. Depredations by small bands of revengeful Indians and white outlaws continued, making it necessary to use troops for scouting and escort duty. By this time the Oregon Trail had declined in importance, but the new Cheyenne-Deadwood Trail,

alive with gold-seekers, desperadoes and mail-coaches, became a serious problem.

During the eighties the successive commanders at the fort were Col. Wesley Merritt, Col. John Gibbon and Col. Henry C. Merriam, all seasoned Indian fighters. The garrison varied up to 350 men. As the cattle-ranchers who invaded the buffalo land gave way to settlers, and a semblance of peace settled upon the Wyoming plains, the doom of old Fort Laramie was sealed. Although orders for its abandonment came in 1889, this was postponed at the request of Governor Warren of Wyoming, who pointed out the value of the garrison as the only competent authority in that region. But in 1890 the flag was hauled down, the last trooper marched away, movable property was salvaged, and buildings and fixtures sold at public auction, while the wood and timber reservation was thrown open to homesteaders. It was the end of an era.*

III

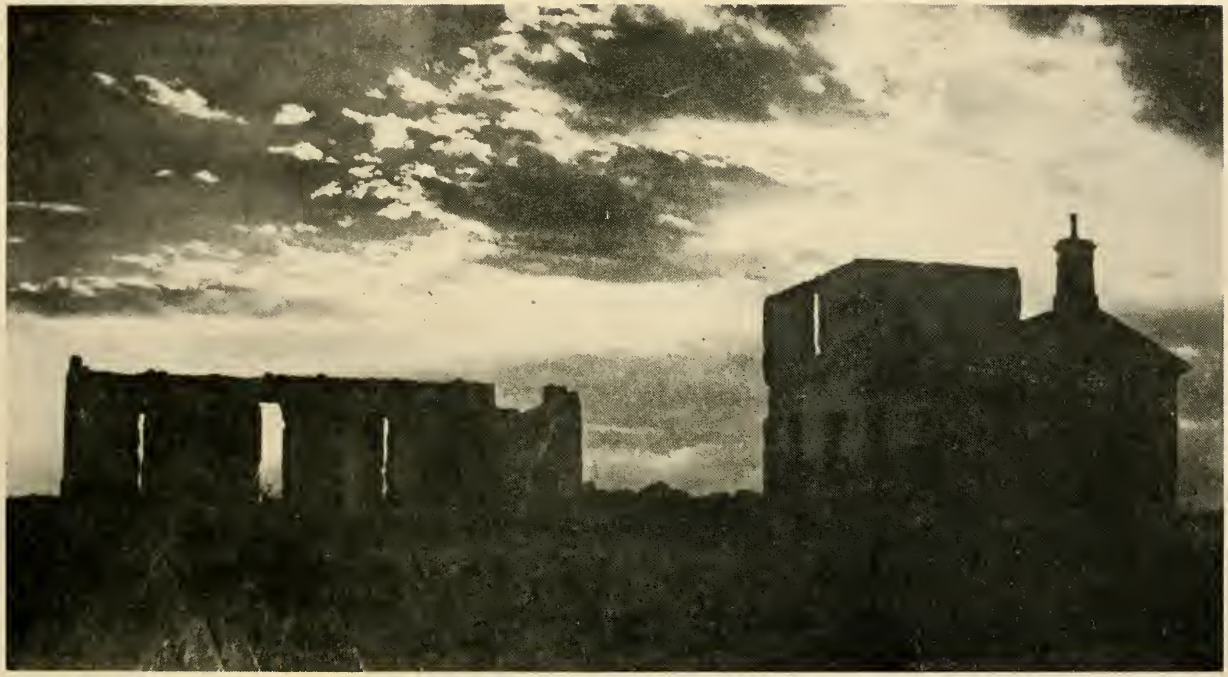
The stranger approaching Fort Laramie today might find little on the surface to suggest the vigorous military post. His first impression, rather, might be that of a deserted village, perhaps the scene of a deflated mining boom, possibly a decadent cowtown sleeping peacefully between Saturday nights. There are no visible fortifications, no walls, no bastions, no battlements, no bristling armaments. But upon closer inspection the visitor becomes aware that he is turning back in time, that this is no mere village, no ghostly tenement, but indeed, the frontier headquarters of the United States Army!

To be sure, this is not the Fort Laramie of 1849, when the California gold rush swept by, or the Fort Laramie of 1876, when disastrous news came from the Little Big Horn, or even the Fort Laramie of 1890, when the United States put it on the auction block. No, it bears the scars of a half century of neglect and even destruction by a public which had not learned to treasure its historic shrines. It is no longer the capital of the Wyoming plains, perhaps, but it is still Fort Laramie, picturesque, proud, challenging!

Old Bedlam there, a hotel-like two-story frame and grout building with a Southern mansion veranda, you might call it the patriarch of the tribe, still dominates the rolling landscape

---

*Historical data is derived from various authorities listed in the "Selected Bibliography" appended to this essay. The standard history on the subject is *Fort Laramie and the Pageant of the West, 1834-1890* by LeRoy R. Hafen and Francis Marion Young (The Arthur H. Clark Company, Glendale, California, 1938). This is a scholarly and comprehensive review designed for the serious student of history, but equally rewarding to every "Westerner" who takes pride in his heritage.



Ruins of the Old Hospital at Fort Laramie, taken against the haunting background of a Wyoming sunset.
Photograph by C. E. Humberger, 1939.

as it did in 1849 when it was erected, when the sound of saws and hammers combined with the creaking and grinding of the emigrant's wagon wheels to make a strange symphony in the ears of Sioux and Cheyenne spectators, grim with foreboding. Old Bedlam now is silent as a tomb, its shattered windows mercifully boarded; yet there was a time when its hallways echoed with the jangle of spurs and officers' crisp commands; when its windows of a summer evening, festooned and sparkling with candle-light, gave forth sounds of music and merriment as amorous young blades and gay hoop-skirted belles sought to assuage the tedium and tension of a frontier army post.

Yes, there is the Sutler's Store, a rambling, mongrel sort of building, a curious mixture of adobe, grout, frame and sheet-metal. It is not a very handsome structure, and it is so decayed that it has to be buttressed by heavy timbers to prevent its collapsing into a heap of rubble; but it is another building hoary with tradition, rivalling Old Bedlam in antiquity. Here the soldiers, rubbing elbows with curious emigrants and Indians, invested their pay-checks in worldly goods, principally liquor, which flowed prodigiously across the bar. Jim Bridger, Kit Carson and William Cody were here, also Mark Twain, Horace Greeley and Jack Slade, veteran "mountain men" and pale-faced Easterners, gentlemen and desperadoes. Here the whole of the fantastic social strata of the frontier assembled, and tossed coins at the bartender, blew clouds of foam, gurgled barrels of whisky, engaged in occasional knifings and shooting scrapes, plotted robberies and assassinations, boasted of Indian scalps and gold-nuggets; and dreamed of (or dreaded) a time when this vast wild land would be tamed and civilized.

Fort Laramie a relic, deserted and forgotten? Why here is the very heart and soul of the West, the stalwart, headstrong child grown to a wise maturity, witnessing the greater America which it helped so notably to conceive. Those ruins high up there on the hill-top, stark and vivid against the sunset, they are a perfect monument to that old Hospital where soldiers came back to suffer their wounds and their agonies, perhaps to die, those same who had gone forth bravely and with light hearts to meet the savage foe. Over there to the north are the Cavalry Barracks. That was the home of hundreds, perhaps thousands of troopers who lived beyond the pale of civilization, with its soft comforts and conveniences, that the West might be reclaimed. Yonder by the river is the Old Guardhouse, that sinister-looking building with the thick "grout" walls and barred windows. Evil-doers languished here, sometimes preliminary to swinging in the breeze for obstructing the orderly processes of civilization. Before us is the same parade ground where soldiers would drill smartly during

a lull in Indian warfare; and overhead still floats the flag of the United States, now with forty-eight stars instead of thirty which were contained in the flag of 1849; but this flag now as then is the banner of Democracy and Freedom.

IV

The National Park Service is the appointed guardian of Old Fort Laramie, which in 1938 achieved the status of a national monument. It is no accident that this agency was entrusted with the responsibility. "Conservation" is the watchword of the Department of the Interior, and the National Park Service is that branch of the Department which protects the national parks and monuments so that they may be enjoyed unimpaired in their naturalness by generations of Americans to come.

Scenery, timberland, water resources, wildlife—these are not the only things which are implied by the word "conservation." There is perhaps something even more important still than these physical resources—*our cultural heritage*. We must conserve our American Democracy, the Bill of Rights, and all of the ideals therein implied. Indeed, it is the preservation or "conservation" of these things for which we fight today with all our vast national strength.

The history of America is the history of an ideal—a bright shining vision of Freedom and universal Justice. History, too, is something which must be conserved, so that we may be forever reminded of our heritage, and our responsibility to our children to preserve this heritage.

We would not cancel a billion dollars of our national debt in exchange for the original Declaration of Independence which is "conserved" in the Library of Congress. All the skyscrapers in all the big cities cannot conjure up half the reverence for America that the patriotic citizen feels when he is in the presence of Mount Vernon or the Alamo, or the battlefield of Gettysburg. The loftiest snow-crowned mountain range is not more truly a part of America than the little hill called "Bunker Hill" where our Flag received its baptism of blood, or the Little Big Horn Valley in Montana where Custer and his troopers rode to their doom.

We are proud of these things and these places which mark the climaxes of American History. Yet if they had not been "conserved" by a few conscientious citizens, if Mount Vernon had been auctioned off to real estate promoters, or if the field of Gettysburg had been converted into farms, then they would not be there today for us to be proud of, and our cultural heritage would be the poorer.

Fort Laramie is an historic shrine as truly as these others, being an important trading post, a way-station for travelers on the Oregon Trail, and headquarters of the United States Army on the Great Plains for over half a century. Buildings yet exist there which greeted the emigrants on their way to California gold. From here fur traders launched their keelboats down the Platte, and blue-clad cavalrymen rode forth to battle the Sioux and Cheyenne and Arapaho. Past here rolled the great natural highway to the Pacific, and here youthful Pony Express riders, gaunt and dust-covered emigrants and profane bullwhackers paused to rest, the hostile Plains behind them, the forbidding mountains ahead.

Being such a unique capital of the Western frontier, such a priceless jewel in the treasure of our national heritage, was it not "conserved" after its abandonment by the Army in 1890? No, unfortunately it was not. It probably occurred to few at the time that here was an irreplaceable and invaluable asset to our patriotic traditions. There was no visible history here, only so many buildings, which included much useful salvageable lumber. Accordingly the buildings were auctioned off. Shortly thereafter over half of these were unroofed and stripped of every vestige of timber. Adobe buildings crumbled to earth and the concrete buildings were left only naked walls. The few buildings which were untouched were used as ranch dwellings and shelters for cows, pigs and chickens. Strange treatment for a great shrine of American history!

The ranchers who occupied the Fort were not at fault, but rather the American people, whose conscience in such matters had not yet been aroused. It may be that in the East, with ample reminders of the Revolution and the Civil War, people were more conscious of their traditions. But Westerners had a tremendous job to be done, a blistering, back-bending job of breaking the soil and building homes in 1890. They can be pardoned for not giving too much thought to "conservation of history." History in western Wyoming was still in the making. Perhaps the Indians were still a little too much in the thoughts of the settlers, still too close a reality to think of Indian warfare as merely a "tradition." Also, the practical problem of securing lumber in a Plains country, with transportation problems to be considered in terms of wagonloads, might make it understandable why lumber from an abandoned building would be so highly prized, while the historical significance of the building itself might be overlooked.

So if Fort Laramie was not recognized as an historic shrine by the Army lieutenant who auctioned off the buildings, or by the people who bought them, it was the fault of the times. Actually, we should not express disappointment that so much of Fort Laramie was lost, but rather surprise that so much of it

has been saved. What comparable historic site in the West survives, with some buildings almost a century old? For this rare bit of conservation we should perhaps thank John Hunton more than any other man.

Hunton came to Fort Laramie in 1867, to clerk for the post sutlers, Ward and Bullock. In 1888 he became post sutler. When the post was abandoned in April, 1890, Hunton felt that the fort was so much a part of his life that he decided to stay on. At the auction he bought twelve of the Fort Laramie buildings for $368.50, including the Officers' Quarters Row on the west side of the parade ground. Apparently he already owned the old Sutler's Store. In any case it was due to his appreciation of historical values that the picturesque building known as Old Bedlam, and the Sutler's Store, both dating back to 1849, were saved, as well as several other officers' quarters, including one in which he resided until around 1920; and he undoubtedly used his influence on other owners to prevent the complete destruction of other buildings.

From 1890 to until his death in 1928 John Hunton was the main "conservationist" of Fort Laramie; but early in the 1920's several prominent citizens of Wyoming took an interest in saving the old Fort. The idea caught on and was popularized by newspaper editors. The Wyoming State Legislature and the Wyoming Historical Landmarks Commission became actively concerned. After several disheartening set-backs the property was finally acquired from private owners by the State of Wyoming in 1937. The priceless historic site was then generously deeded to the United States, just forty-eight years after the United States threw away the whole fort, complete, at auction, for a paltry $1,395.00.

Since 1939 the National Park Service has had a Custodian residing at Fort Laramie National Monument, who has supervised a three-point program—protection, interpretation and improvement, all designed to "conserve" old Fort Laramie as one of the country's historical shrines. "Protection" has included fencing of the area of approximately 200 acres, and enforcement of Government rules and regulations pertaining to national parks. "Interpretation" includes occasional guide service for visitors, use of educational signs, archeological investigations, historical research work and museum planning.

Improvements made during the past few years with CCC and WPA funds include stabilization measures on historical buildings and ruins, conversion of Cavalry Barracks into temporary Custodian's Office and quarters; removal of debris and overgrowth which accumulated since 1890, and installation of electric, telephone and water facilities.

Of course the war program has brought improvements to a standstill, since manpower and critical materials are needed

elsewhere; but Fort Laramie has not been forgotten. The war will not last forever, and there will come a day when plans can be pushed actively forward to give old Fort Laramie the full status and dignity of a national historic shrine, which has so long been deferred.

In the five years past that records have been available, there has been a total of 22,352 visitors at Fort Laramie National Monument. This is not an imposing figure compared with the hundreds of thousands of visitors who go annually to the large national parks; but it must be remembered that Fort Laramie is off the beaten tourist path, so to speak, and furthermore it is new as a national monument, and it has not yet had an opportunity to become nationally known.

In 1943 there were 1,359 visitors at Fort Laramie compared with the peak of 10,102 in 1940. But this decrease is nothing exceptional, being comparable to the war-time decrease in travel to all of the nation's parks and monuments. In 1944 there may be even fewer visitors, but Old Fort Laramie can wait. It mouldered nearly fifty years before it received recognition as an historic shrine; it can wait in relative quiescence until the present foe—the Japs and the Nazis—can be rounded up and put back on their "reservations."

Old Fort Laramie is not an inanimate thing, a mere collection of time-shattered ruins. It is a thing of spirit, a tradition, woven out of a half century of convulsive human history. Here is something still "worth fighting for," something to give the soldier of today more pride in his citizenship, a deeper consciousness of his national traditions, and faith that there still survives the fundamental pioneer virtues which will lead America to new heights of world leadership in war, and in the peace that will follow.

* * * *

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bancroft, Hubert Howe, *History of Nevada, Colorado and Wyoming,* 1540-1888 (Volume XXV of *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft*), The History Company, San Francisco, 1890.

Bandel, Eugene, *Frontier Life in the Army,* 1854-1861 (Volume II of *The Southwest Historical Series,* edited by Ralph Bieber), Arthur H. Clark Company, Glendale, 1932.

Birge, Julius C., *The Awakening of the Desert,* Richard C. Badger, Boston, 1912.

Carrington, Margaret Irvin, *Ab-Sa-Ra-Ka, Land of Massacres: being the Experience of an Officer's Wife on the Plains,* J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, 1879.

Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Reports for 1849 to 1890, in *House Documents Series.*

Coutant, C. G., *History of Wyoming from the Earliest Known Discoveries* (Volume I, only one published), Chaplin, Spafford and Mathison, Laramie, Wyoming, 1899.

David, Robert Beebe, *Finn Burnett, Frontiersman,* Arthur H. Clark Company, Glendale, 1937.

Dodge, Col. Richard Irving, *Our Wild Indians,* A. D. Worthington & Co., Hartford, 1890.

Gove, Jesse A., *The Utah Expedition,* 1857-1858, *Letters of Captain Gove, 10th Infantry, U. S. A., of Concord, New Hampshire, to Mrs. Gove, and Special Correspondence of the New York Herald,* New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord, 1928.

Grinnell, George Bird, *The Fighting Cheyennes,* Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1915.

Hafen, LeRoy R. and Young, Francis Marion, *Fort Laramie and the Pageant of the West,* Arthur H. Clark Company, Glendale, 1938.

Hebard, Grace R., and Brininstool, E. A., *The Boseman Trail, Historical Accounts of the Blazing of the Overland Routes into the Northwest, and the Fights with Red Cloud's Warriors* (2 volumes), Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland, 1922.

Hyde, George E., *Red Cloud's Folk, A History of the Oglala Sioux Indians,* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1937.

Lowe, Percival G., *Five Years a Dragoon and Other Adventures on the Great Plains,* Franklin Hudson Publishing Co., Kansas City, 1906.

Ostrander, Major Alson B., *An Army Boy of the Sixties, a Story of the Plains,* World Book Company, New York, 1924.

Sandoz, Marie, *Crazy Horse, The Strange Man of the Oglalas, a Biography,* Alfred A. Knopf, New York 1942.

Spring, Agnes W., *Caspar Collins, The Life and Exploits of an Indian Fighter of the Sixties,* Columbia University Press, New York, 1927.

Vestal, Stanley, *Sitting Bull, Champion of the Sioux, a Biography,* Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1932.

Vestal, Stanley, *Warpath, The True Story of the Fighting Sioux, Told in a Biography of Chief White Bull,* Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1934.

Ware, Eugene F., *The Indian War of* 1864, *Being a Fragment of the Early History of Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado and Wyoming,* Crane and Company, Topeka, 1911.

War Department Reports, 1849 to 1890, in *House Document* Series.

Wellman, Paul I., *Death on the Prairie,* The MacMillan Company, New York, 1934.

FORT LARAMIE NEWS ITEM

Jess Lombard, Custodian of Fort Laramie National Monument since 1939, left that post in April of 1944 to become Custodian of Dinosaur National Monument at Vernal, Utah. Dinosaur contains 203,965 acres, a lot more land to take care of than 214 acres which comprises Fort Laramie, but then the importance of the old fort is not measured by the extent of the property. It is one of our national historic shrines, and Mr. Lombard has served it well during the past five years. He was the contributor of an article on "Old Bedlam" which appeared in the *Annals of Wyoming* (XIII, 2. April, 1941).

The new Custodian at Fort Laramie is Thor Borresen, a Norwegian by birth, but a legal resident of New York, who became a research technician in archeology for the National Park Service at Colonial National Historical Park, Va., in 1934, later doing historical work in the Service's Region One Office at Richmond, Va. In the latter capacity, he was consultant on military and domestic structures, restoration of military battlefields, ordnance, and other military accoutrement. Beginning in 1942 Mr. Borresen spent two years at a shipyard in Brooklyn as a contribution to the war program. Before joining the National Park Service, he worked for the U. S. Construction Quartermaster for eight years, supervising the restoration of Old Fort Niagara.

Associated with Mr. Borresen are Coordinating Superintendent John E. Doerr, with headquarters at Rocky Mountain National Park, at Estes Park, Colorado, and Mr. Mattes, author of the Fort Laramie article in this issue.

DOUGLAS C. McMURTRIE

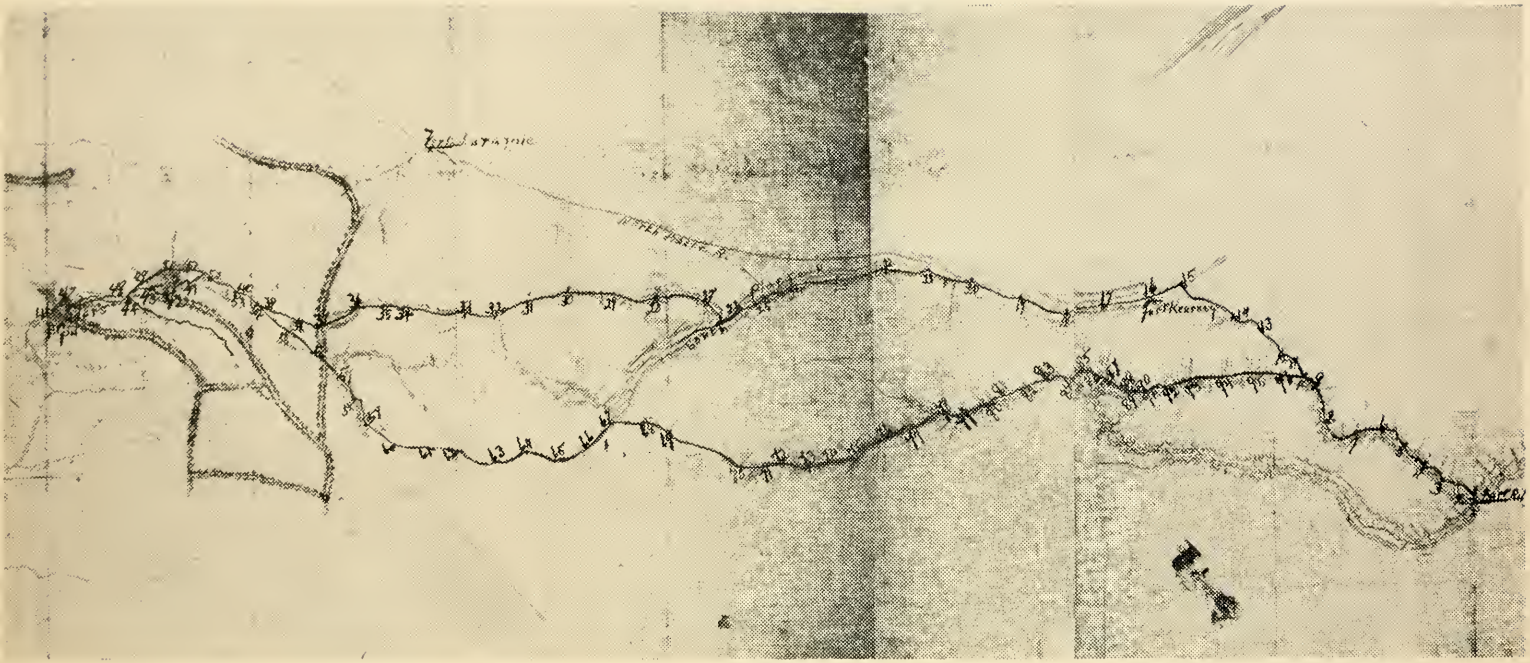
Douglas C. McMurtrie, who so generously contributed to the ANNALS OF WYOMING, passed away September 29, 1944, at the age of 56.

Mr. McMurtrie was well known as the author of many books and pamphlets on printing.

His passing will be felt by his many friends. His home was Chicago, Illinois.

BRYANT B. BROOKS

Wyoming is honored in having the opportunity to claim Bryant B. Brooks as one of her outstanding pioneers, and as one of her governors. Wyoming has lost a great citizen in his passing, December 8, 1944.



Reconnaissance of a Road from Fort Riley to Bridger's Pass made in obedience to instructions from the War Department in June, July, August, September and October 1856, by Lieut. F. T. Bryan, United States Topographical Engineer.

Numbers represent camps along the route. Numbers from one to forty-six show the route going to Bridger's Pass; numbers forty-seven to ninety-six show their return route to Fort Riley.

Documents and Letters

Report of Lieut. F. T. Bryan Concerning His Operations in Locating a Practicable Road Between Fort Riley to Bridger's Pass 1856.[1]

When these plains were virgin country meagerly intersected by Indian or buffalo trails, the War Department early realized its responsibility and the great necessity to locate and build wagon roads, bridges, etc.

In 1856, the Department undertook to find the most practicable route from Fort Riley (Kansas) to Bridger's Pass (Nebraska, later Wyoming) and assigned Lieut. Francis T. Bryan of the Topographic Engineering Corps to command a survey expedition to locate a military road between these two points. Lieut. Bryan was accompanied by Mr. John Lambert, topographer; Mr. Henry Engelmann, geologist; Mr. Charles Larned in charge of the barometers; Mr. Cooper and Mr. Wood, rodmen. They met their escort and thirty-three wagons at Fort Riley and left that post June 21, 1856.

Mr. Lambert wrote an interesting report[2] on the topography of the country traveled. Mr. Engelmann made one of the first, if not the first, geological report[3] of the country. We are not including these two reports which are attached to Lieut. Bryan's report in the Congressional Document, where they may be found.

Many of these military wagon roads were the highways of today in the making.

It will be noticed all through Lieut. Bryan's report the spelling of Medicine-*Bon*. Mr. Lambert and Mr. Engelmann also used this form of spelling in their reports. It is evident it is not a misprint nor a misinterpretation as Medicine Bow Creek was known by the Indians as "good Medicine"—"Medicine-Bon". Some seem to think the word, *Bon*, through usage, was transposed to *Bow*. It is also understood the name Medicine-Bow was used by the Indians with reference to the type of wood they found in those mountains for their bows and arrows. The name of Medicine-Bow appears on Fremont's Map of 1842 as applying to both the stream and mountain.—M.H.E.

Two routes presented themselves for consideration and survey before a location could be definitely fixed upon. One from Fort Riley to Fort Kearney, crossing the divide between the Republican and the Platte, and skirting the headwaters of the small streams running into the Blue; then from Fort Kearney, along the Platte valley, to near the mouth of Pole creek; thence up Pole creek, through the Black Hills, to its head; and thence along the foot of the Medicine-Bon Mountains to the North Platte, and thence to Bridger's Pass, about forty miles distant from the crossing of this stream. The other lay along the Republican fork of Kaw river for three hundred and sixty

1. Congressional Documents. 35th Cong. 1st Sess. S. Ex. Doc. 11, pp. 455-481 [Serial 920]
2. Ibid. pp. 481-488.
3. Ibid. pp. 489-517.

miles; thence across the divide to the South Platte, where it turns to run into a southeasterly direction; thence up the South Platte, along its right bank, crossing Beaver, Bijou, Kioway, and other small creeks; thence on the left bank of the Platte to the mouth of Crow creek; and thence over to the Cache la Poudre, and up it to the foot of the Medicine-Bon range, in the Laramie plains, and thence to Bridger's Pass, over the same ground as by the other route. It was determined to examine the route along the Platte first, and take the route along the Republican on the return. For this purpose the party left Fort Riley, and followed along the left bank of the Republican for more than a hundred miles, and as long as the direction of the river coincided with that from Fort Riley to Fort Kearney. Leaving the Republican fork, there was about thirty-five miles of a high, dry, rolling prairie to the Little Blue. This space was intersected by the heads of creeks running into the Republican and the Blue, and is entirely destitute of timber, except the small quantity which grows immediately on the banks of the streams, and which consists generally of hard woods, such as oak, ash, etc. Very little obstruction is offered, generally, to the passage of wheeled vehicles—now and then the steep banks of a creek which require several hours to cut away and make passable. The crossing of the Blue was effected without difficulty, the river being here not more than fifty feet wide and two and a half feet deep; bed sandy and banks easily prepared for crossing. At this point this route turns into the road from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Kearney, and coincides with it up to that point. This part, for some thirteen miles, lies along the river valley and then leaving, leads to the valley of the Platte over a high, dry, rolling country. It is supplied with water at intervals of fifteen, eight, and then four and a half miles, to the Platte river, by large water holes, which are considered permanent. From the point of touching the Platte, the distance to Fort Kearney is fifteen miles, and over a smooth, level country, being along the valley of the river.

In this division of the road lies most of the labor necessary to render the routes between Fort Riley and Bridger's Pass easily travelled. Most of the creeks which are crossed are deep, with steep banks, and, in some instances, require bridging, and in almost all the approaches to the crossing need grading. Leaving Fort Kearney, the route lies along the valley of the Platte to a point about sixteen miles beyond the Laramie crossing. It is the route generally travelled to Fort Laramie, and has been so often noticed that no description of it is necessary here. The route followed by my party and its escort crosses the Platte at sixteen miles above the Laramie crossing, keeping to the right bank of the river thus far to avoid the bluffs and rough ground which here juts close in upon the river. The cross-

ing used by the party was an excellent ford at a point where the river is about six hundred and ten yards wide. The water scarcely came up to the axle-trees of our wagons; the bottom was of fine, hard gravel, so that our crossing was effected without any difficulty. This, however, like all the crossings of the rivers in this part of the country, is liable to injury from flood, and to become affected by quicksand. As to the expediency of bridging this stream, it is a matter totally out of the question. There is not a particle of material of any sort near enough to be used, especially within the limits of the present appropriation. Trains passing must, therefore, always be prepared to take the chances of the ford. From the crossing of the Platte to the head of Pole creek forms the next division of this road. Our route lay along the Platte to Pole creek, a distance of eight miles, over a very level country. Our crossing was effected without difficulty at a point about a mile above the mouth. The creek is here a swift flowing stream, between high banks, with a width of six or eight feet. The country here, and for some miles further up, is a high, dry prairie—a dead, flat, burned up piece of ground. Our route lay on the right bank. The valley of the creek is here two or three miles wide, but becomes narrow further up. About five miles from our crossing brought us to a spring running from the bluffs on our left into the creek. Here was the first appearance of green grass that we had seen along the creek, except immediately between its banks. Three or four miles further on was another green spot, where we camped, having made eighteen miles. The country is extremely barren and burnt up; nothing green to be seen except the willows and grass immediately along the banks. The higher ground is covered with buffalo grass, which is now burnt dry.

Scarcely have we seen anything resembling a tree since we were many miles below the Laramie crossing of the Platte. The soil is mostly sand and gravel. On the higher ground the soil is almost as light as ashes. During yesterday and today we have made quite a bend. Had we known exactly the direction in which the creek ran in this part of its course, we might have come straight over from the Platte. This line across this bend deserves a reconnaissance.

Wednesday, July 23.—The country today shows more grass. With this exception it is the same as yesterday, very barren, light and dry. The surface is almost all that could be wished for our teams; some few hollows appear, but offer no serious obstructions. The valley is of varying width, and the creek, in its windings, touches the bluffs on one side and then the other. Camped at the end of 20.10 miles.

Thursday, July 24.—At 7½ miles from camp we crossed without difficulty to the left bank, the bluffs coming so close

on to the creek as to interfere with our purpose on the right bank. The country is varied but little from yesterday, the bluffs being higher and more irregular and the valley narrower. The grass appears better now; not so much parched up. Cedars, too, appear, scattered on the bluffs, intermingled with a few pines. The creek is very crooked, and with quite a swift current, indicating a great fall. Made today 18 miles.

Friday, July 25.—Kept along the valley of the creek until we came to a point of the Pine Bluffs, which jutted close in to the creek. This rough place in the road (the only one of any consequence which we have met with) occasioned some little delay to the passage of the train. About a mile beyond this point the water of the creek suddenly disappeared, and was not seen again for twelve miles, although it had just previously been a bold running stream, more so, indeed, than usual, from the recent rains which had somewhat swollen it. At 8¾ miles from our camp we crossed the dry bed of the creek and kept on our course till we had made 19⅓ miles, when we camped on the right bank of the creek, where the water was running as briskly as ever. Our course today has been very straight and over a fine, hard prairie, having a gradual and constant rise, giving an excellent location for a road of any sort. The bluffs gradually fell as we ascended the creek, and have now almost entirely given way to gentle swells on either side. The grass is also much better than below, and affords pasture to immense herds of buffaloes. This part of the valley is a favorite winter residence of the Sioux and Cheyenne bands.

Saturday, July 26.—Kept our way up the creek, finding all the way a fine hard soil for the road. There were several gulleys to cross today, affluents of the creek. None of them presented any difficulty. The valley of the creek is now so narrow that we have been obliged to cross it several times, but always without difficulty or delay. Camped on the right bank, after a march of 16 miles.

Sunday, July 27.—In camp.

Monday, July 28.—Marched today 13½ miles to the Pine Bluffs, where we camped on a small spring running into Pole creek, which is dry at this point and for about eight miles further up. Just below our camp a branch, called Didies' branch, comes into Pole creek on the northern side. It takes its rise in a line of bluffs which lead on to Horse creek. A route from this point to Laramie is said to be feasible, passing by the head of Didies' branch, thence on to Horse creek, and then to the Platte river, eight miles below Laramie. In favor of this route is urged the constant supply of running water, a fine hard soil to travel over, and the absence of the sand hills, which interpose such a serious obstacle to the passage of heavily loaded trains. These Pine Bluffs afford an abundance of dwarf pine,

which answers well for fuel. As this article is very scarce beyond this point, and until the Black hills are reached, it is necessary to transport enough for several days' use—buffalo chips, which have answered heretofore, being scarce. The bluffs run in a northerly and southerly direction, and Pole creek cuts directly through them, making a wide, level valley, through which wagons can pass without the slightest difficulty. Pawnee creek heads to the south and in the same bluffs. In Didies' branch the water is always running.

Tuesday, July 29.—Marched 13 miles, to the point where the New Mexico and Laramie road crosses Pole creek, and camped as the creek again sinks; and we are ignorant how far it is to where water again appears. Water, however, can always be had by digging. Road today very good, and soil of the same gravelly character as yesterday.

Wednesday, July 30, 1856.—Course today over a high, dry prairie, rising rapidly all the time, but furnishing a most excellent smooth road. Travelled over this country for twelve miles, where we found water again running in the bed of the creek. At seventeen miles we intended to make our camp, but found the creek at this point again dry and water difficult to obtain by digging. Made 24½ miles, and found water running and made our camp. The route today has been over ground singularly smooth and good. In the latter part of the day's march there were some hollows, but not very difficult to cross. Timber and buffalo chips have almost entirely disappeared, and, but for the wood brought from Pine Bluffs, we should suffer for fuel. The grass on the upland is very poor, short, and dry, the soil hard and gravelly.

Thursday, July 31.—Marched about 7 miles today, merely to change camp, over a high, rolling country to another point of the creek, where was good grass and a fine spring. Camped for the day, as the animals are much fatigued by yesterday's long march. Country the same as yesterday, very poor and desolate. Pole creek is now a very small stream, the water running only at intervals and the bottoms very narrow, and the supply of grass for our animals very limited.

Friday, August 1, 1856.—Followed today a high ridge on the right bank of the creek, which furnished a fine, smooth track for our wagons. The country still rises rapidly. After eight miles travelling there were some hollows, but no difficulty was experienced in crossing them. Three and a half miles further brought us to our camp at the foot of the Black hills, and on Pole creek. Here we found quite wide bottoms, with plenty of grass for our animals. The two forks of Pole creek here met to make the main stream. The creek has so far furnished an excellent route, so far as the track is concerned, but there is a great deficiency of fuel, other than buffalo chips,

and at this season of the year grass is very scarce. Water at this time of the year is met with at intervals along the bed of the creek in the upper part of its course. It is flowing whenever seen, but, owing to the porous nature of the soil, it disappears and the bed of the creek is dry for several miles together. Water can generally be obtained, wherever the stream has sunk, by digging under the bluffs and in the bed of the stream. Large quantities of drift wood were found here, which proved of great assistance to us in the way of fuel.

Saturday, August 2.—Following the southernmost of the two prongs between which we had encamped, and after passing over some high prairies, we arrived at the entrance to the Black hills, a steep ascent, which was accomplished, however, by our teams without much difficulty. The ground was rough and strong, and for about a mile and a half further on the pulling was quite even, being up hill and down. At this point there was a fine spring, at which the road ascended a ridge, and kept afterwards on the divide between the northern and southern prongs of Pole creek. This was exceedingly smooth and of a very gradual ascent, giving an excellent road. This ridge was followed for about twelve miles, and then the country became rolling, with scattered boulders of granite. A little work was necessary to put aside some of them, and we proceeded easily. Four miles further, over a rolling country, brought us to our camp, on a side hill and near a spring running into the southern fork.

On the other side of this south fork, and directly opposite our camp, the mountain was thickly covered with straight young pines, affording lodge poles to various bands of Indians who resort to this point to supply themselves. From this circumstance the creek derives its name. Our route today lay for the most part along an Indian trail, information of which was obtained from Eagle Head, an Arapahoe.

Sunday, August 3.—Remained in camp.

Monday, August 4.—Leaving camp about 9 o'clock, in about a mile and a half we reached the summit of the Black hills, the dividing ridge between the waters of Pole creek and Laramie river. The ascent was difficult to this point, but there was no necessity to double teams, the road having been somewhat prepared before leaving camp. Near the summit is a fine spring, which is considered the head spring of this branch of the creek. The descent from this point was easy and gradual, and about 1 o'clock we found ourselves on the right bank of the east fork of Laramie river; the last five miles being across the rolling prairie of Laramie plains. The country is poor and sandy; sandstones appearing in abundance in our descent. The Laramie river at this point very much resembles the Platte, affords good water and grass, but no wood. Our fuel was brought

in wagons from the hills which we had just left, and which furnish a great deal. These hills appear to have been once covered with trees, but they have been torn up by the winds, the thin, rocky soil not furnishing sufficient hold for their roots.

Laramie river has a quicksand bottom; but we found a fine, hard ford, the water reaching only to the axletrees of the wagons.

Tuesday, August 5.—Our route for today was across the plains from the east to the west fork of Laramie, a distance of fifteen miles. Camped on the right bank of the west fork, a beautiful mountain stream, flowing from the Medicine-Bon mountains; on our left over a fine, hard bed of gravel and pebbles. The water is clear and of an icy coldness.

Wednesday, August 6.—Today crossed the west fork without difficulty, and in about a mile struck into the emigrant road along the foot of the Medicine-Bon. This road we suppose to coincide with the train followed by Captain Stansbury. The road today is very good, having occasional ascents and descents, and over a fine, hard gravel; it is, however, very destructive to the feet of our animals, many of them losing their shoes, and becoming tender footed in consequence. Trains travelling through this country should be well provided with those indispensable article, horse and mule shoes, and shoe nails, as many are worn out and lost. A forge would be necessary for a large train. Camped after a march of fourteen miles on a small creek of good water. This we called Cooper's creek; it runs into a large lake some ten miles off in the Laramie plains. Several large lakes were passed today lying to our right; they are visible from the hills near the camp.

Thursday, August 7, 1856.—The train moved on today over the beaten track of the emigrant route, and, crossing a number of small creeks, on which it could not encamp on account of the lack of grass for animals, passed on to the west fork of Medicine-Bon creek. The road was generally very good, being very much like that of yesterday. In some places the ground was covered with loose stones, which it is only necessary to remove to insure a good road. In other places there are several long ascents and descents; but these cannot be avoided, as they are caused by spurs from the hills which run for a long distance into the plain, and must be crossed almost at right angles. To cut through them, for the sake of a more level road, would cost immensely, especially in the present unsettled state of the country, as a party and its means would have to be transported so far. The hills to the left of our route are covered with pines; they are from six inches to eighteen and twenty-four in diameter, and, were they more accessible, would furnish inexhaustible supplies of fuel and timber. In many places this timber can be reached without much difficulty. The

head valley of the west fork of Laramie river is one of these places, and would make an excellent site for a military post and settlement, as there is abundant grass for grazing and hay for winter use, excellent water, and timber for building and fuel. The train arrived at camp at 6 o'clock, having had a long and fatiguing march. From the rough, hard soil, and many loose stones, many of our animals lost their shoes and became lame. We found it necessary to remain in camp next day to put on fresh shoes and make repairs.

Friday, August 8, 1856.—Remained in camp on the Medicine-Bon (west branch). The bottom of this creek is broad and stony; soil sterile, and grass very poor, thin and scanty, especially at this season. Fuel is abundant. This fork of the Medicine-Bon creek is said to be famous as a trapping ground for beaver. The Medicine-Bon butte, and the interval between it and the main Medicine-Bon range, is a noted region, in which the different bands of Indians—Sioux, Snakes, Utahs, Arapahoes and Cheyennes—settle their difficulties. From the frequency with which war parties of these different tribes are met, it behooves any party of whites passing through the country to be well on their guard.

Saturday, August 9, 1856.—Marched eight miles to find camp at the head of Pass creek, and under the Medicine-Bon butte, and to the south of it. There is good water here from the creek, and a fine body of good grass, which proves very acceptable after the short rations at West Medicine-Bon creek. The fuel is at some distance on the hills; we were obliged to bring it in our wagons. The creek, I suppose, takes its name from the locality of its head, being in a pass between the Medicine-Bon butte and the main Medicine-Bon ridge. We experienced here very cold weather for the season; ice forming in our tents at night. Today was again mostly taken up in shoeing animals which had loose shoes, and had become lame from the effects thereof.

Sunday, August 10, 1856.—Remained in camp.

Monday, August 11, 1856.—Crossing the creek, we followed an Indian trail leading down the right bank, until the hills came so close to the creek that we were obliged to take to the road again. This we had avoided as much as possible today, as it led over a succession of ascents and descents. Even after we entered the road again we were obliged, for about three miles, to make our way almost at right angles across the spurs coming down from the Medicine-Bon butte on our right. In some places the road ran over side hills so steep that it was necessary to hold up the wagons with ropes. Two wagons overturned in making the passage. This three or four miles through the canon of Pass creek would require a good deal of work, a week's work for a company. The road should follow the creek

more closely than the present one does, and when the hills come too close it might take the immediate valley crossing, and recrossing the creek as became necessary, and without difficulty, as there is a fine pebbly bottom. After leaving the canon the present road keeps the left, or south bank of the creek. It might be changed to the north bank for some distance from the canon, and be improved. After leaving the canon the road is generally very good, being through a sage prairie, and over a hard, gravelly soil. We passed an emigrant's grave (Pickens',) at a good camping place, where the road touches the creek; kept on, making eleven miles to good grass and water and plenty of fuel. Sunday was spent making a reconnaissance of a pack trail, which it was supposed would furnish a better route than the road. This, however, proved not to be the case, as the country was more broken, and would have required more work than through the canon of Pass creek.

Tuesday, August 12, 1856.—Eleven miles of travel this morning through sage bushes, and over a hard, gravelly soil, brought us to the North Platte, a beautiful mountain stream, flowing over large stones, pebbles, and gravel. The bottom of this stream is several hundred yards wide from the bluffs on one side to those on the other. The bluffs on the west, or left bank, at this point are not high, and are of earth; those on the right bank are several hundred feet in height, and composed of layers of stone, and very steep. They enclose the river for miles, and render access to it, except at certain points, impossible for wheeled vehicles. The country for several miles back has been rolling, or rather in plateaus, one below another, as we approach the river. Over these wastes no vegetation is to be seen except the sage plant. The river bottom, in which we encamped, is wide and level, and furnishes tolerable grass for our animals. Fuel is abundant from the cotton-wood trees, which abound at this point. On the western bank there are several unfinished houses. These were put up for trading houses, but subsequently abandoned, as being too much exposed to the assaults of hostile Indians.

Wednesday, August 13, 1856.—Leaving the North Platte, and following the beaten road (Evans',) for about twelve miles, we came to a narrow stream running between steep banks, which we supposed to be Sage creek. The country over which we passed is a good deal broken and water washed, and miserably poor and desolate. It is almost entirely destitute of vegetation except the sage plant, and an occasional tuft of grass, the intervals between these being quite bare, or covered with fragments of broken stone and gravel. The surface is much cut up by gulleys and ravines, and sudden descents from one plateau to another, which caused the road to wind a great deal. A sufficient amount of cutting to make a straight road

would involve a great deal of expense in such a desolate country, so far from supplies of all kinds, and especially of forage. A few miles from the creek we left the road, and turned more to the left, towards the mountains, for the sake of grass for our animals, of which there was not a particle to be found on the creek, or anywhere else on the more level portion of the country. After crossing the creek the surface of the country is more level and favorable for a road, still of the same clayey nature, however, and covered thickly with sage plant, which proves a great impediment to our animals and marching men. Some miles beyond the first creek we cross a small gully, with yellowish water standing in holes; still not a particle of grass to be seen. Finding no grass, we made towards the mountains, which we reached about sunset, after a most fatiguing and wearying march of twenty-four miles over a loose soil and unbroken sage plants. The soil is very light, and soon gave plenty of dust, sinking under foot like snow, and fatiguing the marching men. The mountain under which we encamped has its sides covered with aspen trees, and is supposed to be the Aspen mountains, mentioned by Captain Stansbury in his report on this part of the country. At its foot there is a beautiful stream of clear water, with a little grass on its banks. This stream is one of the heads of Sage creek, crossing the more level country to the main stream. Other small streams break from the sides of the hills, and on their heads we found sufficient grass for our almost starved animals.

Thursday, August 14, 1856.—The trains remained in camp today to rest the animals, to give an opportunity to make a reconnaissance of the country ahead. As none of the guides had ever been through "Bridger's Pass," though they had been long in the mountains and in that part of the country, and as the appearance of the country did not tally with Captain Stansbury's description of that about the Pass, we supposed that we had not struck the exact locality. The result of our examinations made us still more strongly of opinion that we were at a different point from that described as Bridger's Pass, but we could not be far off, and provided we could get through a practicable pass over to the western slope, it was not of much consequence as to the exact spot. I wished to go to the exact spot of course but there was not one of all the guides and mountain men who had ever heard of such a place. The Pass, as laid down on the map, appeared between the head of Sage creek, flowing eastwardly into the Platte, and Muddy creek, flowing westwardly into some of the branches of Green river. If an easy route could be found from Sage creek to Muddy creek, it would answer all purposes. Accordingly, a party left camp, and climbing to the top of the hill before us, we found an open, smooth plateau, inclining gently to the west, and

answering the description given by Captain Stansbury of the country over which he travelled after leaving Muddy creek. Following the edge of this plateau in a westwardly direction, we found a valley on our right of two or three miles in width, having an appearance as if the high table land had been cut through from one side to the other. From the edge of the plateau the head prongs of Sage creek could be seen running eastwardly, and those of Muddy creek to the west, interlocking so closely that, at some distance, it was difficult to distinguish the channels of the two creeks. Thinking that through this valley lay the proper location of the road, we descended from the plateau and followed down the valley of Muddy creek for some distance, making sure that its waters flowed westwardly. On our return the valley was examined as to its practicability for passage by our wagons. The result of the examinations corresponded with our expectations, and it was determined to bring the train through on this route.

Friday, August 15, 1856.—Left camp at six o'clock this morning, and after eight hours' marching and cutting on the banks of a few gulleys and small streams, found ourselves in camp on Muddy creek. The surface of the ground was very favorable, but the thick growth of sage was very much in our way, obstructing the passage of the wagons, and fatiguing men and animals very much. This, however, forms no permanent obstacle, as the passage of a few trains would soon break down the sage and cause it to disappear. In about seven miles we attained the highest point of this valley. There is an ascent to this point, both from the east and from the west, by keeping along the valleys of the small streams which run into Sage and Muddy creeks. The water in Muddy creek was running slowly; some trout were taken in the pools of Muddy creek. The only grass in this part of the country lies along the small streams, where they issue from the hills. We found it necessary to herd our animals on those spots, in succession, no one place having sufficient for the whole of them. On this account, a large train could scarcely travel through this country, much less remain any time in it. If it did, it would be necessary to transport forage for its animals. The sage plant furnishes quantities of fuel, and of a good kind for camp purposes, being dry and easily kindled. Opposite to the summit there is a green place in the hills on the north, indicating a spring. Here grass enough may be found for a small train for several days, and also in the dry hollow running into one of the heads of Sage creek. The soil is of clay, the surface to the south much cut up by water. Spurs from the hills on the south run nearly across the valley in some places, in others ridges run nearly parallel to the general course of the valley. These caused the road at some points to wind a good deal.

Distance travelled today, twelve and three-quarter miles.

Having thus completed the reconnaissance to Bridger's Pass, or to the nearest practicable point to it so far as we could ascertain, gone through the Pass and encamped on the western slope on waters running into the Pacific streams, it only remained to find out on our return if there was any route preferable to that by which we had come. We were forced to commence our return forthwith by fear of starvation for our animals, so little subsistence of any kind does this region afford.

Saturday, August 16, 1856.—Today retraced our steps of yesterday for about eight miles to a beautiful little valley, and camped in front of a growth of pines, where we found good grass, wood and water.

Sunday, August 17, 1856.—Remained in camp.

Monday, August 18, 1856.—After a march of three miles came opposite the camp of August 13 and 14. Here we turned to our left (north), instead of following the outward route. This change gave us an excellent road, much smoother than the route before followed, and nearer to the creek. This route inward has a few places where the banks have to be cut down, but it is generally much smoother, and better ground for traveling. There is less of the sage plant to be encountered, also. The camp was pitched on an island, in the North Platte, where there was plenty of good grass, water and fuel. Here it was deemed advisable to remain for a few days to rest our animals and burn coal for forge. The point where we are now encamped is some five miles below where we crossed the river on our outward route. The country is a scene of utter desolation as far as the eye can reach. High bluffs, deep ravines and a most sterile soil are the characteristics of the scene. The bluffs are composed mostly of clay, with layers of sandstones, and are formed by the action of water washing out the deep intervening ravines. The river near the camp is still enclosed by the same precipitous walls of rock, which permit ingress and egress only at certain points. As we had determined to examine the north side of Medicine-Bon butte, to avoid, if possible, the canon of Pass creek on the south side, this crossing of the river is very favorable for our purpose. Captain Stansbury had already reported that a practicable route existed to the north of the butte, but, as it had never been attempted with wagons, we hesitated somewhat to make the trial with so many teams. An examination in advance, however, showed where there was a practicable route, and it was determined to follow it.

August 19, 20, 21.—Remained in camp on the Platte.

Friday, August 22, 1856.—After a very circuitous route through the bluffs, and some work for the pioneers, we got on the level plateaux which hold on to the foot of the mountain. This gave a very level, straight road to Pass creek, where

we encamped. At one point the inward and outward routes came close to each other; the former, though, is over much better ground. The bottom of Pass creek, where we encamped, is wide, and affords abundance of nutritious grass. The water, too, is clear and of excellent flavor. Fuel, however, is scarce, most of what we used being buffalo chips and drift-wood. Wood is more abundant higher up the stream.

Saturday, August 23, 1856.—Left our camp on Pass creek at 6¼ a. m., and marching on our course came, in a couple of miles, to the spurs running down from the Medicine-Bon butte. The ascent to the first of these hills was very gentle; most of them were so. About four miles from camp there was one very difficult to ascend, and which obliged us to double teams. This was the only real obstruction on the route. The other obstacles were only such as were caused by small drains of ten or fifteen inches in depth, and the dense growth of sage plants. About eight miles brought us to a small creek, which we think is the Rattlesnake creek of Captain Stansbury. Here a few minutes' work was necessary; then following along the valley we turned up the valley of one of its affluents, and followed it to its divide from Elk creek. Descending on the eastern side of this divide we found ourselves in the broad grassy bottom of a small creek running from the Medicine-Bon butte. It sinks in a marshy plain about a mile below our camp. Elk abounded in this vicinity, from which circumstance the creek gets its name. The grass on this creek, as on Pass creek, was good and abundant. Wood is in plenty, and the water excellent.

Sunday, August 24, 1856.—Remained in camp.

Monday, August 25, 1856.—March this morning seven and a quarter miles, to the west branch of Medicine-Bon creek. We passed several small creeks during the march, which appeared to sink in the prairie at the distance of a mile or two from our crossing. They furnished abundance of wood, water, and grass of the best quality. There were several ponds to our left (north), which appeared much frequented by ducks and geese. After crossing the west fork of Medicine-Bon, we turned to the left down the creek, and found a camp ground where the grass was luxuriant. The crossing was of the same character as that above, the bottom of the creek being covered with large rounded stones. At this crossing there are several channels, most of which are dry. The valley here is narrow, and shut in by high bluffs.

Tuesday, August 26, 1856.—Left camp this morning at six o'clock, and ascending from the narrow, deep valley of the west fork, we emerged upon an open plain, and, keeping our course, reached in about eight miles, a small running stream at the foot of some bluffs. Bridging this with little difficulty, we were obliged to clear away some loose stones, and then

ascended the bluffs without trouble. Country then became rolling, and easily passed to Birch creek, where the ascent from the bed of the creek was difficult an account of loose stones and boulders. These were cleared away, and, after ascending, we kept on the course for a few miles, and, on the top of a ridge, came in sight of the outward road near Aspen creek. Bearing towards it, we came into the road, and camped on the creek at one o'clock. Where the new road comes into the old one, a pile of stones was made and a flag-staff put in. This will mark the point of divergence by the two routes of the north and south sides of the Medicine-Bon butte. From the camp on Muddy creek to this camp the return route is shorter by three and a half miles, and is, besides, much better provided with wood, water, and grass, and a better surface to travel over. The grass at this camp is thin and much parched.

August 27 and 28.—Followed the emigrant road by which we went out; camped on the 28th on the west fork of Laramie, about a mile above where we camped on our outward route. No fuel, except a little scattered drift-wood. Higher up the stream there is wood, and in the mountain from which this stream flows there is plenty of pine timber. The bottom of the west fork is very extensive, and much cut up by small streams. The soil is clayey, and lying low, is very liable to overflow in wet weather, and to make travelling over it difficult. Grass, wood, and water are found in abundance at the head of this stream, and would furnish a post plentifully.

Friday, August 29, 1856.—Followed the emigrant road today, which is excellent, being over smooth, hard, gravelly soil, and very straight. Arrived in camp on East Laramie at 12 m., where we found excellent grass and water, and some fuel furnished by cotton-wood trees, of which there are a few scattered along the river. This stream furnished fish, of which the men caught a large supply.

Saturday, August 30, 1856.—Marched today over an excellent road to camp on a ridge lying between the head of two branches of the east fork of Laramie. The road crosses the branch on which we are encamped some distance below camp, making quite a bend to the south. This bend could be avoided by crossing the creek higher up, and obtaining just as good a location, though at the expense of cutting. Our camp is abundantly and excellently supplied with wood, water, and grass; wood is mostly of willow and aspen.

Sunday, August 31, 1856.—Remained in camp.

Monday, September 1, 1856.—Left camp at the usual hour; the road, considering the nature of the country, is a very good one. It is circuitous, crosses many small streams, affluents of Cache la Poudre, and has some hills, where the pulling is somewhat difficult. But for a mountainous, broken country, it is

very good, though there are several places where it might be improved, either by working it or by a change of location for a few rods. The rocks are granitic, and the soil partakes of the same character, and forms a fine hard road bed. The country today has not been equalled in its broken character, except by the Pole Creek pass, through the Black hills. Even there, I think, the scenery is inferior to this. Made our camp on a small branch of the Cache la Poudre. Wood is scarce immediately at the camp, but plentiful at a short distance; water clear and good; grass thin and a good deal parched and dry.

Tuesday, September 2, 1856.—Crossing easily the creek on which we were encamped, and ascending a hill which offered little obstruction, we kept on over a very good road for some six or seven miles, to a creek on which were encamped a band of Arapahoes, under Little Owl, one of their chiefs. At the crossings of the small drains the road was encumbered with loose stones, which should be removed for a good road. This is caused partly by the breaking away of the earth and partly by stones and gravel brought down from the hills by heavy rains. These would always render these crossings rough and filled with stones. Bridges would obviate the difficulty, but there is not water enough, nor are these places sufficiently difficult of passage to warrant such an expense. A little beyond the Arapahoe camp the road wound through a narrow gorge and up a hill covered with loose stones, causing very severe labor to our animals for a short time. There was no avoiding this place, as a deep canon of great extent prevented us from turning it. A little labor would make a good road up the hill. The rest of the route for this day was good to another branch of Cache la Poudre, where we found wood and water good and abundant. The grass, however, is thin and dry. This is a favorite camping place for emigrants from Arkansas and Texas.

Wednesday, September 3, 1856.—Our road today ran through a valley all the way, bounded on both sides by rough hills. It is somewhat winding, frequently crossed by small drains, which are rough from being water-washed and the loose stones left on the surface of the ground. These only require to be removed to make an excellent road. The banks of the drains require to be smoothed somewhat, but every heavy rain would wash them again and make them rough. Most of these drains flow from our right to the left into a large, dry, hollow, which crosses the road and empties into the creek. The creek itself, which is the main stream of Cache la Poudre, comes from the hills on our right. At ten o'clock we camped on it, at a point well provided with wood and grass. The bottom here is very extensive, and would furnish many tons of hay. Timber could also be obtained from the adjacent hills. This point possesses many of the requisites for a good military site, when-

ever it shall be deemed requisite to station troops in this part of the country.

Thursday, September 4, 1856.—Left camp at six o'clock, and in the course of a mile the road led through a narrow, steep defile. We found some difficulty in getting through our wagons from the steep ascent, but, as the cutting here would not be difficult, it would not take long to make an easy grade for wagons. From this defile we emerged into an open prairie country, and, turning the hill on our right, came again to Cache la Poudre, which we crossed, the bottom being here, as elsewhere, covered with loose round stones, making the crossing laborious and difficult. Thence our route lay through the valley of the creek for twelve miles, and on its right bank. Crossing again, we camped on the left bank, after a march of fifteen miles, and having good grass, wood and water in abundance. The right was preferred, as we obtained on that bank a smoother and straighter road, avoiding crossing Box Elder creek, which comes into Cache la Poudre from the east, and was reported to be deep and miry. The bottoms of Cache la Poudre are wide and beautiful, and the soil good.

Friday, September 5, 1856.—Today continued on our way down the left bank of Cache la Poudre, which furnished us a smooth, hard road. The soil today was poor, producing little vegetation, and consisted mostly of reddish sand and gravel. Occasionally the surface was thickly covered with dwarf prickly pears, making the marching difficult and painful for our men and animals. Banks of the creek today have been steep and high, in places resembling bluffs. Camped on the creek about three miles from the South Platte, of which it is a tributary. Grass and fuel abundant.

Saturday, September 6, 1856.—Marched today over a very smooth prairie, bordering on Cache la Poudre and the South Platte, to our camp on the river at the mouth of Crow creek, where we had an abundance of the requisites—wood, water, and grass.

Sunday, September 7, 1856.—Remained in camp.

Monday, September 8, 1856.—Remained in camp. The party which had been sent to explore Crow creek not having come in the night before, it arrived in good health and condition today at 11 o'clock.

Tuesday, September 9, 1856.—Left camp at six o'clock, and, crossing the dry bed of Crow creek, directly afterwards crossed the South Platte. Crow creek is dry for about twelve miles from its mouth. At this point is a spring, and above water is to be met with in holes. At the forks there is a little timber. On the east side of the mouth of Crow creek there are the remains of some adobe trading houses. The Platte crossing is at this time a very good ford, and we passed over with-

out any difficulty. These fords of the Platte, however, are very variable, being liable to be injured by the flood in the spring, and in some instances to be entirely destroyed, so that where fords have been quicksand bottom is found in place of them. Our road down the Platte today was mostly good and smooth, the greatest difficulty arising from the extensive beds of prickly pear during the first part of the march, and afterwards from the sandy nature of the soil. The route lay over an Indian trail for the greater part of the distance, and has been used at times by the wagons of Indian traders.

Wednesday, September 10, 1856.—Left camp at the usual hour, and marching along the Platte over a very rolling country composed of loose sand, made 11½ miles to camp, having during the day crossed the wide sandy bed of Kiowah creek. The banks are high, and the road winds along the sandy slope to find a crossing. The creek is dry at this point, but about twenty-five miles above it is a beautiful running stream, with timbered banks and wide, grassy bottoms.

Thursday, September 11, 1856.—Continued our march today over an excellent road to Bijou creek, a distance of eleven miles. The surface of the ground was undulating, and the soil of sand, which was the only drawback; but this was not so loose or deep as yesterday, but afforded a fine hard road bed. We confined ourselves to the lodge trail, as it was generally straight and lay in our course. In fact, it would have been dangerous to deviate from it, as large tracts on either side are densely covered with prickly pear, which would have proved very injurious to our mules. Bijou creek is here a small stream, with a wide sandy bed; the water is slightly brackish. As with Kiowah creek, it is a fine stream nearer to its head than where we crossed it, though even there it is better than Kiowah creek.

Friday, September 12, 1856.—Still kept the trail today along the river, and at the end of 14½ miles camped on the river just above the mouth of Beaver creek. Our road for today was remarkably fine, being over a wide open plain and a hard gravelly soil. At this camp there were several bodies of dead Indians suspended in trees and lodges.

Saturday, September 13, 1856.—Marched today, 14 miles, to the point where we intend to leave the river. The route still followed the Indian trail, and lay over a country smooth, and was covered with grass, and of a hard gravelly soil. There is now nothing like wood to be found on the river, except a few small willows. A tree is very rarely to be seen. Our course today was nearly northeast to our camp on the river. We leave the river at this point to cross over to the Republican fork of Kaw river, anticipating a dreary march over sand hills and clay ravines.

Sunday, September 14, 1856.—Remained in camp. The water here, in the river, is nowhere more than 18 inches. One of the men of the party, Frederick Bortheaux, died here at 10½ a. m., and was buried at one o'clock, on a ridge to the rear of the camp.

Monday, September 15, 1856.—Leaving the river, we marched for two or three miles over a good road, then into a belt of sand hills. The sand here, no doubt, is easily moved by winds, except when covered and protected by grass. Passing this sandy range, we came to a flat sandy prairie, covered with dog holes and gopher hills. A short distance after passing the sand hills was a large pond, apparently of permanent water. On our arrival we found this pond covered with ducks. Five or six miles further over an alternation of sandy flats and slopes brought us to our camp, on the headwaters of a creek tributary of the Platte. It has a sand bottom, and is thoroughly dry, except at its head, where a small stream is running, and there is water in holes. Wagons are apt to bog on crossing the bed of this creek. However, there is no necessity for this, as the creek can be turned by its head. The grass at this camp is only tolerable, water good, and fuel, except buffalo chips, entirely wanting. The road today, though heavy, is much better than was expected, and, in fact, would do very well for trains crossing from the Republican to the Platte.

Tuesday, September 16, 1856.—Ascending from the valley of the creek up which we were encamped, we came upon a high rolling prairie, surface hard and smooth. For the first mile or two, the character of the country was wild, from the deep ravines and precipitous banks, caused by the action of the water. We passed on, however, without the slightest trouble or difficulty, and came to a gently undulating prairie, covered in many places with a luxuriant growth of buffalo grass. At several points the water was standing in holes; the grass in these places was green and good. Continuing our march over this pleasantly undulating surface, we came, at the end of about twelve miles, to a creek with bluff banks, in which water was standing in holes, on which we encamped. Dog towns were passed today. Near the camp was one of these towns, which was thickly inhabited. The water in one of the holes of the creek was brackish; the others, however, furnished very good drinking water, though it was too warm. This camp was well supplied with good grass; fuel, except buffalo chips, wholly wanting. The road travelled today is over a fine hard surface, and if water can always be had, which is somewhat doubtful, would make a very good route.

Wednesday, September 17, 1856.—Leaving the valley of the creek on which we were encamped, we presently found ourselves on a wide open prairie. About a mile and a half from

camp, and about four hundred yards to the left, there was a large pond of water, which appeared to be deep, and was covered with ducks when we passed. From this point the country presented almost a dead level, so slight were the undulations. The ground was fine, hard, and level, and composed mostly of fine sand covered thickly with weeds. Grass was very scarce. At fourteen miles from camp, we arrived at a hollow where there was a little water, but not enough to camp on. Continuing our march, we came, at the end of twenty-two or three miles, to the foot of a range of sand hills, which rise between us and Rock creek; passing these, which were covered several miles across, we descended into the valley of a branch of Rock creek. This was a dry hollow, destitute of wood, grass, and water. Good grass was thinly scattered over the sand hills; but as there was no water, and the sand was too loose to hold picket pins, we did not dare to encamp here. Continuing our march four or five miles further, we arrived at another hollow, also belonging to Rock creek, where there was water on springy ground covered with rushes and tolerable marsh grass. Here we encamped at 8 p. m., after a march of thirty-five miles. The range of sand hills is composed of loose sand, which, but for the grass, would be easily moved by the winds. The travel through these hills is very fatiguing to our draught animals.

Thursday, September 18, 1856.—Remained in camp to recruit our animals after the fatigue of the long march of yesterday.

Friday, September 19, 1856.—A march of eight miles this morning brought us to the crossing of the main Rock creek. Here it is a beautiful stream, flowing over a sandy bed, about eight or ten inches deep, and six or eight feet wide. It comes in from behind a ridge on our right. This ridge forms the divide between Rock creek and the tributary on which we were encamped yesterday. Today our route is over a barren sandy soil, slightly covered with cactus and weeds of different kinds. The ground was fine and rolling, making us a good road. Rock creek runs under rocky bluffs composed of material similar to that making the bluffs on Pole creek. It is very fine sand mixed with lime and limestones, and, in other instances, mostly made up of gravel from granite rocks; color, a yellowish white. Crossing the creek without difficulty, we kept down its right bank for about a mile, and then crossing a small spring branch coming from the bluff, we made our camp on the bank of the main stream. The bottom of this stream is well supplied with excellent grass. Fuel very scarce indeed; mostly buffalo chips.

Saturday, September 20, 1856.—Today marched down the creek for seven miles, when, meeting quite a large party of Cheyenne Indians, and the sky threatening rain or snow, we

turned into the creek and made our camp. Our way lay along the creek bottom under the bluffs, and was mostly a good road for wagons, as it was over a large lodge trail. A little cutting was requisite here and there, but not much. The bluffs in one or two places came close to the creek, which is very tortuous in its course. Once or twice we thought of taking the high prairie, but, on inspecting the surface, it was found to be so cut up with deep ravines as to deter us. The Cheyennes whom we met were at first disposed to proceed to hostilities; some of them, in fact, had formed part of the band which was attacked by Captain Stuart a short time before. On discovering the strength of the party, however, and that it was prepared to receive them, they concluded to be friends. They were not allowed to enter the camp, the commander of the escort, Major Armistead, stationing sentinels to prevent them. At half past ten o'clock a cold steady rain set in, which lasted nearly 48 hours, making our situation extremely disagreeable, as there was no fuel but buffalo chips, which cannot be used during wet weather. The bluffs on this creek, so far, are almost entirely confined to the right bank of the creek, only rolling hills appearing on the other side, of various degrees of steepness. Stone in these bluffs is composed of fine sand, lime, and coarse gravel, and is very friable.

Sunday, September 21, 1856.—Remained in camp.

Monday, September 22.—Still keeping the right bank, we found an excellent smooth road all along the bottom. At the end of about nine miles we arrived at the junction of Rock creek with the Arickaree fork of the Republican. Made our camp about a mile below the junction of the two streams, having crossed Rock creek and found a convenient place on the left bank of the stream, resulting from the junction of these two. Road today very good and smooth. A few miles from camp this morning the rock bluffs ceased on our right, and undulating hills appeared on both sides of the creek. The grass on Rock creek is abundant. The stream widens to quite a river, much resembling the Platte both in its bed and in its bottom. No fuel to be found, except a little drift-wood, which we secured at the mouth of Rock creek; soil sandy. After crossing Rock creek, and for some time before, the hills on the left bank became high and more abrupt and precipitous. They were entirely of sand, with a thin covering of grass.

Tuesday, September 23, 1856.—Left camp this morning in a very heavy fog, and crossed the river (the Arickaree fork) within half a mile. The bottom was soft from recent rains, but nevertheless easily passable. Route today lay along the bottom of the Arickaree fork, which afforded excellent ground to travel over. Occasionally our progress would be retarded by one of those deep ravines, with almost vertical banks, which

are so common in this country. It was necessary to expend two or three hours of labor in cutting and grading the banks at each of these places. These ravines could not be avoided by crossing the river, as it is at this place, and in fact throughout nearly its whole extent, of a quicksand bottom. Even individuals found it difficult to get single animals across without bogging in it. On the left bank of the river rough looking sand hills come close down to the water's edge. They are also to our right, on the right bank of the stream, and would no doubt be very difficult to pass over. The secondary bottom of the stream affords a much better locality for a road. There are traces here and there of wagons, probably those of traders with the Indians who spend the summer on the Republican. The soil passed over today seems to be of sand, and at intervals the water cuts ravines with precipitous banks, which always require more or less labor before trains can pass.

Wednesday, September 24, 1856.—Today we had a very easy march for twelve miles along the bottom of the Arickaree fork. The route lay mostly over very smooth, level ground, avoiding the sand hills to our right. This bottom was, in places, very soft from recent rains, but in dry weather is easily passable. The hills are not to be thought of for a road, as on both sides of the river they are rugged and irregular, and composed almost entirely of loose sand. Arrived at 11 o'clock at the Republican fork, which we crossed without difficulty, although we had feared it would prove miry and full of quicksands. Today the first clump of timber was seen which has appeared since we left the Platte; it was on the Republican fork, and to the right of our crossing. Camped at the crossing of the Republican.

Thursday, September 25, 1856.—Continuing over a range of barren sand hills, we found ourselves, at the end of half a mile, in the bottom of the Republican, which gave us an excellent travelling ground; here and there, as usual, it was necessary to grade the bank of a ravine before crossing, but nothing more serious impeded us. Timber appeared in clumps today, both on the right and left bank of the river; these were always in hollows. At 11 o'clock a creek was crossed, which had a good deal of drift-wood scattered on its banks, indicating a supply of timber near its head; indeed, a quantity could be seen from the point where we crossed it. It is called by the Indians Big Timber creek. A few miles further we crossed a spur of the sand hills, and, entering a wide, grassy bottom, camped near a grove of cotton woods, which furnished an abundance of dry fuel.

The sand bluffs just below this camp came close into the river, and nearly 100 feet in height. The whole country on both sides of the river appears to be confused and broken masses

of sand hills, composed of pure sand of various degrees of coarseness, and seemingly only retained in place by its covering of grass; even this is wanting in some spots, and the pure white sand appears. Being loose, it is excessively annoying to travellers when the wind blows, being then raised in clouds. The river bottom, as far as we can judge from what we have seen, offers the only location for a road. Today we have again reached the region of game, buffalo and antelope having been killed. As we descend the river the country seems to loose something of the desolate character which has marked it since we left the Platte.

Friday, September 26, 1856.—Continuing our march through the grove of cotton-woods, at the end of half a mile, we mounted a ridge, which ran parallel to the bluffs, and thus passed the bend of the river without difficulty. This bend we feared would force us to cross the river—an operation of some danger and difficulty, as the quicksands are numerous. Having passed the bend, we marched for one or two miles through rough sand hills, which fatigued and wearied our animals no little. Leaving the sand hills, the river bottom gave us a smooth, hard road. This bottom was well covered with grass, and had a gentle inclination to the river. On the stream and on the creeks coming in on the left bank there was plenty of cotton-wood timber. Here might be made a camp for several companies of cavalry for some weeks, as wood, grass, and water are all convenient, and this point is, moreover, the furthest west on the river where these three requisites are found. It is, too, in the very home of the Cheyennes, who claim this valley as their particular hunting ground, and threaten to prevent the whites from passing along the river. Buffaloes were seen in abundance today. Passing over more creeks, which again caused delay in preparing its banks, a few miles over a very level country brought us to our camp on the river, where we found plenty of good grass and fuel.

Saturday, September 27, 1856.—Today a march of thirteen and a half miles brought us to our camp; country smooth; occasionally a gully or ravine would delay us for a short time. The landscape improves visibly as we descend the river. More clay appears in the soil than previously. Several wooded gullies appear on the other side of the river. About three miles from camp a large creek with trecless banks appeared on the other side of the river. On examination it was found to contain more water than the Republican itself; this led us to suppose that this might be the Frenchman's fork, or Viho Mappy of the Indians. Camped at 12 o'clock above the mouth of a creek coming in on the north side of the river. Its banks were heavily timbered with elm, ash, hickory, &c.

Sunday, September 28, 1856.—Train remained today in camp. Examined today the large creek on the north side of the Republican, and found it larger and deeper than the Republican itself. No trees are near its mouth, but clumps of cotton-woods appear five or six miles further up. Several smaller streams came into it from above. At fifteen miles from its mouth are the forks. These, according to an Indian guide, rise about thirty-five miles from the Platte, at the mouth of Pole creek. An Indian trail runs along this stream, and from its head over to the Platte, touching in the interval at several water holes. The soil along the banks of this stream is sandy; few trees appear. Fuel consists mostly of buffalo chips.

Monday, September 29, 1856.—Still keeping the right bank of the Republican, we reached, at 11 o'clock, the creek (Beaver) with very deep cut and vertical banks, and well wooded. Several hours being necessary to prepare a crossing, we camped on the river, near the mouth of this creek. Near the mouth the banks were soft and water deep; at the crossing there was little or no water. About halfway of today's march, the Indian trail followed by us ran into the river. At this point the river was close in under the bluffs, not leaving room for a wagon road at the bottom, thus forcing us to cross the stream or to pass over the hills. We took the latter alternative, after examining the river and finding the bottom too soft and miry to trust to. Some cutting was necessary in one or two places, and the route over the hills and heading deep hollows was circuitous, with several ascents and descents; but there was little of it. Passing this place, we struck on to the broad prairie, which continued to the creek, near which we encamped.

Tuesday, September 30, 1856.—Crossing the creek this morning, our way still lay on the right bank of the river, which affords us an excellent hard road. At 10 o'clock, having a creek with steep banks in front, the route inclined a little to the left, so as to cross lower down where the banks were not so high, and so, for a short time, left the secondary plateaux for the river bottom. Probably the detour may be avoided at the expense of some cutting. At 12 o'clock we reached a point where the river runs close under vertical bluffs; this forced us to cross the hills. The detour thus made was about four miles, and brought us to the river about two miles below where we left it. Our camp today was pitched in a small nook in the hills, where we were very much crowded. Grass very poor and scarce. The hills and rough ground now appear to keep close on the right bank of the river. Hitherto they have been confined mostly to the left bank, leaving excellent country for a road on the right bank.

Wednesday, October 1, 1856.—This morning we crossed the river immediately at the camp, and marched for six or

seven miles along the left bank to our camp on the bank of a creek. The river had here a hard, fine bottom, and we crossed without difficulty, the water at this time reaching only to the axle-trees of the wagons. We were compelled to cross at this point, as our Delaware guides report that the bluffs now mostly are on the right bank, and that the face of the country is generally rough. The bottoms, or smooth, level grounds, are now to be found on the left bank. The hills slope away gradually from the river. The creeks which we passed yesterday, and the one crossed today, are reported by the Delaware guides as long streams, well wooded, and with running water. They head within fifteen miles of the Platte, and a supply of wood and water for a route from the one to the other of these two streams. The creek called the Beaver creek by the Delawares, and which is supposed to be identical with the Prairie Dog creek of Colonel Fremont, is also a very long stream, taking its rise very near to the "Point of Rocks."

Thursday, October 2, 1856.—Made today ten miles down the left bank of the Republican, over an excellent country for a road. At eight miles from camp arrived at the banks of a large creek; water about three feet in depth and twenty feet in width. It is reported to be a very long stream, having plenty of timber on its banks. It rises very near to the Platte river. Today both sides of the Republican offer smooth country for a road. For the last four days our progress has been much retarded by the almost total absence of grass, a want which tells seriously on our animals. The soil is good and produces abundantly, but the number of buffaloes which have pastured here during the summer have left very little for the animals of travellers.

Friday, October 3, 1856.—Continued our way down the Republican; country same as yesterday; grass everywhere eaten off by buffaloes. The soil is good, and in many places thickly covered by large sunflower plants. Passed, about the middle of today's march, a deep creek, which cost about two hours' labor to prepare for crossing. It was called "Parsnip creek," from the quantities of that vegetable growing wild on its banks. Striking from this crossing into the river, we found a sandy soil and no grass; afterwards a good camp was found at a spring branch running into a creek where there was a sufficiency of grass for our train. The party examining the right bank of the river report a very rough country, which forced them to keep some distance from the stream—a very serious difficulty, as most of the subsistence for our animals lies on the river.

The character of the Republican continues the same as it has been described for the last three or four days up to the point where we left it to cross over to the Platte on our out-

ward route. It is, for the most part, a wide, level bottom, lying generally considerably higher than the river. It is intersected by many creeks, which are deeply cut and have very steep banks. These occur, sometimes, every mile or two; sometimes every three or four miles. The banks are generally well wooded with ash, elder, box elder &c. From their number and the steepness of their banks we were much retarded in our march. Almost all of them required an hour's labor to prepare their banks for crossing, and some of them two and three hours.

The bottoms of this river afford subsistence to immense herds of buffaloes and elks. The Cheyennes, Comanches and Kiowahs make it their favorite hunting ground, and on that account have repeatedly expressed their intention of preventing the making of any road along the river. I suppose it would, therefore, be necessary to overawe them by posts, in case a route was laid out along this valley, as they would stop trains and rob them, if they did no worse. Fortunately, the nature of the country is such that many favorable points for the location of posts may be found, and the fertility of the soil would very soon attract settlers, if they were once assured of protection. As compared with the valley of the Platte, this valley is much superior, either for the establishment of posts or settlements. The Platte valley furnishes no wood for fuel or for building, and no cultivable soil. The creeks which run into the Republican are numerous, and the banks of all of them are well timbered with hard woods. The bottom, also, at many points, is of great fertility.

On the 8th of October I left the main body of the train, taking with me a party for the reconnaissance of the Solomon's fork of the Kaw river and the country between it and the Republican. After my departure the reconnaissance and survey were carried on by Mr. John Lambert. Upon him, also, devolved the reconnaissance and survey of a route along Pawnee creek, from the Platte to the Black hills, and of one along Crow creek, from the Black hills to the Platte.

Report of the Reconnaissance of the Country Along Solomon's Fork, and of That Between Solomon's Fork and the Republican.

On the 8th of October I left the train with a party of men provided with pack-mules for the transportation of the provisions, &c. We crossed the river a little below our camp of the 8th. The water was about 18 inches deep, and bottom firm. We made, by estimate, 22½ miles over a high rolling prairie; soil was generally good and covered with curly buffalo grass. At ten miles from the Republican crossed a large creek called by the Delawares Beaver creek; it was about three feet deep and twenty feet wide. The water resembled that of the Republican in color and taste; banks steep and of clay. Leaving this, we

kept on for 12 miles, over similar country, to Wolf's creek, where we camped; wood, grass and water convenient.

Thursday, October 9, 1856.—Travelling, this morning, over the same high rolling country, we came, in 8 or 12 miles, to the banks of a creek, a tributary of Solomon's fork. Crossing this creek, we followed the right bank, over a level bottom, for ten miles further. Crossing then, we made our camp at the end of 19½ miles of travel. The country passed over today is a good deal cut up by water; buffalo grass covers it. Limestone appears in several places cropping out, and, where the ground is cut, beds of shell and fragments of limestone are seen. The soil contains a good deal of clay, and in the hollows are seen strata of blue clay indurated.

Friday, October 10, 1856.—Remained today in camp, detained by a storm of wind and rain.

Saturday, October 11, 1856.—Left our camp today at 1 o'clock, and kept our way for about ten miles, to camp on the left bank of the creek whose course we had been following. The country is very favorable for a road, the only obstacles being occasionally a creek with precipitous banks. These are easily crossed, though, after a little labor. The country is still high prairies, covered with a short buffalo grass, which is eagerly eaten by our animals.

Sunday, October 12, 1856.—Our route today is still over the same kind of country, crossing many of the affluents of the creek which we are following. These affluents are all of the same character, the beds lying very deep, banks very steep, and now, from recent rains, very slippery to descend and ascend. The soil contains much clay. A good deal of labor must be expended at these crossings to make a good road for wagons; but these places are the only obstacles presented. Camped on Solomon's fork, about three miles below the mouth of the creek which we have followed during the day. Solomon's fork was for a long distance with high bluffs on its right bank; on the left, wide bottoms, covered with the red top grass, affording excellent pasturage to the immense herds of buffaloes which frequent this stream. The banks where we touched the river, beyond camping, are very high, almost vertical, and much worn by water.

Monday, October 13, 1856.—Detained in camp by rainy weather.

Tuesday, October 14, 1856.—Continued our way down the left bank of the river, keeping generally on the level, lying between what is called the river bottom and the hills. This gives an excellent location for a road, the only obstacles being the numerous creeks which are met with at distances from each other of from three to five miles. Camped at 3 o'clock, being well provided with excellent grass.

Wednesday, October 15, 1856.—Getting out of camp this morning, we left the hills behind us covered with buffaloes. Strata of fossilliferous limestone appeared on the crests of these hills. As we descend the river, the face of the country improves vastly; broad bottoms appear covered with a luxuriant growth; the soil is of a rich black mould, covered with a thick growth, in places, of large sunflower plants. Many creeks were passed today, whose banks were heavily timbered with oak, ash, elm, and other hard woods. Occasionally we distinguished creeks coming in on the other side of the river, though, from our distance from the river, no doubt many escaped our observation. The country today has been very beautiful and fertile, resembling much that lying about the Pottawatomie Mission in eastern Kansas. Buffaloes are so abundant that no notice is taken of them, except when it is necessary to kill one for a supply of fresh meat.

Thursday, October 16, 1856.—The country travelled today continues of the same character as yesterday, wide fertile bottoms intersected by deep lying creeks; the bottoms are covered with red grass, as yet not touched by buffaloes. The bluffs on this side of the river have sunk to mere swells, well covered with grass. On the other side they are precipitous and close to the river, rendering that side unfavorable for the location of a road. Several bands of antelopes appeared today, but they were not molested, as there was plenty of fresh meat in the camp. Camped today at 3 o'clock in a fine bottom, well protected from the wind and easy of access to the water.

Friday, October 17, 1856.—Travelling through the same kind of country as yesterday, and still along the left bank, we camped at 3 o'clock. Except at one point, where they come close to the river, the bluffs have sunk to mere swells in the prairie. On the other side they are still at times precipitous, and close to the river.

Saturday, October 18, 1856.—Keeping our course still down the river and over the same wide and well grassed bottoms, we arrived at one o'clock at the point of junction of this river with the Kaw, having first crossed the road made last year from Fort Riley to the Arkansas river, and thus terminated this reconnaissance. For some miles back the grass has appeared burnt up, and encampments must be sought close to the river's edge for the sake of the animals. The banks of the Solomon's fork are generally very high and precipitous, and it is only at certain points that encampments can be made conveniently, on account of the difficulty of watering the animals of a party. The left bank of the river presents many favorable circumstances for the making of a road and many inducements for settlements. The face of the country is favorable; soil fertile and hard; grass and water in abundance, and of good

quality. The only obstacles to the passage of wagons are the numerous deep cut creeks with precipitous banks. A pioneer party, however, for any train would very soon make them easily passable, as very little is needed beyond a little cutting and filling.

Having reached the road made last year, I proceeded between, as far as Kaw river, to examine and inspect the bridges built during the summer over the following streams: the Kaw river, Saline fork, Solomon's fork, Armistead's creek, and Sycamore creek. The party then returned to Fort Riley, where it arrived on the 24th of the month. The party left on the Republican not having arrived, I was obliged to wait till the 1st of November for their appearance. The next day we took up our line of march for Fort Leavenworth, where we arrived on the 7th of the month. The party was then discharged, except such as were needed for office work, and care of animals and property. The material belonging to the survey was carefully packed away in the quartermaster's storerooms, and the animals left to recruit for service during the ensuing summer.

In considering the several routes that might be followed from Fort Riley to Bridger's pass, I think, having in view the smallness of the appropriation now available for the road, that the route followed in the outward journey presents the greatest claim to be adopted. In its favor are to be mentioned the following facts: It is well supplied with running water throughout its whole extent—first the Republican, then the creeks between the Republican and the Platte; this section is over entirely new ground. From the point where the Platte is touched to the Laramie crossing, the road is already made, and it is an excellent hard road, well supplied with water and grass by the Platte. From the Laramie crossing to the head of Pole creek, the supply of good water is constant. The grass is generally short, as on all of the uplands, though there are spots occasionally met with where a more liberal supply than usual may be had. From the head of Pole creek over to the west fork of Laramie no obstacle of any sort is presented, and the streams furnish abundance of grass and water. From the west fork of Laramie river to Bridger's pass there is but one route to be followed; and, it has already been described, as I need not speak of it again here. The great objection to locating a road over the ground just described is the total want of fuel, by buffalo chips being all that can be expected from Fort Kearney to the Pine Bluffs, near the head of Pole creek, a distance of about 300 miles. The absence of timber and the inapplicability of the soil to purposes of agriculture, prevent the establishment of posts and the settlement of the country along the Platte. This absence of timber, and consequently of fuel and shelter, must always make the travelling along the Platte in

the winter hazardous and painful, especially as there are no posts or settlements whereat assistance might be obtained when needed.

The route along the Republican up to the head of Rock creek, and thence over to the South Platte and up Cache la Poudre creek to Laramie Plains, is, in many respects, more favorable than the one just spoken of. For more than 200 miles up the Republican, the soil is fertile, and there are numberless creeks, the banks of which, being wooded, furnish timber and fuel. No obstacle is presented to the passage of wagons, except by the steep banks of these river streams; settlements are already formed some distance out from Fort Riley, and these will rapidly extend, as the country becomes known, especially if protection should be extended to them by posts, or otherwise.

The portion of this route which lies along the South Platte is destitute of fuel, resembling much the route along the main Platte. The part lying along the Cache la Poudre and its branches passes over a country somewhat rough, but supplied with fuel and grass, and water, and convenient spots where parties could be sheltered from storms in the winter time. The strongest and only objection to this route is the desert sandy country that must be crossed in passing from the Republican to the Platte. This space is almost 60 miles in width, and may be said to be destitute of fuel, water, and grass, so little of any of these requisites is to be had. In passing over this track coming from the westward, we made two marches of twelve and thirteen miles for the first two days, camping at spots which could scarcely be said to be reliable for water for a road that should be travelled by large trains, and repeatedly during the same season. The third march was of thirty-five miles, to the head of a branch running into Rock creek. Several points were passed where there was a little water, but not enough for a large party, and what there was did not seem to be permanent. It is very possible that other and more extended reconnaissances over this tract of country may result in discovering other supplies of water, and a better route than that followed by my party. But with the information now in my possession, I could not recommend this one as the proper one for the location of a permanent road.

After leaving Fort Riley, information was obtained concerning the Republican and some of its larger branches, which were not previously known to exist, which mades it probable that other routes than the two spoken of above may be found from Fort Riley to Bridger's pass, which would possess advantages over those travelled during the last summer by us. It is thought that a very good and direct road might be had along the Republican as far as the mouth of the Viho Mappy,

or French fork; then following the French fork to its head, to cross the divide by an Indian trail, leading by water holes, to the Platte. But as this route has not as yet been reconnoitered, I cannot speak advisedly of its merits. The probability that the valley of Solomon's fork might furnish a good location for a road, joined to the fact that there was no information existing as to the character of the country through which this stream flowed, induced the reconnaissance of that region. In its soil, face of the country, and general advantages, it very much resembles the valley of the Republican. It is not more in a direct line between the two termini of the road than the Republican; and, after leaving the head of the stream, the route would be subject to the disadvantages which have been indicated as existing with regard to the route along the upper Republican and the French forks.

Barometrical observations were made throughout the expedition; they are now in process of computation. The approximate altitudes given by some of those computations for certain points are as follows:

Fort Riley	1,180 feet
Fort Kearney	2,250 feet
Mouth of Pole creek	3,750 feet
Black hills, near head of Pole creek	8,480 feet
Dividing ridge	8,680 feet
Crossing of North Platte	6,900 feet
Camps 45 and 47, on Sage creek	7,500 feet
Camp 46, Muddy creek	7,330 feet
Ridge north of the pass	8,400 feet
Camp 56, Black hills	8,180 feet
Mouth of Crow creek	4,800 feet
Camp 67, South Platte	4,200 feet
Plateau, between Platte and Republican	4,500 to 4,700 feet
Camp 72, Rock creek	3,340 feet
Pass in mountains	7,700 feet

It will be seen that the altitudes of the pass through the mountains is very much the same as that given by Colonel Fremont for the South pass. The altitudes for the South pass from Fremont, 7,400 feet. In passing over the Black hills, altitudes considerably greater are obtained.

During the ensuing summer I propose to go over the route from Fort Riley to Bridger's pass, and work such portions of it as may need improvement, and put up such temporary bridges as may be necessary, so far as the appropriation may extend. I am inclined to think that a route along the Republican river, as far as the mouth of French fork, and thence up to its head, and then over to the plateau, would be most direct; but as

before remarked, this country needs examination before anything can be positively stated as to its merits. Until last summer, the existence of the French Fork was known only to a few traders and trappers, and no mention has hitherto been made of several large streams emptying into the Republican on its north side. The whole of the western portion of Kansas is almost completely unknown, and should be examined as speedily as possible. The reconnaissance and survey of last summer made known a kind of country and numberless streams that were not supposed to exist. In my opinion, the residue of the appropriation for this road could not be better employed than in the reconnaissance of the large streams flowing into the Republican, the head waters of the Republican itself, and the large stream flowing into the Kaw river, called the Saline fork. All of that country is almost completely unknown, and, from my experience of last summer, I think it very probable that it is much better than it is generally supposed to be.

The exploration proposed would at least make known whatever resources might exist. The creeks, according to our Delaware guides and others, are large and better wooded than the main streams themselves. The road between Fort Riley and Bridgers' pass, as it now stands, is practicable in every part for wagons, as is shown by the fact that a train of 33 wagons was taken over it last summer. I would call the attention of the department to the fact, however, that the road leads through a pass in the mountains, and there suddenly stops. To make the work already done, and to be done, on the road to the east of the pass, available for any purpose, the road should be continued to some post or station where it might be connected with other roads. As it at present stands it leads only to the heart of the mountains. Many parts of this road lie over prairie, and require only use to become well marked; some points require working. The whole work would be best done by the passage of a large train, supplied with its own pioneers, and the track would be made indelible for some years at least. In the mountains some places are passed over that no amount of labor within the command of the appropriation would render good road, still they may be easily passed with ordinary care on the part of the teamsters. On those parts of this road which lie over prairies the trace would soon be obliterated by successive crops of grass and the fires which generally sweep over them at least once in the year. The track on such country can only be preserved by immediate use; if not used shortly after being made, a guide would be necessary for every train attempting to travel over the same ground.

Along with this report I have the honor to forward the report of Mr. Henry Engelmann geologist; also, the report of

Mr. John Lambert, on the topography of the country on Pawnee creek and Crow creek and its branches.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant.

FRANCIS T. BRYAN,
Lieut. Top. Engineers.

Colonel J. J. Abert,
Chief Corps Top. Engineers, U. S. A.

STOCK RAISING ON THE PLAINS, 1870-1871*

Report by Dr. Si'as Reed, First Surveyor General of Wyoming Territory.

Silas Reed, the first Surveyor General for the Territory of Wyoming, included in his 1871 annual report to the U. S. Commissioner of the General Land Office, some interesting remarks and statistics on the early day cattle and sheep industries in Wyoming. It is with a great deal of interest we are including the bulk of his report on cattle and sheep in this number of the Annals.—M. H. E.

So much has been written by Dr. Latham and other gentlemen of experience, in regard to the advantages and facilities for raising stock on these plains, and the remarkable fact, proven by many years of past experience, that it will subsist through the winter upon the summer-cured grasses as they stand on the ground without shelter or other care than for the herdsmen to guard them from separating and wandering off, that I need not recapitulate.

Below I give the list of stock, so far as I have been able to obtain reliable data, which has been pastured this season in the localities named, along the Union Pacific Railroad, between the waters of the North Platte and the Laramie plains. It has been introduced here within the last two or three years, and very largely within the present year. There is abundance of room for many times as much more:

---

*Congressional Document—42d Cong. 2d sess. H. Ex. Doc. 1, PP. 294-296, 296-298, 300-301. (Serial 1505).

Name of Owner	Residence	Where Herded	What Kind	No.-of Head
E. Creighton & Co.		Laramie Plains	Stock Cattle	15,000
E. Creighton & Co.		do	Calves	1,800
E. Creighton & Co.		do	Mares	1,000
Dr. Latham and Captain Coates	Laramie	do	Stock and Calves	4,000
L. Fillmore	do	do	Stock	300
L. Fillmore		do	Dairy Cows	100
Ora Haley		do		700
.....Bennett		Elk Mountain	Stock	400
.....Carmichael		Laramie Plains	American	300
Clarence King and N. R. Davis	California	Lone Tree Creek		500
Thomas & Hay	Cheyenne	do		150
J. W. Iliff	do	Crow Creek and Platte		12,000
D. & J. Snyder	do		Beef and Stock	5,000
M. V. Boughton	do	Horse Creek		600
J. H. Durbin & Bro.	do	do		600
F. Landan	do	Pole Creek		200
Tracy & Hutchinson	do	do		700
J. M. Carey & Bro.	do	Crow Creek		700
Nuckolls & Gallagher	do	Platte		3,000
Frank Ketchum	do		Milch Cows	150
W. D. Pennock	do		do	40
James A. Moore		Pole Creek		1,300
W. G. Bullock	Fort Laramie	Horse Creek		4,000
Ed. Creighton	Omaha	do		3,500
Texas Owner		do		1,500
Milner & Davis		do		200
.....Farrel		Laramie River		300
.....Tracy		Muddy Creek		500
.....Whitcomb		Box Elder	Beef Cattle	1,000
J. S. Maynard		Lone Tree		200
Generals Duncan, Perry, and Short		Horse Creek		2,400
Keith & Barton		North Platte		3,000
.....Brown		do	Yearling	1,300
Major Walker		do	Stock	500
Coe & Carter		do	do	9,000
E. Creighton		do	Beef Cattle	800
Taylor, Galylord & Co.		Cache la Poudre	Beef and Stock	5,000
D. C. Tracy	Pine Bluffs	Pine Bluffs	Stock	700
Ecoffey & Co.		Sabylle Creek	do	350
.....Powell		North Fork Laramie	do	1,500
Benjamin Mills		Chugwater	do	400
R. Whalen		do	do	250
John Phillips		do	do	250
.....Simpson		do	do	100
H. B. Kelley		do	do	750
John Hinton		do	do	125
W. G. Bullock		do	do	125
F. M. Phillips		do	do	2,100
Adolph Cuny		North Platte	do	1,000
Dickey & Sloan		Muddy Creek	American	80

The editor of the Western World has published in his New York paper the following observations in regard to stock and grazing on these plains, being the result of what he saw and learned while on a recent tour through here to California. In his estimate he includes the large herds in the neighborhood of the junction of the two Platte Rivers, and in the Humboldt Valley, and is therefore larger than the list of herds principally in Wyoming. I have introduced these remarks from the Western World in order that stock-growers in the States may see what impartial *non-residents* say of this great industrial interest on the late "American Desert":

"On a recent visit to the Pacific coast over the Union and Central Pacific Railroads, I took some pains to ascertain the amount of cattle now being pastured along those roads. I have more than once insisted that the belt of country on the Laramie Plains, and just east of the Rocky Mountains, and a portion of the Humboldt Valley adjacent to the Pacific road, embraced some of the finest grazing lands on the continent, and had heard a good deal recently about the large herds which have been driven from Texas and the Indian Nation during the past year, to be fattened on the nutritious grasses of the Platte River and Laramie Plains, preparatory to shipment over the railroad to the markets of the East. I knew that the business had become a large one, but had no idea of the extent to which it has attained—a business, be it remembered, which is but just commenced, as two years ago there was not a hoof in the whole country, except draught-cattle belonging to trains, and a few ranchero's cows, where today there are not less than 140,000 head of cattle, 5,000 horses, and over 75,000 sheep, on the Union Pacific west of Fort Kearney.

"On the Laramie Plains, and east of Laramie Mountain, Wyoming, are a great many small herds of from 100 to 500 beef and stock cattle, and large flocks of sheep, of which we were unable to learn the names of the owners, and which many good judges estimate would swell the figures far above the aggregate which I have just ventured to state. The greater portion of these cattle were driven hither from the southern part of Texas. It is estimated that more than 400,000 head have been driven out of Texas during the past year alone."

* * *

"There is no doubt in my mind that the tendency which has attained the above startling proportions in a single year is a permanent one, and will grow with every season. For a space fully seven hundred miles long and two hundred broad, along the base of the Rocky Mountains, there is one of the finest and cheapest grazing countries in the world. The valleys, bluffs, and low hills, are covered with a luxuriant growth of grama or 'bunch' grass, one of the most nutritious grasses that

grows. It grows from 6 to 12 inches high, and is always green near the roots, summer and winter. During the summer the dry atmosphere cures the standing grass as effectually as though cut and prepared for hay. The nutritive qualities of the grass remain uninjured, and stock thrive equally well on the dry feed. In the winter what snow falls is very dry, unlike that which falls in more humid climates. It may cover the grass to the depth of a few inches, but the cattle readily remove it, reaching the grass without trouble.

"Again, the snow does not stick to the sides of the cattle and melt there, chilling them through, but its dryness causes it to roll from their backs, leaving their hair dry. There is no stabling required; stock 'run out the year round,' and the cost of keeping is just what it will cost to employ herders—no more—and with the great Pacific road traversing it from east to west, it is always within a few days of the eastern markets. The advantages are great, and a new and vast industry is springing up."

Sheep and Wool

This is a subject of so much importance to the welfare of the people and Territory of Wyoming, that I have thought proper to invite attention to the wonderful adaptability of this region to the cheap and successful raising of sheep and wool. I therefore introduce the remarks of the Hon. J. W. Kingman, United States judge of this Territory, on the subject. His opportunities for observation on these points have been extensive, and after a residence of two and a half years in this region, he is so well convinced of the success which must follow the business of sheep and wool growing on these elevated plains, that he has now introduced a flock of 3,000 sheep upon his ranch near the head of Crow Creek, fifteen miles west of this city. The judge has favored me with the following account of his flock and the manner of treating it:

"Laramie City, Wyoming Territory, September 18, 1871.

"Dear Sir: Your favor of the 15th instant, asking for a statement of the facts in reference to our flock of sheep, is received, and it gives me pleasure to reply.

"The flock consists of 3,000 long-wooled sheep, selected with great care in Iowa last summer. We have avoided all merino blood, because we wish to cross up with the Cotswold as rapidly as possible.

"Our object is to see if this region will not produce a superior quality of combing wool, as well as a superior mutton. We are confident that the character of our climate and grazing is so peculiarly adapted to the nature and habits of sheep,

that we can carry the improvement of our flocks, in both these respects, to a degree of perfection never attained before.

"Indeed, the improvement in the health, appearance and condition of the sheep thus far is so marked and uniform that one could hardly believe it to be the same flock that came here a few months ago, and warrants the utmost confidence in a permanent and valuable improvement.

"Our cool, dry, even temperature; our hard, gravelly soil; our short, rich grasses; our clear, pure water; our aromatic, bitter plants and shrubs, and our frequent alkaline ponds and licks, must all contribute to the robust health of the animal and produce a growth and development of all its functions in their highest perfection.

"It has been said that the long-wooled sheep are not gregarious, and cannot be well herded in large flocks. We have not found this difficulty. To be sure, 3,000 makes a large flock, and they require plenty of room; but if they are *well left alone* they do not get in each other's way, and do not care to stray. One man can watch them, and watching seems to be all the help they need.

"We build, to be sure, large yards, and long, open sheds, to protect them from the storms, and to keep off the wolves at night; but we shall soon be rid of the wolves altogether, and the bluffs afford sufficient shelter at all seasons of the year.

"There are in this section of the Territory, besides our flock, one belonging to General King and others, of about one thousand; Colonel Dana's, of a thousand; Mr. Homer's, and others, about a thousand; and several parties are now in the States purchasing flocks to bring here. There are also the large flocks belonging to Messrs. Creighton and Hutton, of ten or twelve thousand; and quite a number of small lots, numbering two or three hundred each.

"Some of these flocks have been here two or three years, and each year have shown a surprising improvement. This is particularly so where they have not been too closely herded, but have been permitted to go out and come in pretty much as they pleased. The wool has increased in quantity and fineness, and the mutton has improved in flavor and quality.

"There seems to be no doubt that the best quality of mutton can be grown here, pound for pound, as cheap as beef; and if so, then sheep-raising must be profitable if cattle-raising is. Very respectfully, yours,

"J. W. KINGMAN.

"Dr. Silas Reed,
"Surveyor General, Wyoming Territory."

I also introduce another excellent and comprehensive letter from Judge Kingman, written to Dr. H. Latham some months

since, and published this summer in the doctor's valuable pamphlet on the subject of stock and wool growing in this high, dry, rolling country, which is so favorable for the growth of the healthiest sheep and the most valuable fibers of wool.

Letter From Judge Kingman

"Laramie City, Wyoming Territory.

"Dear Sir: Your favor of a recent date, asking the result of my observations on the Rocky Mountain portion of our country in its adaptation to sheep-raising, is received; I hasten to reply.

"It will be remembered that the natural habitat of the sheep, as well as the goat and the antelope, is an elevated mountainous region. They are provided with an external covering and a constitutional system fitting them to endure its rigors and subsist on its peculiar herbage. They may be removed to other regions, it is true, and by careful husbandry made to flourish in hot climates, on artificial or cultivated food, and even in rainy and muddy localities.

"But the multiplied diseases to which they are subjected are convincing proofs that they are exposed to influences unnatural and uncongenial to their constitutions. They require a dry, gravelly soil; a clear, bracing, cool atmosphere; a variety of short, nutritious grasses; and they love to browse on highly aromatic plants and shrubs, like the willow, the birch, the hemlock, and the artemisia. In such circumstances, they are always healthy, vigorous, and active, and produce the maximum of even-fibred wool and the best of high-flavored meats.

"That we have millions of acres answering in all respects to the exact requirements for the best development of sheep, in the production of both wool and meat, is demonstrated by the countless number of antelope that annually swarm over the country, and seem to have no limit to their increase but their natural enemies, the wolves and the hunters. They are always in good condition, healthy, fat, and active; and this is particularly noticeable in the winter and spring, when it might be supposed they would be reduced by cold and want of food.

"It is well understood by wool-growers that the great difficulty in producing a staple of uniform evenness and uniform curve is the variable condition of the sheep at different seasons of the year. The animal organization cannot produce the same quality of growth in extreme cold weather, on dry hay, that it will produce in warm weather, on fresh grass. The result is, that the best quality of wool cannot be grown where the sheep are exposed to the extremes of climate, and particularly where they cannot be kept in uniform health and good condition. If this is true in the growth of wool, it needs no argu-

ment to prove that it is true also in the production of wholesome and nutritious meat. A generous diet of rich and various food is required to keep up a rapid and constant growth, and it is quick growth combined with good health that makes the choicest meat.

"I have been familiar with sheep-raising in New England for many years, and although sheep do pretty well on the rocky hills there, yet they are subject to a frightfully long list of diseases, every one of which, however, is ascribed to local and not inherent causes. The one great cause, exceeding all others in the variety and extent of its evils, is the long-continued rainy weather. The ground gets saturated with water, the feet become soft and tender with the soaking, and foot disease is propagated by inoculation with surprising rapidity. The fleece gets wet, and remaining so for several days keeps the animal enveloped; this produces pustules, scab, tetter, and other cutaneous diseases; everything and every place is soaked and dripping with water during those long storms, and the sheep are compelled to lie on the wet ground and contract colic, scours, and stretches, and other bowel diseases. But here, on our hard, porous, gravelly soil, in a bright, equable climate, with a dry, bracing atmosphere, having abundance of nutritious grasses and a great variety of desirable food, the flocks will find every circumstance contributing to their perfect growth and development. This is such a country and climate as they naturally inhabit. Their constitutions are fitted to its peculiarities, and will produce here their highest possibilities.

"There is no doubt that any breed of sheep will do well here, but for various reasons I would advise the introduction of the best qualities of mutton-sheep in preference to the fine-wooled animals. In the first place they are hardier and more prolific, and will undoubtedly improve faster; and in the second place, while it is possible to overstock the market with wool by importation from foreign countries, it is not possible to overstock the meat-market. We have now 40,000,000 of people, and the annual increase is about 3,000,000; our people are all meat-eaters, the price of meat in our large cities is enormously high, and the annual production by no means keeps pace with the demand for consumption. But in addition to all this, the actual return in wool, from a flock of medium-wooled sheep, will nearly equal in value the net product of a fine-wooled flock. They produce heavier fleeces, and the price of wool bears a better ratio to its cost.

"Most of our flock-masters are purchasing the sheep-flocks of New Mexico and the extreme Western States, with the expectation of getting good animals by crossing. This may be done, it is true, but I do not think it likely to result satisfactorily. It requires too much care and judicious selection, as

well as long continued effort, to get rid of bad qualities and fix permanently good ones. We can get sheep, by going further east, which have been carefully improved for fifty years, and in which characteristics have been developed by a scientific breeding which we may not hope to equal. Such a flock will cost more to start with, and will be worth more, but may not have cost more, all things considered, after a few years. Very respectfully yours,

"J. W. KINGMAN."

* * *

The Future of the Wool Interest of the Northwest—With such a sheep and wool-growing country as we have here, "endless, gateless, and boundless"; with such a great increasing home and foreign demand; with such examples of rapid increase in sheep and wool productions, who shall doubt that in twenty years we shall rival Australia and South America in not only the quantity but the quality of their wools, and that the wool-buyers from all the great manufacturing centers of the world will visit our plains in search of the "fibre" susceptible of such wonderful and varied uses, and that with our wool production there will spring up manufactories here and there that shall rival Bradford, Huddersfield, Halifax, and Leeds, in England, and Rheims, El-Beufs, and Roubaix, in France, in the magnitude and beauty of their fabrics?

Along the whole length of the Union Pacific Railway, along the Central Pacific Railway, in the valleys of the thousands of streams, bordered with timber for buildings and fences, these untold millions of acres of luxuriant grazing lands, where sheep can be put down from New Mexico, Iowa, Illinois, Missouri, and other States for two dollars per head, shepherds can be hired for $30 to $40 per month, who can readily herd 3,000 head. Thousands of tons of hay can be cut on all the streams.

Rates of Freight to Eastern Markets—Wool has been carried by rail from San Francisco to Boston for $1.10 per hundred pounds. Double-decked sheep-cars, carrying 200 sheep, can be had from the base of the mountain to Chicago markets for $150, thereby putting down fat wethers in market for 75 cents per head. Dressed-mutton carcasses are delivered from the Rocky Mountains, in New York, for $1.75 per hundred, carload rates.

Growth of Wyoming Sheep Industry—The large introduction of sheep into this Territory during the past season is very gratifying. The correct and valuable information that has been spread over the country by Dr. Latham, Judge Kingman, and

others, has attracted the most deserved attention, and the result is that large numbers of sheep have been brought in this summer. I hear also of other large flocks that are to come next spring; and I scarcely need say that half the sheep of the United States could find room and food upon our mountain plains without being too much crowded.

The following is a list of the principle flocks and names of owners:

Colonel E. Creighton & Co., on Laramie Plains	10,000
Winslow, on Laramie Plains	1,500
Sargent, Thomas & Co., on Laramie Plains	2,000
Moulton & Co., on Laramie Plains	2,000
Dana & Boswell, on Laramie Plains	1,000
Judge Kingman, Crow Creek	3,000
James Moore, Lodge Pole	9,000
Maynard, Lone Tree	1,500
General King & Co.	1,000
Party from Socco, Mexico	2,000
Emory Boston	3,000
Carmichael	200

ERNEST LOGAN

Mr. Logan, one of Wyoming's oldest and most respected pioneers, passed away October 24, 1944.

Mr. Logan's father, Hill Logan, came to Cheyenne in 1868. Mrs. Logan with her children, Ernest, thirteen years, and her daughter, Frankie, ten years of age, came to Cheyenne in 1871.

One by one the pioneers of the past but of today's developed frontiers pass on, leaving but a memory, but as Confucius once said: "God gives us memories that we may have roses in December."

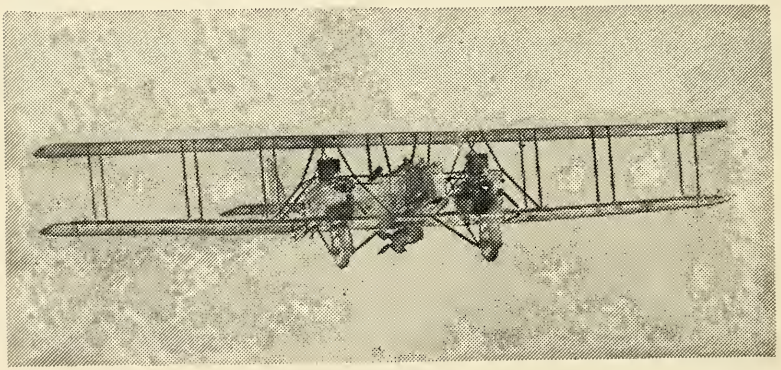
Wyoming Scrapbook

THE MAIL MUST GO

By A. E. Roedel*

Air Services

Five-thirty A. M. marked the dawn of September 8, 1920, on the prairie some two miles north of Cheyenne. It also marked the dawn of a new era of transportation, for at that hour one Buck Heffron bumped an old De Havilland biplane off the buffalo grass and headed west with four hundred pounds of mail, inaugurating another and probably the last of the great trail-blazing adventures of the West. Whereas the fur trader, the covered wagon, the pony express and the railroad had



A De Havilland DH-4 biplane, mainstay of the pilots between 1918 and 1926. (Airways by Henry Ladd Smith, New York, Alfred A. Knoff, 1942, p. 69.)

previously carved their trails over hill and dale westward from the Missouri, the Post Office Department was now committed to pioneering a skyway from Long Island Sound to the Golden Gate.

It is the purpose of this paper to deal briefly, and as accurately as the memory of the author allows, with some of the

*Andy E. Roedel, born in Cheyenne, Wyoming, in 1892, attended the grade and high schools in Cheyenne; received his degree of Bachelor of Science from the University of Michigan in 1916. Joined the U. S. Army Air Forces in World War I, 1917-1918. Employed in his father's drug store since 1910. Since his father's death he has managed the oldest drug store in the State, it being established in 1889 by Andy E. Roedel, Sr., in the same location the store is today.

episodes and personnel connected with this project, regarded by many persons of the time as utterly fantastic.

In May, 1920, Congress appropriated about $400,000 to establish the Transcontinental Air Mail, proposing to serve fourteen cities between New York and San Francisco. Starting at Hazelhurst, Long Island, literally as the crow flies, the mail went to Bellfonte, Pa., to Clarion to Bryan, Ohio, to Chicago to Iowa City to Omaha to North Platte to Cheyenne to Rock Springs to Salt Lake to Elko to Reno to Sacramento and thence to Oakland. This lone and cobweb-like line across the rafters of the nation was the seed from which was to spring the vast network of commercial air lines that now envelope the ceiling of the whole hemisphere, and is likely, after the termination of this war, to cover the globe.

The mail rose and set with the sun. Every morning at daybreak an eastbound and a westbound ship left each of the division cities mentioned above to be flown until darkness fell. It was then turned over to the railroad and picked up at the various division points again the next morning. Thus on September 9, at 5:30 P. M., Jimmie (James P.) Murray alighted at Cheyenne with the first westbound mail. This had been flown out of Hazelhurst some thirty-six hours earlier by the fabulous Randy Page.

Page was one of the most colorful characters of the early air mail history. Amongst other accomplishments, he was credited with having consumed two quarts of whiskey on a flight between Omaha and Chicago. Despite all the hair-breadth adventures attributed to him in the air, Page succumbed to pneumonia in a Texas or New Mexico hospital after several years with the air mail.

Murray also had the distinction of bringing the first eastbound mail into Cheyenne, for the reason that it was delayed with the original westbound trip, and brought back the delayed eastbound mail arriving on the 13th of September. This section had been flown out of Sacramento by Jack Sharpneck, a nonconformist among airmen since he eliminated from his diet all spirituous and fermented beverages. When I knew him he was a confirmed bachelor, habitually attired in turtlenecked sweaters. A good pilot and fine chap, he died with his boots on in the crackup of a transport plane after the contractors had taken over the mail.

The Cheyenne, North Platte, Omaha and Cheyenne, Rock Springs-Salt Lake division was practically in the center of the route. The Cheyenne field, while probably the best in the nation, was also the highest; a fact which made landings and takeoffs no job for a greenhand with the ships of the period. The flights westward from Cheyenne, "Over the Hump" as the Sherman Hill country was known, was generally considered the

toughest of the whole transcontinental. Hence this division, and Cheyenne in particular, was the scene of some of the most interesting and important developments during the Post Office operation of the air mail. Therefore, and because we are most familiar with its history, this paper will be confined principally to the Cheyenne division.

The mail planes were reconverted army De Havillands of wooden construction, covered with fabric and powered by the then famous *Liberty* motor. They were open cockpit jobs, having a top speed of something under 100 m.p.h. and ceiling of around 10,000 feet, making the peaks of the Rockies a genuine traffic hazard. Limited by gasoline capacity to a range of perhaps 300 miles, they were capable of carrying 400 pounds of mail. By comparison with today's planes, flying a De Havilland was like being up in the air on a bicycle.

The deficiencies in equipment were more than balanced by the manpower assembled to operate it. Ground and maintenance crews for the most part, and pilots almost without exception, were recruited from the rapidly disintegrating Army Air Service. Necessarily young in years, since they were following an activity that had cut its teeth in a war not yet two years finished, they were worthy successors to the pathfinders who had trekked across the country beneath the skies they themselves were now exploring.

Drawn by the lure of a better than average wage, the love of flying and excitement aplenty, and perhaps to a lesser extent by a belief in the future of aviation, these young men signed up with Otto Praeger to carry the mail—an undertaking destined to claim the lives of twenty-one pilots, eight mechanics, and one division superintendent by next July.

The early history of the air mail is largely a history of the pilots, since to a great extent they dominated the entire picture. As mentioned before, flying a De Havilland in 1920 was no task for a boy. There was a definitely known number of men capable of and willing to fly the mail, and the number was hardly sufficient to supply the demand. They were, to say the least, a carefree aggregation, sailing the skies when, where, and in whatever manner their whims might dictate. They could afford to be as temperamental as they wished, and the department had no choice but to accommodate itself to their pranks and eccentricities, for, as Jack Knight liked to say: "The mail must go, but who in hell is going to take it?"

A group of pilots en route to one of the early Pulitzer races passed over an Iowa village at such a low altitude that the mayor of the village telegraphed a protest to headquarters. On the return trip they unleashed uncounted rolls of toilet tissue over the startled community.

On one of his regular eastbound trips, Clarence Lange, now a major in Africa, landed at Grand Island, Nebraska. There he met a young woman employed as a wing-walker by a traveling aerial circus. In a moment of bravado the girl declared that no one had ever been able to frighten her; whereupon Lange volunteered to look after the matter. Piling her monkey and suitcase on top of the mail sacks, Lange took off for Omaha. Executing an occasional loop and wing-over on the way, he arrived at Omaha to discover that the monkey and suitcake were missing and that the wing-walker required a dash of water in the face to bring her to.

Then there was the pilot who skimmed across the Nebraska prairies to herd a bunch of antelope into a fence corner where a confederate butchered several of them. This unorthodox sporting technique cost the pilot $500 in fines in a Kimball court and the everlasting enmity of the Western Nebraska Sportmen's Association.

Many another bit of madcap flying might be mentioned if space permitted. However, there were occasional occurrences sandwiched in between some really tough piloting which called for every ounce of skill and daring that these unusual men possessed.

It must be borne in mind that at this time there were no runways for landing and taking off, no beam to follow, no communication between ground and plane, nor was the course marked. Furthermore, the few instruments which adorned the board were of uncertain accuracy and adaptability. The gasoline capacity was such that a plane could remain in the air only a few hours, and the motor so fickle it might cease operating at any time. When it did, it must be started by spinning the propeller, a laborious job which sometimes resulted in the spinner having his head knocked off. Hence, when a pilot left a field, he simply kept flying in the general direction of his destination until he reached it, or was forced to make an emergency landing. Nobody knew where he was from the moment he left until he arrived, so every trip was at least a mild adventure.

Above the doorway of the main New York Post Office is this inscription: "Neither rain nor hail nor sleet nor gloom of night shall stay these messengers from the swift completion of their appointed rounds." Otto Praeger, Second Assistant Postmaster General in charge of air mail, to whose vision and faith in flying a great deal of the credit for the institution and continuance of the air mail must be given, adopted this as a sort of slogan for the service and frequently quoted it. Naturally, this was not strictly a fact, for rain and hail and gloom of night not only sometimes stayed the messenger—upon occasion it even killed him.

While the pilots might let the mail set around cooling its heels in balmy weather, they seemed to take a sort of fierce professional pride in defying bad weather. I am reminded of one Christmas eve with temperature at 28 degrees below and Slim Lewis clad in an ordinary street suit and half shoes, *sans* overcoat, taking off for Omaha. On another night, during a howling blizzard after three unsuccessful attempts to get off, Lewis finally crashed through a fence at the boundary of the field, and disappeared into the storm. He was not heard from again until he checked in at North Platte.

Lewis was rather a Paul Bunyan of the airways. He had flown before the war with Christofferson, Beach, Art Smith, and others, and at the time of which we write was perhaps the most widely known man flying. He was the subject of what was known as the bull letter. In the course of a forced landing on the Hereford Ranch he settled down on one of the prize bulls with which the property is populated. When the Hereford people submitted their bill for damages the Post Office Department could not reconcile the amount demanded with its hitherto unprofessional knowledge of the value of prize bulls. The letter was written by a department clerk to the local superintendent asking if Lewis had exterminated a whole herd of bulls.

On a stormy night in December, Hal Collison took four planes off the Cheyenne Field in rapid succession, putting them all down again within half a mile because of frozen carburetor jets.

On October 20, 1920, Jimmie Murray was out of Salt Lake at 12:30 P. M. Since nothing further had been heard from him by daylight next morning, searching planes were dispatched from Cheyenne and Rock Springs. Ground parties also scoured the country between Rawlins and Medicine Bow, but no trace of plane or pilot could be found. Late in the day of October 21 Murray appeared at the Arlington Crossing on Rock Creek to report that he had crashed in a blizzard above Sand Lake, high in the mountains. He spent the night on the shore of the lake, and next day he walked 17 miles through heavy snow. The mechanics who were sent to retrieve the mail and the wrecked plane located the crash by backtracking a bear that had followed the pilot from the crash to the shore of Sand Lake where the pilot had spent the night.

The great Wyoming wind was a major problem in operating the low-powered craft of that era. On September 13, 1920, Murray flew from Salt Lake to Cheyenne in 3 hours, 15 minutes, but a pilot named Picup required more than 7 hours to make the trip in the opposite direction.

Picup, a picturesque character, left the mail to fly for the Mexican Government, where it was said he took up the

profession of a toreador in his leisure time. He was erroneously reported by local newspapers to have been killed in an automobile race in Kansas City, in 1922. He lived more than 20 years longer to go down as the pilot of the ill-fated plane in which Red Love also lost his life in the South Pacific.

On January 31, Jiggs Chandler, who flew his last plane into the side of an Illinois Central box car some years afterwards, made the trip from Rock Springs to Cheyenne in 1 hour, 32 minutes. However, Dinty Moore could not continue on from Cheyenne because twelve men were unable to hold his plane on the ground in an 80-mile gale. Coming west Jimmie Murray ran out of gas twice after leaving Sidney and finally gave up at Pine Bluffs.

Fog, which was then and still is the major foe of the flyers, claimed the first life on this division as Johnny Woodward flew into the hump a few miles north of Tie Siding, on November 8, 1920.

Weather, balky motors and temperamental pilots were not all the air mail had to contend with in its infancy. Unimaginative congressmen were also an obstacle. On January 9, 1921, and during each succeeding January for the next three or four years, the House struck the air mail item from the Post Office appropriation bill. With only fourteen towns being served across the entire nation, the service could not muster very potent political support. At this time it was largely through the influence and untiring efforts of the late Senator Warren that the appropriation was reinstated and the air mail continued.

Under Post Office operations it was strictly against regulations to carry passengers in mail planes. I recall one pilot who was supposed to have been discharged for carrying passengers from Rock Springs to Laramie at $100 a trip. Nevertheless, if one were well enough acquainted with the pilot and not too much interested in his personal comfort, it was possible to make an occasional trip.

On a flight to the Pulitzer races in Omaha I perched on top of the mail, clinging to a strut, or whatever else was handy, to avoid being bumped off when we ran into rough weather. I arrived at my destination greatly resembling the tar baby, having been right behind a leaky oil pipe all the way down. The first person I met at the races was the division superintended, who remarked: "It beats hell how dirty the trains are getting."

The first official passenger to ride with the mail was a newspaper man, John Goldstein. He was flown from New York to San Francisco in 13 days, 6 hours, or 33 hours, 59 minutes actual flying time. The schedule is now about 15

hours, although a naval lieutenant recently spanned the continent in 6½ hours.

Jack Knight made his memorable flight from Omaha to Chicago, on February 22, 1921. To my mind, everything considered, it is still one of the most remarkable feats in aviation history, a ride to make Paul Revere's midnight cantor look like a trip to the corner grocery. Washington's Birthday of that year had been selected by Otto Praeger as the date of the first non-stop mail flight from coast to coast, a schedule requiring night flying between Cheyenne and Chicago. Large bonfires were built every 50 miles along this section of the route to act as beacons. Just at dawn two planes left Oakland east bound, while two others hopped off from Long Island in the opposite direction.

The first interruption to the eastbound schedule occurred at Reno, when pilot W. L. Lewis was killed in attempting to leave the field, thus delaying the second section. At 4:57 P. M. Jim Murray brought the first section into Cheyenne, and Frank Yager slid off into the gathering dusk for North Platte. At 5:50 P. M. Tope Payne, one of the most popular early day pilots, who later lost his life under mysterious circumstances at Salt Lake, arrived with the delayed second section, Harry Smith leaving for the east.

In the meantime, the westbound trips had been abandoned at Chicago on account of weather. Jack Knight, although he had crashed in Telephone Canyon only seven days earlier, and engaged in a game of leapfrog down the side of the mountain with his motor, was waiting for Yager at North Platte. Despite the fact that he had received a broken nose and other injuries in the accident just mentioned, Jack took off for Omaha, in the dead of night, with Yager's mail. By the time he reached Omaha that field was closed in by a blizzard and the pilot assigned to the Omaha-Iowa City leg sensibly refused to leave the ground.

Knight, therefore, although he had never been over the course, hopped off for Iowa City. He found this point enveloped by the same blizzard, and the pilot selected to continue the trip, also standing on his right to preserve his existence as long as possible. Once again Jack turned the nose of his plane into the snow-filled night, finally reaching Chicago at daybreak, completing a flight of almost 1,000 miles in darkness and storm.

At Chicago it was necessary to cut his clothes loose to get him out of the cockpit. The trip was continued to New York during the day light hours, achieving the first nonstop mail flight from coast to coast. Something over three years was to elapse before another was accomplished.

On May 20, 1921, it was announced that Pilot Hopson had won the trophy for flying the most completed trips between September, 1920, and that date. Hopson was one of the colorful personalities that lent variety and flavor to the air mail activity.

That there is nothing new about the modification of planes at the Cheyenne base is attested by the fact that upon December 17, 1921, it was announced six planes had been rebuilt at this field, and on the 27th of the following July, Jiggs Chandler achieved an altitude of 12,000 feet above the city with a special motor rebuilt there.

In January, 1922, after sixteen months of operation, flying the mail was still a rugged business. The Cheyenne division topped the entire system in percentage of possible miles flown, a record that was not achieved without hardship. On January 27, 1922, Bob Ellis sat down on top of a mountain near Rock Springs, and was compelled to scale the wall of a 200-foot canyon to bring down the mail. The plane was dismantled and lowered piece by piece with a rope.

On April 10, Walter Bunting died when he crashed on the Rock Springs field. According to the log of March 24, Dinty Moore, eastbound from Cheyenne, was balked by bad weather at Sidney. He flew north to Torrington looking for a hole, and finally barely made it back to Cheyenne with an empty gas tank.

On April 6, Hopson became lost after leaving Rock Springs, landing after dark in the Horse Creek breaks. Slinging the mail over his back, he trudged several miles to the railroad.

And again on August 6, of the same year, Harry Smith was forced to land on a sandbar in the North Platte River with a dead motor.

During the afternoon and evening of November 5, 1922, Cheyenne was lashed by one of the fiercest blizzards in its history. This storm put Hal Collison on the ground north of Corlett station, where it was necessary to shovel the plane out from under a drift to recover the mail. About six weeks later, on December 17, Henry Boonstra flew into a storm between Salt Lake and Rock Springs. There was no further trace of him until the evening of the 19th when he showed up at a ranch near Cokeville, having crashed on Porcupine Ridge and floundered through waist deep snow for 36 hours.

Hence when it was announced that during 1922 the pilots of the Cheyenne division had completed 98 per cent of the scheduled trips, again to lead the system, they felt they had really earned the distinction. The air mail as a whole had an average of 93.4 per cent for this period, flying 7,887 trips, 2,433 of which had been completed in rain, fog or snow. It had flown 1,727,265 miles and carried 48,938,920 letters.

At about this time there appeared on the Cheyenne division a brash young pilot by the name of Paul Oaks. He became acquainted with a young woman who made her residence in a room in the second story of a house on Evans street. It was his custom to fly up this thoroughfare at a level permitting him to wave at her through the window as he passed. This bit of diversion caused great consternation, not only amongst the other residents of the street, but also to the superintendent who expressed the hope that the girl never moved downstairs. Before she had a chance, however, Oaks spun into the ground at the local field while stunting during a wind-storm, killing himself and an old man who had gone along for his first flight. So far as I can recall, this is the only fatality that has ever occurred on the Cheyenne field.

After the experimental coast-to-coast flight of Washington's birthday, 1921, there was considerable talk and some agitation for making this operation permanent. Little was accomplished in this direction until the spring of 1923, when it was becoming apparent that if the air mail was to justify its existence, it would have to fly night as well as day. Plans were initiated to bring this about. Beacons and boundary lights were installed at various fields. Planes with landing lights and radio sets for communication with the ground were tried out, and Jack Knight and Slim Lewis were assigned to do the experimental night flying.

In the fall of 1923, after three years of operation, the planes had been improved in some respects, but there had been no appreciable increase in flying speed. On October 6, 1923, Dinty Moore captured the *Detroit News* Air Mail Trophy at St. Louis, flying 186.4 miles at an average speed of 124.9 m.p.h. Moore, an exceptionally likeable Texan, was killed the following Christmas Eve when he struck a hill just west of Egbert while bucking a heavy head wind coming into Cheyenne.

During the spring of 1924, preparations to inaugurate night flying between Chicago and Cheyenne were being pushed to completion. Acetylene flasher lights had been installed every three miles along the route; emergency landing fields with boundary lights every twenty-five. The division terminals at intervals of 250 miles were equipped with 500-million candle power beacons, and boundary lights consisting of lanterns hung on low posts.

Putting out their lanterns around the Cheyenne field was somewhat of a task, and was in charge of Ira Biffle, a well-known character in aviation circles of that day. Biffle had been one of the early Army flyers, piloting a plane during the punitive expedition into Mexico, in 1916. He served as a civilian instructor for the Army Air Service in 1917 and '18

and later became known as the man who taught Lindbergh to fly. Although he earned a great deal of money during his flying career, when he died in a Chicago hospital the expenses of his illness were borne by old friends and acquaintances.

A tornado struck the Omaha field on June 23, 1924, destroying 12 planes which had been remodeled for night flying, and threatened to delay its start. Nevertheless, on July 1, after a year and a half of preparation and a couple of trial starts, the venture got under way and has continued without interruption ever since. At 7:05 P. M. of that day, Hal Collison reached Cheyenne with the first eastbound section and Frank Yager continued it to North Platte. At 4:15 A. M. of the 2nd, Slim Lewis landed with the initial westbound section out of New York, Harry Chandler flying it to Rock Springs. The first nonstop schedule was completed in about 32 hours, and on July 18 it was announced that the average time of schedules to date had been 39 hours.

At this time there had been only one serious delay. This occurred when Frank Yager was blown to the ground by a hurricane at Chappell, Neb. The plane was demolished, but Yager escaped with slight injuries to continue flying and pile up the greatest mileage flown by any pilot on the Cheyenne-Omaha division.

During this period the service was beset with all manner of disasters. On November 8, 1924, the hangar at the Cheyenne field was burned to the ground with the loss of seven planes. The hangars at Omaha and Salt Lake had previously burned, and as mentioned before, twelve planes were destroyed by a tornado at Omaha.

On November 13, Collison felt his way down through a fogbank to land in a small meadow in the Pole Mountain district. The meadow was of such restricted area it was necessary to dismantle the plane to bring it out. Collison seemed to have a penchant for this sort of thing and upon occasion, when the superintendent was informed that Collison had again made a landing in a vest pocket field, he declared, "That so-and-so will fly one of those things down a prairie dog hole some day." The remark was rather prophetic, as several years later Collison flew a plane load of passengers into the ground just west of Round Top, in an accident that has never been explained.

In the spring of 1925, the Army De Havilland was still the standard equipment of the Air Mail Service. The plane had been somewhat modified by the installation of heaters, landing lights, improved carburetors, propellors, and so on, but the basic design had not changed. On March 3 of that year the Post Office Department invited ten aircraft builders to submit

plans for a new air mail ship, the first plane to be specifically designed for commercial purposes. Harry G. Smith, a veteran pilot, and at that time superintendent of the Cheyenne division, was placed in charge of inspection and trial of the models to be submitted. A few years later, Smith along with Ernie Allison, the late John Riner, and another superintendent of this division by the name of Wilke, went to China to establish an air line for that Government. While in this service, Smith contracted typhus and died.

Harry Huking, also a pilot, succeeded Smith in charge of the local field. He thereby fell heir to the task of rebuilding the hangar which had been destroyed by fire the previous autumn. Huking did a remarkable job in this connection. He conceived the idea that several unit hangars would be less of a fire hazard than one large one; an idea which proved correct within a few months after the job was finished, when one hangar burned while three others were saved. Although he was not an engineer by profession or training, with the help of an assistant by the name of Long, Huking designed these buildings and superintended their construction. The four hangars together with the administration building were formally dedicated on December 23, 1925, at which time Superintendent Cisler of the Air Mail declared the Cheyenne setup to be the best in the entire nation. The installations built by Huking are now being used as shops by the United Air Lines overhaul base.

Clare Vance arrived at the local field, in 1926, with the new Douglas plane which had been selected by the department from those submitted in response to the call of a year earlier. This ship had a cruising speed of 130 m.p.h. and a useful load capacity of 1,000 pounds. It was used during the rest of the time the mail was flown by the department.

The first accident involving one of the new planes occurred when Eddie Allen made an unhappy deadstick landing. He had picked out a path between a couple of haystacks, but after his wheels were on the ground one of the stacks moved over, turning out to be a hay rack. In discussing the matter afterwards, Allen said he was busy computing the number of revolutions his propeller made between Cheyenne and Salt Lake and wasn't paying much attention to the landing. Allen eventually became recognized as one of the leading test pilots in the country. He was one of the persons instrumental in developing the Boeing B-29 and lost his life when an experimental model he was piloting plowed into a packing plant at Seattle.

It was announced on January 20, 1927, that a contract had been awarded the Boeing Air Transport Company to carry the mail between Chicago and San Francisco. Boeing was to received $1.50 a pound for the first 1,000 miles, and an additional 15c a pound for each 100 miles or fraction thereafter. Boeing

took over operations July 4, 1927, initiating passenger service at the same time by flying a plane equipped with a compartment for two passengers. The city of Cheyenne fell heir to some $600,000 worth of equipment and installations, comprising what was of that date the best municipal flying fields in the country.

Thus ended another truly dramatic pioneering venture in transportation. Boeing with vastly improved equipment, astute business management and advantages derived from scientific research, soon took a great deal of the adventure out of the air transport business. Not only the flying fraternity but the country as a whole is, and eternally will be, indebted to the men who flew the mail from September 8, 1920 to July 4, 1927. No equal contribution to the advancement of aviation has ever been made by any group of individuals.

That flying the mail, although in some respect a gay life, was not necessarily a short one, is indicated by the fact that many of the boys who came in and out of the Cheyenne field in the Post Office days are still giving her the gun.

Ham Lee, the patriarch of the skies, who has flown more millions of miles than any man or bird, flies for United, as does his son. Testing *Flying Fortresses* for Boeing, are Slim Lewis, Frank Yager, Ernie Allison, Bob Ellis and several others. George Meyers conducts United's training school in Denver, while Harry Huking, Cap White and Rube Wagner are flying in the Pacific. Jimmie Murray, who flew the first eastbound and first westbound mail to Cheyenne, is vice president of Boeing with offices in Washington, D. C. Every one of these pilots sprouted his wings either before or during the first World War. Contemplation of all of which impels one to say with all sincerity to Otto Praeger's one-time Messengers: HAPPY LANDINGS.

NATIONAL CEMETERIES IN WYOMING TERRITORY, 1869

In 1869, Brevet Major General L. Thomas, Inspector of National Cemeteries, submitted his report of Inspection to Wm. W. Belknap, Secretary of War. In this report we find a report of inspection for the Territory of Wyoming.

At Fort Laramie, in Laramie County, there are one hundred and fifty-six (156) bodies: twenty-nine (29) known, and one hundred and twenty-seven (127) unknown. At Fort Phil Kearny, one hundred and nine (109) bodies: five (5) officers, and one hundred and four (104) white soldiers, known. At Fort Sanders, forty-eight (48) bodies: twenty-nine (29) known, and nineteen (19) unknown. At Fort Reno, thirty-one (31) bodies: two (2) officers and twenty-six (26) white soldiers are known, and three (3) white soldiers are unknown. Fort D. A.

Russell, twenty-one (21) bodies: one (1) officer and fifteen (15) white soldiers are known, and five (5) white soldiers are unknown. At Fort Bridger, eighteen (18) bodies, two (2) officers and sixteen (16) white soldiers, known. At Fort Fetterman, six (6) bodies, all known. At Fort Steele, two (2) bodies, both known. Total, three hundred and ninety-one (391.)

RECAPITULATION OF INTERMENTS IN WYOMING, 1869

	White			
	Known		Unknown	
Cemeteries	Officers	Soldiers	Soldiers	Aggregate
Fort Laramie	....	29	127	156
Fort Phil. Kearney	5	104	.....	109
Fort Sanders	....	29	19	48
Fort Reno	2	26	3	31
Fort D. A. Russell	1	15	5	21
Fort Bridger	2	16	.....	18
Fort Fetterman	....	6	.....	6
Fort Steele	....	2	.....	2
Total	10	227	154	391

LARAMIE CITY

Review of Laramie City from May 1, to December 23, 1870

The following is a brief review of some of the prominent, general events gleaned from the Retrospective in the Laramie Weekly Sentinel, May 5, 1883, J. H. Hayford, Editor.

May 1st—SENTINEL, purchased by its present proprietors—Hayford & Gates—from N. A. Baker.

MAY

2nd—John T. McNeil, a son of a former mayor of Rochester, New York, was run over and killed by the cars, near Dana.

3rd—Andrew Malone, a section foreman, was shot and killed at Separation Station, by Indians.

A fight occurred at Sweetwater between Major Gordon's command and a large body of Arapahoes. Lieutenant Stambaugh and a sergeant were killed and one private wounded. Seven Indians killed.

6th—Millard Fillmore was shot and severely wounded by a drunken soldier whom he put off the train between Carbon and Simpson.

7th—General Phillip H. Sheridan visited Laramie in company with Governor Campbell.

8th—Mrs. Fannie Fisher, the estimable wife of Colonel S. W. Downey, died in the 28th year of her age, of consumption.

10th—Quite a large party of miners left here to engage in gulch mining at Last Chance.

11th—The first Presbyterian church was organized here by the Rev. Mr. Kephardt of Cheyenne, with the following officers: Elder, Charles H. Richards. Trustees: H. H. Richards, M. C. Brown, E. L. Kerr, L. D. Pease and J. H. Finfrock.

18th—News received that the party of miners who went to Last Chance, had to shovel through snow fifteen feet deep.

Sergeant J. K. Menke and Mrs. Joice were married at Fort Sanders by Rev. Mr. Cornell.

19th—A gang of telegraph men were driven in by Indians near Cheyenne.

A young man named Daggett robbed the lieutenant in charge of the soldiers at Sherman of $400, four revolvers and a watch, and dressed himself in the officer's uniform and took the train for Cheyenne were he was arrested.

The Big Horn expedition started from Cheyenne.

A woman named Rachael Brown and a man named Pat Green were shot at Medicine Bow by David Brookman.

Colonel J. W. Donnellan was married today in Denver to Miss Marion McNasser of that city.

20th—Lieutenant Harlenburgh's 9th infantry pickets driven in at Sidney by a band of Indians.

A band of Indians drove in a gang of workmen three miles west of Rawlins.

23rd—Chief Justice Howe denied the application for a receiver in the case of Davis vs. the Union Pacific Railroad.

24th—The first Chinese (male and female) arrived in Laramie today and established a laundry.

A Lodge of Good Templars instituted at Fort Sanders, assisted by the Laramie Lodge. The officers were installed by M. C. Brown, D. G. W. C. T.

Colonel John W. Donnellan returned from Denver with his bride.

26th—The Cheyenne-Big Horn expedition reached Laramie last evening but were unabe to proceed further, being overloaded and their teams giving out. Superintendent Fillmore offered to take ten tons of their freight to Fort Steele by railroad for $50, which amount the citizens of Laramie contributed, thus enabling them to proceed on their journey. Before leaving they held a meeting and passed a series of resolutions thanking the superintendent and the citizens of Laramie for their generous aid.

28th—Governor Bullock, of Massachusetts, the judges of the supreme court, state officers, members of the legislature, and Boston capitalists, representing $300,000,000, passed through to San Francisco in eight new Pullman drawing room

cars. They had a printing press on the train and issued a daily paper.

A disgusted Morman by the name of John Mowry passed through Laramie on his way to Iowa from Utah, with his wife and six boys. He started from Echo to transport his earthly possessions in a wheelbarrow.

General Smith with Red Cloud and nineteen native chiefs, left Egbert for Washington.

29th—A. B. Sypher was killed by being caught between the cars at Cheyenne. He leaves a wife and two children.

30th—Superintendent Fillmore left for Ogden for the first invoice of Chinamen to work on the road.

31st—Tom Dayton appointed express agent at Laramie.

James Vine and Charles Hillaker opened the first furniture store in Laramie today.

JUNE

1st—Dr. J. H. Hayford appointed territorial auditor by Governor Campbell.

3rd—Governor Campbell passed through Laramie to have a talk with Washakie and other Shoshone Indians at Fort Bridger.

4th—The railroad boys at Laramie presented Master Mechanic Galbraith with a gold watch and chain.

11th—Quarterly report of the Laramie public schools show an enrollment of eighty-three; average attendance, sixty-three.

13th—Thomas Alsop received a carload of blooded stock. The first to come to this country.

14th—Passenger train No. 4 ran through a band of Indians and ponies two miles east of Ogallalla.

15th—Union Sunday school picinc of Cheyenne and Laramie meet at Dale Creek bridge to spend the day.

17th—Superintendent Filmore's family arrive in Laramie from the east to settle.

22nd—M. G. Tonn commenced the erection of a two-story stone building on Second street.

Dennis O'Brien killed while engaged in floating ties on the Little Laramie.

24th—Masonic Fraternity celebrate St. John's day by a ball and festival.

28th—Today is remarkable as being the hottest ever known in Laramie. Thermometer 83 deg. in the shade.

JULY

1st—Laramie postoffice raised to a third-class office.

2nd—Louis Miller left for a visit to Europe.

Rev. E. D. Brooks appointed pastor of the Methodist church of Laramie City.

4th—The day was celebrated by a match game of baseball between the Laramie and Fort Sanders' clubs. Oration by W. W. Corlett. The Catholic church held a festival.

5th—William W., son of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Wagner, died, aged two years, seven months and twenty-one days.

Four miners killed at Shipman's cabin, North Park, by Indians.

12th—Miners in and about Last Chance mines returned to Laramie on account of anticipated difficulty with North Park Indians.

14th—C. H. Clark, foreman of the roundhouse, received a present from the railroad employees of a select library of engineering works.

15th—German citizens of Laramie had a general jollification over the prospect of a war between Germany and France.

18th—The SENTINEL editorially predicted that the war would prove disastrous to France.

19th—Lady Franklin passed through Laramie from San Francisco, on her way to New York.

21st—Stephen Boyd and Miss Eliza Stewart, married at Cheyenne by Rev. J. W. Pephardt.

26th—Complete assessment returns show 9,536 head of cattle in Albany county, value $129,595.

27th—George Bullord, a brakeman killed on No. 4 being struck by the timbers of the bridge crossing the Medicine Bow river.

Laramie Lodge of Good Templars elected the following officers: W. C. T., T. W. DeKay; W. V., Mrs. A. Hatcher; W. S., C. H. Richards; W. F. S., John Wright; W. T., Miss E. Luce; W. C., Mrs. Dr. Hilton; W. M., J. H. Smith; I. G., Miss Ella Galbraith.

29th—The Baptist Church was occupied for the first time by being used for a meeting of the Ladies' Mite society.

31st—Rev. F. L. Arnold, pastor of Presbyterian church, held his first services in the school house.

AUGUST

1st—The Methodist church commenced the erection of their present house of worship.

2nd—Died: Mrs. Julia C., wife of John W. Connor, aged 23 years. Mrs. Connor was the first white woman to settle in Laramie.

8th—County convention (republican) held at Laramie and nominated the following ticket: County commissioners, N. T. Webber, H. H. Richards and H. Wagner; Probate Judge, Walter Sinclair; County Clerk, L. D. Pease; Sheriff, N. K. Boswell; Assessor, T. W. DeKay; Surveyor, William O. Downey; Superintendent of Schools, M. C. Brown; Justice of the Peace, J.

Boies; County Attorney, W. W. Downey. Delegates to Territorial convention: M. C. Brown, N. K. Boswell, E. Dawson, H. Latham, H. H. Richards and W. H. Harlow.

13th—Democratic county convention nominated the following ticket: Sheriff, J. W. Connor; County Clerk, J. B. Shepherd; Probate Judge, G. W. Ritter; Assessor, E. Farrell; County Comissioners, C. H. Bussard, William Crawford and James Burnett; Surveyor, James Vine; County Attorney, S. C. Leech; Coroner, Dr. G. F. Hilton; Superintendent of Schools, W. S. Bramel.

W. W. Corlett appointed postmaster at Cheyenne.

19th—Ex-Secretary Seward passed through Laramie on his voyage around the world, and was interviewed by several of our citizens.

22nd—Democratic Territorial convention at Bryan, nominated John Wanless for Congress.

23rd—Arrival of 3,000 sheep for Thomas Alsop.

25th—Republican Territorial convention, in Laramie, nominated W. T. Jones for delegate to Congress.

SEPTEMBER

1st—Simon Durlacher went to Corinne to engage in the clothing and mercantile business.

6th—Territorial and county elections held, resulting in the election of Judge Jones to Congress. Albany county giving him forty-eight majority; H. H. Richards, republican; W. Crawford and C. H. Bussard, democrats, elected county commissioners; G. W. Ritter, democrat, probate judge; L. D. Pease, republican, county clerk; N. K. Boswell, republican, sheriff; T. W. DeKay, republican, assessor; W. O. Downey, republican, county surveyor; S. W. Downey, republican, county attorney; M. C. Brown, republican, superintendent of schools.

The SENTINEL moved into its new office on Front street.

News received of the surrender of the Emperor Napoleon.

10th—Born: Jennie, eldest child of Mr. and Mrs. J. E. Gates, of the SENTINEL.

11th—Baptist church dedicated.

Fall term of the public school opened with fifty-nine pupils.

15th—The SENTINEL contained the first notice calling a meeting for the organization of the W. L. and L. association.

20th—Meeting held at the school house to organize the W. L. and L. association. M. C. Brown, Chairman; A. G. Swain, secretary. The following committee was appointed to draft a constitution and by-laws: Rev. D. J. Pierce, Rev. John Cornell, Mrs. E. S. Boyd, Mrs. A. G. Swain and Mrs. L. D. Pease.

24th—The official returns of the census for 1870, shows Albany county to contain a population of 22,436 inhabitants, of which 20,000 were Indians

25th—A disastrous fire occurred at Cheyenne. Loss estimated at $100,000.

OCTOBER

1st—Weekly statement of the public schools shows an attendance of sixty-eight. Eva Owen, William O. Owen, Maggie Ivinson, Maggie Carroll and Ida Ritter are on the roll of honor for the week.

4th—Laramie Lodge A. F. and A. M. having worked for several months under dispensation was duly instituted and organized under its charter, J. H. Hayford, W. M.; J. E. Gates, Secretary.

9th—Louis Miller returned with his family from a lengthy visit to Fatherland.

11th—The Wyoming Literary Association gave its first public entertainment. Programme: Oration, B. F. Harrington; Essays, Mrs. A. G. Swain and Rev. J. Cornell; Declamation, J. Crandall; Recitation, Ella Galbraith; Select Reading, Mrs. Pierce; Debate on Woman Suffrage by Judge Brown and D. J. Pierce.

12th—A paper called The Daily Sun started in Cheyenne by W. N. Bamberg & Co.

13th—Sidney Dillon, president of the U. P. R. R., spent the day in Laramie investigating its surroundings and resources.

17th—Colonel Donnellan purchased $100 worth of gold from the Last Chance and Douglas Creek mines. The gold was composed of coarse nuggets weighing about $5 each. The miners had averaged from $5 to $8 per day during the time they worked.

John Morgan, section foreman at Bitter Creek, died from injuries received by being run over by a handcar.

18th—A body of soldiers went from Fort Sanders to the hills to procure wood, while encamped at night, one of their number played a practical joke by running into the camp crying "Indians," and in the confusion that ensued he was shot dead by one of his comrades.

21st—R. Galbraith resumed his position as master mechanic of the machine shops.

24th—A remarkable and brilliant display of Aurora Borealis was visible at Laramie.

Married, at Homer, Illinois, Rev. E. C. Brooks, of Laramie, to Miss Carrie M. Ruland.

27th—Married, George Young and Miss Mattie Davis of Laramie, by the Rev. Adams of Cheyenne.

J. J. McCloskey and a man named Lowry were shot and killed by a drunken half breed at Six Mile ranch, near Fort Laramie.

28th—Mary Jane, wife of Charles Fisher, died, aged 28 years.

29th—Hayden's geological surveying party spent several days in Laramie.

The SENTINEL notices from its exchanges from Kansas, New Mexico and Texas the following prices for cattle: Steers, $11; Milch cows, $6; three-year-olds, $7; two-year-olds, $4; one-year-olds, $2.50.

Holliday & Williams are running a sawmill in the Black Hills, about eighteen miles from town. They purchased the mill from the Greeley colony. There are now three saw mills running in Albany county.

30th—Married, by the Rev. Mr. Cornell, James Carroll to Mrs. Annie Monaghan.

31st—One of Thomas Alsop's herders found an immense mountain lion imprisoned in one of the caves in the rocks. He succeeded in capturing the beast.

J. W. Connor lost a large quantity of hay, a lot of fencing and some other property by a prairie fire near Wyoming.

NOVEMBER

2nd—Judge Kingman lectured before the W. L. and L. A. subject, elocution.

3rd—A brass band was organized in Laramie today, with J. Pfeiffer, J. J. Clark, Otto Gramm, C. R. Leroy, J. McDowell, M. N. Merrill, George W. Fox, T. J. Dayton, J. A. Apperrson, H. Altman, N. F. Spicer and M. G. Tonn as members.

6th—Born, to Mr. and Mrs. William Alsop, twins—boys.

10th—Married, at Weymouth, Massachusetts, W. J. McIntyre, one of the pioneers of Laramie, to Miss Emma J. Baker.

15th—Four carloads of blooded bulls and a fine lot of brood mares were received at Laramie.

One hundred head of fine fat cattle were shipped to Chicago from Laramie.

17th—Judge Brown was awarded, at the Ladies' Fair, a fine gold chain, as a premium to the ugliest man in town.

18th—Superintendent Filmore gave a grand party and reception to his son, J. M. Filmore, who returned from the east with his bride.

A general change in the management of the U. P. R. R., with S. H. H. Clark, superintendent of the eastern division, and L. Filmore as superintendent of the western division, under the general management of T. E. Sickles.

20th—Married, by Rev. John Cornell, T. W. DeKay to Miss M. Wagner.

22nd—The SENTINEL urges the organization of a fire company of some kind.

St. Matthew's Church (Episcopal) gave a fair, realizing $390.

R. M. Galbraith arrived in Laramie with his bride.

24th—Thanksgiving Day. Union religious services. Sermon by F. L. Arnold.

Married, at the Presbyterian church, by Rev. F. L. Arnold, N. C. Worth to Mrs. Jane E. Pollard.

25th—Born, to Mr. and Mrs. V. Baker, a son.

26th—A woman pilgrim from the Holy Land, named Hadji Isabey, delivered a lecture before the Literary and Library association.

30th—W. R. Thomas of the Denver News, delivered a lecture before the Literary and Library Association.

DECEMBER

1st—L. L. Lord, for several years roadmaster, resigned his position and left for the east. He was succeeded by Mr. Stockwell.

Eighteen carloads of fat cattle were shipped by Thomas Alsop from Laramie to Chicago.

3rd—Sharp rivalry between dealers brought coal down to $8.50 per ton.

6th—Married, at the residence of Dr. Finfrock, by Rev. J. Cornell, Otto Gramm to Miss Catherine Sterrett.

The South Pass News says: Mrs. Justice Esther Morris retires from her judicial duties today. She has filled the position with great credit to herself and secured the good opinion of all with whom she transacted any official business.

School District No. 2 organized at Sherman by M. C. Brown as county superintendent.

10th—Going down the road to Sidney to hunt buffalo is the popular amusement of Laramie sportsmen.

12th—Pressly Wall shot and killed in the Bullard saloon by Littleton Lawrence. Both colored.

14th—M. G. Tonn opened up an extensive dry goods business in his new store on Second street.

16th—The scarcity of female help induces some of our citizens to try the experiment of Chinese labor. Dr. Finfrock engaged one this morning.

17th—Born, to Mr. and Mrs. Louis Miller, a daughter.

Three of Creighton's herders were shot by Indians, near Pine Bluffs.

18th—Serious explosions occurred in the coal mines at Carbon, setting the mines on fire and producing great consternation. For twenty-four hours the fires and explosions were so terrific that trains could not safely pass on the track near the mouth of the pit.

23rd—The census of the city of Denver showed a population of 4,759.

ACCESSIONS

to the

WYOMING HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT

May 16, 1944 to November 30, 1944

United Air Lines, Cheyenne, Wyoming, donor of five pictures of World War II activities at the United Air Lines, Modification Center, Cheyenne.

Magee, Mr. and Mrs. Wayland W., Bennington, Nebraska, donor of pamphlet on the Magee Summer Hill farm; two snapshots of Mr. and Mrs. Magee at Jackson Hole, Wyoming, September 1923.

Fox, Mrs. Thomas V., Cheyenne, Wyoming, donor of one No. 5 Blickensderfer Typewriting machine.

Ricketts, W. P., Sheridan, Wyoming, donor of one large oil painting of Mr. Ricketts Sheridan Ranch.

Nagel, George, Cheyenne, Wyoming, donor of one 1889 Stock Growers National Bank of Cheyenne check by E. Nagel; one envelope carried by James D. Morton of Douglas, Wyoming, May 20, 1938, the day every city and town in the United States received postal airmail, so arranged by the General Post Office, Washington, D. C.; one copy of Swan Land & Cattle Company, account of stockholders.

Roseboom, Jess, Cheyenne, Wyoming, donor of one copy of the *Rudiments of Geography of* 1822.

Chapman, Mark, Cheyenne, Wyoming, donor of seventeen photographs of Cheyenne people and buildings.

Warren, Fred, Cheyenne, Wyoming, donor of a framed photograph of his sister, Mrs. John J. Pershing, and her four children.

McCullough, A. S., Clifton, Ohio, donor of a photostat of an 1897 envelope addressed to Mrs. Jane McCullough and showing an advertisement by James McClusky who, as a soldier was stationed at Fort Laramie in 1864; one Territorial Seal button.

Mattes, Merril J., Scotts Bluff National Monument, Gering, Nebraska, donor of two copies of the *History of Scotts Bluff, Nebraska,* by Dr. Donald D. Brand.

Huntington, E. O., Lovell, Wyoming, donor of one copy of an 1898 Alaska Newspaper "The Dyea Trail".

Chamberlain, E. L., La Grange, Wyoming, donor of one Spencer automatic rifle of 1860 model.

Moore, Edward S., State Salvage Director, Cheyenne, Wyoming, donor of three scrapbooks of newspaper clippings on the scrap drives in Wyoming.

Jenkins, Carl, Cheyenne, Wyoming, donor of one card giving description of Battle Lake, Carbon County, Wyoming; one snapshot showing a pack mule with equipment in the early mining days.

Swan, Henry, United States National Bank, Denver, Colorado, donor of one photographic copy of a contract between the Swan Brothers, 1879; one copy of two western jingles written by Alexander H. Swan, 2nd.

Swan, Alexander H. 2nd, 7046 Hollywood Ave., Hollywood, California, donor of the following articles of Mrs. Louise Swan Van Tassel's:

One pair of boot hooks given to Mrs. Van Tassel by President Theodore Roosevelt.

Photograph of Mr. and Mrs. Alexander Swan in twin metal frame.

One leather traveling perfume case, used by Mrs. Swan on her European tour in 1884.

One pair of mother of pearl opera glasses.

One prayer and hymn book.

One large photograph of Percy Hoyt of Cheyenne, Wyoming.

Two photographs of Mrs. L. S. Van Tassel's home.

One photograph of Mrs. Robert D. Carey, with her daughter, Sarah.

One photograph of Charles Guernsey.

Four large photographs of the interior of Mrs. Van Tassel's home.

Three metal picture frames.

One ebony box from traveling case.

Piece of mane from "Wyoming" Cody horse used in endurance race between Rawlins, Wyoming, and Denver, Colorado; also small piece of rein of the bridle worn by "Wyoming".

Three sheets of music—songs of World War I by Maude McFerran Price.

One photograph of Mrs. Van Tassel in her buggy with her beautiful span of horses.

One photograph of Mrs. William Guthrie.

Two photographs of Tim McCoy "High Eagle".

One large scrap-book (red fabric with gold trimming) containing many personal items.

One large photograph album—mostly all of Mrs. Van Tassel from childhood to womanhood.

One guest book of Mr. and Mrs. L. S. Van Tassel.

One large photograph of Mrs. L. S. Van Tassel.

One large tinted photograph of Mrs. L. S. Van Tassel.

One small photograph of Alex Swan.

One small photograph of Mrs. Alex Swan.

One group picture of Will R. Swan, George K. McGill, Nellie Stanly and Louise Swan.

One group photograph of Katie H. Friend, Sallie R. Searight, Lillie M. Morgan, Fannie H. Crook, Louise W. Swan, Espie S. Wood, Hattie White and Maude H. Smith.

One red leather book, expense account book of her European trip in 1884.

One letter from General John J. Pershing to Mrs. L. S. Van Tassel, 1920.

One birthday greeting (a poem) by Floyd L. Heggie.

One engraved invitation to the 1899 World's Columbia Exposition issued to Mr. and Mrs. Van Tassel by Henry G. Hay.

A Certificate to Mrs. L. S. Van Tassel, issued by George A. Kessler, President of the Permanent Blind Relief World War I Fund, for her services and as a contributing member.

One Certificate issued to Mrs. L. S. Van Tassel by the Woman's Council of Defense, World War I.

One Certificate to Mrs. L. S. Van Tassel issued by the American Red Cross, World War I.

Witherbe, Beth, Box 2036, Vermilion, Alberta, Canada—donor of a *Cheyenne saddle* about 75 years old.

Graham, George, 1316 E. 18th St., Cheyenne, Wyoming—donor of one sword found on the Custer Battle field; one needle gun, 35 caliber, over 75 years old.

Books—Purchased

Zimmerman, Charles Leroy, *White Eagle*, Harrisburg, Pa. Telegraph Press 1941—$2.20.

Spring, Agnes Wright, *William Chapin Deming*, Glendale, California, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1944, $6.00.

Gifts

Parker, Donald Dean, *Local History*, How to Gather It, Write It, and Publish It. Rev. by Bertha E. Josephson, South Dakota State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts.

Map

Purchased from the National Archives, Washington, D. C., November, 1944, cost $2.00, map of Lieut. F. T. Bryan's route when locating a military road between Fort Riley and Bridger's Pass.

The State Historical Board, the State Historical Advisory Board and the State Historical Department assume no responsibility for any statement of fact or opinion expressed by contributors to the ANNALS OF WYOMING.

The Wyoming State Historical Department invites the presentation of museum items, letters, diaries, family histories and manuscripts of Wyoming citizens. It welcomes the writings and observations of those familiar with important and significant events in the State's history.

In all ways the Department strives to present to the people of Wyoming and the Nation a true picture of the State. The historical magazine, ANNALS OF WYOMING, is one medium through which the Department seeks to gain this objective. All communications concerning the ANNALS should be addressed to Mary A. McGrath, Wyoming Historical Department, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

This magazine is sent free of charge to all State Historical Board members, the State Historical Advisory Board, Wyoming County Libraries and Wyoming newspapers.

It is published in January and July, subscription price $1.50 per year.

WYOMING STATE MUSEUM

Housed in the new Supreme Court and Library Building in Cheyenne, with vault space and fireproof protection, the Museum provides for the preservation and display of the prized possessions of Wyoming pioneers.

Perpetuate your family name by placing your historical collections and relics in your State Museum, where they may be permanently preserved and enjoyed by the thousands of visitors.

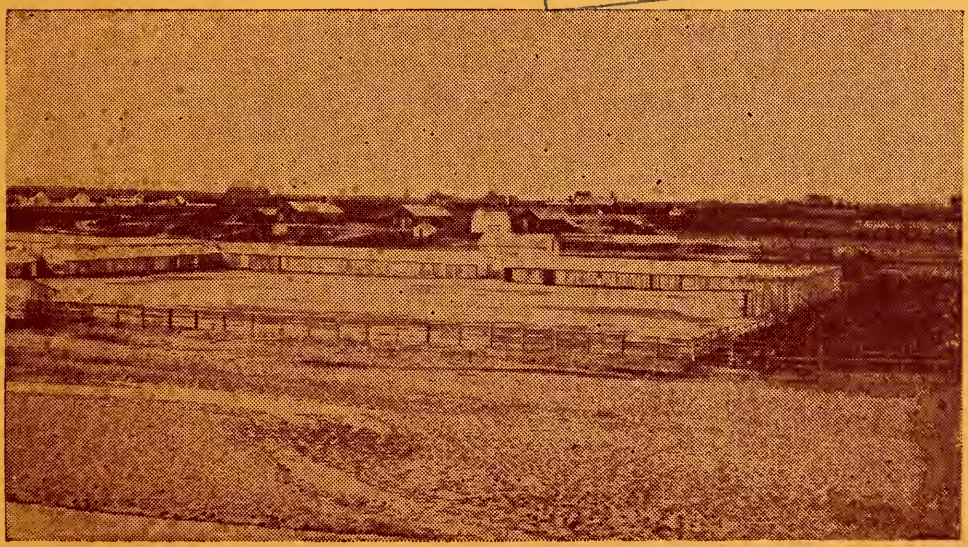
Everything that is presented to the Museum is numbered, labeled, recorded and card indexed, thus insuring permanent identification.


GREAT SEAL OF THE STATE OF WYOMING
EQUAL RIGHTS
MCMXIV

Annals of Wyoming

Vol. 17 July, 1945 No. 2

A HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



CAMP CARLIN IN ABOUT 1882

Published Bi-Annually
by
THE WYOMING HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT
Cheyenne, Wyoming

STATE HISTORICAL BOARD

Lester C. Hunt, President.....Governor
Wm. "Scotty" Jack.....Secretary of State
Carl Robinson.....State Auditor
Earl Wright.....State Treasurer
Esther L. Anderson.....Superintendent of Public Instruction
Mary A. McGrath, Secy.....State Librarian and Historian Ex-Officio

---

STATE HISTORICAL ADVISORY BOARD

Mrs. Mary Jester Allen, Cody
Frank Barrett, Lusk
George Bible, Rawlins
Mrs. T. K. Bishop, Basin
C. Watt Brandon, Kemmerer
J. Elmer Brock, Kaycee
Struthers Burt, Moran
Mrs. Elsa Spear Byron, Sheridan
Mrs. G. C. Call, Afton
Oliver J. Colyer, Torrington
William C. Deming, Cheyenne
E. A. Gaensslen, Green River
Hans Gautschi, Lusk
Burt Griggs, Buffalo
Jack Haynes, Yellowstone Park
D. B. Hilton, Sundance
Mrs. Joseph H. Jacobucci, Green River
P. W. Jenkins, Big Piney
W. C. Lawrence, Moran
Howard B. Lott, Buffalo
Mrs. Eliza Lythgoe, Cowley
A. J. Mokler, Casper
Mrs. Elmer K. Nelson, Laramie
Charles Oviatt, Sheridan
Mrs. Minnie Reitz, Wheatland
Mrs. Effie Shaw, Cody
John Charles Thompson, Cheyenne
Russell Thorp, Cheyenne

STAFF PERSONNEL
of
THE WYOMING HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT
and
STATE MUSEUM

Mary A. McGrath, Editor . State Librarian and Historian Ex-Officio
Marie H. Erwin, Co-Editor . . . . . Assistant Historian

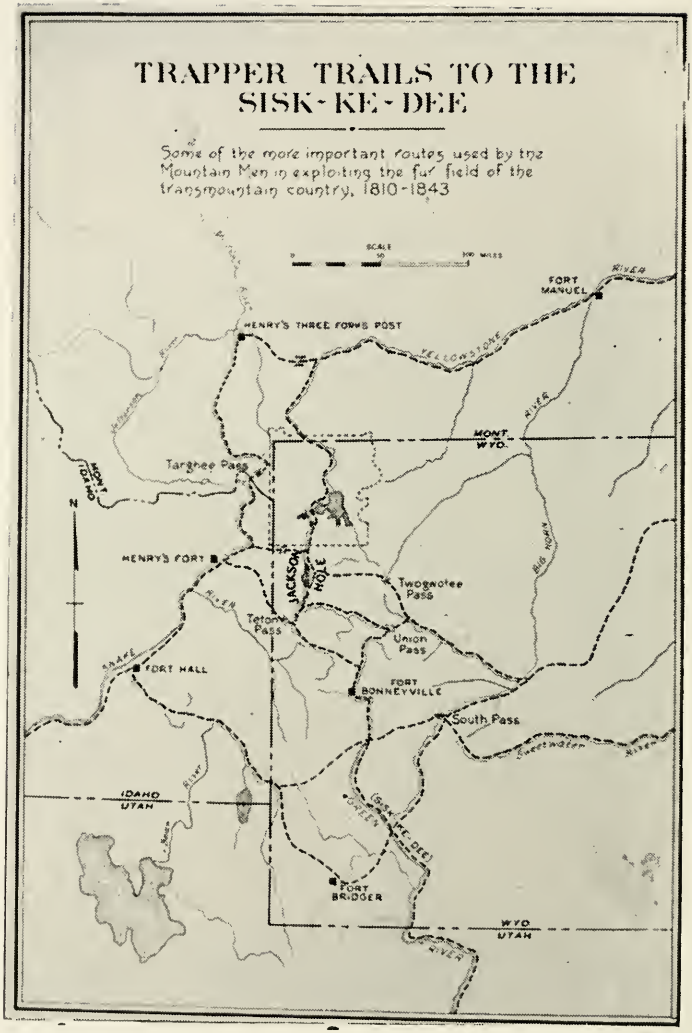
Annals of Wyoming

Vol. 17 July, 1945 No 2

Contents

ILLUSTRATIONS

Printed by
THE WYOMING LABOR JOURNAL
Cheyenne, Wyoming



Some of the more important routes used by the Mountain Men in exploiting the fur field of the transmountain country, 1810-1843.

Courtesy of Dr. Carl P. Russell.

Trapper Trails to the Sisk-ke-dee

By CARL P. RUSSELL*

Wyoming has a rich share of wonder spots and historic sites tucked away in its mountains and vast rolling grasslands. Of particular interest to the student of the Western fur trade is that comparatively small spot of high country in the northwestern part of the State where the melting snows divide their waters three ways, sending them to the Atlantic, the Pacific, and the Gulf of California. The peculiar configuration of the terrain which brings about this three-way drainage had its effect upon the distribution and movements of the primitive peoples who inhabited the country, and, as might be expected, played a part in determining the routes of the first white explorers and the trails of the mountain men, or trappers, who discovered very early in the history of the west that this area was their particular paradise.

The region to which I refer is that high area where the Absarokas merge with the Wind River Range. It overlooks the fabled Jackson Hole and looks westward into the face of the spectacular Tetons. Flowing from these heights are the infant streams of the Snake's eastern headwaters. The Yellowstone arises here and flows northward; on the Atlantic side the Shoshone receives a part of the runoff as does the eastward flowing Wind; and the Green, queen of them all, claims a goodly share of the new-born waters and conveys them southward, surrendering them finally to the Colorado and the Gulf of Mexico.

To the Crow Indians whose tribal range included the heights referred to, the Green River was known as the "Seeds-ke-dee-agie" or Sage Hen River. Most of the mountain men used versions of this name. Ferris called it "Soos-ka-dee." To some it was known as the Rio Verde of the Spaniards. Others shortened this to Spanish River. Captain Bonneville adhered to the name Colorado of the West. To the average trapper, however, it was Sisk-ke-dee.

---

*Carl Parker Russell, Chief Naturalist, U. S. National Park Service, has been associated with the Service since 1923 as a park naturalist and, in turn, Chief of the Wildlife Division, Chief of the Museum Division, and Regional Director. He holds an A.B. degree from Ripon College and a Ph.D. from the University of Michigan. He is the author of the book, "One Hundred Years in Yosemite," and many articles of scientific and historical nature in various journals. He has had a keen interest in the history of the American fur trade, the significance of which he regards as worthy of more attention.

The Sisk-ke-dee and most of the other rivers of the trans-mountain region did not figure in any important economic way in the American trapper's scheme of activity until the Ashley-Henry enterprise pushed westward through the South Pass. True, certain members of the Missouri Fur Company and the Astorians had been well acquainted with these water courses, and British interests had exploited them for more than a decade prior to Mr. Ashley's venture of 1823-24, but with a few notable exceptions the Americans, prior to the Ashley-Henry enterprise, had busied themselves on the east side of the Rockies. In order that the routes of the Ashley-Henry parties and their successors may be delineated and understood it will be advantageous to review briefly the history of some events which transpired prior to the advent of the rendezvous period in 1824.

The Trading Post System

On the Missouri and its tributaries the fur trade antedated the Lewis and Clark expedition and here it was characterized by the permanent trading post. A number of these outposts of commerce and civilization were established on the Missouri immediately after Lewis and Clark returned from the mouth of the Columbia. Manuel Lisa and his Missouri Fur Company in 1807 designed a system of strong posts in strategic places from which centers they could work the upper Missouri country systematically. It was a part of their plan to have the trapping done by their own employees rather than to depend entirely upon trade with Indians and free white trappers.

Lisa's Fort Manuel at the mouth of the Big Horn was built in 1808, the first post in the mountain country south of the 49th degree of latitude. From here Lisa's trappers ranged the upper Tongue, Powder, and Big Horn Rivers. From the site of this post, in the fall of 1807 prior to the actual construction of the fort, John Colter, one of Lisa's men made his epic journey of 1807-1808 into the Green River-Snake River-Upper Yellowstone regions for the purpose of inviting trade with the Crows and Blackfeet. Colter, presumably, was the first of the American trappers to reach Jackson Hole and the Sisk-ke-dee. His route continues to be controversial. Lisa was pleased with the beginnings made by his men in the mountain country and he returned to St. Louis in the summer of 1808 and merged his business with that of the Chouteaus, his former rivals in the trade.

The First Trans-Mountain Venture. Targhee Pass

Andrew Henry became a partner in this larger business and in 1809 accompanied the company's expedition to Fort Manuel. Henry led a party from Fort Manuel to the Three Forks of the Missouri where a post was built in 1810. The Black-

feet made short shrift of this invasion of their territory, and in escaping from the Blackfeet wrath Henry with a few followers became the second American trapper expedition to cross the Continental Divide. Under attack by the Indians he made his way southward up the Madison River, cross the mountains via the Targhee Pass, and descended the North Fork of the Snake (which tributary now bears his name) to a point near St. Anthony, Idaho, where Henry's Fort was established,—the first American post west of the mountains. The record is woefully lacking in detail but there is every reason to believe that Henry's men explored not only the Jackson Hole, but also the tributary streams in this vicinity, the Hoback, Grays, and the Salt which entered the Snake from the South. In the Spring of 1811, the Missouri Fur Company party dispersed. Henry with a few companions succeeded in retracing his route to the Three Forks and in transporting the year's catch of beaver down the Missouri. They reached St. Louis in October, 1811.

Twogwotee Pass

John Hoback, Edward Robinson, and Jacob Reznor, prominent members of the Henry party, moved eastward from the Snake, across Jackson Hole, and over the Continental Divide via Twogwotee Pass, thence down the Wind River and on to the Missouri. These men, Hoback, Robinson, and Reznor, deserve special niches in the Westerners' Hall of Fame. Hoback has a lasting memorial in the form of a well-known Wyoming river and its impressive canyon; Robinson and Reznor are forgotten by all but the historian.

After spending three years of danger and privation in the Rocky Mountain wilderness, this trio of adventurers made their way back to the threshold of civilization only to turn again into the wilds on May 26, 1811, with Hunt's west-bound Astorians. Hunt's party was encountered by them near the mouth of the Niobrara. The partners faced about and, as did Colter when home-bound, he met Lisa's party enroute to the mountains in 1807, guided the newcomers over the route which they had just traversed.

Union Pass

When they ascended the Wind River in September of 1811, Hunt wrote, "On the 15th, Wind River was quitted and an Indian trail was followed southwesterly into the mountains. One of our hunters who had been on the shores of the Columbia, showed us three immensely high and snow-covered peaks (the three Tetons) which he said were situated on the banks of a tributary of that river. On the 16th snow was encountered; there were large patches of it on the summit and on

the slopes of the mountains exposed to the north. Halt was made beside Spanish River, (the Green), a large stream on the banks of which, according to Indian report, the Spaniards live. It flows toward the west and empties, supposedly, into the Gulf of California." (Hunt, in Nouvelles Annales des voyages, etc., Paris, 1821. Quoted by Rollins, Discovery of the Oregon Trail, 1935, pp. 286-287.) It is worthy of note, however, that the map which was prepared to accompany this French version of Hunt's journal shows the Spanish River as continuous with the del Nort or Rio Grande.

Hunt descended along the Green for two days, then ascended a tributary which permitted a northwesterly course so moving very quickly to the divide on the Gros Ventre Range between the Green and the Hoback, thence down the Hoback to the Snake, and into Jackson Hole. At the confluence of the Hoback and the Snake, Hunt recorded on September 17, 1811: "On its (the Snake's) banks and a little above the confluence, are situated the three peaks which we had seen on the 15th. We should have continued at that time to follow Wind River and to cross over the mountains because we would have reached the headwaters of this river; but lack of provisions forced us to make for the banks of Spanish River." (Rollins, p. 288).

Teton Pass

Thus we learn that the west-bound Astorians and the mountain-wise Hoback-Robinson-Reznor combination used the Union Pass-Green River-Hoback route in entering Jackson Hole. Their exit westward from this favored valley was made via the Teton Pass, already well known to Henry and his followers. On the Pacific side of the Teton Range in a country with which they were familiar because of their sojourn there (Fort Henry) in 1810-11, the partners detached themselves from Hunt's party and remained on the Snake to trap beaver. Martin H. Cass and Joseph Miller, of the Astorians, remained with them. Here, in 1812, Robert Stuart and his returning Astorians encountered the isolated party and learned of their explorations on the Snake, Bear, and the Green. The partners were supplied with new equipment by Stuart and they continued to occupy the Snake River wilds until all were killed by Indians on the Boise River in 1814.

The story of Hoback, Robinson, and Reznor, their accomplishments and aspirations, shines but dimly through the rather scanty record of the early events of westward expansion of American commerce and empire. Could it be told in full, I have the feeling that it would constitute a saga of sacrifice, endurance, and faith in national destiny second to none among our western folk tales. Probably it is too much

to hope that dependable sources of information regarding the affairs of the unusual triumvirate may yet come to light.

South Pass

When Hunt and his ragged band staggered into Astoria early in 1812 they entered a post that had been established nearly a year previously by Mr. Astor's sea expedition of 1810. It was decided by the partners in charge of the outpost that another overland expedition was in order. Robert Stuart was made leader of a party which consisted of seven white men. They started late in June, 1812, made their way up the Columbia and on to the Snake, where, on August 20, near the present-day town of Grandview, in southeastern Idaho, as already stated, they came upon Messers. Hoback, Reznor, Robinson, and Miller fishing in the Snake. The four explorers described to Stuart their adventures in the country south and east of the Snake, and accompanied the party eastward to a point where Hunt had cached some equipment the year before. Stuart writes, "I . . . proceeded to open the remaining 3 caches where we found a few dry goods, traps, and ammunition, out of which I furnished Robinson, Reznor and Hobough as far as lay in my power with everything necessary for a two years' hunt, which they are to make on this river below Henry's Fort as they preferred that to returning in their present ragged condition to civilized society. Mr. Miller's curiosity and desire of travelling through the Indian countries being fully satisfied he has determined on accompanying us."

Under Miller's guidance Stuart's party left the Snake at the mouth of the Fort Neuf and proceeded southeasterly along the last named stream on a route which if followed persistently would have taken it via the Bear and the Green directly over a trail which a few decades later became an established road to the Platte,—the South Pass-Fort Bridger-Fort Hall section of the inevitable Oregon Trail. But the guide, Miller, lost his determination. Confused by the convolutions of the Bear (called then Miller's River) he admitted his indecision and Stuart decided to move northward to the Hunt route over the Tetons (Teton Pass) and into Jackson Hole. This he did at great expenditure of time and energy, finally reaching the Hoback and the Green. His camp on the Hoback on October 9, 1812, was but thirty miles from his position of September 17 at the confluence of Grays River and the Snake. Once upon the Green, Stuart laid his course to take him over the continental divide through that wide gap, the "shorter trace to the South," referred to by an Indian informant, a one-time guide for Mr. Hunt, who had advised Stuart two months earlier, while his party still was in central Idaho. Thus the returning Astorians became the first white men known to use South Pass. On the

22nd of October they passed from the Green River drainage to the Sweetwater, a feeder stream of the North Platte. This geographical triumph might have been momentous but fate decreed that Stuart's accomplishment should be ignored or forgotten for forty years. In the meantime, another "discovery" of South Pass (the Ashley-Henry use of the route, 1824) was inscribed upon the pages of history.

The War of 1812

Stuart and his associates had no inkling that his country had declared war upon Great Britain a few days prior to his departure from Astoria. On the very day that he had learned from an Indian at the mouth of the Boise River, "of a shorter trace to the South," (South Pass) Fort Dearborn on the Chicago was laid in ruins and its garrison massacred. Indian bands which had rallied to the British side were raiding the Illinois and Missouri frontiers throughout much of the time that Stuart was enroute East. In February, 1813, John C. Luttig records that the Bigbillies at Fort Manuel on the Missouri (on the present boundary between North and South Dakota) stated, "two men from the Northwest Company came under pretext to trade dressed skins . . . They began to harangue against the American traders . . . (saying) the Northwest Company would furnish them with everything if they would go to war and rob and kill the Americans. . . . Chief Borne made speeches to that end but retired without success . . . Thus are those Bloodhounds, the British, constantly employed, to destroy the Americans and their trade. . . . Our government does not care . . . how many citizens are sacrificed by British influence. . . . If there was a fort at the River St. Peters . . . and another in these parts . . . it would do good to hunters and traders." (Drum, Stella M., Ed., "Journal of a Fur-trading expedition on the Upper Missouri, 1812-1813." St. Louis, 1920, p. 123).

Canadians of the Northwest Company had been active in the northern Columbia region since 1807. Fort Kootenay and posts on Pend d'Oreille Lake and in the Flathead country had been established by the British prior to 1810. When the Astor interests were acquired there were added to the British establishments Astoria, and such other embryonic subsidiary outposts as Fort Okanagan, and Spokane House initiated by the Americans in 1811. The remunerative business enjoyed for such a short time by the Astor Company was entered into by the "Northwesters" most vigorously and the Oregon country was regarded by these Canadians and by the several former Astor employees who had joined them,—Duncan McDougal at their head,—as being well within the firm grasp of Great Britain.

But British statesmen experienced a change of heart regarding their war with America. In 1814 they joined with American commissioners at Ghent, in Belgium, and there, about a year after Captain Black laid claim to Astoria, agreed to stop the fighting and restore all captured territory to the original owners. The British minister in Washington denied the right of the United States to re-occupy the post at the mouth of the Columbia, claiming that the place had not been captured; that it had been purchased, and that the Oregon country had been occupied in the name of the British King prior to the War of 1812. After lengthy diplomatic exchanges it was finally agreed that the post should be returned to the Americans, but that the question of title to the territory should be considered in further negotiations. Out of these negotiations grew the convention of 1818 which recognized the rights of both countries to "joint occupancy" of the region west of the Rocky Mountains for a period of ten years. In 1821 the Hudson's Bay Company absorbed its great rival, the Northwest Company, and obtained exclusive British privileges of trading in all that region drained by the Columbia.

The Hudson's Bay Company on the Columbia

The Northwest Company had found that the Indians of Oregon were not good hunters. A new policy was inaugurated, —that of sending parties of its own white employees with halfbreed and Indian hunters into the mountains to trap. After the union in 1821 with the Hudson's Bay Company this practice was continued. The parties went inland, east and southeast and also down the coast to California. This was the period of British field forays which provided Alexander Ross, John Work, Francis Ermatinger, Peter Skene Ogden, A. R. McLeod, and other officials of the Hudson's Bay Company with the experiences on the Snake, the Green, and in the Great Basin upon which they reported in writing; reports which today find significant places in the literature of the western fur trade. These men were intent upon the economic success of their industry but their recorded thoughts suggest that they wanted more than immediate financial gain. In 1824-25 Sir George Simpson, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, traveled in a canoe from York Factory, to Fort George at the mouth of the Columbia to rehabilitate for England the fur trade in the Oregon country and to divert the claims of the United States to rights there. (See Merk, 1931. "Fur Trade and Empire; George Simpson's Journal" p. 277.) Later Simpson engaged in some wishful thinking when he wrote that the American route into Oregon along the Willamette "is impassable even to hunters, and the Louis's River (Snake) route is unthinkable . . . so that I am of the opinion we have little

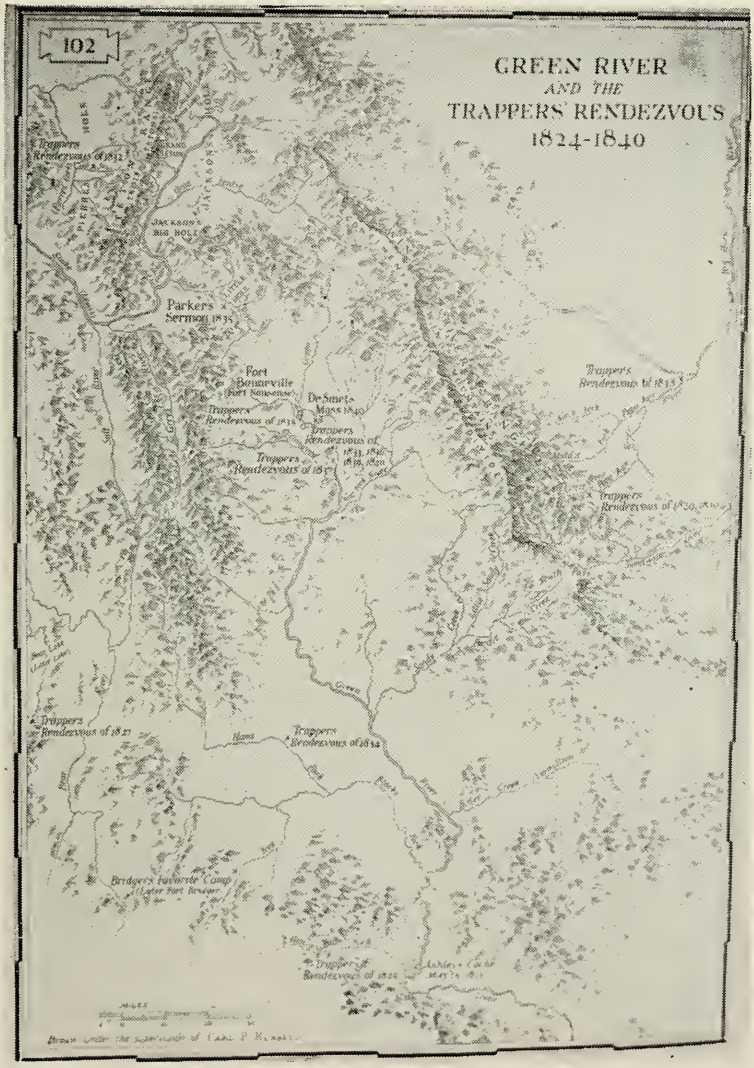
to apprehend from settlers in this quarter (Fort Vancouver), and from Indian traders nothing; as none except large capitalists could attempt it, and this attempt would cost a heavy sum of money, of which they could never recover much. This they are well aware of, therefore as regards formidable opposition I feel perfectly at ease unless the all-grasping policy of the American government should enduce it to embark some of its national wealth in furtherance of the object." (Simpson writing to Hudson's Bay Company Officials in London. Sent from Fort Vancouver, March 1, 1829. Quoted by M. S. Sullivan in his "Travels of Jedediah Smith," 1934, p. 150).

During the period of exploitation by the Hudson's Bay Company the rich fur country west of the Rockies was not altogether forgotten by Americans, but legislators were very loath to give attention to it. A Congressional committee appointed to inquire into "The expediency of occupying the Columbia River" had existed since December 1820. Dr. John Floyd, "a child of the Kentucky frontier," and Congressman from Virginia, was chairman of this committee and a friend of Governor William Clark (of Lewis and Clark fame) and Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri. To this trio of westward expansionists in Washington, D. C., went Ramsey Crooks and Russell Farnham, former Astorians. Crooks had traveled through South Pass with Stuart; Farnham, during the war of 1812, had walked across Siberia to deliver documents to Mr. Astor. In Washington they lived in the same hotel with Dr. Floyd and provided him with factual data regarding the wealth and accessibility of the Oregon country. Bills prepared by Dr. Floyd requiring the President to occupy the Columbia Valley and to establish the Territory of Oregon were presented in 1821, 1822, 1823, and 1824. The Congress refused to pass the bills but considerable public interest was aroused. Perhaps these futile attempts to gain legislative recognition of Oregon had a bearing upon the action of William Henry Ashley of St. Louis (another friend of Thomas Hart Benton) in organizing his epoch-making enterprise on the Sisk-ke-dee-an enterprise that was to bring the first effective resistance to the British aggressiveness west of the Rockies, and to result, finally, in the settlement of Oregon in spite of the lethargy of Congress.

The Rendezvous Period of the Western Fur Trade

The Missouri Republican in the spring of 1822 carried the following advertisement:

> "To Enterprising Young Men
>
> The subscriber wishes to engage one hundred men to ascend the river Missouri to its source, there to be employed for one, two or three years. For particulars



GREEN RIVER AND THE TRAPPERS' RENDEZVOUS 1824-1840
Drawn under the supervision of Dr. Carl P. Russell.

enquire of Major Andrew Henry, near the lead mines in the county of Washington, (who will ascend with, and command the party) or to the subscriber at St. Louis.

Wm. H. Ashley

March 20, 1822''

The Major Andrew Henry referred to in the advertisement was none other than the Henry who with a party of Lisa's men had crossed to the Pacific slope of the Rocky Mountains in 1810 and established Fort Henry on the Snake, the first American post west of the Continental Divide. Henry had not forgotten the beaver streams of the Upper Snake, where, in 1810-11, traps were hardly necessary in the business of taking pelts. Out of the Ashley-Henry recruiting grew an organization of Mountain Men destined to search out every valley in the trans-mountain region and to exploit every trail thereto. Such giants of the pioneer west as Jedediah Smith, the four Sublette brothers, Thomas Fitzpatrick, James Bridger, David Jackson, Henry Fraeb, Robert Campbell, and Etienne Provot took their first steps toward enduring fame when they answered Mr. Ashley's advertisement. The ''river Missouri to its source'' did not hold for long these makers of history.

In September, 1823, a party of Ashley's men, mounted, set out from Fort Kiowa, on the Missouri River, for the interior. Jedediah Smith was their leader. Heavy snows delayed them first on the Wind and later on the Sweetwater. On the last-named stream near a point later known as Three Crossings in March, 1824, they cached a part of their supplies and equipment and agreed to assemble at this place about the first of June. They then ascended to South Pass, became the first white men to cross through the pass from the East and entered the valley of the Sisk-ke-dee, where they separated and engaged in a highly successful hunt. By June 15, all members of the original party had returned through South Pass and assembled at the appointed place of meeting near the Three Crossings of the Sweetwater,—a reunion which presaged the arrival of a new institution in the fur trade, the annual rendezvous.

Henry and a part of his company returned to St. Louis with their profitable results of the spring hunt. Ashley, encouraged by the favorable returns from his transmountain ventures personally led a mid-winter expedition to the mountains. In April, 1825, he reached the Green and despatched his men in four separate groups to the beaver streams. Before they parted a place of rendezvous was agreed upon—Henry's fork of the Green.

In the course of the 1825 forays, there occurred a clash with Peter Skene Ogden's Hudson's Bay Company trappers,

foreshadowing the several years of conflict with the British interests which were to follow. Twenty-three members of Ogden's party attached themselves, with their spring catch of beaver, to Ashley's company. The true circumstances of the defection of the Hudson's Bay Company men remained a mystery to students of fur trade history until Frederick Merk dug from the London files of the Hudson's Bay Company records of Ogden's official account of the affair. (Frederick Merk, "Snake Country Expedition, 1824-25," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* June 1934, pp. 49-77; also in *Oregon Historical Quarterly,* June, 1934, pp. 93-122.) In Journal No. 762 is a communication of July 10, 1825, from Ogden to Governor Simpson, Ogden writes:

> "On the 23 (of May, 1825) a party of 15 Canadians and Spanjards headed by one Provost and Francois an Iroquois Chief who deserted from our party two years since joined us . . . shortly after the arrival of the above party another of 25 to 30 Americans headed by one Gardner and a Spanjard with 15 of our trappers who had been absent about two days also made their appearance; they encamped within 100 yards of our camp and hoisted the American flag, and proclaimed to all that they were in the United States territories and were all free. It was now night and nothing more transpired. The ensuing morning Gardner came to my tent and after a few words of no import he questioned me as follows: 'Do you know in whose country you are?' to which I made answer that I did not, as it was not determined between Great Britain and America to whom it belonged . . . He then left my tent and seeing him go in an Iroquois tent (John Grey) I followed him. On my entering this villain Grey said, 'I must now tell you that all the Iroquois as well as myself have long wished for an opportunity to join the Americans, and if we did not the last three years, it was owing to our bad luck in not meeting them, but now we go and all you can say or do cannot prevent us . . . We have now been five years in your service. The longer we remain the more indebted we become, although we give 150 beaver a year. We are now in a free country and have friends to support us, and go we will. If every man in the camp does not leave you they do not seek their own interest.' He then gave orders to raise camp and in an instant all the Iroquois were in motion and ready to start. This example was soon followed by others, a scene of confusion ensued . . . Finding myself with only twenty trappers left surrounded on

all sides by enemies I resolved on returning to the Snake River."

The alliance of the Hudson's Bay Company men with Ashley's company had a favorable effect upon the morale of the Americans, contributed to the strength of Ashley's personnel, and yielded an important addition to his strings of pack animals. Merk concludes that 700 beaver were purchased and added to Ashley's returns by this incident,—not a tremendous stroke of business so far as immediate results were concerned, but its influence on the over-all campaign of the American trappers in the Oregon country was significant. That the transaction had the approbation of government officials is indicated by the commendation of Thomas Forsyth, (see H. M. Chittenden, The American Fur Trade of the Far West, 1935, p. 911), who wrote from St. Louis on October 24, 1831, to Lewis Cass, Secretary of War:

> "Perhaps it would not be exceeding the truth to say that half a million of dollars in furs are now annually brought down the Missouri River that formerly went to Hudson Bay, and it is the enterprising spirit of General Ashley which has occasioned the change of this channel of trade."

For fifteen years after the Ogden-Gardner incident, act throughout the rendezvous period, Hudson's Bay Company parties were met and opposed by American trappers in the regions west of the mountains. Sanguinary encounters were avoided, but a persistent fight for supremacy in the trade was waged out of which grew American strength and repudiation of the British claim to territory. A. R. McLeod's official Hudson's Bay Company journals for the Oregon department testify that "due in part to the heavy slaughter of beaver, but more to the growing competition of the Americans our beaver returns from the Oregon country began to decrease after 1827." (W. S. Lewis and P. C. Phillips, "The Journal of John Work," 1923, pp. 21-30.)

The Ashley-Henry enterprise was so remunerative to its owners as to enable them to quit the mountains after the 1826 rendezvous. Their business was sold to three of the men who had helped to build it,—Jedediah Smith, David Jackson and Wm. Sublette. These indefatigable workers embraced the entire west in their field of action. Their energy and sense of patriotic duty did much toward awakening the nation to a realization of the nature and value of far western lands. Their reports made to Federal authorities still stand as highly important geographical contributions and Smith's Journals have provided the basis for many important historical treatises as

well as volumes of legendary stories. David Jackson's name is perpetuated in the historic Jackson Hole National Monument and in the beautiful Jackson Lake under the Tetons. In 1830, the three partners withdrew from the strenuous business in the mountains and sold their interests to five of their employees, who operated as the Rocky Mountain Fur Company.

In the six years that had elapsed since Mr. Ashley opened the Green River region to American enterprise, considerable commercial interest and public concern were focused upon it. The American Fur Company, Mr. Astor's great organization, entered the transmountain arena in 1829. This was the firm that was destined to demolish or absorb all competitors west of the mountains. Gant and Blackwell entered the fray in 1831 and lasted through 1833. Captain B. L. E. Bonneville was active from 1832 through 1835. N. J. Wyeth and his New Englanders played their interesting roles in 1832-1836. Robert Campbell's and Wm. Sublette's company constituted an entity in 1833-6, although the owners had been conspicuous participants in the trade long before their company was formed. Thos. Fitzpatrick, Milton Sublette, and James Bridger, all men of the original Ashley parties, were the last to offer competition to the powerful American Fur Company. Their partnership was established in 1834 and lasted until 1836, in which year they sold their business to the American Fur Company. Several small, independent operators also had attempted to insert themselves in the fur trade picture west of South Pass, but their activities were very short-lived. The effective beaver brigades of the rendezvous period were limited to those of the nine companies mentioned above.

The fifteen annual meetings, which followed the assembly of 1824 on the Sweetwater were held from 1825 through 1840 on the Green (eight meetings); the Wind (three); the Weber (two); the Bear (one); and the Snake (one). Due to a miscarriage of plans for the transportation of trade goods there was no summer rendezvous in 1831. (For an account of some details of the annual meetings see "Winderness Rendezvous Period of the American Fur Trade," by Carl P. Russell, *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, March, 1941, pp. 1-47. A map showing rendezvous sites appears as Plate 102, "Green River and the Trappers Rendezvous, 1824-1840," Atlas of American History, New York, 1943.)

In 1834 the Methodist Missionary Society obtained the cooperation of N. J. Wyeth, Boston fur trader, in escorting the Reverend Jason Lee and three assistants to the Oregon country. This was the beginning of a continuing travel across country by Protestant missionaries. Samuel Parker and Dr. Marcus Whitman followed in 1835 and many others including Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Henry Harmon Spalding, the first

white women to cross the continent (1836), joined the trapper parties each year. These families were the first bona fide American settlers on the Columbia. Their writings were voluminous and convincing. By precept and example, the church workers played prominent part in winning the Oregon country by arousing public interest in settlement. They were carried to their place of leadership by the fur trade.

The Hudson's Bay Company continued to be active within the same areas trapped by the Americans. Gardner's encounter with Ogden in 1825 was but the first of many conflicts in the field, none of which resulted in physical combat. The British leaders at the very beginning of the rendezvous period sensed the fact that their activities on the Snake, the Green, and the Bear would soon be brought to an end by the American trappers; so more Canadians were sent south and east of the Columbia to meet the American competition. John Work and James W. Dease were leaders among the newcomers. Dease took over the Flathead House, and Ogden, who for several years was in charge of the interior trade, commanded brigades in the Salt Lake country and California and worked the headwaters of the Snake. He withdrew in 1831, and John Work followed him as chief of this British business. Work, in turn, was succeeded by A. R. McLeod. In 1835-36 John Forsyth, Secretary of State, bent upon obtaining "certain specific and authentic information in regard to the inhabitants of the country in the neighborhood of the Oregon or Columbia River" sent William A. Slacum to investigate and report to the United States Government. Slacum's statement is contained in a memorial address to Congress on December 18, 1837. A part of it is as follows:

> ". . . last year (1836) Chief Trader McLeod (of the Hudson's Bay Company) took up to the American rendezvous in about lat. 43 deg. north, a large supply of British manufactures. This assemblage of American trappers takes place annually on the Western side of the Rocky Mountains, generally in the month of July, and amounts to 450 or 500 men who bring the results of their year's labor to sell to the American Fur Traders. These persons purchase their supplies for the trappers at St. Louis, though after being subject to the duties on these articles (chiefly of British manufacture) they transport their goods about 1400 miles by land to sell to citizens of the United States within our lines of acknowledged territory. Last year they met a powerful opponent in the agent of this foreign monopoly. Chief Trader McLeod, who could well afford to undersell the American fur trader on his own grounds; first by having the advan-

tage of water communication on the Columbia and Lewis Rivers for a distance of 700 to 800 miles; and secondly by introducing the goods free of duty which is equal to at least 25 to 35 percent. But a greater evil than this exists in the influence the Hudson's Bay Company exercises over the Indians by supplying them with arms and ammunition which may prove at some future period highly dangerous to our frontier settlements." (Slacum's Report, 25th Congress, 3rd Session, House Report, 101. See also Oregonian and Indians Advocate, Oct. 1838, p. 9.)

The Oregon Memorial of 1838, a citizens' petition addressed to Congress, asked that the United States take possession of Oregon, "the germ of a great state." It was signed by thirty-six residents of the Willamette Valley, including some one-time trappers. Jason Lee, escorted by fur traders, carried the document East. The resulting Congressional agitation over Oregon stimulated public interest in the settlement of Oregon, and the wave of feeling regarding "Fifty-four Forty or Fight" found its beginnings. At this time the Hudson's Bay Company establishment at Ft. Vancouver (opposite the present Portland, Oregon) consisted of an enclosed group of thirty-four buildings and forty-nine scattered dwellings. About 800 British subjects resided here near the mouth of the Willamette and 3,000 acres of land was fenced and under cultivation by Hudson's Bay Company interests. (See Report of Select Committee on bill authorizing occupation of Oregon submitted to Senate June 6, 1838. Oregonian and Indians Advocate, V. 1, No. 1, October, 1838.)

By 1840, the trade in beaver pelts had waned and all but died. Joseph L. Meek, who for ten years had frequented the trappers' trails, records that in the summer of 1840 he sought and failed to find any of the usual parties enroute to rendezvous. The American Fur Company, however, did hold that year a final assembly on the Sisk-ke-dee. Some account of it is contained in Father Pierre-Jean deSmet's "Letters and Sketches." Joel P. Walker, brother of Joseph Reddiford Walker, with his family traveling in three wagons, accompanied the same fur trader's party in which deSmet proceeded to the Green River. The Walker family continued westward from the Green to Fort Hall on the Snake where the wagons were abandoned. The trappers, who, under the leadership of Robert Newell, had guided the emigrants as far as Fort Hall, fell heir to the vehicles. They stripped them of their boxes and made their way with them to Whitman's Mission at Waiilatpu near the present Walla Walla, Washington, so winning the praise of the missionary for bringing the first wheels

to the Columbia. (On May 2, 1943, a 10,000 ton Liberty ship, the "Robert Newell," glided into the water of the Willamette in the yards of the Oregon Ship Building Company, a modern recognition of one trapper's part in the winning of Oregon.) Close behind the trapper's wagon came a veritable procession of emigrant parties. The Oregon Trail replaced the trapper route almost overnight. Trappers became guides in the great overland movement and when the end of the trail was reached many of them remained to assume places of leadership in community management.

The first Oregon settlers could not obtain title to the lands they occupied except by "squatters' rights." On May 2, 1843, a meeting of Oregon citizens was held at Champoeg in the Willamette Valley. Attaches of the Hudson's Bay Company attended for the purpose of thwarting any move to upset the established British regime but they were outnumbered by a scant majority of two votes. (See "Oregon's Hundredth Birthday," by Howard R. Driggs, in the Horace Mann Report, June, 1943; also "Wagons West" by Phillip H. Parrish, the Old Oregon Trail Centennial, Portland, Oregon, 1943). Thus a Provisional Government was established by compact in order that the immediate civil needs of the community might be met.

By this time the Oregon question had ridden into national politics on the back of the Texas problem and there existed a general determination that American rights in the far northwest could not be abandoned. A cry for war with Britain spread from the frontier to the nation's capital, and the War and Navy Departments consulted with Congressional committees in preparation of sane and effective measures. Polk was elected President of the United States in 1844 on a platform that demanded the acquisition of the entire Oregon country ("54-40 or fight!"), and the Oregon excitement culminated on January 5, 1846, in a Senate resolution to put an end to Britain's permits on the Columbia. On April 26, 1846, the President transmitted the notice for termination of Joint Occupancy of Oregon. Lord Aberdeen, the British foreign minister, drafted a compromise treaty in accordance with that notice and the present international boundary (49th parallel) was established. The Hudson's Bay Company withdrew from its posts on the Columbia, but many of its employees remained to become citizens of the United States. The territory of Oregon as first established included the present states of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and portions of Montana and Wyoming. A notable number of the early statesmen, business men, and community leaders in the territory were drawn from the ranks of the American fur brigades.

In the fulfillment of the American destiny in the greater Oregon, the fur trade was not an incident; it was an epoch. The mountain men not only hunted out the trails and passes which opened the transmountain country to Americans; their industry and trade also provided the physical vehicle which carried the American idea to the Columbia, and they, as individuals, laid the foundations upon which our commerce, statesmanship, diplomacy, and culture in the northwest have built through a century. No fitting memorial to their cumulative accomplishment was created until President Roosevelt, by his Proclamation of March 15, 1943, established Jackson Hole National Monument.

Jackson Hole in Fur Trade History

Jackson Hole and its beaver streams epitomize the trappers' role in the winning of the West. Trapper activity impinged upon the famed valley to provide the very opening of the westward expansion movement. John Colter, after participating in the Lewis and Clark epic, is believed by many historians to have made his way into it in 1807 or 1808, and, as indicated in the pages which precede, the Henry party of Lisa's men and the Astor claimants of the Columbia focused their attention upon it during a three-year period prior to 1812. With the advent of the rendezvous system, the remarkable system of natural passes and primitive trails which give access to it came into heavy use. From it as a center radiate six major routes of prime importance to the fur brigades. Trails converge upon Jackson Hole as do the spokes of a wheel upon their hub. These routes were in constant use by the Indian for untold centuries before the white man came. Nature in shaping the mountain masses which enclose Jackson Hole provided passageways which determined this use by the far-ranging red man and the trappers of both Britain and America. The scenic valley became one of the trappers' favorite haunts and a practical base of operations. It was both a great source of beaver and also the crossroads of their trails to the other important basins of the Rocky Mountains,—the Columbia drainage, the Yellowstone and the upper Missouri, the Wind, the Green, and the Bear. In these great fur fields was staged the powerful moving drama of "Joint Occupancy." Here was no playing of diplomatics by the textbook; the nation's effective energy of westward expansion awakened in the trappers' camps of the Snake and the Green. The heritage of western American traits and frontier tradition, in which we as a nation take pride, finds living expression in this very appropriate historic reserve, the Jackson Hole National Monument. No other spot in the old Oregon country could constitute a more significant shrine.

Documents and Letters

WERE THE VERENDRYE BROTHERS THE FIRST WHITE MEN IN WYOMING?

It is an accepted historical fact that John Colter was the first white man to penetrate the country which is now Wyoming, as early as 1807.

However, while not a proven fact, it seems to be a conclusion of leading historians, that the Verendrye brothers were within the State of Wyoming as early as 1742-43. As there are a number of theories as to the course they took, the matter is still one of controversy. The Verendrye Journals do not make it possible for anyone to say with any degree of certainty where they went and there is little corroborative material.

Dr. Lawrence J. Burpee of Ottawa, Canada, a student of the Verendrye Journals and an authority especially on this matter, has a sketch "La Verendrye—Pathfinder of the West", in an issue of the Canadian Geographical Journal, which we are including in this number of the Annals. Dr. Burpee is the author of "The Search for the Western Sea" and many papers dealing with the Verendrye journeys.

We are also including excerpts and maps from articles of students of this enigma, which will verify their theories. Some historians firmly believe these French Canadians reached Wyoming, others believe that they came only to the eastern Black Hills in what is South Dakota today.

Dr. O. G. Libby of the University of South Dakota, has an article, "Some Verendrye Enigmas", in the September 1916 Mississippi Valley Historical Review in which he gives his opinion of the Verendrye trek.

In the next number of the Review, Doan Robinson and Charles E. DeLand of the South Dakota Historical Society, both took issue with Dr. O. G. Libby on his September Review Article. Dr. Libby answers their criticisms in the same issue. All this brings out the point, whether or not, these Frenchmen, ever came into that part of the country which is Wyoming today. Maps are included with some of these articles, which greatly help in the interpretation of each writer's opinion of this trek.

In the Proceeding of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association 1907-1908—Warren Upham has an article "The Explorations of Verendrye and His Sons", in which he reviews their discovery of the Rocky Mountains.

A cairn monument was erected by the Verendrye brothers under which they buried a leaden plate commemorating the expedition. This plate was found by South Dakota school children in 1913. Prints of this plate with the translation of the inscription are also included here.

These papers, some for and some against the theory that these French voyageurs ever reached Wyoming make interesting history for Wyoming, and whether it will ever be proven as an established fact that they were the first white men to ever put foot on Wyoming soil, is a matter that only time and constant research will reveal.

However it leaves a question of doubt as to whether John Colter *was* the first white man in Wyoming.—M.H.E.

La VERENDRYE—PATHFINDER OF THE WEST*

By LAWRENCE J. BURPEE

Of all that gallant company of adventurers who helped, each in his time and degree, to unroll the map of Canada, one alone was native born—La Vérendrye, Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, Sieur de la Vérendrye,—to give him his full, high-sounding name—was born in the town of Three Rivers, on the St. Lawrence, in November, 1685. As his name suggests, he was of gentle birth, his father being Governor of the district of which Three Rivers was the capital. His mother was a daughter of Pierre Boucher, a former Governor of the same district.

With La Vérendrye's early years we are not concerned here. It was not, in fact, until he had reached well into the forties that he began the course of western exploration which was to engage all his thought and energy for the remainder of his life, and bring him abundant fame, though not in his own lifetime or for many years afterwards. Without doubt La Vérendrye had dreamed and planned schemes of western discovery long before there was any possibility of turning them into realities. He had served in the army, both in America and Europe, had been seriously wounded at the battle of Malplaquet, had afterwards married and settled down for a time on the St. Maurice, and in 1726 had been put in command of an important trading post on Lake Nipigon, north of Lake Superior.

Here there came to him one day an Indian named Ochagach, who told him that he had travelled far towards the setting sun until he came to a great lake, out of which a river flowed to the westward. He had descended this river, he said, until he reached a point where the water ebbed and flowed. He had not been able to go down to its mouth because of hostile tribes, but had been told that the river emptied into a great salt lake or sea.

La Vérendrye's imagination, already filled with pictures of the unknown land beyond Lake Superior, took fire, and he determined at all costs to seek for and find that Western Sea which had been the elusive goal of all the explorers of New France. Resigning his Nipigon command he returned to Quebec, taking with him a curious map drawn by Ochagach. The then Governor General, the Marquis de Beauharnois, was a man of broad views, keenly interested in the cause of western discovery. He entered warmly into the plans of La Vérendrye,

*Canadian Geographical Journal vol. VI no. 4, pp. 159-168. (April 1933).

and wrote Louis XV urging that the explorer should be given the command of a hundred men and sufficient supplies and equipment to carry his project to a successful conclusion. The King, however, was at that time deeply engaged in European wars, and all that he would agree to was that La Vérendrye should be given a monopoly of the fur trade in the country beyond Lake Superior. That is to say, he was permitted to build trading posts and trade with the Indians, and might use the profits to cover the cost of his discoveries towards the Western Sea.

Not a very promising scheme from any point of view, and one that at the best must necessarily mean very slow progress in exploration. Any man less enthusiastic and determined would have thrown the matter up in disgust. La Vérendrye, however, set to work at once, put his own little fortune into the project, and, not without difficulty, persuaded some of the Montreal merchants to go into partnership with him, on the understanding that they would provide equipment and supplies and pay the men, and in return get all the profits of the fur trade.

In the early summer of 1731, therefore, we find the expedition setting forth from Montreal, in a brigade of birch-bark canoes. With La Vérendrye went three sons, his nephew La Jemeraye, and a party of canoemen, hunters and soldiers—a very much smaller party than that contemplated by the Governor, but the best that La Vérendrye could manage with his limited resources.

Their way lay up the Ottawa that waterway that had been the recognized route to the west since its discovery by Champlain. They ascended the river past the Long Sault, scene of the heroic exploit of Daulac and his young comrades; past the Chaudiere, sacred to generations of Indians; past Allumette Island, where the Algonquin Chief Tessouat had contemptuously denounced Vignau to Champlain; over the swampy height of land to Lake Nipissing; and down French River to Georgian Bay. From there they followed the north shore of Lake Huron and St. Marys River to Sault Ste. Marie, where there had been a Jesuit Mission and a trading post for many years; and skirted the shore of Lake Superior until they came to what was afterwards to become famous as Grand Portage—one of three recognized water routes from Lake Superior to the west.

To La Vérendrye's indignation and disgust, the voyageurs who had followed him so far, now took it into their stupid heads to mutiny. They refused to accompany him into the unknown country that lay beyond. Finding it impossible to do anything with them, at any rate for the time being, the explorer sent La Jemeraye forward with a small party of picked

men to build an advanced post, while he himself took the malcontents north to the mouth of the Kaministikwia, to spend the winter. La Jemeraye made his way from Grand Portage over the water route that other explorers and fur traders were to use for a hundred years, and that today forms the international boundary between Canada and the United States. When he reached the point where Rainy River flows out of the lake of the same name, he thought it prudent to go no farther. He and his men set to work to build a small fort, which they named Fort St. Pierre. It stood in or near the present town of Fort Frances.

In the spring of 1732 La Vérendrye and his party followed the same route to Fort St. Pierre and, leaving a few men in charge, paddled down Rainy River to the Lake of the Woods. On the west side of that lake, in what was afterwards to become famous in diplomatic history as the North West Angle, they built Fort St. Charles. This became La Vérendrye's headquarters for several years, while he did his best to bring peace to the warring tribes, and matured his plans for further exploration. The site of Fort St. Charles was discovered a few years ago by a party of historical investigators from St. Boniface College, Manitoba.

His eldest son Jean was sent forward, with several men and an Indian guide, in 1733, to find what might be true of the stories of Ochagach and others as to rivers and lakes and strange tribes to the westward. Jean made his way down a small stream known to-day as the Roseau, to the Red River, and descended that river to Lake Winnipeg. Returning up Red River a short distance, he built a third post, which he named Fort Maurepas, after the Minister of the Colonies in France.

The years that followed were filled with sorrow and discouragement for La Vérendrye. La Jemeraye died from exposure during the severe winter of 1735, and the following year the explorer's son was murdered by the Sioux on an island in the Lake of the Woods. The Montreal merchants, on whom he had to rely for supplies, refused to send La Vérendrye any more goods, and he was compelled more than once to make the long journey down to Montreal to coax them into a more friendly frame of mind. His enemies in Quebec were industriously poisoning the mind of the King's representatives against the explorer. And to crown his misfortunes the bitter antagonism between the Sioux and the tribes friendly to La Vérendrye made it very difficult for him to make any progress with his western discoveries.

Nevertheless he stuck doggedly to his task. In 1736 he made his way west to the forks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers and built a temporary post there which he named Fort

Rouge. The name is today commemorated in a section of the city of Winnipeg. About this time Fort Maurepas was moved from the Red River to the foot of the Winnipeg River. From Fort Rouge La Vérendrye and his men ascended the Assiniboine to a point in or near the present city of Portage la Prairie, where he built Fort La Reine, named after the French Queen. His explorations, hampered though they were by the parsimony of the King, had now covered a large part of Southern Manitoba, and at Fort La Reine he held a strategic position for further discoveries. A short portage would take him to Lake Manitoba, Lake Winnipegosis and the Saskatchewan, while in the other direction a journey over the plains would bring him to the Missouri. At this time, of course, he knew nothing, except what he may have learned from the Indians, of either of these great waterways, both of which led to the Rocky Mountains, but his mind was steadily set on the discovery of the Western Sea, and before he was through attempts would be made in both directions.

From Fort La Reine, he made a journey across the plains to the Mandan villages on the Missouri, being the first white man to visit this remarkable tribe. He had been hearing such extraordinary stories about the Mandans from the Chippewa and Cree that he was convinced he would find them to be some race of white people, from whom he could obtain reliable information as to the way to reach the Western Ocean. He was correspondingly disappointed to discover that they were merely Indians, though Indians who had developed a civilization of their own, lived in walled towns and cultivated maize, pumpkins and tobacco.

Nevertheless, a few years later, being unable to leave Fort La Reine himself, he sent two of his sons on an ambitious attempt to find the sea somewhere beyond the Missouri. The sons went to the Mandan villages, and from there set off toward the south-west. After visiting many hitherto unknown tribes, and experiencing many adventures, they finally became involved in a warlike expedition by friendly Indians against the Snakes or Cheyennes. They reluctantly accompanied the war-party because they had been assured that when the Snakes had been overcome, the way would be clear for them to the sea, which they were told was not very distant. This of course was very far from being the truth, as they were then, as far as it is possible to trace their journey, somewhere in the present *state of Wyoming*, in any event still a very long way from the Pacific. They were bitterly disappointed when the war party, filled with a sudden panic, abandoned their expedition and turned back, with the mountains, beyond which the explorers had hoped to find the long-sought sea, full in view.

On the return journey to the Mandan villages and Fort La Reine, the La Vérendryes buried a lead plate with an inscription taking possession of the country in the name of Louis XV. It had long been hoped by historians that this plate might be found, as it would fix at least one point in the expedition of 1742-43. In 1913, one hundred and seventy years after it was deposited, the plate was picked up by some school children playing about a sand-hill in the neighborhood of Pierre, South Dakota.

Having failed to reach the sea toward the south-west, La Vérendrye tried the north-west. In 1741 he had built Fort Dauphin, near the southern end of Lake Winnipegosis; and some time afterward Fort Bourbon at the northern end of the same lake, and Fort Pasquia on the lower Saskatchewan. With these as his bases, he purposed making his way up the Saskatchewan, and did actually get as far as the Forks, but misfortunes were now crowding thick and fast upon him. He was forced to return to Quebec, and died there in 1749. His sons begged to be allowed to continue their father's explorations, but were curtly refused.

La Vérendrye failed in the definite object he had set before himself—the discovery of an overland route to the Pacific Ocean; but he accomplished something much more important. He was in a real sense the discoverer of Western Canada; first to descend the Winnipeg river; first to see Lake Winnipeg; first on the Red and the Assiniboine and the Saskatchewan, if we except the somewhat indefinite journey of Henry Kelsey; first to cross the great plains to the Missouri. Many years afterward English-speaking explorers were to reach the sea he had vainly sought, both by the Missouri and the Saskatchewan.

ADDITIONAL VERENDRYE MATERIAL*

By DOAN ROBINSON

In the Mississippi Valley Historical Review for September, 1916, Mr. Orrin Grant Libby, discussing "Some Verendrye Enigmas," and speaking of the lead tablet planted by the Verendrye brothers at Fort Pierre, South Dakota, on March 30, 1743, says:

"The geographical difficulties (to the Verendryes having been at Fort Pierre), are almost insuperable."[1] . . . . "We

*Mississippi Valley Historical Review, vol. III, no. 3, (December 1916).

1. Mississippi Valley Historical Review, 3: 156.

may therefore eliminate both the Missouri river and the Bad river (Fort Pierre) site from any further consideration."[2]

Mr. Libby's reasons for these conclusions I summarize herewith, believing I have fairly stated the substance of every argument advanced by him:

1. Fort Pierre is 350 miles from the foot of the Bighorn mountains and the Verendryes could not possibly have covered that distance between February 14 and March 19, under the conditions then existing.[3]

2. If the tablet had been buried at Fort Pierre the curiosity of the Indians would have induced them to tear down the cairn erected over it to discover what was buried beneath it.[4]

3. That the evidence of the citizens of Fort Pierre that the first settlers found, a heap of stones upon this hill, at the point where the tablet was found, and that these stones were removed by David Lexau for use in the village, is dubious.[5]

4. That if a cairn of stone had stood upon this hill for a long period, fragments of the rock would still remain in the soil.[6]

5. That the explorers would have taken some means to protect the tablet from corrosion and that no evidence of such protection has been found.[7]

6. That a careful reading of the record left by the Chevalier indicates that the Little Cherry band had gone from their summer home to winter, a distance of 150 miles—27 days journey, contrary to the practices of the sedentary Indians of the Missouri valley.[8]

7. That there were frequent settlements of sedentary Indians along the Missouri between Fort Pierre and the Mandan and if the Verendryes had returned that way they would have mentioned these settlements and the river.[9]

The one big, upstanding, indubitable fact is that the Verendrye tablet was actually found at Fort Pierre under exactly the conditions and in the environment in which Verendrye says he planted it. That fact of itself is very conclusive and it is completely so when taken in connection with the whole record. I will discuss Mr. Libby's arguments in opposition to the Fort Pierre site *seriatim:*

1. Fort Pierre is 350 miles from the foot of the Bighorn mountains, and the Verendryes could not possibly have cov-

2. Ibid., 157.
3. Ibid., 156.
4. Ibid., 158.
5. Ibid., 157.
6. Ibid.,
7. Ibid., 158.
8. Ibid., 159.
9. Ibid., 156.

ered that distance between February 14 and March 19, under the conditions then existing.

This statement is cheerfully granted, but there is not the slightest evidence, either directly or by fair inference, that the Verendryes were ever within several hundred miles of the Bighorns. Every reasonable deduction from the very meagre record is that they were not. The conclusion of the highest authorities, as for instance Major Powell,[10] and George Bird Grinnell,[11] is that at the period under discussion the Comanche and Kiowa, confederated, occupied and dominated the entire Black Hills-Bighorn region. The record and all the evidence is that the Bows, the Little Cherries and perhaps all of the trans-Missouri Indians with whom the Verendryes came in contact were sedentary, housebuilding tribes.[12] These people (the house-builders) included the Mandan, Minitares, Gros Ventres, Arickara, Pawnee and perhaps at that period the Cheyenne.[13] The Mandan, Minitares and Gros Ventres, with whom the Verendryes were familiar certainly were not of the party, so it remains by fair inference that the Bows and other bands were the Arickara, Pawnee, and perhaps the northern Cheyenne of the upper Missouri valley. Their western enemies against whom they were making war could have been none other than the Kiowa-Comanche confederacy, whose eastern frontier skirted along the eastern edge of the Black Hills.[14] This confederacy consisted of two powerful and sanguinary tribes entirely capable of protecting their preserves from invasion. Under the circumstances what would the Bows do, making war upon these western enemies. They would naturally strike the nearest frontier of that enemy, keeping the line back of them open for retreat if necessary. That is precisely what the record shows the Bows did. As they approached the enemy's country, and a long time before they reached dangerous ground, they left their families encamped and went on until they reached the first village of the enemy. Finding it deserted, they feared the enemy had flanked them and gone to attack their defenseless families. Consequently they beat a

10. Major Powell's lingual map in Bureau of American ethnology, Seventh annual report (Washington, 1891); "Calendar history of the Kiowa Indians," by James Mooney in Bureau of American ethnology, Seventh annual report, Pt. 1, p. 156.

11. Unpublished letters of George Bird Grinnell to the writer under dates of June 25 and July 3, 1914, and December 15, 1915.

12. As to the chief of the Bows, see Margry, Decouvertes et etablissements des Français dans l'ouest dans le sud de l'Amerique septentrionale, (Paris 1888) 6: 607; for little Cherry as a house builder, see ibid., 608.

13. Letter of George Bird Grinnell to the writer, July 3, 1914; see also South Dakota Historical Collections (Pierre, S. D., 1914), 7: 232.

14. Major Powell's lingual map in Bureau of American ethnology, Seventh annual report.

hasty retreat and gave up the enterprise. It is not believable that the Bows, accompanied by their families, practically crossed the enemy's country to its western borders and there left their families without protection, while they went on to fight the enemy upon the furthest limits of his lands. I am convinced from a most careful examination of the story left us by the Chevalier, that when the Verendryes came upon the Bows, who were the sedentary Indians of the Missouri valley, the latter were enroute to strike their nearby western enemies; that they found their first village, located in the eastern part of the Black Hills, deserted and so gave up the campaign. If this be true then the Bighorn assumption is eliminated.

2. If the tablet had been planted at Fort Pierre the curiosity of the Indians would have led them to tear down the cairn erected over it to discover what was buried beneath it.

To answer this it is only necessary to quote the record, which in absence of proof to the contrary must be taken at its face value: "Je dis aux Sauvages, qui n'avoient bas connoissance de la plaque de plomb que j'avois mise dans la terre, que je mettois ces pierres en memoire de ce que nous etions venus sur leurs terres,"[15] which Stevenson correctly translates: "I said to the savages, who *did not know of the tablet of lead which I had planted in the earth*, that I was placing these stones as a memorial of those who had come to their country."[16]

Chevalier Verendrye and his brother had spent practically their entire lives in Indian camps and knew Indian character as well as if to the manner born. It is not to be presumed that the Chevalier did not know the truth of what he wrote when he said the Indians were ignorant of the planting of the tablet.

3. That the evidence of citizens of Fort Pierre that the first settlers found, a heap of stones upon the hill, at the point where the plate was found, and that these stones were removed by David Lexau for use in the village, is dubious.

It would be a reckless man who would come to Fort Pierre and assert that the statement of Mr. W. H. Frost, state senator from Stanley county, honored citizen and oldest surviving inhabitant, is dubious. Yet the fact of the existence of this cairn does not rest upon the testimony of Mr. Frost alone but is corroborated by other reliable citizens and by many circumstances. Mr. Libby is quite unjustified in casting any doubt

15. Pierre Margry, Decouvertes et etablissements des Français dans . . . l'Amerique septentrionale, 6: 609.

16. South Dakota historical collections, 7: 276, 357.

upon the veracity of these witnesses whose testimony will be accepted at one hundred percent in any court of South Dakota.[17]

4. That if a cairn of stone had stood upon this hill for a long period, fragments of the rock would still remain in the soil.

All of the stone in the vicinity of Fort Pierre as well as the stones found on "Verendrye hill" by the early settlers were granite boulders, popularly known as hardheads, as smooth and hard as marbles. The adjacent hills are studded with them, where they have lain from time immemorial, from the day they were dumped there by the old glacier. The action of a thousand centuries of "Dakota frost and heat," has made no impression upon them and no fragments of them, however minute, are found when they are removed from their millenium-old beds.

5. That the explorers would have taken some means of protecting the tablet from corrosion and that no evidence of such protection remains.

Lead is one of the most indestructible of metals. Only heat and very strong acids affect it to any great extent. The explorers of America well understood this and so for enduring memorials chose lead. Numerous tablets were buried at important points some of which have been recovered in recent years. Water pipes of lead down by the ancient Romans are still preserved.[18] Pieces of lead, which were made in ancient Rome, finely engraved and with the lines perfectly preserved, have been recently taken from the earth.[19] In 1738 the elder Verendrye had placed a lead tablet in the hands of the Mandan.[20] That experience may have taught him that savages could not be trusted with such a memorial and hence the Chevalier determined to bury this one without giving the Indians knowledge of it. Clearly no other available material would have afforded any protection to the lead. The uncovered plate buried in the earth was the safest monument, as the event has proved. The Chevalier simply says he placed the plate in the earth and at this date we are compelled to take his word for it.

6. That a careful reading of the record left by the Chevalier indicates that the Little Cherry band had gone from their summer home to winter, a distance of 150 miles—27 days journey, contrary to the practices of the sedentary Indians of the Missouri valley.

---

17. The public is referred to the governor, or the judges of the supreme court of South Dakota as to the standing and reliability of Honorable W. H. Frost.

18. Encyclopaedia Brittanica.

19. Americana, IX, see article on lead.

20. Douglas Brymner, Report on Canadian archives, 1889 (Ottawa, 1890), 25.

The entire record in this particular left by the Chevalier is as follows: "Nous continuames a marcher avec les Gens de l'Arc jusqu'au premier jour de Mars, faisant toujours l'Est-Sud-Est. J'envoyai un de nos Francois avec un chez les Gens de la Petite Cerise, ayant appris qu'ils etoient proches. Ils furent dix jours a leur voyage et nous apporterent des paroles pour nous inviter a les aller joinder.[21] . . . Nous arrivames le 15 de Mars chez les Gens de la Petite Cerise. Ils revenoient d'hivernement ils etoient a deux jours marche de leur fort, qui est sur le bord du Missoury. Nous arrivames le 19 a leur fort et y fumes recus avec de grandes demonstrations de joi."[22] (We continued to march with the people of the Bow until the first of March making always east-southeast. I sent one of my Frenchmen with a savage to the lodges of the people of the Little Cherry, having learned they were near. They took ten days for the trip and brought back word to us (from the Little Cherry) inviting us to join them. . . . We arrived the 15th of March at the camp of the people of the Little Cherry. They were returning home from their wintering place and were then two days march from their home which was upon the bank of the Missouri.) That is the record; read it carefully as you will.

Nowhere in it is the slightest suggestion that the Little Cherry Indians were ever 150 miles, or twenty-seven days' march from their summer home on the Missouri. Absolutely the only suggestion of distance is the statement that they were found two days' march from the Missouri, but *it is fair* to infer that they had wintered at a greater distance. To understand the real situation one must know the local conditions about Fort Pierre, concerning which Mr. Libby is not informed.

The banks of the Missouri in the vicinity of Fort Pierre are practically without timber and where the fort of the Arickara and their farm homes were located upon the open prairie of the second bench there is a clear and unprotected sweep of the northwest winds of winter. At Fort Pierre the Bad, or Teton, river enters the Missouri, coming down from the west. Its narrow valley is deeply eroded, the banks being from three hundred to four hundred feet high; and the bottoms are fairly well wooded. Thus perfect protection is afforded against the severities of winter both by the timber and the high banks along the north side. There was little trapping on the banks of the Missouri proper, while the valley of the Bad river was then and is still a trapper's paradise. It was the ideal place for an Indian winter camp and I have no doubt it was fully utilized. The Indian population of the region, as

21. Margry, Decouvertes et etablissements des Français dans . . . l'Amerique septentrionale, 6: 607.

22. Ibid., 608.

indicated by the lodge remains, must have been very large; perhaps approximating 10,000 souls; and to accommodate them the winter camps were no doubt scattered along the Bad for a great distance. The Verendryes found the Little Cherries two days march from their fort on the Missouri, that is to say they were ten or fifteen miles up the Bad river. It would not be surprising to know that some of the bands went up Bad river fifty or sixty miles to winter. Little Cherry may have done so. We only know that Verendrye found him much nearer the Missouri.

7. That there were frequent settlements of sedentary Indians along the Missouri between Fort Pierre and the Mandan and if the Verendryes returned that way they would have mentioned these settlements and the river.

The report of the Chevalier to Beauharnois is brief and at the best unsatisfactory. It was written by a young man who had secured most of his training in the forest rather than in the schools, and who was unused to literary enterprises. Manifestly he wrote it after his return from very meagre data. His father spoke of it deprecatingly as a "little journal."[23] It is most remarkable for the information it does not contain. Concerning the return trip from Fort Pierre we glean from it simply that the four Frenchmen were accompanied by three guides supplied by Little Cherry;[24] that they were mounted;[25] that these guides were taking them into the land of the enemies of the Little Cherry band,[26] that they traveled north northeast and northwest[27] and that upon the way they encountered a band of Sioux.[28] To me it is very clear that they did precisely what mounted Indians and white men have done throughout historic times when passing up the Missouri valley. They crossed the river at Fort Pierre to the east side and took the direct course over the uplands, avoiding the tedious complexities and curves of the bottom land and the deeply eroded valleys of the west side. Only with the greatest difficulty could horsemen travel near the river. It is most probable that the Indians living along the river above the Cheyenne were enemies of the guides, and the latter would of course aim to avoid them.[29] The fact that they met a band of Sioux shows beyond question that they were upon the east shore for the

23. Margry, Decouvertes et etablissements des Français dans . . . l'Amerique septentrionale, 6: 594.
24. Ibid., 610.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid., 609.
27. Ibid., 610.
28. Ibid.
29. Truteau's journal in American Historical review, 19: 318, 319.

Sioux did not cross the river at all until many years later.[30] An examination of the map in connection with the whole record is most convincing on the view that they traveled up the east side. That is the natural course for any one acquainted with the region; and the Little Cherry guides were taken because of their knowledge of the country.

The Verendryes were no longer unsophisticated so far as the Missouri was concerned. It was the "river of the *Mantannes*" to them only until they became personally familiar with it. The Chevalier had visited its bank in 1738;[31] two Frenchmen had remained the following winter to familiarize themselves with the country and its people.[32] They may have been the very men who accompanied the Chevalier at this time. Pierre, junior, with two Frenchmen had spent the winter of 1741-2 with the Mandan.[33] They knew when the Chevalier started out in the spring of 1742 that the "river of the *Mantannes*" was the Missouri and that it did not flow west toward the Pacific.[34] It is notable that the Verendryes in 1742 crossed the Missouri at the Mandan, without mentioning it.[35] The only reference to it in the entire report is made when they were approaching the stream with the Little Cherries in the spring of 1743.[36] If the Chevalier did not mention it when he crossed it at the Mandan, is it remarkable that he did not mention it when traveling parallel to it and some distance from it a year later?

The Missouri was at that time well known to geographers and explorers. It was laid down with fair accuracy upon the standard maps of the time.[37] That men as interested and conversant with the west as were the Verendryes should be mistaken in its identity is not reasonable.

Having, as I feel, fairly and fully disposed of every argument advanced by Mr. Libby in opposition to the view that

---

30. Stephen R. Riggs in Missionary Herald, 1841, 183. It was not until about 1750 that the Sioux began to have relations with the Missouri river Indians. See Dakota calendar, in American bureau of ethnology, Tenth annual report, 302 ff. In 1891 I talked with a number of old men whose fathers and grandfathers had taken part in the invasion of the Missouri river region by the Sioux. Swift Bird Chapelle, a half breed was especially informed of the situation by his maternal grandfather, who lived until 1846, and was notable as the tribal historian. The information in which all of these old men concurred was that the Sioux did not attempt to cross the Missouri until about 1760.

31. Brymner, Report on Canadian archives, 1889, 22.

32. Ibid., 25.

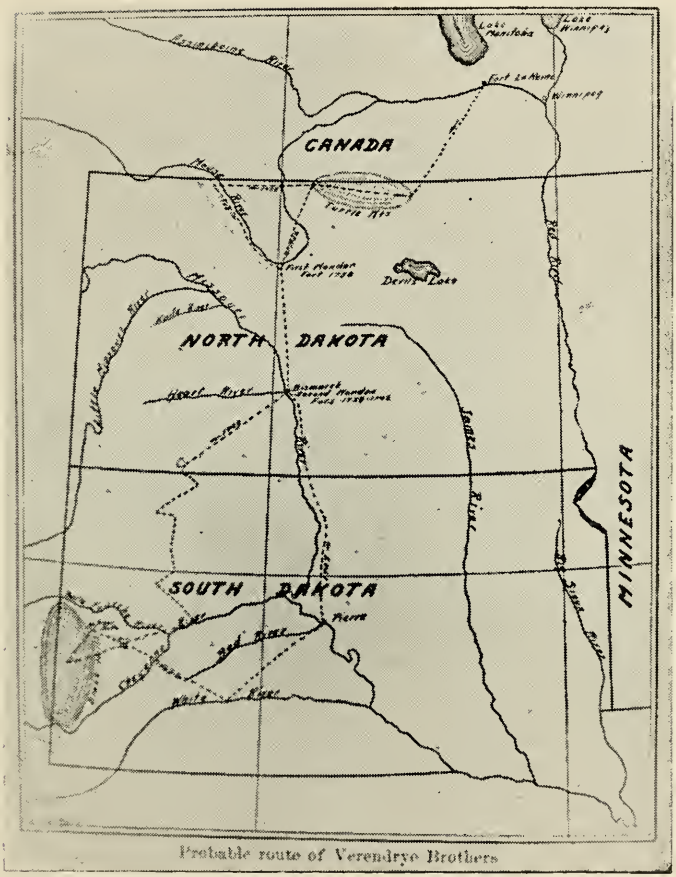
33. Margry, Découvertes et établissements des Français dans . . . l'Amerique septentrionale, 6: 628.

34. Ibid., 588. The Chevalier said they were to go west of the Mandan upon the information of the Indians.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid., 608.

37. See D'Iles map, 1702; Law's map of 1723.



PROBABLE ROUTE OF VERENDRYE BROTHERS

From the Mississippi Valley Historical Review vol. III no. 3, P. 376.

the Verendryes visited Fort Pierre and planted the tablet there I will take the occasion to set out briefly the situation at Fort Pierre, in relation to which Mr. Libby has created some geographical confusion.

The Bad river enters the Missouri at the center of the northwest quarter of section 34 town 5 north, 31 east Black Hills meridian. The city of Fort Pierre lies upon both sides of Bad river and close to the Missouri, some of the business buildings coming down to the high water line. "Verendrye hill" the peak where the tablet was buried, is the first eminence on the Missouri, north of Bad river, its peak being five city blocks, about 1500 feet northwest of the junction of the Bad with the Missouri. The peak is about 250 feet above the water in the river. There are higher peaks in the vicinity, but because of its location with relation to the two streams this one could always be identified and I have no doubt it was chosen for that reason. In the southeast corner of section 8 in the same township, three miles almost directly north of Verendrye hill, are the well preserved remains of an Arikara fort. It was unusually strongly fortified, for it had double trenches.[38] It is reasonable to suppose that these are the remains of the fort of the Little Cherry whose hospitality the Chevalier and his party enjoyed. Thus every condition of the record left by Verendrye is fulfilled. He says they were upon the banks of the Missouri, a stream well known in his time and of which he had peculiar knowledge. He was staying with an Indian chief who lived in a fort at that point. He planted a lead plate engraved with the arms and inscription of the king of France on an eminence near the said fort; he built a cairn of stone upon the eminence to mark the place. That is the record.[39] At Fort Pierre, upon the eminence most easily identified, the cairn is found and after its removal, a lead plate is found upon the spot just as it was emerging from the eroding earth. The plate has the arms and inscription of the king of France and to make it unmistakable an inscription is scratched upon it in the probable handwriting of Chevalier Verendrye, giving the date of the planting and the names of the parties present. To suggest that this plate might have been planted at a distant point, recovered by Indians and carried to the mouth of the Bad river, to be there fortuitously dropped upon this eminence, precisely complying with the conditions of the record, is a refinement of criticism approaching absurdity.

Mr. Libby's extended discussion of the identification of the *Mantannes* and the points where they resided in North Dakota is interesting and illuminating. In a sense it is a local ques-

38. South Dakota historical collections, 3: 542.

39. Margry, Decouvertes et etablissements des Français dans . . . l'Amerique septentrionale, 6: 609.

tion which he has peculiar facilities for considering. I confess that I have been a good deal confused in relation to it. While I still believe the settlement in 1743 was at the mouth of the Heart river[40] I am not wholly clear on the proposition. Whether it was at the Heart or the Knife it would make but little difference in the general course followed by the Verendryes in their trans-Missouri adventures. My reading and reflections since preparing the article published in the *Proceedings* of the Mississippi valley historical association for 1914 has confirmed the view then expressed that the explorers did not proceed further west than the Black Hills. One has only to trace back their course from Fort Pierre to understand how reasonable that course is.

Charles E. DeLand

I shall attempt to supplement Mr. Robinson's refutation of Mr. Libby's contentions only in regard to certain points which occur to me in the light of my study of the Mandan[1] and my study, "The Verendrye expeditions and discoveries. Leading to the planting of the Fort Pierre tablets."[2] I feel that Mr. Libby has made a number of singularly erroneous assumptions of fact regarding my treatment of various aspects of the general subject in the latter paper.

In the outset I wish to state that I consider the question as to whether the first "fort" visited by the Verendryes near the Missouri river in 1738 was a Mandan or a Minnetaree (Hidatsa) village not in itself a vital factor in determining either how far westward the sons went in 1742-43, or whether the lead tablet was actually deposited on what is now the site of Fort Pierre on the Missouri river.

Mr. Libby has however, seen fit to assume a very remarkable position: that because Verendrye termed this village and the one next nearest the Missouri river the "*Mantanne* villages," instead of calling them plain "Mandan;" and because in that connection he referred to what everybody knows was the Missouri river as being the *riviere des Mantannes*, not calling it plain "Missouri river" until he had deposited this tablet on the banks of *a* river which was *then* for the first time called "des Missouris," *therefore*, Mr. Libby concludes, it is not certain that Verendrye deposited the plate at Fort Pierre or anywhere else on the Missouri river bluffs, but that he not improbably planted it on a remote branch of the upper *Platte* at the

40. See journal of Lewis and Clark for October 20, 1804. It was in comparatively recent times the Mandan had been driven higher up the river.

1. "Aborigines of South Dakota," part 2, in South Dakota historical collections (Pierre, 1902-), 4: 275-730.

2. Ibid., 7: 99-322.

very verge of the mountains from which he had turned back. In view of Mr. Libby's adoption of this theory, I deem it pertinent here to suggest some evidences which I believe conclusively refute his assumption, made in the same connection, that Verendrye himself was the sole authority for the use of the word *Mantanne;* and then to consider certain other phases of his discussion of the subject of the locality of the first "fort," and of the real point from which the Verendrye sons, in 1742, started westward from the Missouri river in quest of the "Western Sea."

Mr. Libby declares: "The only evidence of which I know regarding the origin of the name *Mantanne* is given by Verendrye himself in his journal for 1738."

Speaking of the Mandan, the *Handbook of American Indians*[3] says: "The name, according to Maximilian, originally given by the Sioux, is believed by Matthews to be a corruption of the Dakota Mawatani. Previous to 1830 they called themselves simply Numakiki, 'people,' 'man' (Matthews). Maximilian says: 'If they wished to particularize their descent they added the name of the village whence they came originally'." Matthews states that they were "called by the Canadians 'les Mandals,' by which name these Indians were generally known, though it was originally given them by the Sioux." Again, he asserts that they used the word "Numangkake" in referring to themselves, and that "another general name of this people is Mahna-Narra, the sulkey, because they separated from the rest of their nation, and went higher up the Missouri." Speaking of the myth of the "Mandan 'Creation,'" he says: "And before the existence of the earth, the lord of life created the first man, Mumank-Machana," etc. Yet Matthews, who is justly regarded by Mr. Libby as high authority upon this subject, had never heard of Verendrye except as referred to by Catlin.[4]

The Verendryes, however, had been in contact with the Sioux, who *named* the Mandan "Mawatana," when they were in what is now northern Minnesota, years before they came to the Missouri river; and they were doubtless well aware of this Sioux name for the Mandan. They had furthermore lived for a long period of time among the Canadians, who called the Mandan "les Mandals."

It seems that is not only highly probable, but morally certain, that the Verendryes derived the word *Mantanne* from the numerous originals—"Mawatana," "mandals," "Numangkake," "Mahna-Narra," "Mumank-Machana,"—which have re-

3. Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico, edited by F. W. Hodge (Smithsonian institution, bureau of American ethnology, bulletin 30—Washington, 1907-1910), 1: 796.

4. Washington Matthews, Ethnography and philology of the Hidatsa Indians (Washington, D. C., 1877), 29.

solved among the whites, into the form "Mandan." In all but one of these original forms, the syllable "man" is found; while the "dan" readily follows from "dals," "tana," "channa," etc. I can not pretend to even moderate philological skill in tracing Indian names to their roots; but I feel confident that instances without end may be cited where final word-forms have been derived from less cognate originals than in this case.[5]

It is interesting to note that Hayden gives the name "Miahtanes," or "people on the bank," as the name the Mandan applied to themselves; and draws the inference that "they must have resided on the banks of the Missouri in a very remote period." We mentioned this fact as being suggestive of the more immediate issue here: that the Verendryes naturally connected the Mandan with the *Missouri* river in referring to the latter as the *riviere des Mantannes.* When they visited it in 1738 they had no occasion to think of the Missouri river except as the habitat of the *Mantannes;* later on, when they came to consider the stream itself, its independent name naturally enough became a matter of consideration. Margry says the Tontis used the word "Emissourita" in 1684, and that Joutel in 1687 referred to the "Missouris;" many other forms of the word, in connection with the names of Indian tribes on the Missouri further south, as well as with the river itself, were in use later on. Is it at all improbable then, that the Verendryes, when they came to settle down with the Mandan as *Mantannes* after the elder Verendrye had returned to Canada in 1738-9 or even during the trans-Missouri trip, ascertained that the river was known as the "Missouri"? And this without their mentioning "les Missourys" in the journals before the time they deposited the plate?

In examining Mr. Libby's article, I can not help thinking that his reading of my paper, particularly where it deals with my treatment of the question of the location the first village reached by Verendrye near the Missouri in 1738, must have been extremely casual and incomplete. After stating that Verendrye took the latitude of the village and found it 48° 12′, north latitude, he says: "Ignoring this simple statement of fact, probably on account of the misleading name *Mantanne,*

5. Incidentally I may remark that Mr. Libby's supposition that practically all writers on the Mandan have taken Parkman's word regarding the Verendrye designation of Mantannes is likewise untenable, since all who desire have had access to these general sources. And why should it be doubted that Parkman, in his travels among the western Indians, had learned some things concerning the various originals I have mentioned,—and perhaps others also,—from which he may have formed ideas which in turn rendered his adoption of the word Mantannes more or less a matter of course? So far as I am concerned, I must disclaim having had any thought of relying especially upon Parkman, either in my study of the Mandan or in my presentation of the Verendrye visits to the Missouri river Indian.

De Land's map of Verendrye routes of 1738, and of 1742.

DE LAND'S MAP OF VERENDRYE ROUTES OF 1738, AND OF 1742

From the Mississippi Valley Historical Review vol. III no. 3, P. 381.

Parkman locates this village at the mouth of the Knife river, which is 47° 20′ north latitude, while DeLand and Robinson locate the village at the mouth of the Heart river, which is 46° 50′ north latitude. None of these authors explain why Verendrye could not perform the relatively simple task of ascertaining the correct latitude,'' etc.

If Mr. Libby had taken pains so much as to glance at my map[6] of the supposed Verendrye route from Fort La Reine to this village, he would have observed that I locate this first village, not on the Missouri *anywhere*—much less at the mouth of the Heart—but northeast of the Missouri and at a point on the west side of the southern loup of the Mouse river. And not only do I not ''ignore'' Verendrye's observation, but I expressly mention it in several places in my paper. On page 172 I say: ''But, if we are to credit the astronomical observation made by Verendrye's son five days later, as recorded by the explorer, this fort, wherever it stood as to longitude, was at 'forty-eight degrees, twelve minutes' in latitude. And that that expedition was now somewhere in the near neighborhood of the southern bend of the 'loup' of the Mouse river seems reasonably certain, from deductions, some of which we have already made, some of which we now make: The latitude is substantially five miles south of Minot, N. Dak.—and we believe it not improbable that the 'small river' of Verendrye's journal meant either the Mouse in this general locality, or some branch of it flowing from westward.''[7] On page 169 I say: ''Now, the 'small river' soon to be mentioned was not a branch of the Missouri, since it is some fifty miles southerly from the southern extremity of the 'loup' to Wolf Creek, some five miles north of Coal Harbor, North Dakota, where the Missouri turns from an easterly to a southerly course. Spring Creek is some fifteen miles further south and about seven miles above the mouth of Knife river. Painted Woods Creek is from 30 to 35 miles south of Spring Creek and about eight miles below Washburn, North Dakota. All these creeks are branches of and are on the easterly side of the Missouri.'' And, as reference to any map will show, Washburn is some forty-five miles north of Bismarck, which is opposite the mouth of the Heart.

I am all but surmising that Mr. Libby, in his hasty reading of my paper at this point, may have jumped to the conclusion that I regarded the ''small river'' of that journal as being the

6. This map comprehends the entire route, going and returning: the initial trip to this first village, on to the Missouri river bank, thence westward to the mountains, back to the Missouri where the tablet was deposited, thence northward to the place where the explorers crossed the Missouri west-bound, and thence to Fort La Reine. South Dakota historical collections, 7: opposite 96.

7. Ibid., 7: 172.

Missouri! Not that it would have been much if any worse to assume that the modest Mouse was the great Missouri than to suppose, as Mr. Libby does, that the "north fork of the upper Platte" near "the wooded slopes of the Laramie range in Colorado" was not improbably the Missouri! This is his assumption in endeavoring to render plausible the theory that the tablet was originally deposited out there at the verge of the mountains.

Time and lack of space forbid detailing my supposition as to where the Verendrye sons, in 1742, crossed the Missouri west-bound. Suffice it to say, that my map shows the crossing at Heart river, since I regarded it as being more probable that they crossed there than at the mouth of the Big Knife or thereabouts.

Again, it is quite probable that, as Mr. Libby asserts, there was an Indian tradition of an "Old Crossing" of the Missouri near the mouth of the Little Knife—some seventy-five miles by air-line northwest from the mouth of Big Knife—even though the alleged old village site by this crossing had itself been washed away leaving nothing in sight but "the old garden and the burial place." And his assumption that at "Old Crossing" the Verendryes set out for the "Western Sea" is based very largely upon the fact that from a nearby bluff an observer would see that the Missouri for some ten miles appeared to flow to the southwest. But if the river's "appearance of continuing its westerly course" prevailed with the explorers in setting out at "Old Crossing," why may not the fact that the Missouri again turns to southwest at the mouth of Wolf creek, some sixty-five miles by air-line southeast from "Old Crossing" and substantially due south from Minot, furnish a similar theory of the Verendrye's departure westward from that point? Or from still another bend to southwest about halfway down from Painted Woods creek to the mouth of the Heart? True, these two bends are shorter than that at "Old Crossing"; and I have not reconnoitered either bend. The point is that speculation will not substantially determine just where the Verendryes did cross.

But even supposing they did go westward from "Old Crossing" and not from farther down the Missouri? The Verendrye journal compels the historian to believe that the general course toward the mountains was not far from southwesterly. Mr. Libby himself assumes that the route "lay between the Yellowstone and the Little Missouri in a general southwest direction." Such also was my theory, as is indicated on my map showing both the shorter and the longer routes which I took as hypotheses when seeking to establish a probable conclusion as to how far westward the Verendryes proceeded. Surely it can make but very little difference whether they left the Missouri

at "Old Crossing," or at the Big Knife, or at the Heart, in determining how far to southwest they turned back after reaching a mountain somewhere. My deductions from the Verendrye journal, as shown by my map, bring the party to a point west of the upper Little Missouri, according to my theory of a longer march and a destination farther southwest then could have been reached according to my alternative theory of a shorter march and a destination in the Black Hills, South Dakota. The longer route brings the explorers to the westerly part of the bend of the Powder River, Wyoming, and to a point about sixty miles north-northwest from Wolcott, Wyoming, a town on the North Platte about midway between Casper and Fort Fetterman; this point on the North Platte is near the foot of the "Laramie range" referred to by Mr. Libby as the place where the Verendryes met the *Petite Cerise* (Little Cherries) and in the very locality where he supposes the tablet was deposited.

Let Mr. Libby take the Verendrye journal, compare it with my line of observation and reasoning regarding the distance traveled, the land marks noted by the explorers, the directions pursued, and the destination reached under my theory of the longer route, and then let him demonstrate, if he can that the Verendryes *went farther* southwest than I have indicated on my map and in the text of my paper. After spending weeks of time with maps old and new, military and civil, and with every sidelight that I was able to bring to my aid in addition to the journal itself; and after repeated conferences with Mr. Robinson upon many phases of the subject, I arrived at the conclusion indicated by my map in regard to the route of the Verendryes, first, in crossing from the Assiniboine to the Missouri in 1738, and second, in making the circuit from the Missouri to the mountains and back to the lower Missouri, and thence northward and homeward. In making my deduction under the long-distance theory I assumed that in going from the Missouri to "Horse Mountain," North Dakota, before they fell in with Indians with whom they traveled more or less continuously thereafter, the Verendryes traveled an average of fifteen miles per day, as compared with the nine or ten miles per day, to Red Butte, North Dakota, reckoned in the short-distance theory. After falling in with the Indians they traveled, on the supposed long-distance route, nine miles per day while actually en route; on the short-route theory I placed this daily mileage at six miles. Mr. Libby himself asserts that on the return trip, while they were with the *Gens de L'Arc*, the explorers "could not average more than five or six miles a day." But he makes this statement in endeavoring to establish the theory that the Verendrye could not have traveled back eastward from the neighborhood of "the foot of the *Big Horn range, Wyoming,* where they were camped with the *Gens de L'Arc,*

to the mouth of the Bad river in South Dakota," where the tablet was discovered, "from February 14 to March 19."

Mr. Libby, however, nowhere specifies, even substantially, where he believes the Verendryes were when they with the Little Bow band turned back from the "mountain" to which the journal refers. How much *farther* west than near the west side of the bend of the Powder river, where my map indicates I estimated they ended their westward journey, can it be fairly deduced from the journal and other data at hand that they did proceed? By Mr. Libby or any other investigator??

But unless he can do this, and can add some one hundred miles to the distance traveled westward, how is he or any other student of history able to account for the distance which the expedition covered from February 14 to March 19, supposing, as he does, that during that period the Verendryes proceeded eastward or southeastward *only as far as* "the north fork of the upper *Platte*" near the *Laramie mountains?* If they did not go farther west than the bend of the *Powder*, then they spent all that time in camping and in traveling substantially the sixty miles above referred to, and got but very little farther east than the point from which they had started after the scare by the "Snakes." Here let me remark that unless one adopts my theory that, if they got beyond the Black Hills west-bound, they probably reached a point somewhat to the southwest of that group, it can not be supposed that they came in contact with any part of the north fork of the Platte; since the journal says they proceeded "east-by-southeast" on their return from the mountains; if they touched the North Platte anywhere, then, it must have been close to the Laramie mountains, for that branch curves northeasterly between the Rattlesnake Hills and the Laramies and then flows substantially due southeast, so that it would not have been approached eastward from that curve by travelers coming from the west in a direction "east-by-southeast."

Now, in passing eastward from the village which I have termed the "baggage village," to which they rushed from the "mountain" to the Bow camp, the Verendryes spent twenty-nine days in actual travel.[8] Mr. Libby estimates the distance by air-line from "the foot of the Big Horn range," wherever that may be, to the mouth of Bad river, as 350 miles, and he adds another 100 miles for "inevitable detours." My own estimate, which I think is reasonable, is that the travel-distance from the "baggage village" (some fifty miles east of the southern end of the Big-Horn range proper) to that point on the Missouri, is 275 miles; this required an average daily travel of nine and one-

8. South Dakota historical collections, 7: 245.

half miles.[9] I am still by no means convinced however, that the Verendryes went any farther west than to near the northwest corner of the Black Hills range, some 175 miles west-northwest from the mouth of Bad river on the Missouri. Upon the theory of this shorter journey, the daily average distance covered would be only six miles.[10]

My objection to the theory that the explorers went as far west as the bend of the Powder river is intensified by two considerations: the difficulty in accounting for their covering the distance to the Missouri river, within the time consumed; and the fact that if they had gone west of the Black Hills, and then made a detour partly around and to the southward of those hills, their course would not have comported with the journal's statement of an "east-by-southeast" direction. Furthermore, according to that theory, they would certainly have discovered the Black Hills, the highest range on the continent east of the Rocky mountains proper; yet the journal makes no mention of their seeing a mountain after they receded from the "mountain" of the Snake Indians.

Although there are several other phases of Mr. Libby's paper which I would be inclined to criticize if space permitted, I will mention but one further consideration which tends to confirm the evidence, to my mind already conclusive, that the lead tablet was originally deposited at none other than the spot where it was discovered. I refer to additional evidences of a habitat of the Bow Indians on and in the vicinity of the Missouri river. After my study of the Verendrye expeditions was through the press, my attention was drawn to an old map, published at the end of Volume VII, *South Dakota Historical Collections* in 1914, and designated "Carte Du Missouri Levee ou Rectifiee dans toute son Etendue Par François Perrin du Lac, I An 1802." On this map of the Missouri river, at a point in what is now the state of Nebraska, and not far from opposite the line between Clay and Yankton counties, South Dakota, there is delineated a small creek flowing into the Missouri from southward; beside this stream are found the words "ancien village des petite arcs." We are further enlightened regarding this very village site by the account of Sergeant John Ordway, who was with the Lewis and Clark expedition. In his journal,[11] Ordway says: "We proceeded on to the mouth of little petark (French) little Bow (English) S. S. above the hill opposite to which we camped on N. S. at petite wave formerly an old Indian village." In a footnote it appears that this creek was named, "according to Clark, for an Indian chief, Petite Arc (or Little

9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Published in State historical society of Wisconsin, Collections (Madison, 1916), volume 22.

Bow), whose village was situated for a time at its mouth. Little Bow was an Omaha who seceded for a time from his tribe because of his dissatisfaction with Chief Blackbird. After the death of the latter Little Bow's band rejoined Blackbird's followers. The name Bow Creek still attaches to the stream, which lies in Cedar county, Nebraska. The camp this day was in South Dakota, near the boundary between Clay and Yankton counties."

This newly-published information, taken in connection with various facts concerning the Little Bow Indians dealt with in my paper, renders still more probable the theory that the Little Bow chief with whom the Verendryes traveled, was in their day, domiciled in the neighborhood of the Missouri river in what is now South Dakota; although the chief mentioned in the Ordway chronicle, being an Omaha, would not be classed as an Arikara or Ree. The Ordway account of the Little Bow village is borne out by the summary of the Omaha in the *Hand-book of American Indians*, [12] where the Omaha, in connection with the Ponca, are referred to as having come up the river to the vicinity of the Pipestone quarry, Minnesota. It is said of them: "They were driven back by the Dakota, and after the separation of the Ponca, who advanced into the Black hills, which occurred probably about 1650 at the mouth of the Niobrara r., the Omaha settled on Bow cr., Nebr., and may have already been there at the date of Marquette's map (1673)." Is it at all improbable that, after the Ponca had gone to the Black Hills, the Little Bow chief may have followed, and may have remained in that vicinity for some time? Or that he may have been the selfsame Little Bow with whom the Verendryes traveled down the Belle Fourche toward the Missouri?

Concluding: I regard as utterly untenable the theory of Mr. Libby that the Verendrye plate may have been deposited on the upper North Platte, and that it may not have been originally deposited where Hattie Foster found it on the gumbo knob on the site of Fort Pierre.

Orin G. Libby

The general aspects of the work of the elder Verendrye and his sons, and its special significance to the student both of history and geography will serve as sufficient reason for making a further contribution on the subject. Students of western history are necessarily but slightly interested in local controversies over the identification of a particular historic site. But any real contribution to the increasing volume of material on the work of one of the foremost explorers in the northwest is always welcomed as timely.

---

12. 2: 119.

The criticism in the foregoing pages of an article on Verendrye which appeared in the September number of the Review brings out two points very clearly. First that the article in question contains an obvious error in the interpretation of that part of the Verendrye journal of 1742-43, which gives the length of time used by the *Petite Cerise* in going from their winter to their summer quarters. The correction offered by Mr. Robinson on this point is gladly accepted by the author.[1] The second consideration involved in this criticism is, however, of more general application and seems to call for a fuller discussion, since it is of interest to all students of history.

The identification of Verendrye's *Mantannes* as Hidatsa and the discovery on the Missouri river of the village site visited by the Verendrye party in 1738 are of fundamental importance in any discussion of the route pursued by the Verendrye sons in 1742-43. If the direction taken by the Frenchman from this established point of departure is not in harmony with a possible termination of their trip at the mouth of the Bad river in South Dakota, this latter point must be abandoned in favor of some other terminus which will satisfy at least the geographical requirements of the recorded journey.

It is not necessary to repeat the evidence given in the discussion contained in my September article. It will suffice merely to say that it has been shown that while the Verendryes were acquainted with the Hidatsa and knew them as the *Mantannes*, they had not yet come into contact with any villages of the Mandan or the Arikara. These two latter tribes they knew only by reports which were given them by the *Mantannes*, who called them *Pananas* and *Pananis*, respectively. The Mantannes gave the elder Varendrye the further information that these two tribes built houses like themselves and that the nearest of the villages of the *Panana* was but day's journey from the southernmost of their own. Verendrye had his son ascertain the latitude of the *Mantanne* village, where he was at that time staying, and he gives it in the journal as 48° 12′. He also tells us that the second Mantanne village, discovered by his son on the banks of the Manton (Missouri) river, was distant only a

1. On page 151 of the September Review, by a stenographer's error, one important phrase was omitted from a sentence in the second paragraph, leaving it ambiguous and open to criticism. The sentence, with the omitted phrase in italics reads as follows: "Ignoring this simple statement of fact, probably on account of the misleading name Mantanne, Parkman locates this village, discovered by Verendrye's son, at the mouth of the Knife river, which is 47° 20′ north latitude, while De Land and Robinson locate the village at the mouth of the Heart river, which is 46° 50′ north latitude." Since the second Mantanne village was but a single day's journey from the one located at 48° 12′, it is apparent that it can not be correctly located so far south as either the mouth of the Knife river or the mouth of the Heart river.

day's journey. These facts are, again, in complete accord with the identification of the site of this second *Mantanne* village on the east side of the Missouri river at Old Crossing, about one mile south of the mouth of the Little Knife river and at the point where the new town of Sanish, McLean county North Dakota, has just been located, on the Fort Berthold reservation.

From this *Mantanne* village on the east bank of the Missouri river the two Verendrye sons in 1742 started on their journey in search of the western sea. If this conclusion is accepted from the evidence offered, it at once eliminates from the discussion any possibility of their having begun their westward journey from any of the historic Mandan villages either at the mouth of the Knife river or at the mouth of the Heart river, some forty miles still further south. In fact no evidence is yet forthcoming in support of the view that the Verendrye sons in 1742 ever visited any Indian villages at the mouth of either of these rivers.

From the journal of the Verendrye sons we find that they set out from the *Mantanne* village on the Missouri river July 23, 1742, and went west southwest for twenty days. This would bring them well into the country between the two rivers, the Little Missouri and the Yellowstone, and, at the moderate estimate of ten or twelve miles per day, some two hundred miles on their journey. Thus by the eleventh day of August they would have reached the country near the Yellowstone not far north of the present site of Miles City, Montana. Here they were delayed while waiting for guides till September 18, when they resumed their journey until they reached the tribe called *Gens de l'Arc* on November 21. Since September 18 they had come, according to their journal, two days in a southerly direction, three days southwest and seven days south southwest. This portion of the trip was more leisurely because of the frequent stops and the slow pace of the Indian villages that accompanied them at various stages of their journey. A new factor, which adds to the uncertainty as to their rate of travel, was introduced at the village of the *Gens de Chevaux*, for at this point they seem to have procured horses. Altogether they had traveled during these twelve days a distance of at least seventy-five miles, perhaps much more, and they would be, therefore, at a point approximately one hundred miles march from the Big Horn range, which lay to the southwest and about the same distance from the Black Hills at the southeast. The journal tells us next that after some delay they went with a war party of the *Gens de l'Arc* toward the mountains "sometimes south southwest and sometimes northwest."[2]

2. Pierre Margry, Decouvertes et etablissements des Français dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amerique septentrionale (Paris, 1888), 6: 603.

TRANS-MISSISSIPPI—FRENCH AND SPANISH 1600-1750.

Drawn under the supervision of Walter Prichard and Carlos E. Castanera.
The Verendrye routes drawn under the supervision of O. G. Libby.

On January 1, 1743, they came within sight of the mountains, the location of which is made difficult by the fact that we are not told how long the expedition was on the road nor the precise direction of the route, beyond the one fact that it was westerly. From the map it will be evident, however, that the mountains seen by the Verendrye sons can not have been the Black Hills and that by this time our travelers were well into the present state of *Wyoming*.

It is clear also that the mountains they report as having seen on the first of January were of considerable height for, from the time when they were first seen, it took some twenty days of alternate halting and marching to reach the base of the range.[3] There seems to be a fair degree of probability in concluding that they had come to the Big Horn range of the Rocky mountains in northern Wyoming. If the estimate of their rate of travel is too low it is possible that they may have gone even as far to the south as the Laramie mountains. Taking into account the relative longitude of the *Mantanne* village on the Missouri and the eastern edge of the Black Hills, would it have been possible for the Verendrye sons to go from this village over thirty days toward the southwest and yet come within sight of the Black Hills still to the west of them? More than this, it was not until twenty days after the mountains came into view (a period of time, perhaps not entirely spent in travel) that they arrived at the base of the range on their westerly course. Here are some fifty days of travel, mostly to the south and west, to be accounted for from their starting point at the *Mantanne* village. By reference to the accompanying map and from the record in the journal of the Verendrye sons, but one conclusion seems possible. The Frenchmen had been traveling the broken country far west of the Black Hills during the months of December and January and until February 14, 1743.

Their return trip from the mountains was begun some time after February 14 and led them for two weeks toward the east southeast.[4] After the first of March they left the *Gens de l'Arc* and went to join the *Petite Cerise*. At this point we lose again our compass directions and we are told merely that until March

3. The language of the journal is somewhat ambiguous at this point. "We continued our march until the 8th of January. On the 9th we quitted the village . . . The greater part of the company were on horseback and proceeded in good order; at last, on the twelfth day, we came to the mountains." The war party takes flight after coming to the first village of the enemy and the Chevalier retreats with them. "At last we arrived among the first of the villages of the Gens de l'Arc, on the 9th of February, the second day of our flight." Ibid., 6: 605, 606.

4. As already stated the Frenchmen had arrived at the first village of the Gens de l'Arc on February 9. The journal adds that the chief of the tribe arrived where they were five days after this date. Ibid., 6: 606.

19 Chevalier was leading his party to the fortified village of the *Petite Cerise*. Though we are left to conjecture the direction of their line of march, it would seem that they had already begun their return trip to Fort La Reine. The journal is somewhat ambiguous: "As we saw no prospect of getting anyone to take us to the Spaniards, and had no doubt that my father was very uneasy about us we made up our minds to set out for Fort La Reine, and quitted the *Gens de l'Arc* with great regret on both sides. On the 15th of March we arrived among the *Gens de la Petite Cerise.*"[5] If this much of the journal were taken by itself there would be little doubt in anyone's mind as to the direction of their route. Up to this point the journal plainly infers that from March first they were on their homeward journey and met the *Petite Cerise* after two weeks travel in that direction. If, therefore, there can be shown to exist serious difficulties with the Missouri river hypothesis, this part of their journey is in complete harmony with the theory that they never saw the Missouri until they reached the *Mantanne village*, at Old Crossing. The journal continues: "They *(Petite Cerise)* were returning from their winter quarters, and were two day's march from their fort which is on the banks of the Missouri. We reached their fort on the 19th and were received with great manifestations of joy."[6] Here is the most serious inconsistency in a record that otherwise can be harmonized with the geography of the region and with its own chronology throughout. This abrupt introduction of the Missouri river into the geography of a route so manifestly lying within a territory immediately east of the Big Horn mountains must be taken as somewhat questionable. It should be noted also that although the Frenchmen joined the *Petite Cerise* on the 15th of March, when the latter were two day's march from their fort, yet it was not until the 19th that the Chevalier speaks of their arrival there. In other words they made a two day's march in four days, moving even slower than the returning village of the *Petite Cerise*. This hardly comports with the theory of a forced march from the Big Horn mountains to the Missouri river but it is in harmony with the preceding portion of the journal describing the beginning of their return march. Since the journal does not specify the direction of the line of march of the *Petite Cerise* village, it is not improbable that it was in the same northerly direction as their own and therefore the Frenchmen could proceed in the leisurely fashion above described.

To return to the mention in the journal of the Missouri river, we may well question the testimony of the Chevalier at this point and inquire how his party was able to reach the banks

5. Ibid., 6: 608.
6. Ibid.

of the Missouri from the Big Horn range by a leisurely month's travel, half of which was spent in the company of the *Gens de l'Arc*. If the *Mantanne* village at Old Crossing on the Missouri is accepted as their starting point, by February 14 the direction of their route has led them into a region from which by no means of travel then known could they reach the Missouri river by March 19. Are we not justified in concluding, therefore, that the Chevalier was mistaken in his identification of the river he calls the Missouri? In 1738, it may be recalled, he reports the same river to his father as flowing west and in the journal of the elder Verendrye written in 1739, or later, the river is given as the *Manton*. Moreover, the sources of his information in 1743 as to the river he calls the Missouri were at best but meager. His party had come to the village of the *Petite Cerise* ignorant of the language of its inhabitants. He is aided in learning this language by the presence of a native who knew Spanish from having been brought up among that people. This Indian told the Chevalier that the road to the Spanish was overland and that it lay through the region frequented by the "Serpent tribe," the tribe from which the war party of the *Gens de l'Arc* had fled the previous month. There is no indication in these facts that the Chevalier obtained from this tribe any information regarding the Missouri river as a means of communication with either the Spanish or the French. Quite the contrary, what can be found in his journal at this point indicates a degree of unfamiliarity with Missouri river conditions in thorough keeping with all the details of the journey recorded up to this date. A people like the *Petite Cerise*, situated only a short distance from the dreaded "Serpent tribe" of the western mountains, would naturally be acquainted with the white settlements and the traders to the southwestward on the Santa Fe trail.

On the other hand they would be quite ignorant of those to the southeast along the Missouri and the upper Mississippi and in the valley of the Ohio. It is quite often overlooked that the French had made considerable advance into the Missouri river valley by the time that the Verendrye sons made their far western trip. Early in the century the upper Missouri country was coming to be known to the French, as it had been for a considerable time to the Spanish, as a desirable trading area worth a good deal of effort to retain permanently. As a defense against both the English and the Spanish, Fort de Chartres on the Mississippi river, twenty leagues below the mouth of the Missouri, was built about 1720 and soon after 1748 it had become the most important French post in the west.[7]

7. Clarence W. Alvord and Clarence E. Carter, The critical period, 1763-1765 (Illinois historical collections, vol. 10—Springfield, 1915), xxx and note 1.

The attempt of a considerable Spanish force to close the lower Missouri to the French in 1721, an attempt which resulted in the massacre of their whole party by the Indians, is a clear indication of the growing importance of this region. Parkman tells us that in 1704 more than a hundred Canadians were said to be scattered in small parties along the Mississippi and the Missouri and that as early as 1705 one trader claimed he had been far up the Missouri river and visited many of the Indian tribes on the way.[8] He speaks, also, of a trader, Du Tisne, who went up the Missouri river in 1719 to a point considerably above Grand river, and later in the year visited the Osage and the Pawnee, returning to the Illinois district near the close of the year.[9] This brought him as far north as the Republican Fork, a tributary of the Kansas river, where Truteau in 1795 mentions that a division of the Pawnee was located.[10] Three years later a Frenchman named Bourgmont built Fort Orleans on the north side of the Missouri river, opposite the site of the present town of Malta Bend, Saline county, Missouri. From this post in 1724, Bourgmont led an expedition to the west and southwest, meeting and councilling with the representative chiefs of the Omaha, Kansa, Oto, Iowa, Osage, Missouri and Comanche or Padoucas. His council with the Comanche was held not far from the present site of Dodge City, Kansas, on the Arkansas river. At this council a treaty of alliance was made with this powerful tribe and Bourgmont attempted to bring about peace between this tribe and those at the northeast, with which the French were already confederated. So much impressed was the principal chief of the Comanche by all that he saw of the French at this conference that he compared the Spanish to a handful of dust while his new friends, he said, were like the sun itself.[11] Some years after this, Fort Orleans was attacked by a band of warriors from a neighboring tribe and the entire garrison was massacred.

But the knowledge the French had of the Missouri river was not confined to the reports from Du Tisne and Bourgmont. Parkman says: "The French had at this time (1723) gained a knowledge of the tribes of the Missouri as far up as the Arickaras, who were not, it seems, many days journey below the

8. Francis Parkman, A half century of conflict (Boston, 1899), 1: 354, citing Bienville au ministre, 6 September, 1704, and Beaurain, Journal historique.

9. Parkman, A half century of conflict, 1: 358, citing Margry, Decouvertes et etablissements des Français dans . . . l'Amerique septentrionale, 6: 309, 310, 313.

10. For a reprint of the Truteau journal, see American historical review, 11: no. 2.

11. Parkman, A half century of conflict, 1: 366, citing Margry Decouvertes et etablissements des Français dans . . . l'Amerique septentrionale, 6: 398.

Yellowstone, and who told them of 'prodigiously high mountains' evidently the Rocky Mountains."[12] We next hear of the French explorations in this quarter in 1739, when two traders named Mallet let a party up the Missouri and Platte rivers to the south fork of the latter stream. From here their course was west and southwest across the Arkansas river till they reached Santa Fe. On their return in 1740 three of the party crossed the plains and stopped at the villages of the Pawnee.[13] In the *Handbook of American Indians* it is stated that the French traders were established among the Pawnee before the middle of the 18th century.[14] On an old map of Louisiana, dated 1720, the point farthest north reached by French explorers is indicated as being a short distance down stream from the Omaha nation who are set down as "Mahas, a Wandering Nation."[15]

The evidence thus presented makes it clear that from New Orleans and from the nearer posts in the Illinois district, the French explored and traded as far north along the Missouri river as the Platte river and up to the forty-second parallel. Fort Orleans was built to check the Spanish and to extend the influence of the French north and west. Accordingly, trade relations were established or treaties of alliance were concluded with tribes as far west as the Comanche on the upper Arkansas and as far north as the Pawnee of the Republican Fork. The French were even in touch with the Arikara, an offshoot of the Pawnee, and on friendly terms with them. And this activity had a distinct aim, the supplanting of the Spanish influence and the establishment of trade relations with the tribes in this extensive region. In view of what the French had accomplished by 1742, when the Verendryes set out on their journey to the southwest, is it at all probable that they could have come within the sphere of influence of the royal province of Louisiana and the district of Illinois and not have heard more of French prowess in peace and war and of French traders and their posts? If the Verendrye sons penetrated what is now South Dakota and reached the Missouri at the mouth of Bad river,

12. Parkman, A half century of conflict, 1: 360, citing Memoire de la Renaudiere, 1723. The state historical society of North Dakota has recently discovered an ancient village site of the Arikara, dating well into the eighteenth century, located on the upper portion of the Knife river, near the present site of Beulah, North Dakota. This discovery completely confirms the evidence given in the above quotation.

13. Parkman, A half century of conflict, 1: 367, citing Margry, Decouvertes et etablissements des Français dans . . . l'Amerique septentrionale, 6: 455-468.

14. Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico, edited by F. W. Hodge (Smithsonian institution, bureau of American ethnology, bulletin 30—Washington, 1907-1910), 2: 214.

15. John Senex's "Map of Louisiana and the river Mississippi," a reproduction of an old map 1720.

they would be in close touch with the sedentary tribes of the Missouri, both to the north and to the south. One of these, the Pawnee, was already on good terms with the French, was trading regularly with them and had entertained more than one party of French explorers previous to this. If the *Petite Cerise* actually lived as a sedentary people on the Missouri river it is quite inconceivable that the members of that tribe should be ignorant of the powerful French nation to the southeast who were friends and allies of the Pawnee and of neighboring Missouri river tribes. It was certainly no fear of enemies that prevented the *Petite Cerise* from trading at the French winter posts among the Pawnee. The French government had been exerting itself to the utmost for over twenty years in order to smooth the way for the development of trade among all the tribes along this great highway and westward up the principal tributaries of the Missouri. But though the Chevalier spent two weeks at their village and learned their language so as to be able to communicate with them, yet he heard nothing of the achievements of his own people in what must be regarded as a striking example of the capacity of the French to make their way among the Indians. Instead of hearing of French soldiers, French posts, and French traders, he is told of a single Frenchman at a few days march from the village, who had resided there many years. Yet as far north as the *Mantanne* village at Old Crossing they are shown utensils made from the horns of Spanish cattle. But here, within the reach of the French traders among the Pawnee, not a single piece of French goods is displayed or observed by them throughout their two weeks stay at the village of the *Petite Cerise*. The Chevalier hears among the *Gens de l'Arc* the story of the destruction of the Spanish by the Missouri Indians in 1721, but nowhere is he told of the equally striking massacre of the French garrison at Fort Orleans, many leagues farther up the Missouri.

Again, it is manifest from internal evidence that the journal of the Verendrye sons in 1742-43 is not the record of a journey among the sedentary Indians of the Missouri valley. It is not possible to fit their narrative into what we know of the Arikara immediately north of the Pawnee and in full connection with them. The absence of any knowledge of the near-by French and their ubiquitous trading operations makes it impossible to identify the *Petite Cerise* as a tribe of Indians on the Missouri river. On the other hand, from the time the Verendryes first reach the *Mantanne* villages until their return trip from the *Petite Cerise*, the two journals make constant reference to a white people who are undoubtedly the Spanish. Their crops, their houses, their weapons and armor, their manufactures of cloth and iron, their herds of cattle are all mentioned again and again in the journal of the elder Verendrye. In the journal

of the sons we notice the same familiarity with the Spaniard and a similar enumeration of points of interest to the tribe. The chief of the *Gens de l'Arc*, besides mentioning the massacre of the Spanish in 1721, repeats to the Chevalier some words of a prayer which he recognizes as Spanish. At the village of the *Petite Cerise* one member of the tribe had learned Spanish from having been brought up among them. It is evident from these facts that all the Indians, among whom the Chevalier's party had been journeying in 1742-43, lived in regions belonging to the Spanish sphere of influence. This would locate the *Gens de l'Arc* and the *Petite Cerise* as tribes living west of the Black Hills and east of some range of the Rocky mountains like the Big Horn or Laramie range. This region, unlike the Missouri valley, had been dominated by the Spanish traders of Santa Fe from early times. Though this Spanish trading center was far south of Fort de Chartres in the Illinois district, at about 36° north latitude, yet its traders were able to penerate far to the north across the upper waters of western tributaries of the Mississippi. On the early map of Louisiana already referred to in note 15, the following notation occurs at the upper course of a river probably intended for the Platte but given as the Missouri: "The Indians say that near this place the Spaniards ford the River on Horseback going to treat with some Nations lying to the Northwest whence they bring Yellow Iron as they call it."

While, therefore, the French were able to keep the Spanish from the lower part of the Missouri valley, the latter had no difficulty in maintaining their trading supremacy over the extensive territory north of Santa Fe as far as the Yellowstone. Into this area of Spanish trade the Verendrye sons found their way in 1742 and they do not appear to have left it throughout their entire journey.

Having presented at some length the geographical and historical grounds for holding that the Chevalier was mistaken in his identification of the Missouri river, we may next consider in detail the evidence offered in support of the hypothesis that the Verendrye sons reached the Missouri river. *The Gens de l'Arc* are held to be sedentary Indians principally from the fact that their chief promised the Chevalier that his village would come and grow corn at a place which he designated. But this easily given promise might merely indicate the desire and policy of the French to induce wandering tribes to settle permanently in an established locality. Again, the fact that the French called the village of the *Petite Cerise* a "fort" does not necessarily imply a sedentary life for the tribe and the possession of elaborate earth houses like the *Mantannes* and their neighbors to the south. For such a conclusion there is no evidence anywhere in the journal; sedentary life has merely been

assumed for these tribes as being in harmony with their supposed residence on the Missouri river. All that is positively known of the tribes visited by the Verendrye sons is that they lived within the Spanish trading area and were unacquainted with the French in the Missouri valley. Beyond this meager information we are compelled to wait for an expert opinion from some ethnologist who has made a special study of the tribes in this entire region. The material given in the Verendrye journals is invaluable for the purposes of identification but it must be interpreted by one thoroughly conversant with the culture and language of the tribes who lived at this time within the boundaries of the present states of Wyoming, South Dakota, Montana, and North Dakota, and who has, besides, an intimate acquaintance with the geographical names then in use among these various tribes. For this task the bureau of American ethnology has at its disposal a considerable force of scientists whose training fits them for such investigations. It is to be hoped that in the near future we may profit by their expert knowledge in the further interpretation of the Verendrye journals.

It is further held as proof that the Verendrye sons reached the Missouri river that they mention a tribe they meet, "Gens de la Fleche Collee otherwise called Sioux of the Prairies." Whether or not this tribe was a member of the well known Dakota group has yet to be determined. But granting that the Chevalier did meet some members of a Dakota tribe on his return trip, this fact will be of very little assistance in determining his route. From the *Handbook of American Indians* we learn that the date of the entrance of the Dakota into the Black Hills is about 1765 and that before 1750 some of the Dakota had found their way to the western side of the Missouri river.[16] These facts regarding the permanent residence of the Dakota make it easy to account for the single wandering village of the "Sioux of the Prairies" met by the French in 1743. From a discussion by Mallery on the "Dakota Winter Counts" we learn that this tribe warred upon the Arikara, stealing their horses and killing their hunters as early as 1713.[17] The Arikara were a sedentary tribe on the Missouri and therefore it is not inconceivable that occasional camps of the Dakota were to be encountered ranging far to the west of this river thirty years later.

The Missouri river hypothesis has been proved to be quite untenable from every standpoint. But in order to get the evidence more clearly before us, let it be supposed that we have traced the route of the Verendrye sons from their starting point, putting into the line of march a sufficient number of variations

16. Handbook of American Indians, 1: 376.

17. Bureau of American ethnology, Tenth report (Washington, 1893), 296 ff.

from the recorded direction so as to bring the Frenchmen at the end of their journey well east of the Black Hills and within an easy two weeks' march of the Missouri river. We have still the greater difficulty of marking out the line for their return march from the mouth of Bad river. In traveling over the prairie the Chevalier seems to have used the compass regularly to record his general line of travel for later use. If he had reached the Missouri and recognized it as the *Manton* river which he saw in 1738, he would conceivably make the return journey along the banks to his starting point on the same river. Even Parkman, the first writer to make use of this hypothesis, takes it for granted that since the Frenchmen reached the Missouri river, they would return along its course on their way back. But if the Chevalier took this very obvious course, why does no mention of it occur in his journal? He is at considerable pains to make a record of each change of compass direction from day to day. Surely he could hardly overlook so important a fact in his record as the course of a great river which led him to his destination. The care he has shown in other points of his journal to set down important entries makes this omission all the more inexplicable. Again, he says specifically that after leaving the *Fleche Collee* they met no one on their return to the *Mantanne* village. If the march were made along the course of the Missouri river, on either side, even at a distance of ten or fifteen miles, they would certainly have come into contact with the inhabitants from one or more of the Arikara and Mandan villages along both banks of the river. The buffalo migration would be under way by April, the month in which the larger part of their journey was performed. From the villages along the Missouri hunters would be ranging far and wide in search of game to replenish their depleted supplies. The least we could expect for the record of such a journey would be that it must contain some mention of the four other larger *Mantanne* villages which were reported to Verendrye as being farther down the river from the one toward which he was journeying. On his outward journey the Chevalier was careful to record that he met successively the *Gens des Chevaux*, the *Beaux Hommes*, the *Pioya*, the *Gens de la Belle Riviere*, the *Gens de l'Arc*, the *Gens du Serpent*, and the *Gens de la Petite Cerise*, seven tribes in all. On the return he records but one, at the very beginning of the journey, though his supposed route was through a well-peopled area. By traveling wholly by night his party might have been able to avoid meeting anyone along the course of the Missouri but no mention is made of such extraordinary precautions. If he had traveled on the east side of the river he would have exposed his party to an attack by the Dakota. After he had arrived at the *Mantanne* village on his return he still thought it necessary to travel in

company with a considerable body of Assiniboin to protect him from the Dakota while on his way to Fort La Reine. But apparently he takes no such precautions and has no adventures. The conclusion seems unavoidable that the Chevalier did not travel along the Missouri river on his return trip and that therefore he did not reach its banks at all.

In thus pointing out mistakes of fact in the journal of both of the Verendryes there is, of course, no intention to question their probity or their standing with their fellowmen. The requirements of the discussion, however, make it necessary to examine all their evidence with the greatest care and to point out obvious errors of judgment or of fact where such seem to occur. No observer is infallible in recording his observations and the Verendryes were certainly no exception to the rule.

The evidence offered in the September article of this Review and the further elaboration of its main contentions in the present paper make it quite unnecessary to discuss again various points of detail connected with the Missouri river hypothesis. How the lead plate came to be buried on a hill near the mouth of Bad river, and the probable name and location of the stream that the Chevalier misnames the Missouri are merely points of interest, not at all essential to the discussion as it now stands. The suggestions made in my former article on these points are still pertinent, however, based as they are on a knowledge of Indian nature and the evidence drawn from the journal. In what condition we could expect to find a stone pile, heaped up over the earth recently dug up for the burial of a lead plate, after a century and a half of exposure on a bare butte must necessarily be a matter for a geologist to determine. But this question, like two preceding queries, is so purely local that the general student might well be pardoned for leaving these details to be argued out at length by those to whom they are still the all-important considerations.

To summarize briefly the ground covered, it has been shown that the Verendrye sons in 1742-43 traveled over a course which did not take them within range of the sedentary tribes on the Missouri river and that during their trip they remained in the area clearly dominated by the Spanish traders from Santa Fe, and lastly, that by no interpretation of the journal record kept by the Chevalier could he have conducted his party on their return trip along the course of the Missouri river to their point of departure from the *Mantanne* village at Old Crossing. If the net result of the discussion of this whole problem will be to arouse a new interest in the larger questions involved in the Verendrye explorations the purpose of the writer will have been amply accomplished.

THE EXPLORATIONS OF VERENDRYE AND HIS SONS*

By WARREN UPHAM

Discovery of the Rocky Mountains

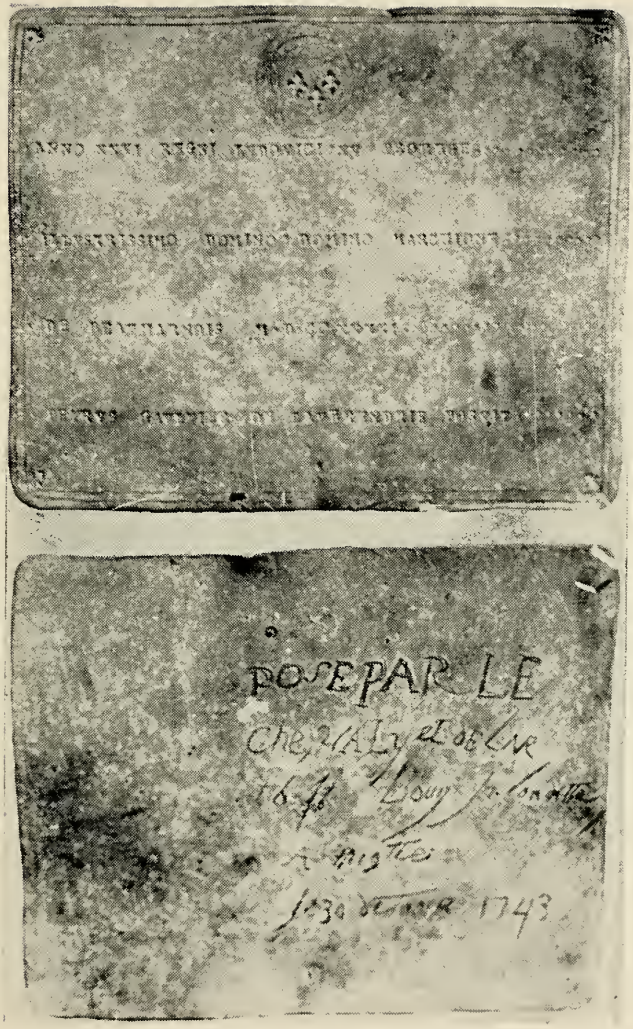
. . . A very satisfactory manuscript discussion of the route of the farthest western expedition of the sons of Verendrye, crossing the plains from the Missouri River to the Rocky Mountains, with platting of the courses as narrated, has been supplied to the Minnesota Historical Society from a corresponding member, the late Captain Edward L. Berthoud of Golden, Colorado. This manuscript was received through the kindness of another member, Mr. Olin D. Wheeler of St. Paul, author of an important historical work in two volumes entitled *The Trail of Lewis and Clark*.

Captain Berthoud, following the narrative in Margry's *Memoirs and Documents*, shows that quite surely the Verendrye sons came, by southwest and south-southwest marching, from the villages of the Mandans on the Missouri River to the Big Horn Mountains. They first got a distant view of the mountains, as the journal given by Margry tells us, on New Year's Day of 1743. On January 21, in a great war party of the Indians of the plains for attacking their hereditary enemies, the Shoshone or Snake Indians, at one of their great winter encampments, the Verendryes reached the foot of the mountains, which, as the journal says, "are for the most part well wooded, and seem very high."

If they went in this war raid around or alongside the north part of the Big Horn range, they may have passed beyond the Big Horn River, coming to the Shoshone camp near the stream now known as the Shoshone River, tributary to the Big Horn River from the west; so that the mountains near whose base was the camp of the Snake Indians would be the Shoshone Mountains, close to and southeast of the Yellowstone Park. Probably their extreme advance, to the Snake Indian camp, was somewhere in the foothills of the lofty and extended Big Horn range; and if they went beyond that range, I think that it was only to the Shoshone Mountains.

The route of their return was eastward to the Missouri River, as narrated in the journal, and thence northward up the west side of the Missouri, to the Mandan villages, from which the expedition had started. This part of the journey is not considered in Captain Berthoud's manuscript. Both the routes of the outward march and the return are well discussed by Parkman in his work of two volumes, *A Half Century of*

*Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association 1907-1908, pp. 52-53.



LA VERENDRYE PLATE*

"Placed by Chevalier De La Verendrye, Lo (Louis) Jost (Joseph) Verendrye, Louis La Londette and A. Miotte, The 30 March 1743"

Leaden Plate buried by Chevalier De La Verendrye, March 30, 1743. French inscription as agreed upon by Benjamin Sulte, Ambassador Jusserand, Miss Louise Kellogg, and the South Dakota historical society.

---

*From the Mississippi Historical Review vol. III, no. 3, December 1916, P. 373.

Conflict, published in 1892. Volume II, in pages 29-58, with a sketch map of the routes going to the Rocky Mountains and returning east to the Missouri as recorded in the journal printed by Margry, gives a very vivid account of this whole expedition. . . .

THE VERENDRYE PLATE*

By DOANE ROBINSON

On February 16th, 1913, a mild winter day, a party of school children were playing upon the first considerable eminence near the bank of the Missouri River, above the mouth of the Bad or Teton River. The eminence referred to is within the limits of the city of Fort Pierre, South Dakota. Harriet Foster, a girl fourteen years of age, observing a bit of metal protruding from the earth, placed the toe of her shoe under it and pried it out of its resting place. Her companion, George O'Reilly, a lad of fifteen years, observing something written upon the metal, picked it up and carried it to his father.

Thus was discovered after a period of one hundred and seventy years the plate deposited by the Verendrye brothers on March 30, 1743, as evidence of their taking possession of all of the region west of the Mississippi for the King of France.

The Verendrye plate is about one-eighth of an inch in thickness and upon the obverse bears this inscription in Latin:

Anno XXVI Regni Lvdovici XV Prorege
Illvstrissimo Domino Domino Marchione
De Beauharnois M D CC XXXXI
Petrvs Gavltier De Laverendrie Posvit

These lines, freely translated, would read:

(This plate was) deposited in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Louis XV, for the King and the most illustrious Lord, Marquis de Beauharnois, in the year 1741, (by) Pierre Gaultier de La Verendrie.

Moreover, it would seem that the plate had been prepared for deposit before the party left Canada, that owing to delays upon the way it had not been used, by several years, as soon as had been expected, and that the elder Verendrye had been disappointed in himself not making the claim of the region.

On the reverse the plate bears this inscription rudely scratched with the point of a knife:

Pose parle
Che valyet de Lar

*Proceedings of The Mississippi Valley Historical Association 1913-1914, pp. 244-248.

to st Louy La Londette
A Miotte
Le 30 de Mars 1743
These lines, freely translated, would read:
Deposited by Chevalier de La Verendrye,
Touissant Louis La Londette,
A Miotte,
The 30th of March 1743

At all events this is the rendering of M. Jusserand, the French Ambassador. Other French scholars have interpreted the abbreviations in the third line of the inscription to be a contraction of temoin, a word signifying witness. Personally I have a conviction that it in some way designates Louis Verendrye, the youngest son of the explorer. Benjamin Sulté has been unable to identify either Londette or Miotte among the habitant families of Canada.[1]

Even of greater interest than the finding of the plate itself are the regions explored by the young men west of the Missouri; and so in this connection I will hastily review their journey of 1742-1743.

In the spring of 1742 Pierre Verendrye, the elder, found himself for the second time at Fort La Reine (the present site of the city of Portage La Prairie, Manitoba) for the purpose of pursuing his explorations to the Pacific, by way of the Mandans, whom he had visited four years before. For some reason —perhaps ill health he did not start on the trip but dispatched his third son, François (known as the Chevalier), who was accompanied by his youngest brother, Louis-Joseph, and two Frenchmen. It has been generally assumed that the second son (the oldest living), Pierre, was the Chevalier who led this expedition; but Messrs. Jusserand, Sulté and Lawrence J. Burpee are fully agreed that François was the Chevalier, and that he was accompanied by his younger brother, Louis. They were respectively twenty-eight and twenty-six years of age. It is supposed that one of the Frenchmen who accompanied them was identical with the man left by Verendrye with the Mandans to learn that language in the winter of 1738-1739. . . .

1. Since the foregoing was written, Dr. Benjamin Sulté, together with Mr. DeLand and the writer, have adopted the view first suggested by Dr. Louise Kellogg of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, that the abbreviations in the third line of the French inscription above are "Lo Jos." and stand for "Louis Joseph." Mr. Sulté has found a habitant family named "LaLonde", one member of which was in the West at the time of the expedition of 1742, and he suggests that LaLondette is LaLonde plus the diminutive "ette". As to "A Miotte" Mr. Sulté says: "A. Miotte may easily be Amiot, Amyot, or Amyotte, the name of a Quebec family anobile par Louis XIV, and always notable. One of them, Jean, was a merchant of Quebec in those days."

LETTER OF THOMAS S. TWISS, INDIAN AGENT AT DEER CREEK, U. S. INDIAN AGENCY ON THE UPPER PLATTE

Deer Creek, Nebraska Territory, August 16, 1859*

Sir: The undersigned, United States Indian agent of the Upper Platte, begs leave respectfully to make to the honorable the Commissioner of Indian Affairs a special report on the present condition and aspect of affairs in the Indian country, in relation to the wild tribes up the prairies and the mountains, embraced within the limits of the Upper Platte agency.

In submitting these views for your information and guidance in the conduct and policy of our intercourse with these tribes, I am animated solely with a desire to prevent their utter extinction, and also to preserve and strengthen those peaceful relations now happily subsisting between these nomadic tribes and the United States government, and to present, for your grave and careful consideration, facts and certain conditions of things, now in process, of rapid development, the clear and obvious tendency of which is to interrupt, in a very short period of time, this state of repose and tranquillity, and involve the scattered white population in all of the horrors and calamities of an Indian war.

The facts to which I would call your attention are simply these, viz: The state of the Indian mind among the wild tribes is one of extreme suspicion in all matters relating to the preservation of game, their only means of subsistence; and when it disappears the Indian must perish. Hence it has happened that, in some parts of the prairie country, the Indians have stopped white people, and even United States topographical parties, when they have endeavored to penetrate to their hunting grounds, and have turned them back, pretty roughly too, for fear that the buffalo would be destroyed or scared away, and never return again. The Indians entertain a superstitious belief that the buffalo will not return to the same place again where he may have scented the white man. This is all fallacy, of course, and it is only stated as a fact to show the bias of the Indian mind, and its tendency and readiness to adopt error, and to cling to it persistently and perseveringly. The Indian is not sufficiently enlightened to know any better. However that may be, it is clearly evident that the buffalo is rapidly disappearing from his usual feeding grounds; and, for the truthfulness of this statement, I appeal to the evidence, derived from observation and experience, of every white man who may have resided in the Indian country, or traveled over the great

*This part of Nebraska Territory became Wyoming.

emigrant trail during the last six years. This noble game no longer covers the valleys of the North Platte and its tributaries, and makes the prairie appear black, as formerly, as far as the eye could scan the horizon; but is found, in small bands only, on the Republican and Loup Fork, L'eau qui Court, White river, Cheyenne Water, and the Yellowstone, very far distant for the tribes of Indians of this agency. The smaller game, the antelope and deer, is found along the foot-hills of the mountains, while the elk and mountain sheep flee to their more distant peaks, to escape from the white man's rifle.

I would state another fact bearing upon this question of the preservation of game, which in the most favorable seasons affords only a scanty and precarious supply of food, to show with what jealous care the wild tribes watch over it, and dread the ingress of strangers, who may be compelled to hunt this same game for food, and thereby cause it to diminish more rapidly than otherwise in the ordinary course of events. These wild tribes have heard that all of the Indian tribes to the eastward of them have ceded their lands to the United States, except small reservations; and hence, by an Indian's reasoning, in a few years these tribes will emigrate further west, and, as a matter of necessity, occupy the hunting grounds of the wild tribes, and cause thereby a rapid decrease in the number of buffalo. In combatting this idea, which has taken possession of the Indian mind, and is causing much irritation and excitement against both the whites and those tribes who have ceded away their lands, the Indian agent of the Upper Platte, in council with the chiefs of the Sioux tribes, in September last, was put down and most effectually silenced by one of the chiefs, by the following narration of facts and events, which are all comprehended in a very short period of time, within my own memory, as they date back only about thirty years.

The Sioux chief said: "When I was a young man, and I am now only fifty years old, I traveled, with my people, through the country of the Sac and Fox tribe, to the great water Minne Tonkah, (Mississippi,) where I saw corn growing, but no white people. Continuing eastward, we came to the Rock River valley, and saw the Winnebagoes, but no white people. We then came to the Fox River valley, and thence to the Great Lake, (Lake Michigan,) where we found a few white people in the Pottawatomie country. Thence we returned to the Sioux country, at the Great Falls, (Irara or St. Anthony,) and had a feast of green corn with our relations, who resided there. Afterwards, we visited the pipe clay quarry, in the country of the Yancton Sioux, and made a feast to the 'great medicine,' and danced the 'sun dance;' and then returned to our hunting grounds on the prairie. And now our 'father' tells us the white man will never settle on our lands and kill our game; but see!

the whites cover all of these lands that I have just described, and also the lands of the Poncas, Omahas, and Pawnees. On the south fork of the Platte the white people are finding gold, and the Arapahoes and Cheyennes have no longer any hunting grounds. Our country has become very small, and, before our children are grown up, we shall have no more game."

The Sioux chief stated pretty accurately the condition of things now in process of rapid development, which threaten the utter extinction of the wild tribes, by destroying the game on which they depend for subsistence.

This great wave of emigration to the prairie west is moving onward with greatly increased velocity. It is beyond human power to retard or control it, nor would it be wise to do so, even were it possible.

This process of development, this law of Anglo-Saxon progress, is a necessity and a consequence of, and flowing directly from, our free institutions, which, in their strength, purity, and beauty, tend to stimulate and bring forth the vast resources of agriculture, mineral and commercial wealth, within the boundaries of our great empire.

Hence it is that the savage, the wild hunter tribes, must give way to the white man, who requires his prairie hunting grounds for the settlement and homes of millions of human beings, where now only a few thousand of rude barbarians derive a scanty, precarious, and insufficient subsistence; and where, by improved methods in agriculture, and an application of labor-saving machinery, these millions may be fed and clothed, and add, yearly, to our great staples and products of national and individual wealth.

I have stated, thus briefly, a few of the leading facts, and the condition of things, now in process of rapid development, as at present existing in the Indian country, and which have a tendency to irritate, excite, and exasperate the Indian mind, and fill it with alarm and jealousy to such a degree that an interruption to our friendly relations with the wild tribes may occur at any moment.

With a view to allay this excitement, calm this irritation, and to remove all cause or source of uneasiness, alarm, or misapphension in the future, I beg leave, respectfully, to make some suggestions, and offer some plans for your consideration, by the adoption of which, either in part or in whole, or in some modified form, or others similar to them, I feel confident in the opinion that these wild Indian tribes may be rescued from utter extinction, and in due time may be brought into such a state of domestication as to be in a condition to raise corn and support themselves by their own labor and industry.

It will require time to accomplish this very desirable and philanthropic object, in order to teach and instruct the Indian in the agricultural and mechanical arts. It will, likewise, require an immediate appropriation, and the selection of faithful and competent servants to begin operations; for whatsoever is done, or intended to be done, should be commenced at once, or with as little delay as possible. In view of all the circumstances, and the difficulties surrounding the subject-matter, I would propose the following plan, viz:

1st. That the chiefs and principal men of all the wild tribes of the prairies and the mountains should be invited to a great council, at a point convenient, central, and neutral. The object of said council, shall be to ascertain clearly the state, condition, and wants of the Indians, and when certain definite stipulations and agreements on the part of the United States shall be made with them: provided, always, and on this express condition, that they cordially agree to settle permanently on reservations, and devote themselves to labor for their own subsistence.

2d. In order to preserve the buffalo from destruction for a little time, and until such time as the Indian may have learned to raise corn, it is recommended that the privilege of trading with the Indians by a license, granted to white persons, be suspended from the year 1860, until such time thereafter as it may be deemed proper to restore it.

3d. That missionary and manual labor schools be encouraged by appropriating a limited sum annually.

4th. That a physician be employed to reside with each tribe permanently.

5th. That a blacksmith and carpenter, and one or more farmers, be appointed for each tribe, and continue in service at the discretion of the President of the United States. In regard to the necessity of holding a "great council," in which all of the wild tribes shall be represented and present, it may be stated, that it is intended and proposed, to prevent all jealousies and misconception on the part of the different tribes as to the views and wishes of the United States government, and to show that it is held for the benefit of all the tribes. Sufficient and ample time should be taken for mature and careful deliberation, and nothing essential should be omitted or hurried over. The Indian is a creature of forms and ceremonies, and in all of his business transactions acts slowly and with cautions deliberation. Every stipulation and agreement, therefore, should be carefully stated, and then written and read in council; and no promises made, unless they are carried into effect forthwith, or initiatory steps begun, to prove to the Indians that everything is undertaken with earnestness and truthfulness.

It is necessary and important, according to the customs and habits of the Indians, that a present of suitable magnitude for the occasion, consisting of clothing and provisions, should be given to the chiefs and principal men who are assembled at the council; and that an annuity in provisions, clothing, and useful articles of prime necessity, for a certain number of years, at the discretion of the President, should be given to the tribes in proportion to their numbers. That in making provision for one or more farmers, blacksmith, carpenter, and physician on the reservation of each tribe, it is made with the express condition and understanding, that unless the Indians will devote themselves to labor, and cultivate their several allotments of land, after a reasonable length of service as apprentices, these are all to be withdrawn, and the annuities terminated.

In consideration of the above stipulations, agreements, and promises duly performed on the part of the United States, the chiefs, for and in behalf of their respective tribes, shall cede to the United States all of their lands, except such reservations as each tribe shall designate, which shall be surveyed, and proper boundaries marked, at the expense of the United States.

With this very brief outline, which, I am aware, is crude and imperfect, I submit the grave and important questions involved to your serious and deliberate consideration, and request that you will be pleased to take such action in the premises as you may deem proper and best for all the parties, at the earliest and most convenient time, for on this prompt and decisive action depend the lives and well being of many thousands of your red children in these distant prairies and mountains.

I have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully, your most obedient servant,

THOMAS S. TWISS,
U. S. Indian Agent, Upper Platte.

Hon. A. B. Greenwood,
Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Wyoming Scrapbook

(Letter from E. E. Robinson, Station Agent of Lookout Station, Union Pacific Railroad, in which he vividly describes the blizzard of 1872 in Wyoming.)

Lookout Station,
Feb. 26, 1872.

Dear Friends:

You probably have been wondering for the past two months why you have not received a letter from me. You have probably seen accounts in the eastern papers of the great snow storms, and the Blockade of the Union Pacific Railroad this winter? Well, we have had one which will be remembered for years to come, on account of its severity and long duration. Whittier's "Snow Bound" is good but if J. G. could have spent this winter in rusticating among the wilds of Wyoming, and among the barrens of the Rockies he no doubt could have appreciated his own writings better than he now does. "Snow Bound" is nice to read but it is "bad medicine" to have experienced. I will now endeavor to give you a description in brief of the winter and some of the many storms and blocks we have had.

"On the 2nd of December a solitary footman might have been seen wending his way across the plain (I've seen this expression before somewhere) and approaching Lookout Station. Upon his arrival it proved to be Conductor Harris of the eastern bound Freight, which he reported to be stuck in a drift six miles down the hill, and wanted me to summon assistance to get his train out of the snow, which I immediately did. I reported the state of affairs to the Superintendent who sent out two engines and crews, to Lookout that night. The next morning with forty men and three heavy ten wheel engines we started from here and went down the hill to where the train was stuck but after working six hours we had to abandon the train and work our way back. The snow was flying and drifting into the cuts so fast that it was hard work for the three engines to work their way back to Lookout. Men could not stay out of the cars more than half an hour at a time to shovel on account of the severity of the storm. One man could not keep standing room for himself on the track by shoveling the snow drifting faster into the cut than it could be shoveled out. It was impossible to see more than one car length. The next day we started out again, the storm having moderated somewhat, and by hard work succeeded in getting three cars and the engine belonging to the train out of the drift, and

bringing them to Lookout. The third day we started out again brave as ever, and when we reached the cut where the train was the day before, there was no train to be seen. Some thought at first that help had come from the west during the night and had got the train out of the drift, but on examination this was found to be a mistake for the cars were still there but the snow had drifted over them so as to completely bury them from sight. This was pretty good even for a Rocky Mountain storm. The snow was still drifting, and after working hard all day with no success whatever we began to get discouraged —we were "snow bound"—there had been no train at Lookout for five days. But we still had our engines and plenty of "grub," so we concluded to "wait a little longer till the good time coming," comes. The next morning come clear, calm and pleasant, and off started our train in good spirits, two heavy engines ahead then two cars full of men, then another engine coupled in behind them and backing up so that there would be an engine headed right, whether we went forward or back, and we could buck snow going either way, each engine having a plow.

We started out at a rate of 30 miles per hour, going through drifts from 4 to 6 feet in depth. Myself and four others were riding in the rear car and became frightened on account of the motion of the car, the last engine crowding it so hard when the train struck a drift that it would jump around like corn in a popper, and the engineer knowing nothing of this kept using more steam. I pulled the coupling pin, clambered over the tender and told the engineer to stop.—He had just stopped his engine when on looking out of the cab window I saw the other engines and cars in the ditch. If the rear engine had been coupled on, every man in the cars must have been killed or dangerously hurt. Here we were, after six days work at the train, six days worse off than when we first began. The banks at the side of the drifts where they had been shoveled, were in some places fifteen feet high and the track covered with snow to that depth, and the more we shoveled the higher it grew. Our engines in the ditch three miles from anything to eat, and night coming on. The men began to get discouraged. The shovelers all walked to the station and the rest of us stayed with the wreck. One of our party had a photograph of a chicken with him and the six of us lived on that photograph of a chicken 24 hours. This may seem a poor way of living, to you, but we never enjoyed a meal better in our lives than looking at that photo. The next morning after building a track around the wrecked engines, work was resumed and at 12 o'clock that night help reached us from the west, consisting of snow plows and men, also more help from the east and at 8 A. M. all the forces reached

Lookout with the train and the road was once more open for the running of trains after seven days hard work night and day. Snow fences were immediately constructed and put up along the road in places where it was deemed necessary. Large gangs of men were at work night and day in Omaha constructing this fence and when a sufficient quantity was made, a special train of fencing was started from Omaha and given the right of the road over all other trains. These fences were found to be insufficient protection against the drifting snow. Then the company made every effort to open the road by means of snow plows of which they had thirteen. Three engines were coupled behind each plow, and by this means twenty-five engines were disabled and some of them made total wrecks by being thrown from the track, in one week, the snow being so hard that it was impossible to force a plow through the drifts. Then seven snow train outfits were immediately fitted out and sent to the front. These snow trains were arranged so as to board seventy-five laborers in each and also afford sleeping accommodations as well. By the means of these snow trains in addition to their usual force of men, and each train provided with a strong snow plow, the road has kept trains in motion over the mountainous district by shoveling ahead of ten or twelve trains bound west, and then turning all the plows, engines and outfits and working the same force back ahead of as many more eastern bound trains. Every train since December 1st, with but very few exceptions, has been worked through the snow in this way. The snow belt extends from Laramie to Washakie, a distance of one hundred and eighty miles and embracing the divide of the Continent. This is a barren country, destitute of supplies and during the blockade these had to be forwarded long distances by mules or other conveyances at a great cost to the company. All snow trains were stocked with two weeks provisions and no passenger trains were started out without a train of provisions and coal enough for thirty days supply. By this arrangement passengers although liable to detention by snow were in no danger whatever of suffering from a want of fuel and provisions, and some have said the company made no effort to supply them—this is false. During the blockade from Feb. 2nd to Feb. 17th was the only time when there was any danger of suffering. Then the company immediately purchased provisions for five hundred men for 30 days and started a train out from Evanston, loaded with this supply and sent it to the west end of the snow district and from there forwarded it by horses, and by men on foot, to the snow bound passengers as fast as possible and there was no reasonable cause for complaint. We have had the most severe storms in rapid succession than any before experienced on these plains for thirty

years, and no human labor could back against them. Of course this winter will injure the company; it will injure the reputation it has already earned as a short route to the Pacific. But the company profiting by the experience of this winter can keep the road open during any coming winter, no matter if more severe than this one. They will prepare for it during the summer months and no one need have any fear of traveling by this route in the future. The Union Pacific Railroad is still the "Highway of Nations" and always will remain so. But this winter will be remembered for years as the most severe one ever experienced on the plains. But there has been a humorous side to the blockades as well. The minutes of a meeting held by Snow Train, 3 at this station Jan. 2nd, while laying still on account of the storms will show you that fun was not blocked out if trains were. Meetings were held in my office every night to express our views in regard to the weather and as to the continuance of the blockade, etc. At last we resolved, that we did not want to dictate to the Almighty but would suggest with all due humility to providence that this thing of snow every day and wind blowing every night was getting altogether monotonous. One of our party found a poem "The Beautiful Snow" and read it for our benefit, we passed a resolution, that the author of "Beautiful Snow" was a Damphool and had no respect for Pacific Railroads. Carried unanimously. But now the great blockade is over (so we think) and probably the like will never happen again on this or any other road—three months of severe storms following each other in rapid succession each storm making a blockade of a week or more in duration is something that does not happen but once in a lifetime.

I have given you as good a history of our troubles as I can at present you may hear more about it soon, and you may hear that the block is not over yet.

CAMP CARLIN

In August, 1867, Colonel Elias B. Carling selected the site of the supply depot which he was to establish, on the military reservation, about a mile and a half down the creek from Fort Russell, proper. It was about half way between Fort Russell and Cheyenne. This was a military "camp" and was usually garrisoned by a detached company of infantry. It was called Camp Carling in honor of Colonel Carling. From the beginning there was confusion in spelling the name, sometimes it was Carling, sometimes Carlin—even in official records. The granite marker that now stands on the site of the old flag pole says "Camp Carlin". The official name of the supply depot was "Cheyenne Depot".

At Camp Carlin, large warehouses were built along the railroad siding so that freight cars could be unloaded on the platforms. There were also deep cellars for storage of vegetables and potatoes and other supplies that might be damaged by frost.

It was the second largest depot in the United States Army, and was something of a marvel to the frontiersmen, mountain men and trappers who came in to this outpost of the greater world. The camp had sixteen large warehouses, in addition to blacksmith shops, wheelwright shops, carpenter shops, saddle and harness shops, sales stores, cook and bunk houses, wagon sheds, stables and corrals. One hundred wagons and five pack trains operated from the depot, and in the corrals were never less than 1,000 mules. Nearly 500 men, teamsters, packers, artisans and laborers were employed at Camp Carlin, and twelve army posts, some of them 400 miles distant, were supplied from this point.

The road from Fort Russell to Cheyenne followed Crow Creek and passed through Camp Carlin, a convenient half-way stopping place on the way to and from the "city". (Cheyenne).

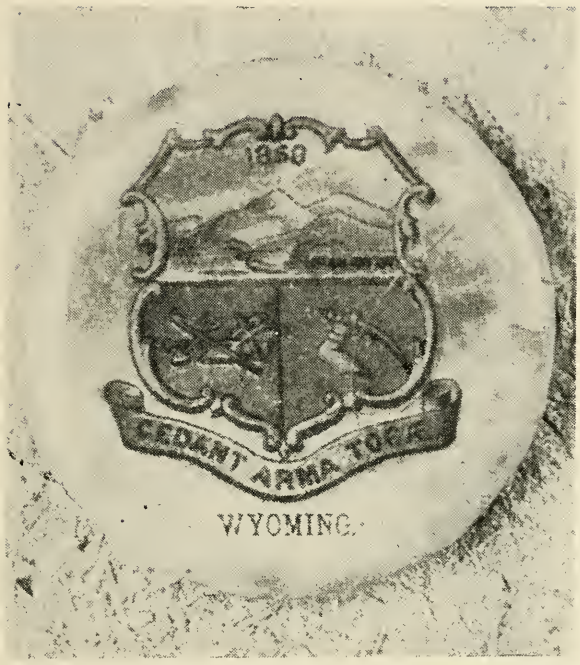
As the need for use of military force against predatory Indians lessened and finally vanished, Camp Carlin shrank in size and importance, and at last, in 1887 or 1888, passed out of existence.

CHEYENNE BELLS OF THE LATE 1880's

1. Katie H. Friend; 2. Sallie R. Searight; 3. Lillie M. Morgan; 4. Fannie H. Crook; 5. Louise Swan; 6. Espie S. Woods; 7. Hattie White; 8. Maude H. Smith.

Katie H. Friend never married lives in Waco, Texas. Sallie R. Searight married Major Robert M. Dowdy, U. S. Army, lives in Washington, D. C.; Lillian M. Morgan, daughter of E. S. N. Morgan (Secretary of the Territory 1880-1887), married an Army Officer; Fannie H. Crook, daughter of Dr. Crook, married Dr. Otto Snider, U. S. Army; Espie S. Wood married Fred Nash; Louise W. Swan married R. S. Van Tassell; Hattie White and Maude H. Smith, no information obtainable.

TERRITORIAL SEAL OF 1882



Mr. A. S. McCullough, of Clifton, Ohio, has kindly given to the Wyoming Historical Department, a celluloid button, on which is the Territorial Seal of 1882, the design being colored. The upper half is a mountain scene in natural colors, the lower left quarter is green, and the lower right quarter is red. It very much resembles the celluloid political campaign buttons of today.

This button was given to Mrs. Jane McCullough, mother of A. S. McCullough, by her brother Joe McCluskey, who was a private in Company G. Eleventh Ohio Volunteer Cavalry, Second Battalion; he was stationed at Fort Laramie, and while there he served in guarding the telegraph line and the Oregon Trail from Fort Laramie to South Pass, Wyoming, from October 1863 to July 1866.

The First Territorial Assembly, 1869, enacted the following law which provided for a Territorial seal.

Be it enacted by the Council and House of Representatives of the Territory of Wyoming:

Sec. 1. That the seal of the territory of Wyoming shall be of the following design, namely: A norman shield, on the upper half of which is emblazoned a mountain scene, with a railroad train, the sun appearing above the horizon, the figures "1868" below the middle point of the top of the shield. On the first quarter below, on a *white* ground, a plow, a pick, a shovel, and a shepherd's crook; on the next quarter, namely: the lower point of the shield, on a *red* ground, an arm upholding a drawn sword; the shield to be surmounted by the inscription, "*Cedant arma toga,*" and the entire design surrounded by the words, "Territory of Wyoming, great seal."

Sec. 2. This act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

Approved, December 9th, 1869.

This is the only Territorial law which provides for the coloring of the seal.

In 1882 the Territorial Assembly enacted an act to correct two errors in the seal, provided for by the 1869 Legislative Assembly. It provided for the 1868 to be 1869, and "Cedant Arma Toga" to be "Cedant Arma Togae." There were no other legal changes in this seal. When the 1882 seal was struck the norman shield was greatly embellished with fancy outlines which the 1869 seal did not have.

The seal of 1882 was used until 1893. The First State Legislature, 1890-1891, provided for a new State Seal, but there being a definite error in the first State Seal, it was never used. The Second State Legislature, 1893, provided for a new State Seal. This seal has been in use since 1893, the only change, being the dimensions were reduced some few years ago.

This button was without doubt made after 1882. I have every reason to believe it was made for Statehood celebration, in 1890.

While this button is correct in every detail, it is wrong in the green coloring of the lower left quarter, which according to the 1869 law, should have been white.—M.H.E.

RAWLINS SPRINGS MASSACRE

Report of E. P. Goodwin, J. A. Campbell, and S. R. Hosmer, Special Commissioners to Investigate Facts Connected with the "Rawlins Springs Massacre," in Wyoming Territory, in June 1873.

To the Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs:

The special commission appointed to investigate the facts relating to the killing of a number of Indians near Rawlins Springs, Wyoming Territory, on the 28th of June last, have the honor to submit the following report:

In the absence of the Hon. N. J. Turney, and the non-arrival of his successor, Stephen R. Hosmer, esq., in accordance with the instructions of the honorable Secretary of the Interior, Gov. John A. Campbell and Rev. Edward P. Goodwin commence the investigation at the earliest practicable moment after the notification of their appointment.

It seemed to us of first importance to secure the testimony of the parties at Rawlins as principals in the affair; accordingly we visited that place, and on the 21st and 22nd of July took the sworn statements of the persons who seemed to have most connection with, and knowledge of the matter. Following that, we proceeded to Fort Steele and took the evidence of Lieutenant Rogers, who visited the spot where the fight occurred, under the direction of General de Trobriand, and noted facts of importance connected therewith.

On the 24th of July we met Mr. Littlefield, Indian agent for the Utes, by appointment, at Laramie, and took his sworn statement respecting the non-participation of the Utes in the fight.

Returning to Cheyenne we were joined by Commissioner Hosmer, who had arrived during our absence. In view of certain reports communicated to Governor Campbell by Dr. Daniels, Indian agent for the Northern Arapahoes, Sioux, and Cheyennes, we arranged for a meeting on the 30th of July at Red Cloud agency with certain Arapahoes, said to have been in the party fired upon, as also with such of their chiefs as could be induced to be present.

On our arrival at the agency we found, much to our disappointment, that Dr. Daniels was absent; that none of the Arapahoes said to be concerned in the affair had been notified, or were within reach. We were compelled accordingly to be content with the second-hand statements made to some of the

---

Note:—Rawlins Springs should be Rawling's Springs. The Springs were named after an early day trapper, named Rawling; the town of Rawlins was named after the then Secretary of War.

Arapaho chiefs, more particularly Plenty Bear and Black Bear's son, (known as Black Whiteman,) by members of the party on their return.

The names of the whites engaged in the affray, copies of all the evidence taken, and statements made, are herewith submitted to the Department.

Passing to the results of the investigation, it appears beyond doubt that the Indians concerned were not Utes, as at first supposed, but Arapahoes. The party of whites who did the shooting undoubtedly believed the Indians to be Utes. But the admission of the Arapahoes that they were the party, their grief for the loss of their dead, and their demand for the return of the ponies and guns lost, and for compensation to be made to the relations of the Indians killed, would seem to be decisive.

And with this agrees the statement of Agent Littlefield that the Utes knew nothing definitely of the fight; that none of their number were either killed or missing, and that no feelings of resentment or hostility had been aroused among them.

It is the conviction of the commission that the affair was very nearly what it would appear to have been from the sworn statements of the Rawlins party. The version given by the Arapahoes differs materially from these, as was to be expected. But neither their account of the movements of the Indians prior to the fight nor their explanation of the fighting was satisfactory, while their proverbial disregard for truth even in matters of trifling importance, according to their agent, makes their statements of little worth compared with the sworn and agreeing testimony of the whites.

The truth would seem to be that a party of Arapahoes, made up largely of young braves, eager to win distinction, took the war-path for a raid upon their traditional enemies, the Crows; that, hearing while on their way that there had been a recent fight with the Crows by a party of Arapahoes and Cheyennes, they concluded that it would not be wise to make the attack proposed, and decided to attack the Utes instead; that they turned their course to the south for that purpose, and crossed the railroad ten or twelve miles west of Rawlins; that some of their party captured two horses belonging in Rawlins while out at pasture; that two of their number concealed in the sagebrush near the road, the rest being in advance and on the bluffs or hills to the south, espied a young man coming with a four-mule team; that they concluded suddenly to capture the team, and accordingly fired upon and wounded the boy in the foot; that he returned the fire, and hastening back to Rawlins gave the alarm, whereupon a party of ten, headed by the sheriff of the county, started immediately in pursuit; that they supposed the Indians to be Utes and fol-

lowed them, not with the intention of making an attack upon them, but of ascertaining who they were, that they might inform the agent and urge upon him the necessity of keeping the Indians in his care upon their reservation; that, on overtaking them, or rather heading them off, the next morning, the Indians claimed to be Utes; that the whites recognized and positively identified two horses as belonging to citizens of Rawlins; that they insisted on the surrender of the horses, and upon the Indians refusing to give them up they insisted upon their return with them to Rawlins to meet the agent of the Utes then expected there; that the Indians declared they would not go; that they denied also the shooting of the boy, charging it upon the Arapahoes; that while the whites were seeking to persuade them to return to Rawlins the Indians suddenly drew their pistols and firing behind them as they rode, spurred their horses into the bushes; that the whites returned the fire, killed and mortally wounded four of their number, captured eleven horses and one Winchester rifle, and came back to Rawlins; that the Indians buried two of their dead where the fight occurred, and two on their way back; that they abandoned the proposed expedition against the Utes, and immediately returned, not to the agency, but to the Indians farther north, and that they now claim the surrender of the lost horses and gun, and also that presents be given to the relatives of those killed in the fight.

As is shown by the evidence, the investigation sought to ascertain exactly how the trouble originated, and precisely who were the aggressors. The result is, in the judgment of the commission, that the whites do not appear to be blameworthy. Their evidence was positive and agreeing that no old grudges existed which they were anxious to avenge; that there had been no difficulties with either Utes or Arapahoes due to recent gambling or horse-racing; that the members of the party were not intoxicated when the fight occurred, and that there was no liquor with the party; that there was no ill will from any cause felt toward the Indians, but that, on the contrary, a consultation was held before coming up with the Indians, wherein it was agreed that they would not attack them unless themselves attacked; that the Indians fired the first shots, and they returned the fire in self-defense; and furthermore did not pursue the Indians after they took to flight.

The commission are therefore of the opinion that the trouble was wholly due to a war expedition growing out of an ancient feud between the Arapahoes and the Utes, which expedition was in direct violation of the treaty ratified by the Northern Arapahoes and Cheyennes in 1868, whereby they bound themselves not to cross the Platte nor go beyond the limits of their reservation, hunting excursions alone excepted.

It is therefore the judgment of the commission, that no just claim can be set up on the part of the Indians, either for the return of the captured property or for damages incurred by the fight. And the commission find it difficult to see how such claim can be entertained without putting a virtual premium on the very elements of willful lawlessness which it is the prime object of all Indian treaties to repress.

At the same time the commission readily perceives that, with reference to future dealings, it may be deemed politic by the Department to conciliate the Indians by the restoration of the captured horses. But it is felt that this should only be done coupled with the emphatic declaration by the Department, that the Indians had justly forfeited all claim to the property; and they should further be made to understand, that the government cannot be expected to keep its pledges while they break theirs; and that, therefore, with every violation of their agreements, they must expect not only the censure of the government, but the penalty which such violation entails.

As to the best means to prevent such collisions in the future, concerning which it is made the duty of the commission to report, the commission desire to express themselves with great diffidence. They feel that such a question goes to the root of the whole Indian policy, and that to have clear and decisive opinions, and to be sure that these are wisely settled, where so many and so delicate questions are involved as is the case respecting the relations of whites and Indians on our frontiers, is no easy thing.

Nevertheless the investigation made by them has developed and deepened in the minds of the commissioners certain convictions which they venture to express for the consideration of the Department.

First, then, it appears to the commission that it would be a helpful step in the management of Indian affairs to have the various reservations surveyed at the earliest practicable day, and their boundaries and limitations thoroughly and permanently established so far as may be practicable; it is greatly to be desired that such boundaries should be the natural ones of mountains, streams, divides, and the like. The Indian finds great difficulty in getting right notions of imaginary lines of latitude and longitude. The consequence is, that he is easily betrayed into violations of treaty stipulations, both as respects invasion of the territory of the whites and that of other Indians; and naturally out of such disregard of lines and boundaries, sooner or later, trouble comes.

2. Another and fruitful source of "irritation" is the practice of issuing passes or permits whereby Indians, individually or in small parties, are allowed to go beyond the limits of their reservations.

Such permits are always liable to abuse by offering temptations to thievishness, predatory forays among the whites which provoke retaliation and excite bad blood, and similar raids coupled with more hostile intent upon other Indians. And the facts go to show that in many if not in a majority of instances, Indian nature is not proof against the temptation held out, nor white nature proof against the prejudice aroused, and in consequence outbreaks occur.

The general feeling along the frontier is strongly against the system, and your commission feel certain that it is productive of more mischief than good and should be done away.

3. Your commission venture further, and raise the question whether it would not be a great gain to so shape the policy of the Department as to prohibit at an early day all going beyond the bounds of their reservations by the Indians for whatever purpose. This would interfere, we are aware, with the hunting privileges now enjoyed, and would hence be, without doubt, strenuously opposed by the various tribes enjoying such immunities. But there can be little debate as to the value of such a prohibition in preventing the collisions which under the present order of things continually occur.

Through the opening of the Pacific Railroad, with its connections, these hunting grounds of the Indians have been thrown open to settlers and immigration is rapidly pouring in. The mining-districts also, which border the reservations, are rapidly filling up; the result is that the hunting expeditions of the Indians find, on the one hand, increasing difficulties in their path as respects the securing of game, and on the other increasing temptations to run off stock, pillage, and commit depredations generally; and the likelihood of collisions and troubles with the settlers and other whites is obviously very much enhanced by the multiplied opportunities afforded of procuring liquor, indulging in gambling, horse-racing, and other vices to which the Indian is prone, and out of which almost inevitably mischief and often bloodshed comes.

Furthermore, it is the clear policy of the Government, as witnessed in all treaties with the Indians, to induce them, at the earliest possible day, to give up their roving and predatory habits, and, instead of relying upon the always uncertain supply of game, to become cultivators of the soil with permanent homes, and thus gradually, under the influence of labor-schools and other appliances of Christianity, cease to be a savage, and become a civilized people.

Obviously, this is the only way in which, apart from utter extermination, a complete end of Indian troubles can ever be hoped for; and this involves the necessity of surrender, at some time, by the Indians, of the present privilege of hunting beyond the limits of their reservations. It seems therefore to

your commission that the true interests of both whites and Indians imperatively demand that the policy of confining the Indians to their reservations be steadily and strenuously urged; and whenever difficulties should occur in the application of such policy, as they doubtless would, especially in its initiation, it would seem to your commission better to secure its establishment by increasing the amount of annuities or of supplies granted than to take the risk of pillage and blood shed inseparable from the present system. And if the expense of such a policy were deemed by any an objection thereto, it ought to be sufficient answer to say that by the witness of experience, it is vastly cheaper to feed the Indians than to fight them. So the honor of the government must be maintained and the beneficent ends it proposes, as respects both whites and Indians, be realized. The avoidance of collisions is cheap at any price.

4. But the most prolific cause of trouble remains to be noted. It is the fact, attested by our conferences and witnessed to by both Indian agents and officers of the Army who have had most acquaintance with the tribes, that there is neither any organic unity among them, nor any recognized permanent and responsible headship. The Indian chiefs, certainly among the Sioux, Cheyennes, and Arapahoes, with whom we had more particularly to do, are the braves, who, by their prowess and daring, have won renown and made themselves leaders by a kind of popular acclaim. They are, however, clothed with no authority, have no control over their respective tribes other than their personal influence, and hence can only lead and act for them to the extent of their ability to persuade the Indians to accept their views. At any time a rival may arise, and, either by his eloquence or his deeds, wrest away the chieftainship and become the chosen leader of the people. The consequence is that the tribal headships are incessantly changing, and hence what has been agreed to under one chief is repudiated under another, or sometimes part of a tribe will cling to one chief and abide by his counsel, and part adhere to another, and thus two authorities come to exist, each supreme in its sphere, and yet in direct antagonism as upon such a question as that of peace or war.

Naturally enough the Indian transfers this notion of obligation into his dealings with the government, and accordingly thinks himself freed from the compacts entered into by his chiefs whenever these change their opinions, as they so often do, or whenever other chiefs with differing views get the people's ear and usurp their place. Further, because of the lack of anything like tribal unity and hence of tribal responsibility, they deem themselves not bound by the engagements of their

chiefs unless they personally concur in the desirableness of what is done.

In illustration of such notions, the commission found that the Arapahoes interviewed by them did not consider themselves bound by the treaty of 1868, mostly because they had not personally agreed thereto, and partly because another set of chiefs, who had not been parties to the treaty, had, since its ratification, come into power. And that this is the prevalent Indian notion of obligation, would appear from the fact that no demand for the surrender of Indians known to have committed depredations or outrages upon the whites can be enforced anywhere upon the frontier. Your commission have been repeatedly assured, alike by the officers of the Territory of Wyoming and those of military posts situated therein, that they are powerless to secure the apprehension of such wrongdoers, although their delivery by the Indians upon demand by the proper authorities is one of the first provisions of every treaty.

So long as such ideas obtain, it must be obviously impossible to ratify treaties that will be of any avail. Indeed, it is more than doubtful whether, among all the numerous tribes or bands throughout this region, a single treaty is today regarded by the Indians supposed to be obligated thereby as of binding force in all its stipulations; while they insist stoutly upon the full measure of all the pledges entered into by the government, they seem to think themselves privileged to be their own judges of the good faith to which they are held. And thus it happens that, in the main, the only force of these compacts with the various tribes is with those who are either in sympathy with the objects they propose, or who have discernment enough to see that conformity to the treaty is their only sure means of securing the bestowals of government.

In this state of things, something more is needed to insure peace than a reliance on the good faith of the Indians in carrying out the provisions of the treaties made with them. As in the case of the Rawlins fight, or the more recent massacre of two white women in the Sweet Water country, in just so far as they dare, the Indians will follow their own likings, and in spite of all compacts engage in forays upon each other, or in pillaging and murdering the whites.

The remedy for this unfaith and its consequent disorders, it may not be easy to point out. But after a careful survey of the difficulties involved, and comparison of the views entertained by citizens, Indian agents, and officers of the army, your commissioners offer a few suggestions.

1. It is a matter of especial satisfaction that, so far as appears, whatever the difficulties of this vexed question, they are not due to any failure on the part of the government to

perform its part in the compacts made. On the contrary, while hardly an agreement has been fully observed by the Indians, and many clear provisions have been repeatedly disregarded, no invasions of Indian territory by whites have been allowed, no annuities withheld, no supplies cut off. In fact, the government has acted throughout, not merely with scrupulous fidelity, but with marked forbearance and generosity.

2. It is clear, however, that, in carrying out the policy of the Department, too much emphasis cannot be laid upon the necessity of having agents of unquestionable ability and integrity. Their position is, in its nature, one wielding a prodigious influence, and capable of being made potential for good or ill, according as those who occupy it are men with or without the true qualifications for the place. The men imperatively needed are those fully in sympathy with the policy of the government, above all suspicion of dishonesty, and possessed of a good share of discretion, tact and sound sense. For standing, as they do, close to the Indian, it is clear that, however wise and beneficent the measures proposed by the Department, they may fail utterly of success, through either the cupidity or the stupidity and blunders of the agent.

3. It may be questioned whether the present rate of compensation is sufficient to insure men of the ability demanded for such an important trust. Too often, it would appear, the scant salary of the agent becomes a temptation to practices which cost the forfeiture of the confidence of both whites and Indians; and when this occurs, as it sometimes does, the very medium through which the government seeks to dispense benefits becomes a source of continual mischief. One unprincipled agent can counterwork the whole Department, and foment troubles which it will require years of treasure and blood to subdue.

4. Your commission are further persuaded that the various Indian agencies might be so used as to constitute probably the most effective of all instrumentalities in the realization of those beneficent results which it is the aim of the present Indian policy to secure. Whatever the Indian fails to understand, he understands clearly the argument of supplies. Year by year it is becoming plainer to nearly all the tribes that they are dependent upon the government for food and clothing. Take away the supplies now furnished, and it hardly admits of doubt that a full half of the Indians of this region would be faced by starvation. They could not dispossess other tribes of their hunting-grounds, and they could not possibly support themselves on their present reservations.

If, now, the various Indian agencies were instructed to make the issue of their supplies and the payment of annuities conditioned upon the Indians keeping strictly within their

reservations, and upon their prompt surrender of all perpetrators of wrong, it is evident that a most potent argument for justice and good order would be brought to bear.

So keenly felt already is the dependence upon the government for material for tepees, for blankets, and clothing; and so urgent, especially, is the demand for food, that it is firmly believed by your commissioners that few tribes or bands can be found in these reservations which a rigid application of such a rule would not ultimately bring to terms.

Of course the enforcement of such a policy would demand the support of the military arm of the government. But it is idle to think that any policy can be made effective without such support. And it is the opinion of military officers whose long experience among the Indians qualifies them to judge, that only a small force of soldiers would be needed to secure each agency against possible attack. It was, for example, the judgment of officers at Fort Laramie that a single regiment, with two pieces of artillery, would be ample to protect the Red Cloud agency from all uprising among the 12,000 or 14,000 Indians supplied therefrom.

5. Finally, if, in connection with such a policy, a provision could be made whereby each tribe or each cluster of agreeing tribes could have some thoroughly competent and honest attorney appointed by the Department, whose duty it should be, in all cases of violation of treaties, or of collision or other difficulty with the whites, to conduct the case in behalf of the Indians before the territorial or other courts having jurisdiction, it is the opinion of your commissioners that great good would result.

Such an attorney would serve effectually to protect the Indians against the undue influence of prejudice and animosity so often felt upon the frontier. And, at the same time, he would avail more and more, as he secured the confidence of the Indians, to restrain their propensity to retaliation for supposed wrongs; to cultivate among them true ideas of obligation, and to establish over them the full supremacy of law.

In conclusion, your commissioners desire to express their acknowledgments to General de Trobriand, of Fort Steel; General Bumford, of Fort Russell; and General Smith, of Fort Laramie, with the officers of their respective commands, for valuable assistance rendered, and many courtesies received, while engaged in the investigation.

We have the honor to be, very respectfully,

EDWARD P. GOODWIN,
J. A. CAMPBELL,
S. R. HOSMER,
Special Commissioners.

Cheyenne, Wyoming, August 9, 1873.

FORT LARAMIE—errata

Reference is made to the article entitled "Fort Laramie, Guardian of the Oregon Trail," which appeared in the last issue of *Annals*. On page 8, sixth line from the bottom, "Arapaho band" should read "band of Cheyennes and Arapahos." On page 12, fifteenth line from the bottom, "on Crazy Horse Fork" should read "near Crazy Woman Fork." Mr. J. Elmer Brock of Kaycee states that the exact site of the destruction of Dull Knife's village was on the Red Fork of Powder River and that evidence of the battlefield is to be found on his ranch. A "Report on Battles and Skirmishes in Wyoming Territory" reprinted in *Annals of Wyoming*, XIV, 3 (July, 1942) from 4536 H. R. Document 446, p. 401, 57th Congress, Second Session, suggests that the Dull Knife engagement took place on "Bates Creek, near North Fork of Powder River."

MILITARY POSTS IN NEBRASKA TERRITORY WHICH LATER BECAME WYOMING DEPARTMENT OF THE WEST

Platte Bridge, Nebraska Territory, established July 29, 1858; garrisoned by 86 officers and men.

Camp Walbach, Nebraska Territory, established September 20, 1858; garrisoned by 107 officers and men.

Fort Laramie, Nebraska Territory, established June 16, 1849; garrisoned by 232 officers and men.

ACCESSIONS

to the

WYOMING HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT

December 1, 1944 to May 1, 1945

Logan, Ernest, Collection, donated Oct. 1944, by his son, W. E. Logan.

Johnson, William R., 420 E. 20th St., Cheyenne, donor of a boot jack used in 1849.

Brackley, Captain William L., 410 Cedar St., Laramie, Wyo., donor of "Coyote Bill's" three piece buckskin suit; large white felt hat; one pair of buckskin gloves; one horsehair watch chain, with one ornament, a hand carved out of bone.

Cheyenne Chamber of Commerce, donor of large painting, "Potter's Bull."

Roedel, Andy, Cheyenne, donor of eleven photographs:
1. Dinty Moore; 2. Cheyenne Air Mail field 1922; 3. Homer Barry, Eddie Rickenbacker and Top Payne; 4. Top of Elk Mountain; 5. Top Payne noses over; 6. De Haviland remodeled at Cheyenne, 1924; 7. Winding one up for Jack Knight, 1922; 8. Jimmy Murray's wrecked plane, 1920; 9. Collisson's wreck at Rawlins, 1923; 10. C. V. Pick up at Rawlins, 1922; 11. First Fatality, Cheyenne-Salt Lake Divisions, John Woodward—Tie Siding, 1920.

Coulehan, Mrs. Charlotte, 2202 Capitol Ave., Cheyenne, donor of Johnson's Illustrated Atlas, 1862; one Cheyenne Daily Leader, 1890; one Connecticut Courant, Oct. 1764.

Scheff, Mrs. Sarah Rayor, 2405 E. Lincolnway, Cheyenne, donor of Nazi flag taken in March 1945 by her husband, Captain Scheff, U. S. A.

Hobbs' Furniture Co., Cheyenne, donor of a glass display case— 36"x36" x30".

Purchased

Two Water Colors of Wyoming trout by G. Lindle Dunn. Cost $25.00 each.

Map of Lieut. Bryan's route for a military road between Ft. Riley and Bridger Pass, bought from the National Archives, Washington, D. C., $2.00.

Books—Purchased

Altrocchi, Julia Cooley, *The Old California Trail, traces in folklore and furrow.* Caldwell, Idaho, Caxton, 1945. 327 p. ilus. Purchased from publisher for $3.12.

Brooks, Bryant Butler, *Memoirs of Bryant B. Brooks,* Glendale, Calif., Clark, 1939. 370 p. Purchased from publisher for $12.50.

Torrey, Edwin C., *Early days in Dakota.* Glendale, Calif., Clark, n. d. 289 p. Purchased from Clark for $5.00.

Adams, James Truslow, *Atlas of American History.* New York, Scribner's, 1943. Purchased from McClurg for $6.67.

Gifts

Mazzuchelli, Rev. Samuel. *Memoirs, historical and edifying of a missionary apostolic of the order of St. Dominic among various Indian tribes and among the Catholics and Protestants of the United States.* Chicago, Hall, 1915. 374 p. Gift of St. Mary's Convent, Cheyenne.

The Ernest Logan Collection Donated to the Historical Department by Dr. W. E. Logan, December, 1944

Photographs—Picture file

C 1311 1 Lake Minnehaha "M" File No. 26

C 1311 2 The Denver Post Boys Band—Denver 1908 "F" File No. 88

C 1311 3 Camp Carlin 10x8 not framed "C" File No. 95

C 1311 4 Quartermaster Depot—Camp Carlin "C" File No. 95

C 1311 5 Logan Store, 211 W. 16th St. (Interior) "L" File No. 18

C 1311 6 Union Pacific Depot 1876 Cheyenne "U" File No. 5

C 1311 7 Telephone Building—Now the Arp Hotel, S. E. Corner of Capitol Ave. "C" File No. 19

C 1311 8 A. Laughlin, Wyo. Pioneer "W" File No. 52

C 1311 9 W. E. Ingraham, Wyo. Pioneer "W" File No. 52

C 1311 10 Mr. Barney, Wyo. Pioneer "W" File No. 52

C 1311 11-12 Two unidentified Wyo. people—one woman, one man "W" File No. 52

C 1311 13 Union Pacific Depot—Cheyenne 9x7 "W" File No. 5

C 1311 14-24 Eleven prints of Allen M. Dean's paintings 5x7, "D" File No. I

C 1311 25 "Toney" the American dollar dog "W" File No. 52

C 1311 26-27 Two Cheyenne Homes, unidentified "C" File No. 19

C 1311 28 Capitol building as of the first contract 1886, The first wings are being added as of the 1888 contract.

C 1311 33-35 Three postcards, scenes of Cheyenne streets and buildings. "C" File No. 19

C 1311 65 North Side of 16th Street between Capitol and Pioneer. "C" File No. 19

C 1311 66 W. W. Howard, Lost Angeles, California, he surveyed for the U. P. R. R. from Omaha to Laramie City in 1866-67. "W" File No. 52

C 1311 68 Purchased framed pictures of Camp Carlin, $2.50

C 1311 69 Custer Battle Field $2.50—On Wall of Museum

Letters, Manuscripts, Etc.

C 1311 30 Piece of an 1890 Washington, D. C. newspaper torn from the walls of the log barn on the John Whitaker ranch at Iron Mountain. "Vertical File" *Logan, Ernest*

C 1311 31-32 Two Cheyenne Frontier Days envelopes. 1900, 1902. See Vertical File *Logan, Ernest*

C 1311 36 Morrison, Merrill & Co. 1889, Bill of Sale-Vertical File-*Logan, Ernest*

C 1311 37 The Bailey school book, the author, Mary Bailey, was Principal of the West End School, Cheyenne. Vertical File *Logan, Ernest*

C 1311 38 Biographical outline of Mrs. Lizzie Walker Logan, (Mrs. Ernest Logan). Vertical File, *Logan, Ernest*

C 1311 39 Bill of sale between Mrs. Lizzie Logan and John Hess, 1887. Vertical File, *Logan, Ernest*

C 1311 40 Historical anecdotes by Ernest Logan, long hand 19 P. no date, Vertical File, *Logan, Ernest*

C 1311 41 Fort Laramie 1877, some history on, by Ernest Logan. Typed manuscript of two and one half pages. Vertical File, *Logan, Ernest*

C 1311 42 One 1888 A. O. W. W. Select Knights invitation to a Ball, Feb. 22, 1888. Vertical File, *Logan, Ernest*

C 1311 43 One souvenir folder of Cheyenne, Wyoming. Vertical File, *Logan, Ernest*

C 1311 54 One calling card of Mrs. Hill Logan, mother of Ernest Logan. Vertical File, *Logan, Ernest*

C 1311 62 One biographical outline of Ernest Logan. Vertical File, *Logan, Ernest*

Museum Pieces. Case No. 46

C 1311 44 One rare Indian spoon horn

C 1311 45 One spur found on the Thornburg battle field 1879

C 1311 46 One pair of Indian moccasins

C 1311 47 One clothes pin of 1873

C 1311 48 One Indian beaded knife scabbard

C 1311 49 One Indian beaded medicine bag

C 1311 50 One metal instrument found west of Wheatland on the Sibylee Wyoming; looks like an old fashioned scissors

C 1311 51 One large arrow head

C 1311 52 One pair of shoes, found in the early 1850's

C 1311 53 Two elk teeth given to John Hunton at Fort Laramie, by an Indian, Baptist Peuree (Big Bat)

C 1311 55 One ribbon Indian ornament

C 1311 56-57 Two small silver and copper bracelets made by Ernest Logan

C 1311 58 Seven cut nails from ruin of printing office at Fort Laramie

C 1311 59-60 Two copper pieces, one an Indian head, one a head of a Long Horn, made by Ernest Logan

C 1311 61 A buckskin bag, an Indian relic belonging to Sir Cedric of England, who came to Wyoming on a hunting trip. (No Date)

C 1311 63 One gallon tin oil can made by hand in about 1874 at Camp Carlin by Hill Logan, Father of Ernest Logan

C 1311 64 Tin lid of can, made by hand at Camp Carlin before 1874, by Harry Lynch

In Southeast Corner of Museum.

C 1311 29 Lathe made by Hill Logan in about 1869.

C 1311 67 One child's chair made by Hill Logan while at Camp Carlin in the early 1870's

C 1311 68 Photograph of Mrs. Logan and 2 children, Ernest and Ella, case No. 46

C 1311 69 Photograph of Camp Carlin, in picture file

C 1311 70 Small wooden chest of Lieut. Col. B. Carling

C 1311 71 Book—Ben Boland's Garden. Placed in Vault

C 1311 72 4 Pictures: (1) Old Presbyterian Church (2) Central School (3) Old Court House (4) Capitol in 1890, picture files

C 1311 73 Old account books (3) of merchants in early days. Placed in vault

C 1311 74 Glass cane in case No. 46

GENERAL INDEX

Volume 17

The State Historical Board, the State Historical Advisory Board and the State Historical Department assume no responsibility for any statement of fact or opinion expressed by contributors to the ANNALS OF WYOMING.

The Wyoming State Historical Department invites the presentation of museum items, letters, diaries, family histories and manuscripts of Wyoming citizens. It welcomes the writings and observations of those familiar with important and significant events in the State's history.

In all ways the Department strives to present to the people of Wyoming and the Nation a true picture of the State. The historical magazine, ANNALS OF WYOMING, is one medium through which the Department seeks to gain this objective. All communications concerning the ANNALS should be addressed to Mary A. McGrath, Wyoming Historical Department, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

This magazine is sent free of charge to all State Historical Board members, the State Historical Advisory Board, Wyoming County Libraries and Wyoming newspapers.

It is published in January and July, subscription price $1.50 per year.

WYOMING STATE MUSEUM

Housed in the new Supreme Court and Library Building in Cheyenne, with vault space and fireproof protection, the Museum provides for the preservation and display of the prized possessions of Wyoming pioneers.

Perpetuate your family name by placing your historical collections and relics in your State Museum, where they may be permanently preserved and enjoyed by the thousands of visitors.

Everything that is presented to the Museum is numbered, labeled, recorded and card indexed, thus insuring permanent identification.


GREAT SEAL OF THE STATE OF WYOMING
EQUAL RIGHTS