MID-AMERICA

An Historical Quarterly

VOLUME XXXI
(New Series, Volume XX)
1949

PUBLISHED BY
THE INSTITUTE OF JESUIT HISTORY
LOYOLA UNIVERSITY
CHICAGO

CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXXI

ARTICLES

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

VOLUME 31, NUMBER 1 JANUARY 1949

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

JANUARY 1949

VOLUME 31 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 20 NUMBER 1

CONTENTS

Published quarterly by Loyola University (The Institute of Jesuit History) at 50 cents a copy. Annual subscription, $2.00; in foreign countries, $2.50. Publication and editorial offices at Loyola University, 6525 Sheridan Road, Chicago, Illinois. All communications should be addressed to the Managing Editor. Entered as second class matter, August 7, 1929, at the post office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Additional entry as second class matter at the post office at Effingham, Illinois. Printed in the United States.

MID-AMERICA
An Historical Review
JANUARY 1949
VOLUME 31 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 20 NUMBER 1

Cantonment Wilkinsonville

Cantonment Wilkinsonville may well be termed a new chapter in the life of General James Wilkinson. Historical students have given much attention to the career of Wilkinson and especially to his capacity for intrigue and plot in the Mississippi country. Less attention, however, has been given to his military activities in the west. Indeed, the entire field of military history of the American frontier might well be given more emphasis than has been the case in the past. The present study attempts to discuss a very important phase of military operations under Wilkinson between 1799 and 1803, with particular reference to military strategy on the lower Ohio—a strategy which was the brain child of Alexander Hamilton, but which was to be executed by Wilkinson after Hamilton had left the Army in 1800. This is the story of Cantonment Wilkinsonville, an important military post founded near the Grand Chain (present Pulaski County, Illinois) on the lower Ohio in 1801.

Local historians and antiquarians have long been aware of the fact that a large military post once stood just above the present site of United States Dam No. 53 at the head of the Grand Chain of Rocks on the Lower Ohio. It was known in a general way that Wilkinson had founded the post, but information as to when and why the post was founded was lacking.[1] That careful historians should also ignore the subject may be explained perhaps as follows: (1) Reference to Cantonment Wilkinsonville is not to be found in government publications and public documents. (The present writer is at a loss to explain how such an important military establishment could be omitted from the annual reports of the Secretary

[1] See William Henry Perrin, *History of Alexander, Union and Pulaski Counties, Illinois*, Chicago, 1883, 587. Perrin's query as to "Why he (Wilkinson) would lead a body of men to this spot...is something of a problem" is to the point.

of War and other official publications as printed in the *American State Papers* series. It may be suggested that the secrecy of the project was the reason why no official public reference to the venture was made.) (2) The relative inaccessibility of the military papers in the Adjutant General's Office had long kept the pertinent documents from coming to light. (3) There no doubt has been a tendency to confuse Cantonment Wilkinsonville with Fort Wilkinson, a post founded by Wilkinson in Georgia in 1801. Recent interest in the subject has led the present writer to undertake this study.[2]

General James Wilkinson had since 1784 been one of the outstanding figures in the west, succeeding George Rogers Clark as a leader of that section.[3] Possessed of considerable military experience in the Revolution, adept at intrigue, and gifted with "a faculty for discerning the meaner motives of human nature, a smooth-quilled vocabulary, a not unimpressive personality . . . and an unfaltering conviction of his own importance and qualities of leadership," Wilkinson was bound to make a name for himself in the new west.[4] Establishing his residence in Kentucky, Wilkinson immediately became involved in a plot to make that area independent of the United States with himself as head of a new state.[5] Forestalled in this by the opposition of the State of Virginia, Wilkinson turned his attention to the river trade with New Orleans and after 1787 was cooperating with the Spanish, whose governor, Esteban Miro, was then interested in obtaining the friendship of the Kentuckians.[6]

---

[2] In 1929 the late Mrs. Ashbel Welch of Philadelphia, a descendant of Lieutenant Colonel David Strong, former post commandant at Cantonment Wilkinsonville, who died in 1801, attempted to locate Strong's grave. Since Strong was a veteran of the American Revolution, the Egyptian Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution undertook to assist Mrs. Welch in her search. The late William Nelson Moyers, then County Surveyor of Pulaski County, Illinois, made studies of the site of the Cantonment and later hired a researcher in Washington, D. C., to make a limited search among the military papers of the Adjutant General's Office. The results of Mr. Moyer's researches were published under the title of "A Story of Southern Illinois, the Soldier's Reservation, including the Indians, French Traders, and some early Americans", *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XXIV, No. 1 (April, 1931), 26–104. In 1947 Mr. E. G. Lentz, Secretary of the Southern Illinois Historical Society, asked the present writer to undertake further researches on the subject. The notes of Mr. Moyer and certain materials collected by the Egyptian Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution are now in possession of the Southern Illinois Historical Society and have been consulted by the present author.

[3] Isaac J. Cox, "James Wilkinson", *Dictionary of American Biography*, New York, 1936, XX, 222–226.

[4] Samuel F. Bemis, *Pinckney's Treaty*, Baltimore, 1926, 125.

[5] *Ibid.*, 129 ff.

[6] Henry Adams, *History of the United States During the Administration of Thomas Jefferson*, New York, 1930, III, 269.

A pensioner of the Spanish after 1792, Wilkinson nevertheless found his influence in the western country dwindling after the signing of Pinckney's Treaty.[7]

In 1796–1797 the west buzzed with rumors of a French plot against the United States, with Franco-Spanish attacks on the Illinois posts being feared.[8] When the "X. Y. Z. Affair" brought on a grave crisis with the French government, steps were taken to strengthen the military forces in Illinois. General Wilkinson, then the ranking officer in the west after the death of General Wayne in 1796, was in charge of these preparations.[9] At about the same time Spanish activities looking toward the building of a strong settlement at New Madrid, Missouri, caused uneasiness in the west. This scheme was calculated to influence Americans to desert their homes in Kentucky and Illinois and settle west of the Mississippi in Spanish territory.[10] In 1797 came the "Tom Powers Plot", in which, if we may believe Humphrey Marshall, Wilkinson figured, involving plans for a *coup d'etat* in Kentucky and the seizure of Fort Massac by the Spanish troops.[11]

In all of these rumors, the central point of attention was Fort Massac, which commanded the lower Ohio region. A former French post, Massac had been rebuilt in 1794 at the time of the Genêt affair under orders of General Wayne.[12] Due to the increasing importance of the river trade, especially after 1795, Fort Massac was made the *entrepôt* for commerce moving to and from New Orleans.[13] The importance of this traffic is indicated by the fact that within a three-months' period in 1800, 150 cargo boats and ves-

---

7 Bemis, *Pinckney's Treaty*, 347–349.

8 Arthur P. Whitaker, *The Mississippi Question*, New York and London, 1934, 120; *Kentucky Gazette*, Lexington, Kentucky, 4 February, 20 May, 3 June, 30 September, 1797.

9 Wilkinson to John Edgar and William St. Clair, 14 September, 1797, in Clarence W. Carter, Ed., *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, Washington, 1934, II, 627; Militia Orders, 22 September, 1797, 30 January, 1798, *ibid.*, 486–487, 499–500.

10 Max Savelle, "The Founding of New Madrid, Missouri", *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XIX, No. 1, 30–56; Bemis, *Pinckney's Treaty*, 144–149; *Kentucky Gazette*, 2 September, 1797, 19 September, 1799. The Americans were offered large land grants and a restricted liberty of conscience.

11 Humphrey Marshall, *History of Kentucky*, Frankfort, 1824, II, 221. According to Marshall, Wilkinson consulted with Powers at Detroit and then spirited him back to New Madrid.

12 Clarence W. Alvord, *The Illinois Country*, Springfield, 1920, 411.

13 St. Clair to Secretary of State, 4 May, 1795; Wayne to Secretary of Treasury, 4 September, 1796, both in Carter, *Territorial Papers*, II, 516, 571. Alvord states that Massac was not made a port of entry for the collection of duties until 1799. *The Illinois Country*, 411–412. By 1800 some ninety persons lived near the fort. *Ibid.*, 407.

sels cleared Massac for the lower regions.[14] In spite of the increase in commerce on the rivers the western settlements continually faced an unfavorable balance of trade which they sometimes tried to solve in unusual ways.[15] By 1802 the demand for American produce at New Orleans had fallen perceptibly, though the river trade was still considerable.[16] The fall in prices of produce was also striking.[17] By 1799 galley craft of some size, pulled by oars, had appeared on the Ohio in the military service, and, in 1801, a brig negotiated the waterway from the mouth of the Muskingum to New Orleans, six weeks being required for this trip.[18]

The publication of the "X. Y. Z." dispatches in 1797 brought America and France to the verge of war. Alexander Hamilton, who previously had supported the Adams Administration in its policy of neutrality, now became a foremost advocate of war against the French. Forseeing the role the western country might play in such a struggle, Hamilton early in 1798 recommended the recruiting of a new brigade in the western settlements, the same to be placed under the command of Wilkinson for possible use in the event of war.[19] Rumors were abroad concerning the retrocession of Louisiana to the French and the military authorities in the west were accordingly alerted against this eventuality.[20] The prospect of war with the

---

[14] Quarterly Report of Commanding Officer at Fort Massac, Period, 1 September–1 December, 1800, as printed in Philadelphia *Gazette of the United States and Daily Advertiser*, 10 April, 1801. In the last nine months of the year 1800, 515 flatboats and barges passed Massac. Archer B. Hulbert, "Western Shipbuilding", *American Historical Review*, XXI, No. 4, 722. Flour, whiskey, pork, and cordage were the main items in this trade. See also *Country Gazette of the United States*, 24–28, September, 1801.

[15] See for example the boycott on outside goods declared by Lexington, Kentucky, which stated that that city would no longer purchase certain enumerated articles from the outside "unless the same can be purchased and paid for in articles made of the growth or manufactures of this state." *Kentucky Gazette*, 13 March, 1800.

[16] *The Guardian of Freedom*, Frankfort, Kentucky, 23 June, 15 September, 1802. By this time an insurance company had been founded in Kentucky to insure river cargoes and boats. *Ibid.*, 5, 19 February, 1802.

[17] Tobacco, for example, fell in price from $6.00 to $6.25 per hundredweight in 1799 to $3.00 to $4.50 per hundredweight in 1800. Salt pork, however, was more dear in 1800 than in 1799. *Kentucky Gazette*, 25 July, 1799, 12 July, 1800.

[18] McHenry to Hamilton, 12 April, 1799, Hamilton Papers, vol. 39 5383; McHenry to John Wilkins, 12 April, 1799, *ibid.*, 5384; *Country Gazette of the United States*, 5 August, 1801. In 1803 a "seafaring vessel" was built in Kentucky, but her description is not given. *The Guardian of Freedom*, 27 April, 1803.

[19] "Measures in the War Department which it may be Expedient to Adopt", in Hamilton to McHenry, 16 January, 1798, in Henry Cabot Lodge, Ed., *The Works of Alexander Hamilton*, 6 vols., New York and London, 1886, VI, 147.

[20] McHenry to General Wilkinson, 8 July, 1798, in Wilkinson Papers, Chicago Historical Society.

French conjured up in Hamilton's mind visions of military glory for himself and his friends. These visions are believed to have given birth to schemes for the conquest, not only of Louisiana, but also of Latin America.[21]

Hamilton now entered the army as inspector and major general.[22] His next move was to secure for himself the command of the troops north of Maryland, including, of course, the Northwest Territory.[23] In making this arrangement he had the support of General Washington.[24] At the same time, Hamilton asked for a report on the western troops. Both he and Washington were impatient at delays in recruiting the increased military forces which Congress had authorized. However, President Adams, who still maintained his resistance to the warmongers, was promoting the recruiting only half-heartedly.[25]

Hamilton's schemes had now reached the point at which his theory of "defense by offense" would have to be implemented with more definite arrangements.[26] It was at this juncture that he ordered Wilkinson to New York for conference, an order which was not altogether unexpected by Wilkinson, it would seem.[27] The following points were drawn up for discussion with Wilkinson:

1. The disposition of our western inhabitants towards the United States and foreign powers.

---

[21] Whitaker, *The Mississippi Question*, 116 ff.

[22] Hamilton to McHenry, 28 July, 1798, in Lodge, *Works*, VI, 90. Hamilton's appointment dates from 25 July, 1798. The new defense program voted by Congress called for substantial increases in the military and naval forces.

[23] Hamilton to Secretary of War, 24 January, 1799; Secretary of War to Hamilton, 4 February, 1799, Hamilton Papers, vol. 34, 4773, 4826–4831 See also Hamilton to Washington, 15 February, 1799, *ibid.*, vol. 35, 4856. In his letter of 24 January, 1799, Hamilton had also suggested that the troops in Tennessee and the Northwest Territory be placed under one officer, who in turn was "To be permitted to correspond immediately with the Inspector-General and receive orders from him". See Lodge, *Works*, VI, 150. Hamilton, however, did not get command of the troops in Tennessee. Hamilton to Washington, 15 February, 1799, in Wilkinson, *Memoirs of My Own Time*, 3 vols., Philadelphia, 1816, I, 435.

[24] Washington to Hamilton, 25 February, 1799, Hamilton Papers, vol. 35, 4919.

[25] Hamilton to Wilkinson, 15 February, 1799, Wilkinson Papers, Chicago Historical Society; Washington to Hamilton, 25 February, 1799, Hamilton Papers, vol. 35, 4929–4930.

[26] See draft by Hamilton of Washington to McHenry, 13 December, 1798, in Lodge, *Works*, VI, 102–103.

[27] Hamilton to Wilkinson, 12 February, 1799, in Lodge, *Works*, VI, 154; Hamilton to Washington, 15 February, 1799, *ibid.*, 156. Hamilton stated in the first reference: "Much may be examined in a personal interview, which, at so great a distance, cannot be effected by writing." In the second reference he indicates the order to Wilkinson was in conformity with Washington's wishes. Wilkinson to Hamilton, 15 April, 1799, Hamilton Papers, vol. 39, 5412–5417.

2. The disposition of the Indians in the same aspect.
3. The disposition of the Spaniards in our vicinity—their strength in number and fortification.
4. The best expedients for correcting or contracting hostile propensities in any or all these quarters including—
5. The best defensive disposition of the western army, embracing the country of Tennessee—and the northern and northwestern lakes, and having an eye to economy and discipline.
6. The best mode (in the event of a *rupture with Spain*) of attacking the two Floridas. Troops, artillery, etc., requisite.
7. The best plan of supplying the Western army with provisions, transportation, forage, etc.
8. The best arrangement of command, so as to unite facility of communication with the sea-board, and the proper combination of all the parts under the general commanding the western army.[28]

These points of discussion probably formed the basis for private conversations between the two men under another heading. That Hamilton was eager to win the westerner to his own way of thinking is indicated by his willingness to recommend the major-generalcy for Wilkinson, which had already been done on 15 June, 1799, while the latter was on his way to New York.[29]

Wilkinson reached New York on the first day of August, 1799 and conversations between the two men began at once. The written recommendations which Wilkinson submitted to Hamilton and which Hamilton later transmitted to Washington have not been found, but from Wilkinson's *Memoirs* it is revealed that he favored concentrating the western forces on the lower Mississippi.[30] It is evident that Wilkinson had his heart in lower Louisiana and that he sought to bring Hamilton over to his point of view by stressing the ease with which the Spanish at New Orleans might be conquered "in one hour".[31] On the other hand, Wilkinson conceded that the

[28] Hamilton to Wilkinson, 15 April, 1799, in Lodge, *Works*, VI, 164; Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, I, 440.

[29] Hamilton to Washington, 15 June, 1799, in Lodge, *Works*, VI, 181–182; *id.* to McHenry, 25 June, 1799, *ibid.*, 184. In his letter to Washington, Hamilton said: "I am aware that some doubts have been entertained of him, and that his character on certain sides, gives room for doubt." Nevertheless, Hamilton argued that Wilkinson was not only a valuable man to the government, but also that he might cause trouble "if neglected". It should be noted that Wilkinson did not receive his promotion until 1813 after having been nearly twenty years in grade. Washington refused to support Hamilton's request. See Bernard C. Steiner, *The Life and Correspondence of James McHenry*, Cleveland, 1907, 396.

[30] Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, I, 437 ff.; Wilkinson to Hamilton, 4 September, 1799, *ibid.*, I, 453. Wilkinson wanted only one regiment of infantry and two companies of artillery assigned to the entire northwest, including the garrison at Fort Massac. He recommended that three regiments of infantry "be ordered to the Mississippi."

[31] Wilkinson to Hamilton, 4 September, 1799, in Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, I, 447.

Ohio could not be left defenseless. To meet this need he recommended a "river navy of decided superiority."[32]

Hamilton, however, was not disposed to favor the concentration of troops on the lower Mississippi. McHenry, the Secretary of War, had first quarreled with Wilkinson and then with Hamilton over the construction of the post at Loftus Heights, Mississippi, which Wilkinson had already begun in 1797 as the point of concentration of the American forces.[33] That Hamilton came to Wilkinson's defense in this instance would seem to have been due to his eagerness to gain the good will of his subordinate and not due to his own convictions, which, as will be seen below, were in favor of a concentration on the lower Ohio.[34] Hamilton even went so far as to refuse tacitly to relay McHenry's orders to Wilkinson calling for a suspension of construction at Loftus Heights.[35]

What actually took place in the conferences between Wilkinson and Hamilton will probably never be known. Hamilton's report to Washington after the conferences, along with which he submitted Wilkinson's proposals, was definitely opposed to the concentration of American troops on the lower Mississippi; indeed, Hamilton recommended that only a battalion of infantry and a company of artillery be distributed among the southern forts. In this same letter he revealed that he favored the establishment of a reserve corps "in the vicinity of the rapids of the Ohio." In defense of this plan Hamilton pointed out that such a concentration would be less antagonistic to the Spanish, while at the same time it would afford better oversight of the northern Indians and "the disaffected of the neighboring country" (*i.e.,* Kentucky).[36] It must be assumed that by this time Hamilton had won Wilkinson to his views, and in further conferences held at Trenton, New Jersey, early in October, 1799, definite agreements were reached in regard to the disposition

---

[32] *Ibid.,* 448. Henry Adams refers to the fact that Jefferson once thought of defending the Mississippi with "gunboats". Adams, *History,* I, 437.

[33] Writing early in 1799, McHenry accused Wilkinson of causing apprehension among the Spanish by this move and opined that "it would have been more in unison with my sentiments, to have retained the principal body nearer to the Ohio". McHenry to Wilkinson, 31 January, 1799, Wilkinson Papers, Chicago Historical Society.

[34] See Wilkinson to Hamilton, 15 April, 1799, Wilkinson Papers, Chicago Historical Society, McHenry to Hamilton, 8 November, 1799, Hamilton to McHenry, 12 November, 1799, Hamilton Papers, vol. 60, 9629–9631, 9720–9722.

[35] Hamilton to McHenry, 12 November, 1799, in Lodge, *Works,* VI, 256–260.

[36] Hamilton to Washington, 9 September, 1799, in Lodge, *Works,* VI, 206–212.

of the troops in the west, including the establishment of the reserve force on the Ohio.[37]

The exact site for such an establishment had yet, however, to be determined. At first Hamilton was of the opinion that the site should "not be . . . more westward or southward than the vicinity of the rapids of Ohio".[38] He had in mind an establishment with a strength of 3000 men which would serve as a corps about which the western militia might rally for defensive operations or for the offense in case a rupture with Spain should induce the Americans to attack Louisiana.[39] Such was the official plan as adopted by the end of October, 1799. What private schemes, if any, may have been agreed upon by Hamilton and Wilkinson cannot be determined from the existing evidence.

In preparation for the execution of the plan all officers of the western regiments on leave or furlough were called to duty, these men being instructed to report directly to Hamilton.[40] Steps were taken at this time also to tighten the discipline of the troops already posted in the west.[41] Fort Massac, formerly subject to the control of the commandant at Fort Stoddard (Loftus Heights, Mississippi) was now placed under the northern division.[42] Early in November, Hamilton began negotiations with the military contractor concerning the provision of rations for the proposed establishment.[43]

---

[37] Hamilton to Secretary of War, 6 October, 1799, in Hamilton Papers, vol. 56, 8999; Hamilton to James Miller, 7 October, 1799, *ibid.*, 9028; Hamilton to Secretary of War, 12 October, 1799, *ibid.*, vol. 57, 9096–9099. In the latter reference Hamilton evidently had his eye on the Fort Massac area, which he stressed as commanding the confluence of the Tennessee and the Cumberland Rivers with the Ohio. He refers to the necessity of the construction of additional "respectable fortifications".

[38] Hamilton to Wilkinson, 31 October, 1799, in Hamilton Papers, vol. 59, 9472–9475. He was also not decided as to which bank of the river should be used for such a concentration, though he seemed to prefer the south side, since rations were cheaper in Kentucky.

[39] Hamilton to McHenry, 12 October, 1799, in Lodge, *Works*, VI, 240–242. With this letter, Hamilton enclosed a plan for the number of river boats necessary for the movement of such a force. This plan has not been found.

[40] Order of McHenry, 2 September, 1799, in *Kentucky Gazette* (Extra), 7 November, 1799.

[41] Hamtramck to Hamilton, 5 October, 1799, in Hamilton Papers, vol. 56, 8968–8972.

[42] Commanding Officer, Mount Adams (near Natchez), to Commanding Officer, Fort Massac, 11 October, 1799, in Letters Sent, Commanding Officer, Troops in Mississippi Territory, July, 1799—May, 1800, 67–68. Unless otherwise stated references to military documents are taken from materials in the Old Records Section of the Adjutant General's Office, now in the National Archives.

[43] Hamilton to James O'Hara, 6 November 1799, in Hamilton Papers, vol. 60, 9595–9596. Here Hamilton indicates that 1320 daily rations would be needed after the first day of the following August (1800). Curiously enough, he mentions increasing the daily rations at Fort Massac to 1000

At this juncture the plans of Hamilton seem to have encountered difficulties. For reasons not clear the creation of the reserve force was slow to materialize and after November, 1799, no more is heard of the development planned for the site at the Falls of the Ohio.[44] At the same time Hamilton wrote of the advisability of establishing a strong post in the vicinity of Fort Massac; this evidently was the germ of Cantonment Wilkinsonville. Why his attention should have been drawn to this new site is puzzling. In his letter to Wilkinson at the end of October Hamilton wrote:

> The importance of securing and commanding the confluence of the rivers Tennessee and Cumberland with the Ohio, and of the latter with the Mississippi has been duly felt by you. The selection of a spot most eligible for a strong fort, with a view to this object and the kind of work which it will be proper to establish, are worthy of your early and careful consideration. You must, however, bear in mind that it is to be successively effected by the labor of the troops. A garrison of five hundred men may be the standard of the dimensions. You will report to me the result of your investigations on this subject.[45]

Had Wilkinson succeeded in drawing Hamilton closer to the Mississippi?

It is certain that by this time Hamilton had begun to despair of getting his war with France. Adams' determination to send a new ambassador to France just when Hamilton was making every effort to recruit his army was very discouraging. Also the death of Washington in December, 1799, had removed Hamilton's closest friend and supporter. When it became evident that Adams' mission would succeed in making an agreement with the French, Hamilton resigned his commission. When a convention of peace was finally

---

in the meantime, these requirements to be reduced later to 100 daily rations. This would seem to indicate that Hamilton, while planning to concentrate the forces at the Falls of the Ohio, at the same time also contemplated strengthening the complement at Massac.

[44] At the end of October, Hamilton was still debating the choice of sites and seems to have decided upon a location on the south side of the river. Hamilton to Wilkinson, 31 October, 1799, in Lodge, *Works*, VI, 247–248; Hamilton to Secretary of War, 8 November, 1799, Hamilton Papers, vol. 60, 9627–9628.

[45] Hamilton to Wilkinson, 31 October, 1799, in Lodge, *Works*, VI, 252. In the same letter, however, Hamilton makes reference to plans for the establishment at the falls of the Ohio, thus indicating that at this point he had not abandoned the former project. He instructed Wilkinson to make his headquarters there in the following spring. *Ibid.* It may be suggested that the destruction of the War Department records in the fire of November, 1800, may account in large part for the lack of information at this point. On 8 November, 1800, the War Office and its records were burned. Samuel Dexter to Simeon Hart, 24 December, 1800, Military Book, 10 November, 1800—17 November, 1803, 1; also Dexter to Speaker of the House, 12 February, 1801, *ibid.*, 63–67.

signed between the Americans and the French in September, 1800, all plans for war were necessarily abandoned.[46] It is not possible to determine what took place in regard to the western project during this period. Under such circumstances, it seems surprising that the project to locate a strong military force on the lower Ohio was not dropped. Nevertheless, this was not the case, and when the records again became available (after the War Department fire in November, 1800), plans were already far advanced for the construction of the post at Grand Chain.[47]

It now becomes clear that Wilkinson was to make his own headquarters at Pittsburgh and that the area from Niagara to Fort Massac was to be assigned to Colonel John F. Hamtramck.[48] Subordinate to Hamtramck was Lt. Col. David Strong, who commanded the Second Regiment of Infantry, which organization had been chosen to open the cantonment.[49] Tools and special supplies were being collected for use at the cantonment by early November, 1800.[50] The contract for rations for the western posts was amended so as to include the rations "that will be requisite at the intended Cantonement on the Ohio".[51] It seems, however, that even at this date the

---

[46] For the bitter disappointment of Hamilton and his associates at this turn of events see Washington to Hamilton, 27 October, 1799, Hamilton Papers, vol. 58, 9384–9385; Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, I, 458. In May, 1800 McHenry ordered the extra military personnel which had been recruited for the French war discharged by 14 June. McHenry to Dearborn, 24 May, 1800, in Military Book, 1800–1803, 232. It is notable that this order was issued even before the French convention was signed. Hamilton resigned on 2 July, 1800. Hamilton to McHenry, 2 July, 1800, in Lodge, *Works*, VI, 309.

[47] There is no evidence of an establishment at this site earlier than 1801. It is possible, of course, that expeditions travelling on the river may have used the site for camping temporarily. Wilkinson may have stopped there in 1798, since several orders were issued in August of that year from "Camp near Massac". General Orders 8, 9, 10, 11 August, 1798, in Wilkinson Order Book, 1797–1808, 126–130.

[48] Hamtramck to Hamilton, 25 December, 1799, in Hamilton Papers, vol. 54, 8707; Wilkinson to Hamtramck, 6 November, 1799, *ibid.*, vol. 60, 9598.

[49] Wilkinson to Hamtramck, 6 November, 1799, in Hamilton Papers, vol. 60, 9597; General Order, Headquarters, Washington, 30 November, 1800, Wilkinson Order Book, 269.

[50] Wilkinson to Secretary of War, 10 November, 1800, in War Office, Letters Received, 1800–1802, W 315; Secretary of War to Samuel Hodgdon, 12 November, 1800, in War Office, Order Book, 1800–1805, 2–3.

[51] Secretary of War to Edward Thomson, 13 November, 1800, in Military Book, 10 November, 1800—17 November, 1803, 1. Thomson, the contractor, signed bond and contract to furnish the extra supplies. Thomson to Dexter, 24 November, 1800, *ibid.*, 5. It is interesting to note that Wilkinson submitted correspondence in behalf of "Mr. Orrs Brother relating to contract and supply of the troops at the mouth of the Ohio on the N.W. side of that river." This bid evidently reached Dexter (Secretary of War) too late for action. Wilkinson to Dexter, 11 November, 1800, War Office,

official War Department approval of the project had not been granted—at least Wilkinson had not received it, for on 1 December he wrote asking for orders "to sanction the Cantonement &c on the NW of the Ohio . . ."[52]

Early in November the troop movement from Pittsburgh began, but the expedition did not reach Marietta until a month later.[53] By mid-January, 1801, the troops were on the site at Grand Chain.[54]

Little is known concerning the construction of the military installations at Cantonment Wilkinsonville,[55] but detailed information is available concerning the establishment and operation of the commissary at the post.[56]

The commissary agent, John R. Williams, assumed his duties at

---

Letters Received, 1800–1802, W 315. Rations were contracted for at fifteen cents each for this post as well as for Massac and other nearby posts. In general the cost of rations above the Ohio was then eighteen cents. Agreement between the Secretary of War and Edward Thomson, 4 September, 1800, in Wilkinson Papers, Chicago Historical Society. Thomson was a Philadelphia merchant. The daily ration for the United States Army in 1800 consisted of the following: 18 oz. of bread or flour (or 1 qt. rice or 1½ lbs. of corn meal), 1¼ lbs. fresh beef (or 1 lb. salt beef or ¾ lb. salt pork; if fresh meat was used, salt was to be furnished at the rate of two quarts per 100 rations), soap at the rate of 4 lbs. per 100 rations, candles at the rate of 1½ lbs. per 100 rations. In addition "It is expected the proposals will also extend to the supply of rum, whiskey, or other ardent spirits". These were to be furnished at the rate of ½ gill per ration and vinegar at the rate of 2 qts. per 100 rations. War Department, Advertisement for Bids, 12 March, 1800, *Kentucky Gazette*, 17 April, 1800.

52 Wilkinson to Dexter, 1 December, 1800, War Office, Letters Received, 1800–1802, W 315. This sanction was officially given in Dexter to Wilkinson, 2 December, 1800, Military Book, 1800–1803, 11.

53 The first evidence of movement from the rendezvous at Montour's Island is reported as taking place 8 November. John R. Williams to Mrs. James O'Hara, 9 November, 1800, in Williams Papers, Michigan Historical Collections. The author expresses his indebtedness to Dr. F. Clever Bald, Assistant Director of the Michigan Historical Collections, for locating and making available in microfilm this very valuable collection of materials. On John R. Williams, see below ..... See also Williams to William Wusthoff, 2 December, 1800, *ibid.;* Wilkinson to Dexter, 28 December, 1800, War Office, Letters Received, 1800–1802, W 317; same to same, 9 January, 1801, in *ibid.*

54 Williams to Matthew Adams, 15 January, 1801, Williams Papers; Williams' Receipt for Provisions, 25 January, 1801, *ibid.;* Wilkinson to Dexter, 6 February, 1801, War Office, Letters Received, 1800–1802, W 318.

55 The earliest reference to the name of the post which has been found is in the letter written by Wusthoff to Williams dated 27 January, 1801 and addressed: "Mr. John Williams Wilkinson Ville". Williams Papers. The place was officially called "Cantonement Wilkinsonville".

56 Prior to his appointment as contractor's agent at Wilkinsonville, John R. Williams was a cadet in the Second Regiment of Infantry. See Receipt of Captain William Gilkinson for Williams' Passage from Detroit to Fort Erie, 8 June, 1800, Williams Papers. Williams later became a wealthy merchant and banker and was the first elected mayor of the city of Detroit. Dr. F. Clever Bald to the author, 28 April, 1948.

Pittsburgh at the time of the organization of the expedition.[57] He accompanied the expedition down the Ohio, being in charge of issues of all provisions during that period. The commissary at Wilkinsonville was established under his direction and remained under his charge as late as October, 1801.[58]

That the position of the civilian commissary attached to a military unit in the army of that period was not an enviable one is revealed in the Williams correspondence. From the beginning of the expedition complaint is heard of "the Repeated misbehaviour" of the troops, some of whom had been taken "all Drunk, & Taping a Barrel of Whisky." Others had broken into barrels of provisions.[59] Losses of stores of course brought the censure of the contractor upon his agent.[60]

Another problem with which the agent wrestled was that of procuring help in unloading and storing supplies. Colonel Strong from the beginning took the viewpoint that military personnel and military horses should not be used in such work, though he was obliged at times to abandon this position.[61] The new contractor, Ormsby, planned to send a horse and dray to the Cantonment, but this plan was not carried out because of its "inconvenience."[62] Prolonged bad weather in March and April, 1801, caused Williams much delay and trouble in getting supply boats loaded and the pro-

---

57 Williams to Mrs. James O'Hara, 6 November, 1800, Williams Papers. At this time Williams was inquiring concerning his duties, the term of his employment, and so on, all of which he was anxious to know "before I descend the River". Williams was at first in the immediate employ of Colonel James O'Hara, the subcontractor. After March, 1801, he was employed in the same capacity by the new subcontractor, Oliver Ormsby. As late as 15 December, Williams still had no official notice of his appointment. Williams to ....., 15 December, 1800; Ormsby to Williams, 17 January, 1801; same to same, 1 February, 1801; Williams to Col. David Strong, 3 March, 1801, all in Williams Papers.

58 Receipt of Charles Wilkins, 9 October, 1801, Williams Papers. At this time Williams turned over certain supplies to Wilkins, who was evidently succeeding him as agent. Ormsby, the new subcontractor, visited Wilkinsonville in May, 1801, spending several weeks there. Williams to Ormsby, 25 April, 1801; Articles of Agreement between William Chribbs and Oliver Ormsby, 16 May, 1801; Ormsby to Williams, 19 June, 1801, all in Williams Papers. As late as July, 1801 Williams had not closed his accounts with Colonel O'Hara, the former subcontractor. Wusthoff to Williams, 29 July, 1801, in *ibid.*

59 Williams to Strong, 26 November, 1800, Williams Papers. Again Williams writes: "There has been several Casks of Beef and flour Opened, and partly Stolen, also Whisky in the different Boats, that were under charge of non Commissioned Officers . . ." Williams to ....., 15 December, 1800, in *ibid.*

60 See, for example, Ormsby to Williams, 3 March, 1801, Williams Papers.

61 Williams to ....., 15 December, 1800, Williams Papers.

62 Ormsby to Williams, 3 March, 1801, Williams Papers.

visions stored.[63] It seems this problem was never satisfactorily solved.

A third problem met by Williams was that of his personal relations with Colonel Strong, the post commandant. Friction between the two undoubtedly grew out of Williams' complaints against the troops and the matter of Strong's refusal to cooperate with him in unloading and storing provisions. The trouble came to a head when Strong sought to displace Williams as commissary agent. According to Strong, Williams had stated that he would not serve under the new contractor, Ormsby, who was to begin issues at the Cantonment on the first of March, 1801. Strong therefore took it upon himself to hire another man to function in Williams' room until Ormsby himself should arrive at the post to survey his affairs.[64] Williams was forced to surrender the storehouse keys to Strong's appointee.[65] In the end Strong was obliged to bow down when Williams was supported by Ormsby.[66]

On another occasion the military authorities alleged that Williams or his assistants were selling liquor to the troops in direct violation of a general order. The appearance of unlicensed sutlers at the post was also mentioned, and Williams was duly warned against their activities.[67]

On the other hand Williams was often forced to depend upon the officers of the post, from whom he borrowed money when in need. Only in the last extremity was he authorized to draw bills

---

[63] "... I have met with Considerable Difficulties in getting the Stores Hawled up as the Hill is very miry and Steep." Williams to Daniel Conner, 8 April, 1801, Williams Papers. The Quartermaster, however, came to his rescue at this time and gave assistance. Williams to Conner, 6 April, 1801, in *ibid.* A month later, however, we hear that the Colonel was adamant in his determination not to allow Williams to use the government's teams. Williams to Ormsby, 10 May, 1801, in *ibid.*

[64] Strong to Williams, 1 April, 1801, Williams Papers. Strong's letter is truculent. He ordered Williams to come to see him and warned him, saying, "My friend,... I expect the fare [sic] game".

[65] Williams, who, it seems, had really decided to leave at first, now fought back and determined to stay. Strong's attempt to poison Conner against Williams failed. Williams to Conner, 6 April, 1801; Conner to Williams, 30 April, 1801, Williams Papers.

[66] Williams writes, telling how Strong then came to him wanting "to know whether or not I had any further Services for Mr. Wilson. I Replied that I had nothing to do with Mr. Wilson that I had not employed him—prior—nor did I want his Services..." Strong was accordingly obliged to accept Williams as agent and to order Wilson and Huston, the men he had supported, to obey Williams. Williams further adds that Strong admitted "that he had nor has nothing to do with the Contractors Business". Williams to Conner, 16 April, 1801, Williams Papers.

[67] Lt. D. Hughes, Adjutant of the Second Regiment, to Williams, 11 August, 1801. Only one sutler, a Mr. Morton, had been authorized to trade at the post.

upon the contractor directly.[68] That he sometimes was asked to collect bills owed by the officers to the contractor may not have endeared him to the military personnel.[69]

The supply of provisions at the post seems to have been maintained without serious difficulty. The contractor, who received fifteen cents per ration for provisions issued, estimated that each ration cost him twelve cents, seven mills.[70] From his margin of profit, costs of transportation, wages and salaries of agents and workmen, losses due to theft and spoilage, and other charges had to be paid. Boats consigned to Wilkinsonville were loaded at Pittsburgh or Cincinnati and conducted to their destination under contract with boatmen, who delivered the cargoes to Williams and returned receipts therefor to the contractor or his agent.[71] Some rations were drawn from stores remaining at Fort Massac when that post was aban-

---

[68] Ormsby to Williams, 3 March, 1801, Williams Papers.

[69] Conner to Williams, 9 July, 1801, in *ibid.*

[70] The cost of a ration was apportioned, according to this estimate, as follows:

Bread or flour	4 cents
Meat	5 cents
Liquor	2 cents
Small parts	1 cent, 7 mills
Total:	12 cents, 7 mills

The so-called "small parts" in each hundred rations were estimated as follows:

4 lbs. soap @ 20 cents	$0.80
2 qts. salt @ 24 cents	.48
1½ lbs. candles @ 26 cents	.39
2 qts. vinegar @ 1½ cents	.03
Total:	$1.70

Note on Invoice of Provisions Received, 30 March, 1801, Williams Papers.

[71] During the early stages of the voyage down the river Williams himself received some supplies directly at various points along the upper course of the river. Wusthoff to Williams, Pittsburg, 8 November, 2 December, 1800; Charles Mayersbach to Williams, 21 November, 1800, Williams Papers. On a few occasions provisions were taken down to the post by an army officer who was making the trip. Receipt of Williams to Captain Claiborne, 5 December, 1800; Ormsby to Williams, 3 March, 1801, in *ibid.* Some idea of the cargoes carried by the boats may be gained from the inventory of the two cargoes which reached Wilkinsonville on 30 March, 1801. Williams reported the arrival of the following:

55 barrels pork
100 barrels whiskey
100 barrels flour
22 barrels soap
29 boxes candles

Williams to Strong, 31 March, 1801, Williams Papers. One of the hazards of the trip down the river was that incident to passing the falls at the site of the present city of Louisville. Fees of four dollars were paid to pilots who took boats over the falls. Inventory of Provisions Sent to Wilkinsonville by John Bishop, undated, Williams Papers.

doned.[72] Shipments of provisions to the post were heavy during the period March-July, 1801. No mention of consignments has been found after mid-September.[73]

The reader is impressed by the enormous quantities of liquor consigned to the establishment, this seemingly being out of proportion to the amount of liquor called for in the number of rations issued. On two occasions consignments of 100 barrels of this item reached the post, not to mention smaller quantities sent.[74] Also of interest is a large shipment of stationery, including among other things various grades of paper, a ledger book, day books, blank books, memorandum books, forty almanacs, quills, ink powder, etc.[75]

To avoid the evils incident to the continued use of salt meat efforts were made to secure fresh beef, especially during the summer of 1801. Live cattle were procured from Kentucky and from Cape Girardeau in Louisiana (now Missouri), though evidently not in great numbers.[76] The slaughter of cattle made necessary the establishment of a butcher at the post, one Joe Eveleth being hired for this work.[77]

A bakery was also established at the Cantonment, this being done on the advice of General Wilkinson, if we may believe Orms-

---

[72] For the abandonment of Fort Massac, see below, ... The authorization for the removal of the provisions is found in Wusthoff to Williams, 27 January, 1801, Williams Papers.

[73] Williams to Strong, 31 March, 1801; Williams to Ormsby, 6 April, 1801; Williams to Conner, 6 April, 1801; Ormsby to Williams, 16 May, 23 May, 1801; Cargo Receipt by John Bellwood, 23 May, 1801; Cargo Receipt by William and John King, 30 June, 1801; Conner to Williams, 30 June, 1801; same to same, 6 July, 1801; Inventory of Supplies sent by John Bishop, undated; Conner to Williams, 15 September, 1801, all in Williams Papers. Once Williams was reminded to acknowledge arrivals promptly. Conner to Williams, 29 August, 1801, in *ibid.*

[74] See again Williams to Strong, 31 March, 1801; Ormsby to Williams, 23 May, 1801, Williams Papers.

[75] Undated Invoice, Received by Williams 30 March, 1801, Williams Papers. This bill, including a few miscellaneous items, amounted to $64.37.

[76] Ormsby authorized Williams to pay $3.25 per hundred weight for live cattle delivered at the post. Kentucky cattle were driven across the Ohio when the river was low. A farmer nearby took the hides at the rate of three hides for the cost of a hundred pounds of beef. One John Feckland (?) contracted to supply 100 head of cattle. Ormsby to Williams, 19 June, 7 July, 1801, Williams Papers. Louis Lorimier of Cape Girardeau delivered at least one drove of cattle to Williams. Lorimier to Williams, 8 July, 1801 (French text), in *ibid.* In addition to fresh meat, bacon seems to have been sought after at the post. Some was sent down and it was suggested that if it could not be issued at a favorable figure it could be sold to the officers. Conner to Williams, 6 July, 1801, *ibid.*

[77] Eveleth, hired for six dollars per month, is described as "a good butcher, and a Carefull Fellow", but Williams was warned that "it will be necessary to keep him from liquor". Another assistant to Williams got fifteen dollars per month. Conner to Williams, 6 July, 1801, Williams Papers.

by. It does not seem, however, that the contractor was obliged to bake bread and no evidence of extra remuneration for this service has been found. One hint as to the reason for the establishment of the bakery is found in a statement by Williams that a quantity of bad flour unfit for issue might be used when the bakery opened.[78] One William Chribbs of Randolph County, Indiana Territory (now Illinois) was hired as baker. His bakery went into operation in May, 1801.[79]

Complete figures on the flow of provisions at Wilkinsonville cannot be given. A report for the period November, 1800-10 March, 1801 submitted to Colonel Hamtramck has not been found.[80] Likewise no report is available for the period after 1 July, 1801. The status of the commissary as of 1 April, 1801 and 1 July, 1801 was summarized by Williams as follows:[81]

Report of Provisions at Wilkinsonville, 1 April, 1801

On hand, 10 March, 1801:

Rations:	Meat	Flour	Whiskey	Soap	Candles	Vinegar	Salt
	69,652	44,051	24,206	82,085	165,332	12,000	5,400
Received since that date:							
	17,009	17,422	206,704	111,675	134,200	.....	.....
Totals:	86,661	61,473	230,910	193,760	299,532	12,000	5,400
Issued and Expended:							
	14,215½	14,415½	17,071	14,215½	14,583	.....	800
On Hand, 1 April, 1801:							
	72,445½	47,057½	213,839	179,544½	289,949	12,000	4,600

[78] This flour was part of a cargo that had been sunk at Pittsburg. Complaint was raised against its issue at the post and a board of enquiry was appointed to inspect it. Williams says, "In order to avoid Condemnation, I exchanged the Flour, without allowing the Court-Inspection..." He then suggested it might be used later in the bakery. Williams to Ormsby, 10 May, 1801; Ormsby to Williams, 3 March, 1801, Williams Papers.

[79] See contract between Chribbs and Ormsby, 16 May, 1801, Williams Papers. Chribbs, who was indebted to Ormsby, agreed to bake, producing 120 pounds "of Good and Wholesome Bread" from each 100 pounds of flour delivered him. Chribbs was to be credited with five dollars for every 196 pounds of bread baked. See also Williams to Conner, 24 April, 1801; Williams to Ormsby, 10 May, 1801, in *ibid.*

[80] Williams to Hamtramck, 25 April, 1801, Williams Papers.

[81] Report of Provisions on Hand at Wilkinson Ville on the 1st April, 1801. This report was made to Colonel Strong. Report of Provisions at the Post of Wilkinson Ville on the 1st July, 1801. Two reports bear this latter date and differ somewhat in the figures presented. The most complete one has been used. Williams Papers.

Report of Provisions at Wilkinsonville, 1 July, 1801

Rations:	Salt Meat	Fresh Beef	Flour	Whiskey	Soap	Candles	Salt
On hand, 1 June, 1801:							
	39,456½	1,700	246,873½	247,666	344,398½	307,082	68,250
Received since:							
	.....	12,790	53,134	203,072	.....	.....	.....
Totals:	39,456½	14,490	300,010½	450,738	344,398½	307,082	68,250
Issued and Expended:							
	19,353	13,353	33,045	38,217	32,394	34,194	15,000
On hand, 1 July, 1801:							
	20,103½	1,137	266,965½	412,521	312,004½	272,888	53,250

As mentioned above, information is lacking as to the type of installations constructed at Wilkinsonville. The fortifications were, however, mounted with brass six-pounder cannon.[82] By mid-March the construction was evidently well advanced. At this time the place was visited by a tornado and partially destroyed; one soldier was killed and a number wounded, several seriously.[83] In March, 1801 there was established at the post a general paymaster whose jurisdiction extended as far as Fort Pickering (now Memphis, Tennessee).[84] Plans were also made for the establishment of an officer's training school at the Cantonment, with instruction to be provided "in the necessary sciences," this being thought likely to "promote the interest of the service." Considerable quantities of supplies and

---

[82] General Orders, Headquarters, Pittsburgh, 25 February, 1 March, 1801, Wilkinson Order Book, 289–291.

[83] Lt. Ferdinand L. Claiborne to ....., 14 March, 1801 as printed in *Country Gazette of the United States and Daily Advertiser*, 9 May, 1801. See also Frankfort (Kentucky) *The Palladium*, 21 April, 1801; Wilkinson to Secretary of War, 1 May, 1801, in War Office, Letters Received, 1800–1802, W323. In addition to the military casualties, the death of one woman and the injury of several others is mentioned. The presence of women in the camp is probably explained in that the laundry system of that period provided for four women laundresses to each company. It is not likely that officers' wives and families were at the Cantonment. General Orders, Headquarters, Pittsburgh, 27 June, 1801, in Wilkinson Order Book, 339.

[84] General Orders, Washington, 18 March, 1801, in Wilkinson Order Book, 313; Secretary of War to Paymaster General, 12 June, 1801, in Military Book, 1800–1803, 85; Stations of the Several Regimental Paymasters, 7 August, 1801, in Order Book, 1800–1805, 116.

[85] Wilkinson to Secretary of War, 8 April, 1801, in War Office, Letters Received, 1800–1802, W322; same to same, 5 June, 1801, in *ibid.*, W325.

equipment were sent to the post in May.[86] A number of boats were also stationed at the Cantonment at this time, these probably being the same as those in which the troops had been moved to the post.[87]

Due to lack of detailed information it is difficult to ascertain at given times the number of men and the names of the military organizations at the Cantonment. The bulk of the troops stationed there during the spring and summer of 1801 belonged to the Second Regiment of Infantry. But, some troops from the Fourth Regiment were also present, at least in mid-summer. In addition, some reference is made to Third Regiment personnel.[88] There were also smaller detachments of artillerists and engineers, a full military band, and quartermaster personnel.[89] The maximum strength at the post was reached at the end of July, 1801 when eleven companies of infantry and a company and a detachment of artillery were listed on the payroll.[90] In addition to military personnel, certain civilian personnel were attached to the post. The presence of women laundresses has been explained above. Their number at full strength would have been at least forty. Present also were civilians attached to the post

---

[86] General Orders, Headquarters, Pittsburgh, 8 May, 1800, Wilkinson Order Book, 325. Items mentioned are lances, swords, gun worms, cartridge boxes, screwdrivers, brushes and picks, bayonet scabbards, gun slings, and knapsacks.

[87] Governor William C. C. Claiborne to Secretary of War, 2 August, 1801, War Office, Letters Received, 1800–1802, C 34.

[88] General Orders, Wilkinsonville, 29 July, 30 July, 1801, in Wilkinson Order Book, 344, 346.

[89] General Orders, Wilkinsonville, 29, 30, 31 July, 1801, in Wilkinson Order Book, 343 ff. The band is mentioned as the General's pride and was said to have cost "much time, trouble and expense". Two "chief musicians" and 16 "musicians" are mentioned. Daily band practice was ordered by the General. General Orders, Wilkinsonville, 30 July, 1801, Wilkinson Order Book, 345; "Return of Clothing due the Army of the United States for the Year 1801", in Order Book, 1800–1805, 110–117, dated 7 August, 1801.

[90] "Abstract of pay due to the 2nd. Regt. of Infantry [and] one Company & a Detachment of the 2 Regt. Arll. [*sic*] & Engrs. at Wilkinson Ville", 2 August, 1801, in Wilkinson Papers, Chicago Historical Society. It should be pointed out that no mention is made here of units other than the Second Regiment of Infantry and the Second Regiment of Artillery and Engineers. This does not preclude the presence on temporary status of other troops at the post. The total payroll at Wilkinsonville at this time was $12,821.06. If 70 men be counted for each company (this figure includes non-commissioned personnel, musicians, and privates, but not commissioned officers), the total strength at Wilkinsonville at that time may be roughly computed at some 900 men. For strength of companies at the post, see "Return of Clothing due the Army of the United States for the Year 1801", in Order Book, 1800–1805, 110–117, dated 7 August, 1801. This document, which undoubtedly refers to an earlier date than the payroll mentioned above, lists only eight companies of infantry as being present at the post. Each company enrolled about 64 privates, four non-commissioned officers, and two musicians.

in connection with the collection of tariff duties, for Wilkinsonville had replaced Fort Massac as the port of entry on the lower Ohio.[91]

No description of the Cantonment and its installations has been found. The report of the tornado, mentioned above, refers to the quartermaster's camp as being located on the southwest quarter of the post and adjacent to the barracks for the troops. A parade ground of some size must have been present, for it afforded room for a general review of all personnel. The river front provided a good harbor for boats.[92]

Wilkinson's visit to the Cantonment in 1801 was incident to his journey into the south to treat with the Creeks.[93] Leaving Pittsburgh on 10 July, the General arrived at the Cantonment eighteen days later.[94] His stay there seems not to have extended much beyond the second day of August.[95] During the General's presence the Cantonment was actually general headquarters for the west, though Colonel Strong was technically continued in command of the post.[96]

Wilkinson found the Cantonment personnel suffering from an epidemic of fever and dysentery. Such epidemics were not uncommon in the western posts at that time,[97] and officers were known to have resigned rather than accept an assignment to these posts.

---

91 Perrin du Lac writes: "Il est aujord' hui le séjour des employés de la douane et le seul sur l'Ohio qui ait conservé une garrison, destinée plutôt a surveiller l'entrée des bateaux qu'a exercer des fonctions militaires." *Voyage dans L'Amérique* (Paris, 1805), 161–162. Fort Massac was completely evacuated in May, 1801. See Williams to Adams, 15 January, 1801; Williams to Conner, 10, 24 April, 1801; Williams to Ormsby, 10 May, 1801. Williams Papers. Williams says the installations at Massac were put in possession of Indians and the white inhabitants "sent off".

92 Claiborne to ....., 14 March, 1801, in *loc. cit.*

93 Wilkinson to Secretary of War, 26 June, 1801, War Office, Letters Received, 1800–1802, W 327. In 1801, Jefferson's government undertook to negotiate a treaty with the Creeks and other tribes relative to securing their permission for the construction of the projected road from Natchez to Nashville. Wilkinson was chosen to head the American delegation. See below.

94 Wilkinson to Secretary of War, 10 July, 1801, in War Office, Letters Received, 1800–1802, W 329; Isaac Craig to Secretary of War, 10 July, 1801, in *ibid.*, W 330; same to same, 2 August, 1801, in *ibid.*, W 331; *Country Gazette of the United States*, 24 July, 1801; Conner to Williams, 6 July, 1801, Williams Papers.

95 This is the last date mentioned in orders issued at the post by the General. Wilkinson Order Book, 343–352. On 10 August, Wilkinson was at Nashville. Wilkinson to Secretary of War, 10 August, 1801, in War Office, Letters Received, 1800–1802, W 331.

96 General Orders, Wilkinsonville, 29 July, 1801, in Wilkinson Order Book, 343.

97 Writing from Chickasaw Bluffs (present Memphis) on July 22, 1799, Captain Zebulon Pike states: "Our men is very sickly & no medicine. . . ." Pike to Commanding Officer, Loftus Heights, Mississippi, in Letters Received, Fort Stoddard, April–November, 1799, 34.

The traveller Sealsfield says that the troops at Massac suffered much "from swamps in the rear of the fort."[98] At Fort Adams near Natchez the troops were regularly moved to higher ground during the summer months. An order states: "Zealous exertions are to be made on the works of the Fort before the sickly season commences, when the mass of the troops must be removed as heretofore."[99] Wilkinson, who had studied medicine early in life, describes the epidemic of 1801 as being general among the civilian population of Western Tennessee. "I found the Country below this [Nashville], toward the Ohio much more sickly than the Cantonement—for more than one hundred miles I did not enter a House where the first object was not Disease of the Bilious and intermittent character."[100]

Wilkinson took an active interest in the matter of the health of his troops and did what he could to improve bad conditions at the posts. One of his orders reads:

> A hardy, faithful, gallant, soldier, far removed from his natural friends and Connections, languishing on a sick bed under a parching fever has no where to look for Consolation for comfort or relief, but to his Officer and his surgeon, can a more interesting or affecting Spectacle present to the human mind—surely none—and the man who under such Circumstances can with indifference turn from or treat with neglect, a comrade of honor and misfortune who looks up to him for Support, is ready to shed the last drop of blood in his defence and to die by his side in the field of battle, must be a monster in feeling and in principle; the General sincerely hopes, no such Character will ever present under his command, should he be disappointed he pledges himself that the connection shall be a short one.[101]

However, medical science of the day was, under the best of conditions, inadequate to solve the problems faced. It was commonly believed then, as was the case long afterward, that summer epidemics were caused by polluted air, and there were standing orders prohibiting the troops from sleeping in the "open air exposed either to the dews or the sun" on the grounds that "such exposition in this Climate will infallibly produce disease."[102] The General's famous

---

[98] Charles Sealsfield, *The Americans as they Are: described in a Tour through the Valley of the Mississippi*, London, 1828, 77.

[99] General Orders, Fort Adams, 30 March, 1802, Wilkinson Order Book, 384.

[100] Wilkinson to Secretary of War, 10 August, 1801, Wilkinson Papers.

[101] General Orders, "Western Army near Natchez," 3 October, 1798, in Wilkinson Order Book, 151.

[102] General Orders, Headquarters, Camp near Massac, 9 August, 1798, in General Orders, General James Wilkinson, 1797–1808, 127–128. This order book is now in the Library of Congress. Future references to this source will be designated by the initials "L. C." to distinguish these materials from references made to the Wilkinson Order Book in the National Archives.

haircropping order was partially justified from the standpoint of health.[103] Sanitary rules about the camps were evidently few and but loosely enforced.[104] The medical service was but poorly equipped and organized. In 1799 a depot for medical supplies was established at Fort Massac and this was probably removed to Wilkinsonville in 1801.[105] These supplies, however, were inadequate and the Quartermaster General was severely criticized for failure to provide the things needed for the frontier posts.[106] At this time leading medical men such as Dr. Benjamin Rush were requested to submit suggestions as to the "kinds and proportions of medicines necessary for each post" as well as recommendations for the medical personnel and surgical instruments needed.[107] Whether as a result of these recommendations or for other reasons the health of the troops seems to have improved after 1802.

Curiously enough, the military authorities at Massac seem finally to have stumbled upon one cause of the trouble and to have removed it. Thomas Ashe relates what had happened at Massac in regard to the draining of certain ponds to the rear of the fort, which had commonly received flood waters and had retained them "till exhausted by evaporation, a gradual process effected by the action of the burning sun" during which the water became stagnated or was "drawn into the atmosphere in a state sufficient to impregnate it with foetid smells and fatal poisons." One of the officers ordered these ponds drained so that the next flood passed on through, cleansing the area. The result according to Ashe, was that "the vernal fever was suppressed, the summer flux was gone, and the

---

103 "For the accomodation, comfort, and health, of the troops, their hair is to be croped without exception, and the General will give the example." General Orders, Pittsburgh, 29 April, 1801, in Wilkinson Order Book, (L.C.), unnumbered pages. See also, General Orders, Headquarters Wilkinsonville, 29 July, 1801, Wilkinson Order Book, 344. This order was fiercely resented by some of the older officers who were reluctant to cut their long hair. One famous court martial case grew out of it—the court martial of Lt. Col. Thomas Butler of the 4th Regiment of Infantry.

104 One order reads: "No person is permitted to ease themselves within the limits of the Camp, but over the Gaults [*sic*], unless in case of sickness and then the excrements are to be immediately removed." General Orders, Headquarters, Loftus Heights, Mississippi, 9 October, 1798, in Wilkinson Order Book, 155.

105 Isaac Craig, Deputy Quartermaster General, to General Wilkinson, 23 May, 1799, in Commanding Officer, Fort Stoddard, Letters Received, April to November, 1799, 3–4.

106 Secretary of War to Quartermaster General, 12 June, 1801, in Order Book, 1800–1805, 92.

107 See Secretary of War to Dr. Rush, 28 April, 1801, in Military Book, 1800–1803, 115–116; *id.* to Israel Whelen, 17 February, 1802, *ibid.*, 264. Replies to these requests have not been found, but such were made. See Secretary of War to Whelen, 27 March, 1802, *ibid.*, 173–175.

autumnal vomit and hoemorhage [sic] entirely disappeared." He adds, however, that the men still suffered from "intermittents, pleurasies, and a species of slow disease which consumes the body, extinguishes the natural heat of the blood, [and] changes the complexion into a livid pale."[108]

Almost from the first, complaints had been made of the inadequacy of medical supplies at the Cantonment.[109] By late April Colonel Strong reported sickness among the troops and requested additional medicine and hospital supplies.[110] By June the sickness had so increased that the War Department presumably became concerned over newspaper criticism of the losses of personnel. The decision for the removal of the troops, however, has another interpretation. Thomas Jefferson was now President of the United States and the new administration undoubtedly had questions about the Cantonment and the presence of Wilkinson's forces there. Indeed, the concern of the new Secretary of War for the health of the troops was merely an excuse for the abandonment of the Cantonment. At the same time there were considerations for the removal of Wilkinson from his command. Orders were therefore issued that the troops be removed to the Tennessee uplands, leaving only a small contingent at the Cantonment to guard the property to be left there.[111] There is no hint of Wilkinson's reaction to this change of affairs. That it was counter to his own schemes is evident enough. However, he was left in command and was thus able to continue his career in the west. At this time the government was planning the construction of a road from Natchez to Nashville and

---

108 Thomas Ashe, *Travels in America Performed in 1806*, London, 1806, 279–280. Ashe said that only twenty men had died at Massac during the three years previous to his visit. *Ibid.*, 279.

109 Wilkinson to Secretary of War, Pittsburgh, 13 Feb., 1801, in War Office, Letters Received, W 319.

110 Wilkinson to Secretary of War, 4 June, 1801, in *ibid.*, W 325. Here Wilkinson referred to a letter written by Strong on 25 April. On 24 April Williams reported that as many as three and four men were dying daily at the Cantonment. He identified the disease as dysentery and opined that the place would "be unavoidably Sickly owing to the number of Ponds &c that encircles its environs..." Williams to Conner, 24 April, 1801, Williams Papers.

111 Writing on 11 June the Secretary referred to an account of the sickness as printed in a Cincinnati newspaper and expressed the opinion that continuing the troops there "unless some important public advantage might result from such occupancy" might be considered "as sporting with men's lives". Secretary of War to Wilkinson, 11 June, 1801, in Military Book, 1800–1803, 83–84. The same letter may be found in the Wilkinson Papers, Chicago Historical Society. Cox states that only Burr's intercession saved Wilkinson from being removed from the army. "James Wilkinson", in *loc. cit.*, 224. Ormsby anticipated the evacuation as early as 7 July, when he wrote Williams making provision for sending surplus stores to Natchez. Ormsby to Williams, Williams Papers.

it was decided to employ Strong's troops on this project.[112] Before this construction could take place, however, the Indians in that area would have to be pacified. Wilkinson, as has been pointed out above, was chosen to conduct these negotiations.[113] In the meantime the Secretary of War was insistent that the Cantonment be evacuated as soon as possible.[114]

Upon Wilkinson's arrival at the post at the end of July, various measures were taken for the immediate relief of the sick pending their removal up the Tennessee river.[115] On 1 August orders were issued for the evacuation.[116] Somewhat later the Cantonment was evacuated except for a small guard detachment; the troops were moved up the Tennessee River; in the meantime, Wilkinson and the commissioners began negotiations with the Chickasaw and Creeks for permission to build the road. It was at this time that Colonel Strong died.[117] The number of men who died at the Cantonment will probably never be known.[118]

---

112 Secretary of War to Wilkinson, 11 June, 1801, in *loc. cit.*

113 On the subject of the Natchez-Nashville Pike, see Secretary of War to Wilkinson, 17 July, 1801, in Military Book, 1800–1803, 95; Wilkinson to Secretary of War, 3 July, 1801, in War Office, Letters Received, 1800–1802, W 320; Wilkinson to Secretary of War, 10 August, 1801, Wilkinson Papers, Chicago Historical Society; Secretary of War to Lt. Col. Thomas Butler, 26 February, 1802, in Military Book, 1800–1803, 271–272. The road planned was to be 20 feet wide with bridges over streams and causeways over swamps and marshes. Rewards were to be offered for robbers and highwaymen. Military labor was to be used in the construction, the troops to be given extra pay and allowances for this work. Secretary of War to Butler, 16 April, 1802, in *ibid.*, 192–193; Secretary of War to Archibald Roane, 18 July, 1803, *ibid.*, 513–514.

114 Secretary of War to Wilkinson, 12 June, 1801, in Military Book, 1800–1803, 84. On 19 June, Wilkinson began plans for the removal of the troops. Wilkinson to Secretary of War, 19 June, 1801, in War Office, Letters Received, 1800–1802, W 326.

115 General Orders, Wilkinsonville, 31 July, 1801, Wilkinson Order Book, 348; *ibid.*, 2 August, 1801, 350. A number of the sick were discharged as unfit for duty.

116 General Orders, Wilkinsonville, 1, 2, August, 1801, in Wilkinson Order Book, 349, 350. On 30 July, Williams was ordered to ration Col. Butler's Fourth Regiment personnel for ten days (later 20 days) provisions. Wilkinson to Williams, 30 July, 1801. On the following day he was ordered to make arrangements to issue 80 rations daily at Fort Vincennes. Same to same, 31 July, 1801. On 23 August, Williams sent considerable quantities of provisions to the mouth of the Tennessee, including 20 barrels salt pork, 90 barrels flour, and 12 barrels whiskey. This date probably corresponds to that of the movement of the main body of the troops. Invoice of Provisions Sent to the Mouth of the Tennessee, 23 August, 1801, Williams Papers.

117 Strong's death was reported by Wilkinson as having taken place on 19 August. Whether Strong died at the Cantonment or elsewhere is not clear from the documents. Wilkinson to Secretary of War, 8 September, 1801, in War Office, Letters Received, 1800–1802, W 334. An inventory of Strong's personal belongings is referred to in Major J. H. Buell to Secretary of War, 20 September, 1801, in *ibid.*, B 20. In a letter dated 28 September, Wilkinson refers to the convalescing troops "near Cumberland,"

The history of the Cantonment after 1801 will be given briefly. During the winter of 1801–1802 some troops were stationed there.[119] The following spring supernumeraries at Wilkinsonville and other posts in the west were ordered discharged.[120] It seems evident that Fort Massac was reoccupied at this time.[121] Wilkinsonville was still on the rations list at this time, however,[122] but was removed when contracts were made for 1802–1803.[123] Wilkinson was at the Cantonment in March, 1802 and evidently directed some repairs for the defense of the station. Additional artillerists were also sent there at this time.[124] At the same time the Secretary of War was considering building a new post on the Mississippi either below or above the mouth of the Ohio, the same to be a "permanent Post in a situation well calculated for a settlement and

---

this evidently referring to Strong's command. Wilkinson to Secretary of War, 28 September, 1801, in *ibid.*, W 335. Williams closed his affairs at the Cantonment on 9 October, 1801, turning over his supplies to Charles Wilkins. Receipt of Charles Wilkins, Wilkinsonville, 9 October, 1801, Williams Papers.

118 Perrin's statement that "200 to 400 graves mark the spot where citizens and soldiers found burial" is undocumented. Perrin, *History*, 587. More dependable is a recent affadavit of an early settler of the vicinity where the Cantonment stood, who recalled as many as seventy graves. No trace of graves now remains. Sworn statement of Sarah Short, 30 March, 1929, in Moyers, "Some Early Americans" (reprint in Mounds, Ill., *Independent*, 16 March, 1934).

119 Wilkinson to Secretary of War, 13 October, 1801, in War Office, Letters Received, 1800–1802, W 335. Somewhat later, reference is made to the delivery to the commandant at Wilkinsonville of three Indians accused of murder. *The Guardian of Freedom*, 13 November, 11 December, 1801.

120 Secretary of War to Major T. H. Cushing, 29 March, 1802, in Military Book, 1800–1802, 176. This was in accordance with the general reduction in the Armed Forces voted by Congress in March. Secretary of War to I. I. V. Rivardi and others, 1 April, 1802, in *ibid.*, 179–180.

121 A "military agent" was named for that post in 1802. Secretary of War to William Linnard, 5 May, 1802, in *ibid.*, 202–204; Circular of Instructions to Military Agents, 6 May, 1802, *ibid.*, 206–207. At this time also Lt. Col. T. H. Cushing sent in a report on the subject of rearrangement of the troops in the west. Massac is again listed as a post, with the recommendation that one company be posted there. Certain companies of the 2nd. and 3rd. Regiments of Infantry were to go to Fort Adams and Mobile. Document B, referred to in Cushing to Secretary of War, 18 March, 1802, in *ibid.*, 166–168.

122 War Department Notice, 20 April, 1801, in Military Book, 1800–1803, 103.

123 Massac now resumed its place on the ration lists. Secretary of War to I. Meigs, 9 August, 1802, in *ibid.*, 343; Call for Bids for Provisions for Year 1802–1803, in Military Book, 1800–1803, 305. The same is true for 1803–1804, *ibid.*, 473.

124 General Orders, Headquarters, Wilkinsonville, 12 March, 1802, in Wilkinson Order Book, 378–379. In the autumn of 1802 reference is made to the possible use of the facilities at Wilkinsonville for the storage of the tools then being returned from the construction of the Nashville-Natchez Pike. Secretary of War to George Salmon, 27 September, 1802, in Military Book, 1800–1803, 294.

ultimately for a place of business, where the Military may have the command of the Mississippi & Ohio Both."[125] The Cantonment is barely referred to in 1803 as a probable stopping place for a company then on its way to Illinois,[126] but no troops are listed as posted there in the list of posts and their complements.[127] Early in 1805 government property at Wilkinsonville was offered for sale and the buildings were thrown open to civilian occupancy.[128] Not even the purchase of Louisiana and its occupation in 1803 revived the Cantonment. Such preparations as were made for occupying Louisiana called for strengthening the troops in the upper Illinois posts and at Natchez and Fort Adams.[129]

The site of the Cantonment continued, however, to be a stopping place for troops and civilians for some time after the army ceased to occupy it. By 1806 there were some twenty families in the general vicinity of Fort Massac, who, according to Ashe, furnished "corn, poultry, and hogs, and at a much dearer rate than I have yet heard of on the river banks . . ."[130] In 1807 a Cherokee town was located on the site of Wilkinsonville, that consisted of about twelve families.[131] By this time, however, the buildings had been destroyed, evidently by fire, which had occurred, according to Cuming, in 1805.[132] The Forsyth Map of 1812 does not mention the site, but it is mentioned on Carey and Warner's map of Tennessee

---

125 Secretary of War to Captain Bissell, 6 July, 1802, in Military Book, 1800–1803, 235–237. This project was still under consideration in 1803. Secretary of War to Thomas H. Cushing, 9 March, 1803, in *ibid.*, 385.

126 Secretary of War to Mathew Lyon, 9 March, 1803, in Military Book, 1800–1803, 432.

127 "List of Posts & number of Compy's at Each Posts" (*sic*), Inclosure to Secretary of War to William Irvine, 7 March, 1803, in *ibid.*, 377.

128 Secretary of War to Commanding Officer at Fort Massac, 18 February, 1805, in Moyer Notes, Southern Illinois Historical Society; same to same, 25 March, in *ibid.* The sale of cordage and sails is referred to here. Persons occupying the buildings were to repair them and to refrain from selling liquor to the Indians. The Louisiana Purchase in 1803 had of course rendered the post useless for military purposes.

129 Secretary of War to Thomas Wilson, 3 November, 1803, Order Book, 1800–1805, 173; same to L. A. Seitz, 31 October, 1803, *ibid.*, 173–174; same to General Jackson, 31 October, 1803 in Military Book, 1800–1803, 555–556; same to Nathaniel Armstrong, 31 October, 1803, *ibid.*, 554–555.

130 Ashe, *Travels*, 280.

131 Christian Schultz, *Travels on an Inland Voyage through the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee*, 2 vols. New York, 1810, II, 3–4. Schultz's visit was in the year 1807. See also "A Map of the Ohio River and part of the Mississippi, Containing the Route from Pittsburgh to St. Louis and the Mines", *ibid.*

132 Fortescue Cuming, *Sketches of a Tour to the Western Country* Pittsburgh, 1810, 252–253. Cuming blames the Indians for the destruction of the buildings.

published in 1816.[133] In 1819, however, the site was vacant, according to Dana.[134] By 1821 the spot was certainly deserted except for scattered farm houses in the general vicinity.[135] After this time there seems to have been nothing except farm dwellings on or near the site.[136] For many years, however, the name was still living as "Wilkinson's Landing," though "Cedar Bluffs" was more commonly used.[137] When Thwaites visited the site in 1897 it was already long forgotten by the farm population.[138]

NORMAN W. CALDWELL

Southern Illinois University

---

133 "Survey of the Countries South West of Lake Huron by Thos. Forsyth done at St. Louis the 20 Decr. 1812 and brought in by General Clark, copy from the original in possession of William Tatham by T. Stephenson, March 18, 1813". A copy of the original Carey and Warner Map may be found in the Illinois Historical Survey at Urbana. See also Map of Illinois, 1818, by John Melish, Tucker Collection, Illinois State Museum. From Cairo the road went north eastward through Wilkinsonville to Fort Massac, and from thence across the Ohio to Salem Kentucky.

134 E. Dana, *Geographical Sketches on the Western Country designed for Emigrants and Settlers*, Cincinnati, 1819, 155. This does not agree with Gilleland, however, who still refers to a village which "has somewhat declined". J. C. Gilleland, *The Ohio and Mississippi Pilot, Consisting of a Chart of those Rivers, etc.*, Pittsburgh, 1820, 118.

135 "Plate Ohio River—No. 19, Reconnaissance of the Mississippi & Ohio Rivers, 1821" prepared by Captain H. Young and others of the Topographical Engineers. Cumings' *Western Navigator* indicates at this time that the place was entirely vacant and "is noticed merely as a distinguishing point". Samuel Cumings, *The Western Navigator Containing Directions for the Navigation of the Ohio and Mississippi, etc.*, 2 vols., Philadelphia, 1822, II, 32. Beck also says the site was deserted. Lewis C. Beck, *A Gazetteer of the States of Illinois and Missouri*, Albany, 1828, 164. He no longer lists it on the map. It is, however, still listed on Carez's Map of 1825. J. Carez, *Carte Géographique, Statistique et Historique de l'Illinois*, Paris, 1825.

136 Edmund Flagg, *The Far West: or a Tour Beyond the Mountains*, New York, 1838, 47.

137 Plate 50, Map of the Ohio River, made under the Direction of Major W. E. Merrill, Corps of Engineers, 1867–1868.

138 Reuben Gold Thwaites, *Afloat on the Ohio*, New York, 1900, 291. Thwaites himself erroneously dates the Cantonment from the War of 1812. The site, now known as Metcalf's Landing in Section 2, Township 15, Range 2, East of the 3rd. Principal Meridian, has been proposed as a state park, but this proposal did not receive favorable consideration. Manuscript Plat of Site by William Nelson Moyers in possession of Southern Illinois Historical Society; Resolution of Egyptian Chapter, D.A.R., at Quincy, Illinois, 17 March, 1932; "Proposed Park—Ft. Wilkinson Ville", in Report of George H. Luker, Superintendent of Parks, and David Abbott, Landscape Architect, to Director F. Lynden Smith, 9 November, 1937; Luker to Mrs. Grace Cabot Toler, 9 November, 1937, all in *ibid.*

The Cartography of the Mississippi

II. La Salle and the Mississippi

Before analyzing the map of 1684, we shall study La Salle's geographical conceptions of the Mississippi Valley, which are set forth in a letter written from Michilimackinac in October, 1682, after his return from the sea, and in a fragment of a letter written at Fort St. Louis (Starved Rock) in March, 1683. We shall then try to ascertain what his conceptions were—or what he said they were—after his return to France in 1684. In this connection we must examine what is the latitude of the mouth of the Mississippi, that is, the latitude which he took in 1682, and the change which it underwent after the expedition had reached Petit Goave, on Santo Domingo Island. Thirdly we shall treat briefly of the authors of two maps which embodied La Salle's geographical conceptions, Franquelin and Minet.

In the letter of October 1682, La Salle says that he had descended the Mississippi to the sea, to latitude 27°, but that it is impossible to send any relation or map this year, for on returning from the Gulf, he had been so ill that, even now, after four months, he is scarcely able to write a letter and he cannot delay the departure of the canoe if he wanted his mail to arrive at Quebec before the ships leave for France. He is sending a copy of the procès-verbaux; what took place during the voyage to the sea has been narrated at length in the letter of Tonti, and in another letter which La Salle wrote to Father Hippolyte Lefebvre, a copy of which he is sending to his correspondent. "If Reverend Father Zénobe Membré, a Recollect, goes to France this year, he will be able to give you an account, for he has been with me constantly; if he does not go to France, I have asked him to write to you."[1]

He then goes on to speak of his trading, and is thus led to describe the Mississippi:

> Two leagues from its mouth, it is no wider than the Loire, and an army could not, except with great difficulty, come on land, because of the thickness of canebrakes; so that with a small force it is possible to defend the riches of the fertile country on the banks of this river [fleuve]. It would

[1] Margry, 2: 288 ff.

also be easy to defend the seven or eight rivers, as large as the Mississippi, which empty into it; five of these rivers come from New Biscay and from New Mexico, where the Spaniards have found such rich mines. From the Mississippi, one could harrass and even completely ruin New Spain by arming the Indians who can easily be civilized, for they have temples, chiefs whom they obey, and a natural hatred for the Spaniards, because the latter made them slaves. The entrance to this country being so easy to defend, could also be effected by way of New France, should one lack the men to do it by sea. For *la louysiane* is only two days' journey from Lake Erie, which is contiguous to Lac Frontenac. This *Louysiane* is a large river [fleuve] with which the Colbert mingles its waters. By means of this *louysiane* one could have an easy communication between this colony and Canada.[2]

He will not speak of pearls nor of the various riches of the country, but he repeats that this colony is absolutely necessary for New France, "because the Colbert and the *louysiane* are both navigable, at least to barks, without any rapids or falls, and so we could communicate with the places where the Indians live who supply Canada with peltries." In virtue of his commission, he was authorized to build forts, and he has had one built near the present South Bend, Indiana. Now he wants "the concession of the Illinois River down to the mouth of the Ouabache, on the east side of the Colbert River, with ten leagues in depth on the west side of the Colbert," and he is asking that this tract of land be erected into a province. He is also asking the concession of the Arkansas River with ten leagues on both sides of the river; finally, a concession of six leagues front with as many in depth at the village of the Koroa, and another concession of unspecified extent at the mouth of the Mississippi. For the present, however, he would be satisfied with the fort at South Bend, the concession of the Illinois River, and the exclusive right to trade in these regions. He pledges himself not to trade in the country of Lake Huron, Lake Michigan, and other lakes, where the Indians live who trade with Montreal. In fact, the South Bend concession is all that he needs, for he can trade with Canada by way of Lake Erie.

He is very anxious to have the Iroquois remain peaceful, because, in case of war, "I could only go to the Illinois country by way of Lake Huron and Lake Michigan, for the other route which I discovered north and south of Lake Erie would be too dangerous," owing to prowling Iroquois. He did not built a fort near the sea, because the distance is much too great; but the fort at South Bend will serve its purpose, and next year, he will build a fort near the

[2] *Ibid.*, 293.

sea. "If I had had enough men to build forts along the way, the establishment would be completed by now. All that is needed is the price of the passage of sixty men, twenty or thirty negroes, and two or three thousand *écus'* worth of merchandise." He promises that he will make a report next year, and will send maps and memoirs, "if I do not bring them myself."[3]

We did not wish to interrupt La Salle's letter with comments. That this letter was written at Michilimackinac appears from his reference to the numerous rapids between the post and Montreal. That it was written at the beginning of October is clear from what he says about his inability to write during four months, and also from other documents which testify to his presence at Michilimackinac at the beginning of October.[4] That he wrote it in 1682 appears from his allusion to the completion of his discovery. The procès-verbaux of which he speaks are those made by La Métairie;[5] Tonti's letter which he mentions is that of July 22, 1682;[6] but the letter to Father Lefebvre seems to be lost. It should be noted that when Membré left for Lower Canada, La Salle did not know whether the Recollect would go to France that year; his instructions seem to have depended on what the missionary would find at Québec.

We merely call attention to the width of the Mississippi, the canebrakes on its banks, and its proximity to New Biscay and New Mexico, but we shall comment more at length on the new river which makes its appearance in this letter. This *louysiane* is nothing else than the Ohio, and from what La Salle says, he looked upon it as the main stream "with which the Colbert River mingles its waters." There is no possibility of misunderstanding, for he repeats the name *la louysiane* three times. He had already spoken of two rivers "que j'ay trouvées" and had described their course in previous letters. One of these two rivers was the Baudrane, which the Iroquois call the Ohio, and the Ottawa the Olighin-cipou,[7] and the other river was the Ouabanchi-Aramoni.[8] If there were still a doubt that in 1683 La Salle had descended this river, such a doubt would now be removed, for he says that his *louysiane* had neither rapids nor falls.

What routes La Salle had "discovered" south of Lake Erie is problematical, for although we know that in 1680, he walked along

---

3 *Ibid.*, 301.
4 *Ibid.*, 310.
5 *Ibid.*, 181 ff, and 186 ff.
6 Habig, 215 ff.
7 Margry, 2: 80.
8 *Ibid.*, 244.

the north shore of this lake,[9] he did not seem to have traveled along the south shore.

He himself does not seem to have been very clear about the first concession for which he asks. The mouth of the Wabash must be that of the Ohio, unless in his earlier map he had made a distinction between the Wabash and the *Louysiane*. As for the fort at South Bend, which he seems to make the key of his system, at least temporarily, it was never built. Tonti had indeed left Michilimackinac in September, but finding no Indians at South Bend portage, he went to the Illinois country to spend the winter there;[10] and when La Salle arrived at the portage in December and found the place deserted, he, too, went to the Illinois country, and built Fort St. Louis on Starved Rock during the first months of 1683.

It was probably after the completion of this fort that La Salle wrote his dissertation on the geography of the Illinois and the Mississippi. The two fragments of this dissertation, which I think were two parts of the same letter, are printed in Margry from the La Salle papers found among those of Bernou. The first fragment describes the voyage to the sea, but stops short at the Missouri, and the second fragment contains his ideas on the general geography of the Mississippi. We shall discuss them in order.

He begins by describing the Chicago portage and the Chicago River, which he says is not a practical route between the Illinois country and the lakes. It would be much easier to go overland from Fort St. Louis to Lake Michigan, using horses which they could get from western Indian tribes. These tribes are, to be sure, somewhat far inland, but with them "one can very easily communicate by way of the Missouri River which empties into the Colbert River. The Missouri may be the main tributary of the Colbert, for it is navigable for more than 400 leagues toward the west. Or, one may go by land, for the whole country between these tribes and the Colbert River is an open and vast plain through which horses can be brought to Fort St. Louis."

He then goes on to narrate the events of the voyage down the Chicago River, and comes back to the description of the Illinois River, which rises in a marsh, one and a half league from the River of the Miami (the St. Joseph River, at South Bend), and three leagues from the village of the Miami which they have now abandoned. He then speaks of the river as well as of the neighboring country, its fauna and flora, and minutely describes Fort St. Louis. "Two leagues

[9] Cf. *ibid.*, 63 f.
[10] Margry, 1: 613.

below the fort and on the same side is the river which the Indians call Aramoni, a small but very swift river." He finally comes to the Mississippi.

> The great river comes down from the southwest and flows toward the east-northeast. The mouth of the Illinois is distant from Percée Island by 39 degrees of longitude or thereabout, which means 107 degrees from La Rochelle, that is to say, almost as far west as Mexico. Then the river swings slowly toward the southwest . . . until it meets the Missouri which empties into the Colbert ten leagues below the Illinois River. The Missouri which comes from the west may be the main tributary of the Colbert. It is wide and deep; the volume of its water is very great; great rivers empty into it; a great number of nations dwell on its banks; and it passes through a beautiful country.[11]

Until the Mississippi meets the Missouri, its waters are clear, but below they are troubled. The reason for this, he thinks, is that the bottom is muddy. Another pecularity is that, although several rivers, some larger than the Mississippi, empty into it, it does not become wider.

How La Salle knew that there were horses in the Missouri country he does not say. All that he had seen was a single hoof of a horse which was shown to him by an Indian.[12] The Ouabanchi-Aramoni, instead of providing an easy communication between the Illinois country and Lake Erie and Fort Frontenac, turned out to be a "small but very swift river." Now, he was writing this in 1683, that is, one year after Peronel-Bernou had presented their map to Seignelay. When he wrote his letter of 1681, he simply invented this river, had never descended it, and all his geography of the Ohio valley was simply conjectural. Finally, we have the longitude of the mouth of the Illinois River. First of all, neither La Salle nor anybody else in his day could compute longitude, and in fact his measurements are all faulty. For instance, there is an error of five degrees between Percée and La Rochelle; and between Percée and the mouth of the Illinois River there is a difference of twenty-six degrees, not thirty-nine, which in all makes a difference of eighteen degrees. If his computation had been correct, he would have been somewhere in Central Kansas. What he says about the Missouri is true, though it was only a guess on his part. Its course from its headwaters to the mouth is nearly 3,000 miles, whereas the Mississippi from its source in Lake Itasca to the mouth of the Missouri is about 1,200 miles.

---

[11] Margry, 2: 180.
[12] *Ibid.*, 54.

The second fragment is by far the more important of the two. We have here the evolution of La Salle's thoughts and, in germ, all the elements of the course of the Mississippi found in the map of 1684. He begins as follows: "Chucagoa, which means in their language [Chickasaw or Cisca] 'great river' as Mississippi does in Ottawa and Masciccipi in Illinois, is the river [fleuve] which we call the St. Louis River. The Ohio, which is one of its tributaries, receives two other quite large rivers before emptying into the St. Louis River; these tributaries are the Agouassaké, a river in the north and the river of the Shawnee in the south."[13] The St. Louis River is boldly marked on the map of 1684, where there is an "Ohio al[ia]s Mosopeleacipi al[ia]s Olighin." It empties into the St. Louis River; its other name, Mosopeleacipy, simply means the river of the Mosopelea, whose eight villages are said to be destroyed. The Agoussaké is marked as a tributary of the Wabash, and there is no river of the Shawnee on the map. La Salle had evidently read, or better, he had with him, Garcilaso de la Vega's book as adapted by Richelet in 1670, and throughout the rest of his dissertation tries to reconcile the geography of this book with what he himself had seen and heard.

> The Takahagane dwell on the northern bank of the Chucagoa, at about latitude 32°, while the Chickasaw are in the interior of the country, almost due south of the mouth of the Illinois River which empties into the Colbert River, that is to say, at about thirty-nine degrees west of Percée Island. At seventeen days' journey up the St. Louis River, estimating seven or eight leagues a day on the average, the route being toward the east-northeast or thereabouts, there is an island on which the Kaskins live. Few of these Indians are left, for the Iroquois have destroyed most of them and have forced the others to flee. The Tchalaké are on the northern bank of the same St. Louis River, at about 34 degrees north latitude. This river is much larger than the Colbert. I have not yet descended it.[14]

This last sentence shows that all the above information is from hearsay. The Takahagane are the Tacaogane on the map of 1684, and are marked at latitude 36°, instead of 32°. On the same map, the Chickasaw are said to be nine villages on the bank of the Rio del Espíritu Santo due south of the mouth of the Illinois River. The Kaskins are not shown on the map, but the Tchalaké—written Tchalaka—are on it at the same latitude as the Takahagane. With the exception of the Takahagane, the names of these two Indian tribes were known from the narrative of Garcilaso de la Vega,[15] and one

---

[13] *Ibid.*, 196.

[14] *Ibid.*, 197.

[15] P. Richelet, *Histoire de la conquéte de la Floride ou Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans la découverte de ce Pays par Ferdinand de Soto*, 2 vols., Paris, 1670, 1: 266 ff, and 2: 73 ff.

wonders whether all this is not an invention, for since La Salle never descended the river, he could hardly have been speaking from experience. In March 1683, he tried to reconcile what he knew with what he read in Garcilaso de la Vega, and imagined that the Chucagoa was identical with the St. Louis River which he had not yet descended. This conviction so imposed itself on his mind that he thought the exploration of the Mississippi was but an episode in the search for the Chucagoa.

> The Apalachites, a nation which inhabit English Florida, are not very far from some of the most easterly branches of the St. Louis River, for they are at war with the Tchalaké and the Cisca. The Apalachites, with the aid of the English, once burnt a village of the Cisca, the latter then left their former villages, which were much farther east than those whence they have come here. Although this river flows from east to west, it seems that it should empty into the Colbert River, for the Takahagane, who dwell on the banks of the Chucagoa, are so near the Colbert River that they are only three days' journey from the Mississippi, and we have seen some of them on our way down and up the river.[16]

The villages whence the Cisca came to Fort St. Louis were situated on the Misseouecipi, the easternmost tributary of the St. Louis River. This name Cisca and the name of the Apalaches are also in Garcilaso de la Vega.[17] With regard to the Indians which La Salle mentions as having seen on his way down and up the Mississippi, the only one which we can be sure he saw were the Chickasaw, and there is no mention of any other tribe in contemporary accounts of the voyage until the expedition had reached the Arkansas.

We have here another instance of his speaking from hearsay. Since the Chucagoa flows from east to west, it must meet the Mississippi somewhere along its course. This is confirmed by what he says next: "I could not really say whether the two rivers meet." La Salle's error came from listening too readily to what he had heard, or from taking for granted what he had read in Garcilaso de la Vega. When he speaks from hearsay, he invents rivers, first the Baudrane, then the Ouabanchi-Aramoni, and finally the Louisiane; in this passage he takes for granted the account of the De Soto expedition as narrated in Richelet. So obsessed was he by the latter's account that he managed to find reasons supporting it; and he comes back again to this narrative, which he must have had at hand when he wrote his dissertation.

"Assuredly," he continues, "the relation of Ferdinand de Soto is

---

16 Margry 2: 197.

17 *Histoire de la conquéte de la Floride.* 1: 141 ff, 220 f, and 2: 74 ff.

not a fairy tale." Why, there is the name of the river, Chucagoa;[18] the names of all the nations who dwell on its banks; the great number of Indians at Mauvila, where De Soto waged such a bloody battle.[19] There would be no sense, he goes on to say, in speaking of the great number of pirogues giving chase to the remnants of the retreating De Soto's army.[20] "The banks of the Mississippi were never more thickly populated than they are now, because nearly all that is not inhabited is almost constantly under water." Then there are the names of Indian tribes: the Quiqualthangi and the Anilco—two names taken from Garcilaso de la Vega[21]—are as unknown on the Colbert River as those of Korea, Natchez, Huma, etcetera are well known. There is also the "prodigious width of the Chucagoa,[22] whereas the Mississippi, even near the sea, is hardly wider than the Loire; and the time it took the remnants of De Soto's army to reach Mexico,[23] also tends to show that the Chucagoa is not the Mississippi.

"Furthermore, all the maps which place the mouth of the Colbert River very near Mexico are worthless." This statement is difficult to reconcile with the rest of this digression. A few lines earlier, La Salle had written: "The mouth of the Mississippi cannot be far from Mexico"; and a little below: "This is what makes me maintain that we were near Mexico, and consequently in a river other than the Chucagoa, whence it took the Spaniards so long to reach Mexico." The statement about the maps being worthless is probably an error on his part.

In the present case, he argues that the Colbert River—which in fact is the Mississippi—has its mouth facing east-southeast, and not due south; except the portion between "the river Escondido on the maps and Pánuco. The Escondido is assuredly the Mississippi." He goes on to say that this same portion of the coast is the only place which lies in latitude 27°, the latitude which he had observed at the mouth of the Mississippi. The rest of Florida, he remarks, is at latitude 30° at nearly every point.

There is, of course, another section of the coast where the mouth of the Mississippi might face east-southeast, namely,

---

18 "Cette ville [Chisca] est située proche un fleuve que les Indiens appellent *Chucagua*, le plus grand de tous ceux que nos gens ayent vû dans la Floride." *Ibid.*, 2: 74.

19 *Ibid.*, 2: 22 ff.

20 *Ibid.*, 2: 205 ff.

21 *Ibid.*, 2: 174 ff.

22 Near the sea the Chucagoa is fifteen leagues wide, "si bien qu'on ne découvroit la terre de coté ny d'autre." *Ibid.*, 2: 215.

23 *Ibid.*, 2: 221 ff.

the Florida peninsula. But this is out of the question, for the Colbert River flows steadily eastward, or at most southeastward, and there would be no room for it in the east-west width of this peninsula, since it runs to the southeast for at least 120 leagues, from latitude 30° to latitude 27°, at which point it empties into the sea. This would be impossible in the width of the Florida peninsula. Now this direction is precisely that followed by the Rio Escondido.[24]

We touch here one of the fundamental errors of La Salle's conception. He had correctly observed the direction of the Mississippi, but was led astray by the maps of the time, which show no delta in the whole extent of the Gulf coast. However, nothing but such a delta would explain the east-southeast direction of the mouths of the Mississippi, and he would naturally locate his river on the Texas coast.

La Salle had a further argument, drawn from Garcilaso de la Vega, to show that he must have been in a different river than that explored by De Soto. The latter rode on horseback along the banks of the Chucagoa;[25] this, said La Salle, is impossible, for the banks of the Mississippi are full of canebrakes. Often, also, De Soto found it difficult to find landing places because of the height of the banks of the river,[26] whereas the banks of the Mississippi are everywhere low and often underwater.

Furthermore, the following reason makes me think that the Chucagoa is different from the Mississippi and flows parallel to it. No large river empties into the Mississippi from the east, whereas it receives very large rivers from the west. I have always surmised that there must be in the east another large river into which all these waters must empty. Indeed after one or two days' journey into the woods, all the creeks and rivers run eastward and not one toward the Mississippi.

La Salle must be speaking of the Mississippi below the Ohio. The latter is just as large a river as the Arkansas and the Red River, the only two other rivers flowing into the Mississippi below the Ohio which he saw. With regard to the observation that all the creeks and rivers flowed eastward, here, too, he is generalizing, his only recorded journey inland is his search for Prud'homme.

After we reached latitude 31°, all the Indians who go to the sea to make salt agreed in saying that the sea was situated to the east. Every morning we saw sea mists coming from the shore of the Bay du St. Esprit and from the sea coast lying northwest-southwest from [Rio] Escondido to [Rio or Costa] de Pescadores and the above mentioned bay.[27]

---

[24] Margry, 2: 199.
[25] *Histoire de la conquéte de la Floride*, 2: 102, and *passim.*
[26] *Ibid.*, 2: 79.
[27] Margry, 2: 200.

The above latitude, 31°, is that which he took at the Taensa village; from here on, he thought he was in the Rio Escondido and that the Baye du St. Esprit was situated to the east. He then speaks of the tide in the Gulf of Mexico, and mentions that it makes itself felt as far as present-day Donaldsonville. This reference to tide and the fact that the manuscript is found today among Bernou's papers make me think that the letter was addressed to the latter.

I have made this digression about this river unintentionally. Although several Indians have told me that the Chucagoa empties into the Mississippi (which could be), we have not seen the confluence, because beyond the Arkansas village there is a great island or rather several islands measuring from sixty to eighty leagues long. We took the west channel on our way down, and as we have left all our baggage at the Arkansas, we had to return by the same way. It may be that the Chucagoa has its mouth in the other channel. The Mississippi would not get wider, for its bed does not change, although it receives, from the west, four other great rivers as large as the Chucagoa.[28]

We have already discussed his reference to the "islands" of the Mississippi. Here we are given the reason why, after they missed the east channel on the way down, they missed it again on the return journey. On his journey to the sea, La Salle saw four rivers coming from the west. Three of them are below the Ohio, that is the Seignelay (Red), the Arkansas, and the Chepoussea rivers. If the latter is the St. Francis River, it is difficult to see that its waters can make much difference to the course of the Mississippi.

All the above information is the latest development of La Salle's geographical conception of the course of the Mississippi and of its tributaries. This conception was elaborated in March 1683, that is, seven or eight months before he went to France. Here he soon realized that the Mississippi, or, as he thought, the Rio Escondido, had little chance to induce Seignelay to finance an expedition to that river by sea. Hence La Salle had to bring the Mississippi or one of its tributaries nearer to the mines of New Biscay.

In order to understand what follows, it is necessary to remember that plans for the conquest of New Spain had been formerly presented to the French government. I have discussed these plans elsewhere and have shown that, as early as 1682, Bernou thought of beginning a French colony "in Florida, at the mouth of the river called Rio Bravo," as a first step toward the conquest of New Biscay.[29]

---

[28] *Ibid.*, 201.
[29] *Some La Salle Journeys*, Chicago, 1938, 70 ff.

When La Salle returned to Quebec at the end of October 1683, he learned that his discovery was thought to be useless,[30] and La Barre sent him to France.[31] In this there was nothing unusual, for his commission had expired.[32] While in France, he first tried to interest the merchants of Rochefort and La Rochelle in financing an expedition to the Mississippi by sea. Not succeeding in this, he approached others. "According to the unpublished journal of Minet, he tried to float a company that would enable him to go to the Gulf of Mexico, find the Colbert River by sea and then establish himself in the Taensa county; but seeing that the merchants of Paris and Rouen would not fall in with his project, he found men who presented him to Seignelay."[33] It was then that he gave an account of his discoveries to the king, who listened favorably to his proposition,[34] and the matter was referred to Seignelay. Since the latter was more interested in an expedition against New Biscay than in a colonization project on the Mississippi, La Salle tried to win him over by showing that one of the tributaries of the Mississippi flowed near New Biscay.

Pedro Ronquillo, the Spanish ambassador in England, wrote as follows to the Conde de Monclova, the viceroy of New Spain:

> He [La Salle] found a great welcome with M. de Seignelay, to whom he presented a map marked with latitudes and longitudes that made his proposals plausible. On his word they believed in him and in his map. He made them believe what he wanted them to believe. He offered to build two forts on the banks at the mouth of the river, if they would equip him for this undertaking. By building these forts, he would prevent everyone from entering the river to take the treasures that were there.[35]

Besides this map, there are four memoirs outlining his proposals; two of these memoirs are dated, while the date of the other two must be deduced from internal evidence.[36] Since they all contain the same thing, we need only extract from one of them La Salle's description of the Lower Mississippi.

What La Salle set out to do was to find "a port for the king's

---

30 Louis XIV to La Barre, August 5, 1683, Margry, 2: 310.

31 La Barre to Dongan, June 15, 1684, *ibid.*, 346.

32 His letters-patent, good for five years, were dated May 12, 1678.

33 M. de Villiers du Terrage, *L'expédition de Cavelier de la Salle dans le golfe du Mexique (1684–1687)*, Paris, 1931, 32.

34 Tronson to Dollier, April 20, 1684, Margry, 2: 354.

35 Ronquillo to Monclova, February 7, 1687, MID-AMERICA, 18 (1936): 121. Cf. Bernou to Renaudot, February 22, 1684, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497: 98.

36 The two undated memoirs are in Margry 2: 359 ff, and in Margry, 3: 17 ff; the third is dated January, 1684, *ibid.*, 48 ff, and the fourth February 1684, *ibid.*, 63 ff.

vessels in the Gulf of Mexico."[37] The finding of a port was an afterthought, for neither in his commission nor in any other document, except in the journal of Cavelier,[38] is there any mention of such a project. In the second undated memoir, he speaks of building a fort sixty leagues above the mouth of the Colbert River and of subduing the Spaniards with an army composed of "more than 15,000 Indians." This fort will be most advantageously situated to seize the mines of New Spain at the first opportunity. He then proceeds to explain the position of the nearest province of New Spain with regard to his fort.

> New Biscay, the northernmost province of Mexico, is situated between latitudes 25° and 27° 30'. To the north of this province are vast forests inhabited by people called Terliquiquimequi, whom the Spaniards know as "Indios Bravos" and "Indios de or di [sic] Guerra," because they have never geen able to subdue them or force them to make peace. These Indians inhabit the land between New Biscay and the Seignelay River [fleuve], distant sometimes forty, sometimes fifty leagues from it. The same forests stretch to the east and to a part of Pánuco. New Biscay is separated from the latter province by a mountain range, which also separates it on the south from the province of Zacatecas, on the west from the province of Culiacán, and on the northwest from that of New Leon. There are only two or three mountain passes through which help could come from New Spain to New Biscay.[39]

La Salle then deals with the possible objection that the Seignelay River may be much farther from New Biscay than is said in the memoir. To this objection he answered that the river empties into the Mississippi one hundred leagues to the west-northwest of the place where the Mississippi disembogues into the Gulf of Mexico, and "that the Seignelay River has been ascended more than sixty leagues toward the west."[40] This is false, for it is certain that no one had made this ascent. In the course of his argument the conquest of New Biscay becomes easier; all one has to do is to ascend the Rio Bravo [Rio Grande], "which is the same as the river which the Indians call Mississippi," whose discovery to the sea La Salle has just completed.[41]

This is still another geographical development. La Salle had formerly said that he was in the Rio Escondido; now he claims to have explored the Rio Bravo. At about this time, Bernou wrote as follows to Renaudot: "Villermont wrote to me that La Salle

---

[37] Margry 3: 17.
[38] *The Journal of Jean Cavelier*, Chicago, 1938, 131.
[39] Margry, 2: 361.
[40] *Ibid.*, 67.
[41] Margry, 3: 55.

found, so he wrote, a river coming from the west, thirty days' journey long, which empties into the Mississippi forty or sixty leagues from the sea. If this river should be the Rio Bravo, it would give a very safe and very easy communication with New Leon, New Biscay and New Mexico."[42] This is quite different from what Bernou had written in the relation officielle, where he said that the Rio Escondido—*i.e.* the Mississippi—emptied into sea "about thirty leagues from the Rio Bravo."[43] This was correct according to Bernou's map of 1682, where the mouth of this river appears at about 26 degrees of latitude, and since the mouth of the Mississippi was at latitude 27°, it follows that the Rio Bravo should be at the distance mentioned in the relation officielle. At this time, however, Bernou had not yet seen La Salle's map, where the only river coming from the west and emptying into the Mississippi forty or sixty leagues from the sea is the Seignelay. It is clear that La Salle took liberties with the geography of the Mississippi in order to deceive Seignelay, and that Seignelay was willing to believe anything he said. The minister apparently paid no attention to such alterations of names as the Seignelay, the Rio Escondido, and the Rio Bravo. In one place La Salle speaks of building a fort sixty leagues up the Mississippi; in another place he said that he had ascended the Seignelay sixty leagues, and in this place, he says that the "Rio Bravo" empties into the Mississippi "fifty or sixty leagues from the sea."

The question of the latitude of the mouth of the Mississippi should be treated here for two reasons. First, because it has been claimed that La Salle's main error was one of longitude, although in fact neither he nor anybody else at that time could compute longitude with any degree of accuracy.[44] Second, because we must find out what La Salle himself said with regard to the position of the mouth of the Mississippi. We must note once for all that La Salle never had any idea of the delta; when this feature appeared on a map, Joutel expresses wonder that it could be missed.[45]

When La Salle entered the Gulf from Cabo San Antonio on his last expedition, he knew that he had to go as far as the latitude ob-

---

[42] Bernou to Renaudot, February 23, 1684, Margry, 3: 76.

[43] MID-AMERICA, 22 (1940): 33.

[44] J. F. Steward, "La Salle a Victim of his Error in Longitude," *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society for the 1910, 15 (1911): 129–136. "Mais l'astrolabe était dérangé et il ne put ne aucune manière relever la longitude." R. Gaillard, *Louisiane*, Paris, 1947, 508. As though if La Salle's astrolabe had not been out of order, he could have taken the longitude.

[45] "Et sy ledit fleuve [Mississippi] se gette dans la mer a un cap aussy auancé que lauteur [Delisle] le marque il est a croire quon ne lauroit pas du manquer." ASH, 115–9: no. 12.

served in 1682, and that he must sail in a northwesterly direction. According to the maps which he had at that time, the whole coast was represented as a semi-circle whose northern latitude was thirty degrees, and in the west of this coast was marked a large bay—the Bahia del Espíritu Santo.

Before leaving Santo Domingo, the members of the expedition had talked to some filibusters who had gone to the northern coast, but none of them had made any mention of the delta. If they actually followed the route indicated on De Villiers' chart of the navigation of the expedition, they were nearest to the mouth of the Mississippi on December 27, 1684,[46] and if La Salle had steered some ten minutes of arc to the east, he would have stumbled on the mouth of the river.

In order to discover his actual location we must refer back to his earlier voyage. On his way to the Gulf in 1682, La Salle took the latitude at the Taensa village and found 31 degrees, that is, one degree lower than his true position.[47] When he reflected that he was only one degree from the sea, for according to his map the latitude of the northern coast of the Gulf was 30°, and that he had actually to travel eleven days before reaching the mouth of the Mississippi, he was frankly puzzled. In 1683, Bernou wrote in the relation officielle that La Salle, who always carried an astrolabe, had taken the "precise latitude" of the mouth of the Mississippi.[48] But what was this precise latitude? Tonti wrote from Michilimackinac: "We went below latitude 29° . . . He has kept the latitude of the mouth to himself."[49] From a fragment of La Salle's letter written in March 1683, we know that he took the latitude at 30° and at 28°,[50] and it does not seem that, at this second latitude, he thought he was anywhere near the mouth of the river.. "At about 27 degrees of latitude," he took possession of Louisiana,[51] and on his return to Michilimackinac, in October 1682, he says in a letter to Paris: "I have gone down the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico, to latitude 27°."[52]

In 1684, after his return to France, he told Tronson that he had found the mouth of the river at latitude 27°, on the same meridian as

---

[46] See the map in *L'expédition de Cavelier de la Salle*, between pp. 78–79.

[47] Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, 300; La Salle's letter of March 1683, Margry, 2: 199.

[48] MID-AMERICA, 22 (1940): 33.

[49] Tonti to ....., July 22, 1682, Habig, 229.

[50] Margry, 2: 198.

[51] *Ibid.*, 190, and 191.

[52] *Ibid.*, 288.

Pánuco.[53] This was not a mistake on his part, for in 1687 Tronson wrote to Belmont as follows:

When you have time, make a copy of the map of western New France which you gave to M. de Denonville, and send it to us. You place the mouth of the Mississippi at latitude 18 [sic] and M. de la Salle placed it at latitude 27° on the map which he gave me. Athough from the Illinois to the sea, the river is 600 leagues long, its mouth can nevertheless be at latitude 27°, if it makes as many turns as M. de la Salle marks. This is perhaps what led you into error.[54]

On his return to France, Beaujeu, the captain of the *Joly,* wrote to Villermont, who in turn wrote to Bernou. In a letter to Renaudot, Bernou took Villermont to task, for Beaujeu had said that La Salle had not found the marks which he had left near the mouth of the Mississippi in 1682,[55] and had inscribed on the map which he gave to Seignelay. Bernou had seen a copy of this map, and "La Salle wrote to me, as you know, and as you shall see in my relation that these marks are up the river. Anyway La Salle found the river without any trouble and at the latitude which he had said."[56] What this latitude was we learn from another letter of Bernou to Renaudot.

La Salle, said Bernou, quoting Villermont, landed at latitude 28° 20' on a sand bank. The whole coast is a series of sand banks which Beaujeu followed on his return for 200 leagues without finding the end. Hence, Villermont concludes, La Salle's provisions will be exhausted before he finds his river. To this Bernou answers:

To argue in this manner, he must not have seen the map of M. de la Salle, nor his relation, nor La Salle himself, nor Father Membré. If he had seen any of these, Villermont would know that La Salle places the mouth of his river at 27 degrees and a few minutes of Latitude. This single fact answers twenty or thirty leagues to find the latitude of his river which he himself all Villermont's arguments . . . All that La Salle has to do is to go *south* twenty or thirty leagues to find the latitude of his river which he himself observed with an astrolabe. He cannot miss it, because the coast runs north-south.

As we shall see, Bernou supposed that La Salle landed, as he actually did, at latitude 28° 20', and since Bernou had this information from the map of La Salle, he clearly states that the mouth of the river lies in latitude 27°. There are no shallows along the coast, he continues; nobody knows this better than La Salle, who had sounded the Mississippi and had found five or six fathoms down

[53] *Ibid.*, 355.
[54] Tronson to Belmont, [May], 1687, no. 339.
[55] Journal of Joutel in Margry, 3: 161.
[56] Bernou to Renaudot, August 14, 1685, BN, Mss. fr. n. a, 7497: 245v.

to the sea; as for sand banks along the coast, if there had been any, La Salle would have mentioned them. Furthermore, Bernou is persuaded that there cannot be any, and among his reasons is the following: "No map or relation speaks of a false coast from Vera Cruz to Pánuco, nor even as far as the Rivière des Palmes. The latter is not far from the branch of the Mississippi, and La Salle marked it to the right [*i.e.,* south] of the river which he descended and which perhaps empties—or at least a part of it—into the Rivière des Palmes." On Franquelin's map of 1684, there is a "Rio de Palma[s]," but La Salle does not make the junction suggested by Bernou.

Why then, Bernou asks, did La Salle land at latitude 28° and not at latitude 27°? He must have had good reasons for so doing; and Bernou has no difficulty in finding a few. First, there are the prevailing north winds in the Gulf, which would force La Salle to land higher than latitude 27°; then, there is the fear of the Spaniards who must not be far away toward the south; and finally, lest "M. de Beaujeu, who is an expert sailor, should attribute to himself the honor of discovering the mouth of the river if he had found it directly."[57]

There are finally two other texts which will be set down before passing to another latitude of the mouth of the Mississippi. In 1691, the author of the *First Establishment of the Faith* wrote: "Although he [La Salle] kept to himself the exact point, we have learned that the river falls into the Gulf of Mexico between latitudes 27° and 28°."[58] How this author had learned this is not said, but since he was probably a member of the Bernou-Renaudot coterie, it is not surprising that his position of the mouth of the Mississippi does not greatly differ from what Bernou had written. The second testimony is that of Joutel. The pseudo-Tonti had written that the river emptied into the Gulf at latitude 22°,[59] but, said Joutel: "La Salle always looked for it between 27° and 28."[60]

From all these texts, it should be clear that the latitude which La Salle read on his astrolabe at the mouth of the Mississippi in 1682 was 27 degrees. But on his way to the Gulf, while at Petit Goave, he changed what he had so often said previously. He wrote

---

[57] *Id.* to *id,* August 28, 1685, *ibid.*, 259v–260v. Cf. Bernou to Vilermont, September 4, 1685, BN, Mss. fr., 7516: 26.

[58] C. Le Clercq, *First Establishment of the Faith in New France,* 2 vols., New York, 1881, 2: 237.

[59] In the *Dernières decouvertes,* p. 192, the pseudo-Tonti says between 22 and 23 degrees.

[60] ASH, 115–9: no. 12.

to Beaujeu that, if they separated, Beaujeu should wait for him either at Cabo San Antonio, or at the Isle aux Pins or at any other place he chose; if they happen to separate beyond this cape, he should wait for him at the Baye du St. Esprit. "I am declaring to you, he tells him, that I shall enter the mouth of the river by latitude 28° 20'. This is situated at the end of the Gulf."[61] Why Margry should have italicized the words: *"où je vous déclare qu'est l'embrouchure de la rivière où je prétends entrer tout au font de l'anse du golfe,"* is incomprehensible, unless he did not realize that La Salle had said that the mouth of the river was at latitude 27°. This new latitude is not a mistake or a misprint; for Beaujeu answered on the same day that he would be at latitude 28° 20', if perchance they should be separated.[62]

On January 23, 1685, La Salle dates his letter "from the mouth of one of the branches of the Colbert River";[63] on February 3, "from the mouth of a river which I believe to be one of the mouths of the Mississippi";[64] on February 18, "from the mouth of the Colbert River";[65] and finally, on March 4, he wrote to Seignelay from "the western mouth of the Colbert River."[66] La Salle was undoubtedly convinced that he was at the mouth or at one of the mouths of the Mississippi, yet he was not at the latitude he had read on his astrolabe in 1682. On February 3, he told Beaujeu that he would not go farther west [*i.e.*, south], for he was sure he had passed the mouth of the river. "You know that I have always said that I found 22 degrees on my astrolabe,[67] and if I should have been mistaken by 20 minutes when I wrote to you from Cabo San Antonio,[68] it was because I was in a hurry as I am now." Yet, if he had indeed read 27 degrees on his astrolabe, he should have gone farther south, for on February 3, he was slightly above latitude 28°. His whole trouble seems to have been that he was in a "hurry." He did not seem to have realized the importance of taking accurate latitudes. As a matter of fact, his only correct latitude is that of Chicago, which he mentions in his letter of March, 1683.[69]

Although, as we have already said, La Salle could not compute longitudes, there is a point which involved this coordinate in the

---

61 La Salle to Beaujeu, November 23, 1684, Margry, 2: 522.
62 Beaujeu to La Salle, November 23, 1684, *ibid.*, 524.
63 Margry, 2: 526.
64 *Ibid.*, 528.
65 *Ibid.*, 546.
66 *Ibid.*, 559.
67 See the note in *ibid.*, 530.
68 Minet mentions this letter in the extract from his journal. *Ibid.*, 592.
69 *Ibid.*, 166.

navigation of 1684–1685. On January 1, 1685, La Salle said that they were a little west of Cape Escondido, whereas the pilots of the *Joly* thought that they were near Matas de Salvador.[70] If, as seems probable, La Salle and the pilots had a map of the Gulf similar to that of Minet, then Cape Escondido was in the middle of the northern coast, and the pilots were four degrees west of this cape. If, by using Minet's map, we were to convert the longitude of Cape Escondido, 285°, and Matas de Salvador, 281°, and if we were to take as a basis the meridian which passes west of the Floridan peninsula, 294°, then La Salle should have been on the Mississippi, and the pilots in the vicinity of Lake Calcasieu.

On January 4, they figured that they were at latitude 29° 20',[71] and from then on they went farther away from the mouth of the Mississippi. On January 19, when the ships met again, latitude 27° 55' was observed.[72] On the following day, they went out on the launch to take their position. "The launch had trouble entering the channel. M. de la Salle who also landed was not pleased that they had taken the latitude."[73] This is in keeping with what Beaujeu wrote to Seignelay, when they were still in Rochefort. La Salle had told the captain that nobody should take the latitude. Beaujeu answered that he would remove all the instruments, but that it was impossible to prevent his sailors from computing their position; for, unless La Salle hid the sun, two stick were all that was needed.[74]

La Salle's confusion is also evident from Minet's journal. According to this account, La Salle said on February 1, that the mouth of the Mississippi was forty leagues to the northeast; on the 15th, that he was at the place where his Majesty had sent him; and finally, two days later, that he was at the mouth of his river.[75] In his letter to Seignelay, Minet added: "His latitude is faulty, for he has no good instrument to take it."[76]

La Salle himself had to give some kind of explanation to Seignelay for all these delays seriously jeopardized the purpose of the expedition. He was forced, he wrote to the minister, to go as far down as latitude 27° 30' to find the *Joly,* which he finally met on February 14; but "the season being already far advanced, there was little time to complete the undertaking of which I was charged."

---

70 *Ibid.,* 593.
71 Journal of Desmanville, *ibid.,* 513.
72 *Ibid.,* 513.
73 This passage is not in Margry.
74 Beaujeu to Seignelay, June 21, 1684, Margry, 2: 400.
75 Minet's extract from his journal, *ibid.,* 586, 598.
76 Minet to Seignelay, July 7, 1685, *ibid.,* 603.

He resolved to ascend the "small channel of the Colbert River," rather than go back to the "larger channel" twenty-five or thirty leagues from the place where he now was. This larger channel had been sighted on January 6; the pilots, however, thought that they were still east of the Baye du St. Esprit. "But the latitude showed that the pilots were mistaken, and what we saw on January 3, was indeed the main entrance of the river which we sought." If spring had not been so near, he went on to say, he would have returned, but he was afraid of having to spend the rest of the winter going north into the wind. He would rather ascend the river at this place and would "beg M. de Beaujeu to reconnoiter the other mouth and notify your Highness" of what he found there. "The mouth of the Colbert River is situated at latitude 28 degrees and 18 or 20 minutes."[77]

We are omitting all comments on La Salle's chase after the *Joly,* and are confining ourselves to the determination of his actual latitude. If we add one degree—twenty-five or thirty leagues—to latitude 28° 30', this would place him at latitude 29° 30';[78] which was supposedly the place where he had calculated his position in 1682, a position which he had repeatedly said was 27°. As for Beaujeu reconnoitering the larger channel of the river at the latitude indicated, one may ask why did not La Salle go himself? After all, twenty-five or thirty leagues, even if the wind was blowing from the north was not a great feat; and we should not forget that the filibusters of Santo Domingo had said that the north wind stopped in March.[79] This text about Beaujeu going north, which Margry italicized, proves two things: first, that La Salle wanted to get rid of the sailor who was convinced that La Salle was lost, and second, that Beaujeu did not "abandon" La Salle on the Texas coast.

If, as seems probable, La Salle calculated his position near Venice, Louisiana, he should have found 29° 42', a latitude which has not changed, for this point is too far inland. If he had made allowance for possible error, his latitude in 1682, should have been 29° or 30°. Instead of these positions, he had read 27 degrees on his astrolabe, that is between two and three degrees too low. When his attention was called to the defective astrolabe—probably by Minet—he said that the position of 1682 was 28° 20'. At Matagorda Bay, conscious that he had added more than one degree to the latitude of 1682, he obstinately maintained that this was the place to which

[77] La Salle to Seignelay, March 4, 1685, *ibid.*, 559 f.

[78] On January 2, 1685, they were at latitude 29° 20'. Journal of Joutel in Margry, 3: 119.

[79] Beaujeu to Seignelay, October 25, 1684, Margry, 2: 489.

the king had sent him, and dispatched Beaujeu to look for the main entrance of the river another degree higher.

The question now is to ascertain whether La Salle came to Paris in 1684 with a map of his discoveries, and whether this map or a copy thereof was different from that which Franquelin drew in 1684. That La Salle had a map is clear from what Tronson said.[80] Besides this reference, there are many other texts which speak of a map made by or for La Salle, the explorer. Thus Bernou wrote to Renaudot that La Salle's map "will serve as an ornament to the work" which they planned to write;[81] and a week later, he wrote again telling his friend to send as soon as possible the map of M. de la Salle.[82] In March 1684, Bernou having heard from Villermont that the latter had seen "a map six feet square," he wondered why Renaudot had not sent a smaller one "a foot and a half square";[83] and in the same month, after receiving a letter from La Salle, Bernou said: "He promised to send me a map, as well as memoirs and relations."[84]

Renaudot must have written that no map would be sent to Bernou for he answered: "With regard to the map, what you are telling me is quite reasonable. I have told it to the Cardinal [d'Estrées], who approves of it and will do what is needed at the right time and place."[85] Later, he fears that La Salle will leave France without giving Renaudot a copy of his map; he would like to have a rough draft "from the Illinois to the sea to help understand what he writes; it is unbelievable that he did not make a draft of his map which he could have left with you."[86] Finally, in answer to Villermont's criticism that La Salle did not find the marks left at the mouth of the Mississippi, Bernou said that these marks "were on the map which he [La Salle] gave to M. de Seignelay . . . as for the map, I saw a copy made on the original; this copy has been sent to Rome by Seignelay for some other affair."[87]

The second question into which we wish to inquire is whether the map made by La Salle was different from that of 1684. To this we must answer that we do not know; but considering the similarity between Franquelin's map of 1684 and that of Minet of 1685, which were both based on that of La Salle, the probability is that

---

80 Margry, 2: 355, and Tronson to Belmont, [May], 1687, no. 339.
81 Bernou to Renaudot, February 1, 1684, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497: 89.
82 *Id.* to *id.*, February 8, 1684, ibid., 92.
83 *Id.* to *id.*, March 14, 1684, *ibid.*, 104.
84 *Id.* to *id.*, March 28, 1684, Margry, 3: 79.
85 *Id.* to *id.*, April 4, 1684, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497: 114.
86 *Id.* to *id.*, May 2, 1684, *ibid.*, 123.
87 *Id.* to *id.*, August 14, 1685, *ibid.*, 245v.

there was no essential difference between these three maps. What happened is that having at hand a man who knew Canada, who had already made several maps of that country, Franquelin was ordered to make a copy of La Salle's draft.[88] Franquelin, however, was soon involved in *l'affaire Tonti.* It would seem that La Salle took occasion to withhold a sum of money which he had promised Alphonse Tonti, the brother of Henri, because of some disparaging remarks which Alphonse had made about La Salle. The latter's opinion of Franquelin may be gathered from a letter which Beaujeu wrote from Rochefort on this matter.

> Just before receiving your last letter of May 29, I was speaking to M. de la Salle about M. [Alphonse] Tonti and was telling him what you had written about his draughtsman, Franclin [sic] by name. He answered that if he [Franquelin] had been present when Sieur de Tonti said what he did, and if he had reported the same, he himself would not have believed it; but Messrs. de la Forest and Barbier were also there, and they assured La Salle that they had heard Tonti say the same thing.[89]

Franquelin's supposed betrayal of La Salle's confidence is referred to in the same letter. The unusual means employed by La Salle in order to keep secret the expedition to the Gulf of Mexico have been discussed elsewhere.[90] As a matter of fact, the "secret" was so well kept that in March 1684, a gazette published in Holland gave the European reading public full details about the destination and the route of the expedition; but the map, which La Salle had made was kept concealed. This map is referred to further down in the letter just quoted.

> A propos of his [La Salle's] map, he said the other day to M. Minet, our engineer, that it was going to be printed in Paris; that M. Tausier, a clerk of M. de Seignelay in charge of the fortifications, must have given it to somebody, and that it would not be to the liking of M. le Marquis [de Seignelay]. I myself see that La Salle's draughtsman is responsible for this. I am asking you, if possible to get a copy of the map, and you may pay as much as two *pistoles* for it. My nephew will reimburse you, but I must have it before I leave. An outline will be enough.[91]

The surmise of Beaujeu may or may not have been correct, for La Salle himself has given to M. Tronson "a very beautiful map" of the country he had discovered. At the end of June, 1684, Tonti arrived at Rochefort. He and La Forest went to La Rochelle to patch

---

88 "Franquelin, Mapmaker," Mid-America, 25 (1943) 54 ff. What follows is taken from this article.

89 Beaujeu to Villermont, June 5, 1684, Margry, 2: 426 f.

90 *Some La Salle Journeys,* 85.

91 Beaujeu to Villermont, June 5, 1684, Margry, 2: 429.

up matters with La Salle. Of this meeting Beaujeu says: "They had a long explanation and Franquelin was blamed for everything. Sieur de la Forest denied that he had ever spoken unfavorably of Sieur de Barbier reported to him what Sieur de Tonti had said."[92] La Salle, however, was not quite convinced by the "explanation." He demanded that Tonti be confronted with Barbier, Franquelin, and a few others, in whose presence Tonti had spoken disparagingly. When Tonti refused to agree to this, La Salle would not permit him to accompany the expedition to the Gulf of Mexico.

Because the engineer Minet made a map based on that of La Salle, and because this map, for all that pertains to the Mississippi, is similar to that of Franquelin, we shall ascertain what we know about the engineer before taking up the analysis of the two maps.

First of all, we do not know his first name. He was undoubtedly sent to build a fort which was to be the base of operations against New Biscay. Before leaving France La Salle and Minet seem to have been on good terms.[93] La Salle wanted to borrow money from him; and when the latter said that he did not have any, he was told to ask the intendant for a year's salary in advance.[94] La Salle had greater confidence in Minet than in Beaujeu;[95] he told the engineer that the captain was not quite frank and that he did not know why.[96] This confidence, however, did not last. La Salle took it amiss that Minet visited the intendant so often, and he made veiled threats, which angered the engineer.[97]

After the expedition reached the Texas coast, the harmony, which had somehow continued,[98] was disturbed once for all on the following occasion. Minet took pity on the members of the expedition who were dying along the sandy coast, while La Salle was insisting every place they stopped that that was where the king had sent him.[99] In the extract from his journal, Minet says that La Salle "should rather have given food to the soldiers, and that he should embark, and that they would go all together find his river." But this suggestion was received with ridicule.[100] By this time, February 1, it was clear that La Salle was lost, and that he would

---

92 *Id.* to *id.*, June 18 [*i.e.*, 28], 1684, *ibid.*, 437.
93 Beaujeu to Villermont, June, 1684, *ibid.*, 424; *id* to *id.*, June 15, 1674, *ibid.*, 435.
94 Minet to Seignelay, July 7, 1685, *ibid.*, 602 f.
95 Beaujeu to Villermont, June 5, 1684, *ibid.*, 429.
96 *Id.* to *id.*, June 1684, *ibid.*, 242.
97 *Id.* to *id.*, July 10, 1684, *ibid.*, 450, 452.
98 *L'expédition de Cavelier de la Salle*, 21.
99 Minet to Seignelay, July 7, 1684, Margry, 2: 603.
100 Extract from Minet's journal, *ibid.*, 597.

resent any suggestion may made to him by anybody. On the following day, La Salle wrote to Beaujeu saying that Minet had no authority to write to him as though he were a minister.[101] Minet could leave, for he himself was a sufficiently able engineer to do what the kind had commanded.[102]

But La Salle soon changed his tune, and sent summons to Beaujeu to force Minet to land. It was, he said, "more for the interest of the king than for myself."[103] The answer came on the following day: "I am not keeping M. Minet; he can land or stay on board." The orders of the king were simply that Beaujeu had to keep Minet on board ship as long as the captain was at sea. He could not dismiss him, unless La Salle showed him orders different from those which had been given at La Rochelle.[104] To this La Salle replied that if Minet had orders different "from those which I saw," let him follow them; he had done his duty when he sent the summons.[105] By this time Beaujeu realized what the situation was on the coast, and had no intention of ousting the engineer; furthermore, "you will be able to find someone who knows more than M. Minet, about whom you have told me several times that you could do without him."[106]

La Salle went so far as to write to Seignelay about the engineer. The minister's orders came to Arnoul, the intendant at La Rochelle:

> With regard to Sieur Minet, he was wrong in not staying with Sieur de la Salle, according to the orders which you had given him. Instead of obeying, he took upon himself to send La Salle impertinent letters. His Majesty has ordered his arrest; he shall be sent to the tower of La Rochelle.[107]

Minet's imprisonment lasted only five weeks, after which he was sent to serve under Vauban. He occupied his leisure time at La Rochelle in revising his journal and in drawing up "a list of sixty-five questions which he wanted La Salle to answer when the latter returned to France. A few of these questions which concern his morals and his religion appear indiscreet; a small number show prejudice; but most of them are very much to the point."[108] This unpublished journal was sold at auction in Paris in 1934. Before the war, I located the owner with a view to buy it, but as he was

---

101 La Salle to Beaujeu, February 6, 1685, *ibid.*, 533.
102 *L'expédition de Cavelier de la Salle*, 162.
103 La Salle to Beaujeu, February 17, 1685, Margry, 2: 542.
104 Beaujeu to La Salle, February 17, 1685, *ibid.*,. 544.
105 La Salle to Beaujeu, February 18, 1685, *ibid.*, 548.
106 Beaujeu to La Salle, February 18, 1685, *ibid.*, 550.
107 Seignelay to Arnoul, July 22, 1685, *ibid.*, 605.
108 *L'expédition de Cavelier de la Salle*, 162.

asking an outrageous price, I dropped the matter. What became of this manuscript I do not know.

What Margry published is an extract from this journal, which as De Villiers said in 1931, "like many other documents unfavorable to La Salle has mysteriously disappeared some fifty years ago." In the archives in Paris there is no trace of the original from which Margry made his extract, nor of the extract itself. De Villiers thought that Minet wrote two different journals, and that there were contradictions between what Margry printed and the complete autograph journal. I think, however, that Minet himself made the extact, as the title of it indicates: "Extrait de nostre voyage fait dans le golfe de Mexique."[109] He also said in his letter to Seignelay: "I am sending you the maps and plans of the places where we have been. You will see on the plan of the coast of Florida the place where we left M. de la Salle; the extract from the journal indicates what that country is and in brief what was done there."[110]

JEAN DELANGLEZ

Loyola University, Chicago.

109 Margry, 2: 591.
110 Minet to Seignelay, July 7, 1685, *ibid.*, 602.

Book Reviews

The Whig Party in Georgia, 1825–1853. By Paul Murray. The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, Vol. 29, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1948. Pp. vii, 219.

This work may well be rated as one of the most solid studies in political science that has recently appeared. Mr. Murray has done what a scholar should do and has brought forth a volume that scholars will appreciate. He has gathered his documents well and has been diligent in consulting other men in the field. He has assessed his materials in a mature manner in the light of the particular and general development of party politics. He has presented his interpretations with objective restraint and with due deference to varying opinions. The result is a formally organized, clear-cut study, which begins with definitions of terms, proceeds orderly with the facts, and ends with a summary of his findings or interpretations. This, in view of the vogue of clever, or "thought stimulating" writing, is an achievement in itself, over and above the contribution of content. Needless to say, a book of such type extends its interest and its scope beyond what the title might indicate, Georgia's politics and the years 1825 to 1853.

By 1832, Mr. Murray says, the Whig party of Georgia answered the definition of a political party, in that it had a distinct personnel of leaders and followers, was bound together by a body of political tenets, and left records of its organization. The leaders of statewide note for twenty years were college graduates in comfortable financial standing. The local leaders were also property minded, substantial agrarians. The followers cast their votes not so much through party adherence as for some sectional or private interest which the leaders advocated. The party doctrines were consistently conservative, that is, preservative of the status quo, offering neither remedy for pressing problems nor progressive programs. Even while the leading personnel remained the same, the organization was termed the Troup party, State Rights party, State Rights-Whig party, and finally the Whig party of Georgia, the Georgia contingent of the national party of the monied aristocracy.

The second chapter describes the cornerstones of the Whig party as they were laid from 1825 to 1831 by the Troup party. Loyalty to leaders of family prestige was established, while local leaders came on the scene and aided in two basic developments: a shift toward electing congressmen by total number of votes, and the centralization of political power in the legislative caucus (which gave way within a few years to the nomination procedure.) Mr. Murray states without much qualification that the state convention method of choosing candidates was adopted not because of the abuses deriving from the caucus, but as a far better force for discipline in the party. In the third chapter the defeat of the Troup party on the questions of the Cherokee lands, nullification of federal tariff laws, internal improvements, education, the constitutional convention, and points of local administration led to Troup's retirement, to the rise of new leaders, and to the reorganization of the party along state rights lines. From 1843 to 1839 this State Rights party established a minority position, stressing the right of a state to revolt from federal authority, state sovereignty, and nullification, and debating every issue with the majority Union party. Its philosophy and idealism received a decisive defeat in the 1839 elections, but its persistent sniping

thwarted the Union party platform of direct state relief for distressed business and free-white government.

How this States Rights party merged with the nation's Whigs between 1839 and 1844, and how Georgia politics became geared to national issues from 1842 to 1848, are the subjects of the next two chapters. The confusion of political lines and the confusing behavior about sectional and economic problems in Georgia within the Democrat, Union, and Whig parties, to say nothing of that arising over national issues, is amply dissolved, or at least organized into a readable form. The Georgia Whig party in its declining days after 1848 followed directions from the Washington headquarters, bequeathing its more capable leaders to the Union-Democrat party.

In his preface Mr. Murray states: "I have no apology if other students with similar interests find in this presentation of nineteenth century politics many parallels with the struggles of more recent date which have had a dramatic quality sufficient to familiarize magazine readers of the nation with the names of Ed Rivers, Eugene Talmadge, and Ellis Arnall." Had his book been published after the 1948 presidential election he might well have extended his remark to the parallel between the Whig party of Georgia and the present party of the second part. There is a lesson to be learned from this analysis and synthesis.

Jerome V. Jacobsen

Loyola University, Chicago.

* * * *

Footprints on the Frontier. By Sister M. Evangeline. Thomas Newman Press, Westminster, Maryland. Pp. xiv, 400.

This book is a very careful piece of historical research on the history of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Concordia, Kansas. It is the sort of record which will always remain as a source book for the group about which it is written and about the history of the Catholic Church in Kansas. The author seems to have left no source of information unexamined. There are much more than the usual summaries and means of indicating the growth of the small community of nuns. We are given listings of educational institutions which are under the jurisdiction of the St. Joseph nuns, the number of pupils in them and the parent house from which they were founded. In all, one may say that the book gives its subject complete coverage to the least detail.

The history of the St. Joseph nuns in Kansas well merits retelling by an expert. If one recalls that Kansas is not noted for its Catholicity it can well be imagined with what great difficulty the Sisters attacked the problem of selling themselves to their hostile surroundings as well as supporting themselves and expanding their institutions. Nuns are far more capable of performing near miracles in such circumstances than are men religious. It is, of course, only too evident that nuns are the backbone of the Church in America. And in Kansas the St. Joseph nuns of Concordia were often not only the backbone, but nearly the whole body. Their work there was heroic in its extension. It deserves the careful record it has received.

If there be any valid criticism to be offered to this book one may suggest that the story becomes submerged at times in the careful scholarship which was employed to tell it. The author is conscientious about her research. She

offers hardly a paragraph which she does not in some manner document for the benefit of the reader. Further, when sources cited are not readily available she has reprinted sufficient selections to allow the reader to judge for himself of the value of the source. This is certainly praiseworthy historical scholarship, but also the detail sometimes causes the reader to lose the thread of the story.

Let it not be thought that the criticism is to be taken as a serious defect. Too frequently the history of Catholic institutions has been presented with no scholarly background. It is only when such work as that of the present author becomes universally true of historical writing about the Church in America that may we hope to produce a monumental history of Catholicity in the United States.

Sister M. Evangeline has written a fine, scholarly work. Her book merits support from eveyone. It is a solid chapter in the history of the West.

JOSEPH P. DONNELLY

St. Louis University.

* * * *

The Movement to Americanize the Immigrant. By Edward George Hartmann, Ph.D. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948. Pp. 333.

Just prior to our entrance into World War I there developed marked interest in the "Americanization" of the foreign born who were living in this nation. The movement had as its particular target those who had not become American citizens. It was fallaciously assumed that those who had become citizens were good "Americans" whereas those who had not, were not to be trusted. It is hardly necessary to discuss further this utterly erroneous conception. After we had entered the war, the Germans and the Austrians were the particular concern of the "do-gooders" of that era. What was accomplished by the multitude of "Americanizing" agencies during the period from about 1915 to 1921 is the subject of this dissertation. The subject is treated calmly and honestly, and it must be emphasized, thoroughly.

Literally dozens of Committees, such as the Committee on Immigration, the National Americanization Committee, and the Committee for Immigrants in America, became involved in the undertaking. Over one hundred cities, of all sizes and in all parts of the nation, staged active Americanization programs during 1917. More than twenty-five large corporations carried on the same type of work during that year. Anyone who spoke a foreign language was considered a threat to national security. Anyone who wanted to keep alive in this country any of the practices of his native land was considered a person who should be deported. Every alien was to become adept in English, even though many native born citizens could hardly read or write the language. An alien, despite a blameless record in his community, was told that he must become a citizen. It was assumed that by subjecting the alien to a "citizenship-training" program, he could be improved. Many states passed laws against the use of foreign languages for instruction in basic subjects in the schools. The Hungarian-American Loyalty League and the Friends of German Democracy and similar organizations were supposed to reach groups not easily contacted by those with *Mayflower*

ancestry. Great celebrations were held on July 4, 1918 for the special benefit of those who were about to become American citizens. Delegates of thirty-three nationalities were sent on a pilgrimage to the tomb of Washington, as special guests of President Wilson.

In retrospect the whole thing does look rather silly. While the war was going on, however, anyone who would have criticized the mumbo jumbo would have been thrown into jail for "opposing the war effort." By 1919, however, American citizens were regaining the liberty that is always lost during war, and some pungent criticisms appeared, especially in publications intended for the foreign born. In 1919, it was possible to say that the "Americanization" of 1916–18 resembled the persecution in an earlier day of the Jews and Poles in Russia. Poles were urged not to deny their mother tongue. Mass naturalization was said to smack decidedly of Prussianism, and to be at variance with American ideals and freedom. More sensible Americans, such as Alfred E. Smith and Franklin K. Lane spoke up at last in defense of the foreign born who wished to keep alive in this country some of the traditions of their native land. Gradually sanity returned; the immigrants breathed easier, and went on advancing themselves and enriching the land of their adoption, as they had been doing before the word "Americanization" was coined.

An exceptionally detailed bibliography of approximately seventy-five pages greatly increases the value of this excellent book. Anyone interested in immigration will find this book a very useful addition to his library.

PAUL KINIERY

Loyola University, Chicago

* * * *

The Inquisition at Albi: 1299–1300. Text of Register and Analysis. By Georgene W. Davis. Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, Number 538. Columbia University Press, New York, 1948. Pp. 322.

A strange trial occurred in the town of Albi in southern France at the end of 1299 A. D. and during 1300. Twenty-five wealthy residents of the vicinity were suddenly arrested by officers of the medieval Inquisition. Charged by the court with heresy these influential men were speedily condemned. Accounts of the trial left medievalists puzzled about the reasons for the haste in the arrests and convictions, so complex were the charges and testimonies. The scholars agree that the episode is highly mysterious, but they have ventured various opinions to no suitable conclusion. The bishop presiding at the trials had the proceedings of the court officially written in Latin. This manuscript register is presented by Miss Davis as the core of her study. She offers a careful edition of the text and an historical criticism which is well worth the study of any advanced student. She reaches the conclusion that there is no evidence for any apodictic interpretation of the event. Her analysis of the interests which made the trials so complex is sharp, and apparently complete, if we judge by the extensive bibliography and the painstaking footnote citations. The book has value as a pattern of study and as an example of the stranger ways of inquisitorial procedure. The publisher has made its format pleasing, even to the servicible index.

JOSEPH ROUBIK

Loyola University, Chicago

Notes and Comments

After the episodes of the egg and tomato throwing in the presidential campaign of fresh memory, to say nothing of the verbal vituperatives hurled, one may readily subscribe to the general statements of Charles O. Lerche, Jr., in the October 1948 *William and Mary Quarterly,* that "personal assault and defamation—the "smear"—have been most widely resorted to during the quadrennial struggle for the Presidency. No national election has taken place since 1796 without some attempt being made to damage a candidate's reputation by innuendo, rumor and ridicule." Mr. Lerche's remarks appear in his very interesting and instructive article: "Jefferson and the Election of 1800: A Case Study in the Political Smear." Most savage have been the campaigns when the established order seemed in peril. Why do we accept a technique so contrary to public decency, based on calumny? The author advances two general reasons, namely, the craving for "power to advance one's own interests and to destroy those of an adversary," and the craving for victory at all costs and by any means. Mr. Lerche then holds up the election of 1800 as an excellent case for studying the use of the smear, stating: "The devotion of Jefferson's enemies to the task of picturing him as a monster is both amazing and instructive." He then analyzes the smear process whereby Jefferson's opponents attempted to make him infamous as an atheist, an impractical dreamer and philosopher, a defamer of Washington, a French revolutionist, a defrauder of widows, a coward, a dishonest business man, an adulterer, and lecher. Blatherskites foresaw in his election no end of burning churches, atrocities, rape, stabbings, and general ruin. And so, Jefferson was elected.

Mr. Lerche's conclusions and the moral which he draws are well worth quoting in full. Villification, slander, abuse, do not win elections; rather they are more apt to prove boomerangs. "Personal villification has never stopped the long-range trends of American political development." The slander technique in the case of Jefferson was based on the assumption that the voters were stupid and venal, whereas Mr. Lerche "has long been convinced that most professional politicians underestimate the political sophistication of the American people." The evil that the Federalists did to Jefferson's character lives to the present among historians who wrangle about his atheism, his revolutionary philosophy, and his administrative ability.

The article is very timely in many respects. Just at present a questionnaire is in circulation among the chairmen of the departments of political science in American universities, requesting information for an estimate of the part played by colleges and universities in the formation of practical citizens and political leaders. The detailed questions reveal a concern over the apathy of students and faculty where participation in government is concerned. In view of their knowledge of the smear technique and other sordid elements of politics as we tolerate them, it is not surprising that university people are chary about getting into a "game" wherein divorcement from ethics and morality seems a major premise. What can be done to make an attractive vocation out of what is, under the spoils system, a state of temporary sycophancy, may be found basically in this article.

Nor is this the only interesting study in this number of *The William and Mary Quarterly.* Perry Miller of the English Department of Harvard writes on "The Religious Impulse in the Founding of Virginia: Religion and Society in the Early Literature." To him the settlement of Virginia was not primarily a commercial venture. The writings of the first settlers, taken at their face value, show that the basic reason for the settlement by the Virginia Company, the impules, the pervading force, seems to be religion. The sermons, broadsides, and letters reveal the Virginians as honestly pious, not hypocritical; they came to the wilderness feeling that they were doing the will of God, there to work out their salvation in prayer, fasting, and good works. Their belief in God (the "Protestant God," as Mr. Miller has it) and their belief in their predestination as the elect of God, was, despite sundry sins, the energizing power of the colony in its trying days, and they differed only in their geographical location from the New England Puritans.

* * * *

Professor William B. Hesseltine has seized the opportunity to write *The Rise and Fall of Third Parties From Anti-Masonry to Wallace,* which has been published by Public Affairs Press, Washington. The book of 119 pages stems from the authors contributions to *Progressive.* It is not designed to be a history, but rather an instruction to future third parties on how to avoid mistakes and make friends for liberalism. Perhaps, many of the suggestions will be taken by readers as satire. Some of his interpretations of the political issues of the last fifty years will certainly be "stimulating" to progressives, old dealers and New Dealers alike, and this is prob-

ably what Professor Hesseltine desires to accomplish. He would have some intelligence, or intellectual bases, in future party platforms. People may bristle at this if they meditate on the inferences possible. The liberals of bygone days decried militarism and urged liberalization of the democratic processes, while fighting against any infringement on the civil liberties of the people.

* * * *

The failure of the Democrats in the 1860 election is explained by Professor Roy Franklin Nichols in his recent *The Disruption of American Democracy,* (Macmillan, 1948). In the critical Democrat convention held at Charleston in 1860 some southern delegates were bargaining to establish the southern as the party platform in return for a compromise candidate. The party disintegrated, apparently by reason of such bickerings, but chiefly because of the individualism in the state parties, the Lecompton constitution, and the personalities of the Democratic leaders. The pen pictures of Stephen A. Douglas, James Buchanan and others, are sharp, and the motives of the leaders as indicated leave little room for edification. The general impression left in the mind of the reader is that the psychological or personal attitudes of men in politics were far more important as causes of the Civil War than has been thought heretofor.

* * * *

The State Historical Society of Missouri, A Semicentennial History, by Floyd C. Shoemaker, has been published at Columbia, Missouri. Even though there are as many state historical societies as there are States in the Union, this is only the fourth history of such a society to appear. Mr. Shoemaker by reason of his thirty-eight years of work as an officer of the State Historical Society of Missouri and his long association with members of this and other state historical societies is perfectly familiar with the organized historical developments in this country. His interest and untiring zeal in promoting interest in local societies has been matched by few and his care in gathering and preserving all available records of the past of his State is known and appreciated among historians.

Mr. Shoemaker divides his book into four agreeable sections. In the first he traces the rise and progress of historical societies around the nation, placing his society in its proper relation to the wider field. The second part is devoted to the foundations from 1901 to 1914, especially to the legal basis and the establishment of the authority under the State law to hold the historical properties as

a trustee of the State of Missouri. Other foundations, the library, the home of the Society, the founding staff, and the membership are described. The third part is concerned with the building of the Society from 1915-1940, and this is a notable chapter of achievement. The collections obtained, the celebrations sponsored, the historical activities promoted, and the publications each come in for a brief description. The last part surveys the Society as a mature institution capable of carrying out its task as a preserver and dispenser of history.

The book is of 193 pages very attractively printed and illustrated. The appendices include the constitution and by-laws of the society. A good bibliography and index round out the work.

* * * *

The British are likely to take more kindly to the presidents of the United States than the Americans, if the trend toward "debunking" presidents (and presidential candidates) continues here and the Teach Yourself History Library Series continues to publish such popular works as *Woodrow Wilson and American Liberalism.* This biographical series, edited by A. L. Rowse of All Souls College and published by Macmillan, aims at broader movements, centering them around a prominent figure. The author of this particular volume, E. M. Hugh-Jones, apparently gleaned many of the details from uncorrected term papers of college students, who are inclined to use their own discretion in the matter of spelling and exact dates, but manage to present the general idea." The British college boys and girls will be able to read a sympathetic account of our presidents, while skipping various details which, even though erroneous, will not eventuate in a war with the United States. Mr. Rowse has written *The Use of History* as the introductory volume of this series.

* * * *

What the British students are taught in their textbooks about the "insurrection" of the Anglo-American colonists in 1776, namely, that the "military phase was badly handled" by the home office, is proved by John Richard Alden in *General Gage in America: Being Principally a History of His Role in the American Revolution,* (Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 1948). The biography gives many details of the life of General Gage, prior to and after the one year before Bunker Hill, the year that gave him a place in the American sun. Handsome, but no military genius, he failed and was recalled by London chiefly because he told the truth about the

American frame of mind which he saw clearly but was not astute enough to meet. London did not want the truth; the Lords evidently wanted a genius to pry them out of the difficulty. Thus, the affair was "badly handled."

* * * *

To see how much the proposals of the Pope for a just and lasting peace in the world have been listened to and to discover what effect they have had upon the writings of journalists in America was the problem for a group of students in the School of Journalism of Marquette University. How are the Pope's ideas reflected in our press? An answer is now published by the Marquette University Press, Milwaukee, in the form of a master's thesis: A Study of Reflections of the *Peace Proposals of Pope Pius XII in the Writings of David Lawrence,* by Sister Catherine Joseph Wilcox, S.P., M.A. The writings of Lawrence cover a period of thirty-six years of work as correspondent, columnist, author, and editor more recently of *United States News* and *World Report.* He was selected as a subject because of his recognized prestige in editorial writings. Though Lawrence is not a Catholic, his fundamental principles for a lasting peace are in agreement with those enunciated from time to time by the present Pope, and his criticism is invariably directed against movements and policies subversive of justice, charity, religion, morality, and freedom.

* * * *

Prisoners of War was published in June, 1948, by the Institute of World Polity, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. This Institute has among its projects the study "of ways and means of improving the future treatment of prisoners of war." The students engaged in this project have been prisoners of war. This brochure in a hundred pages is the result of their studies to the time of publication. It begins with a history of the effort, a sketch of the participants; a survey of the rules governing prisoners of war from capture to liberation, protective agencies, a suggested new convention and other international remedies comprise the body of the work.

* * * *

Life and Voyages of Louis Jolliet 1645–1700, by Jean Delanglez, is the sixth volume of the Institute of Jesuit History Publications, Loyola University, Chicago. This volume brings together in 289 pages all that is known of the famous discoverer of the upper Mississippi and his various voyages. Two appendices contain an edited

"Voyage de Jolliet a la Baie d'Hudson" of Jacques Rousseau, and "A Callendar of Jolliet Documents." There are seven maps, a bibliography, and index. The book will be a necessary reference work for those engaged in the study of the early history of the Mississippi Valley and the seventeenth century developments in Canada.

* * * *

Students of Michigan now have a textbook for their study of the history of their State. *Michigan: from Primitive Wilderness to Industrial Commonwealth,* by Milo M. Quaife and Sidney Glazer, published as one of its series of State histories by Prentice-Hall, Inc., is a welcome addition to the series. Dr. Quaife, whose familiarity with the early times of the Northwest Territory made him the logical candidate to write the story to 1837, uses his mature vision of the past in his broader approach. Students will like his short chapters and the vivid manner in which the "main point" is placed before them. Dr. Glazer does remarkably well in getting the last one hundred and ten years of Michigan's history within two hundred pages while keeping it in its proper relation to our national industrialization. The vision of Michigan readers of this work will not be limited to the Michigan horizon.

* * * *

The Bank of Venezuela has sponsored the publication of the Volume XI of the *Cartas del Libertador* as a supplement to the letters already published in 1929 and 1930. After the printing of what appeared to be a complete collection of the letters of Bolívar others were found and were given to the public in different numbers of the Bulletins of the Academy of History of Venezuela. Now for the convenience of students Vicente Lecuna has brought these together in a single volume, adding pertinent official documents for a better understanding of Bolívar's private correspondence and a number of photographs of paintings of the Liberator and scenes from his life. The most interesting section is the group of letters pertainng to the well-known but little understood meeting between Bolívar and San Martín at Guayaquil. To the editor, Vicente Lecuna, these letters clearly show the right of the Columbia of that day to the possession of the province which became Ecuador, although it is difficult to find out where San Martín came by the right to give it or to mark off boundaries between Columbia and Peru. Moreover, the same letter, (which is given in the introduction as that of August 29, 1822, but appears on page 229 as of July 29, 1822,) clearly refutes the charge that Bolívar refused aid to San

Martín, since the former mentions the number of Columbians going with San Martín as 1,800. The volume is a very useful addition to the Bolívar shelf. It was printed by The Colonial Press of New York.

* * * *

Wisconsin Magazine of History has been all of a bib and tucker during 1948 over the celebration of the Wisconsin centennial of statehood. Certainly the State Historical Society of Wisconsin can be proud of the part it played in making the citizens of the Badger State more conscious of their historical treasures. Clifford L. Lord, Editor of *Wisconsin Magazine of History* has a brief survey of the manner in which the centennial was celebrated throughout the State. This is his "Chats with the Editor" appearing in the September, 1948, number.

Among the many articles written in honor of the hundredth anniversary was the historical essay *The Catholic Story of Wisconsin* by the Reverend Benjamin J. Blied, Professor of History in St. Francis Seminary, Milwaukee. It is published in a booklet of thirty-four pages divided into five parts, each tracing along broad lines a phase in the progress of Christianity in Wisconsin

* * * *

The Inca Concept of Sovereignty and the Spanish Administration in Peru, by Charles Gibson, and *Some Educational and Anthropological Aspects of Latin America,* a group of seven papers, are Latin-American Studies IV and V, published in 1948 by The University of Texas Institute of Latin-American Studies, and printed by The University of Texas Press, Austin. Mr. Gibson's book is paper bound in 146 pages including an ample bibliography, glossary, and index. It is a good investigation, revealing how the Inca's ideas of a ruler and reign differed from the Spaniard's and how historians have transferred their terminology of administration and sovereignty to a system in Peru that was basically different from that obtaining in Spain. What would work among the Spaniards would not work among the Inca, and *vice versa.* In attempting to harmonize the old and the new deals in Peru during the sixteenth century the Spaniards engaged in some ingenious political, social, and religious planning, using the trial and error method in their experimentation. The seven papers published in Studies V were originally read in a lecture series in 1947 given in the University of Texas. They are by Harold Benjamin, I. L. Kandel, Ernesto Galarza, Erna Fergusson, Donald D. Brand, Alfred L. Kroeber, and Paul Kirchhoff.

Michigan History for September, 1948, has among its articles "Glimpses of Michigan, 1840-60," by Willis F. Dunbar, who indicates that in studying the frontier historians are neglecting the "village frontier." Irving I. Katz has a biographical sketch on "Ezekiel Solomon: The First Jew in Michigan."

"Over the Santa Fe Trail Through Kansas in 1858," appears in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* of November, 1948. This is a translation of Chapters 35 to 38 inclusive of Volume II of H. B. Möllhausen's *Reisen in die Felsengebirge Nord-Amerikas bis zum Hoch-Plateau von Neu-Mexico* . . . by Professor John A. Burzle, edited and annotated by Professor Robert Taft.

Following a trend over the country in that direction, the *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* of October, 1948, carries a study of "Populism in Washington," by Gordon B. Ridgeway, from its beginnings to its demise in 1900.

Sixty articles on medicine and the medical history of Ohio have appeared during the past ten years in *The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly;* five of these research studies are in the October 1948 number. Pursuing a program launched ten years ago the Ohio State Museum has accumulated a large collection of materials pertaining to the growth of the science of medicine, such as proceedings of medical organizations, books, diaries, instruments, and drugs.

Gracing the cover of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* for September, 1948, are three pictures of images of members of the first families of early Illinois. These are explained in a paper by Thorne Deuel, Director of the Illinois State Museum, entitled "Illinois Records of 1000 A.D." The records are statuettes, tools, implements, and skeletons, trinkets, pottery, and utensils, of which a number of photographs are given. Mr. Deuel is not at all certain of the date 1000 as the year when the mound-builders flourished.

"The Cult of the Gaucho and the Creation of a Literature," by Edward Larocque Tinker, appeared in *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society,* Volume 57, Part 2. After a brief character sketch of the gaucho of the La Plata area, which would seem to make him a begrimed half-breed, nomadic, outside the law, and, in fine, a "despised cattle rustler," Mr. Tinker shows how he got into romanitic literature and poetry by reason of his patriotic fighting in the wars for democracy and has thus been transformed into a national hero, a symbol of courage, self-reliance, and patriotism.

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

VOLUME 31, NUMBER 2 APRIL 1949

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

APRIL 1949

VOLUME 31 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 20 NUMBER 2

CONTENTS

Published quarterly by Loyola University (The Institute of Jesuit History) at 50 cents a copy. Annual subscription, $2.00; in foreign countries, $2.50. Publication and editorial offices at Loyola University, 6525 Sheridan Road, Chicago, Illinois. All communications should be addressed to the Managing Editor. Entered as second class matter, August 7, 1929, at the post office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Additional entry as second class matter at the post office at Effingham, Illinois. Printed in the United States.

MID-AMERICA
An Historical Review
APRIL 1949
VOLUME 31 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 20 NUMBER 2

Internal Improvements in Illinois Politics
1837-1842

When Illinois undertook the construction of the Illinois and Michigan Canal and a system of railroads during the 1830's, internal improvements became the leading political issue in the state. Even at its adoption, support for the internal improvement system sprang from a diversity of motives in the various sections of the state. Friends of the Illinois and Michigan Canal sustained the railroad system in order to insure continued support from the southern counties for the canal. The lead mining region in the northwest was favorable because the line of the Central Railroad from the termination of the canal to Galena would give it a direct connection to the eastern markets via the Great Lakes. The central portion of the state lent its support, though not very enthusiastically. The areas adjacent to the Northern Cross Railroad hopefully looked forward to the time when that line should give them a direct outlet to the east by way of the Wabash and Erie canals.

In southern Illinois, however, the system had its most vociferous advocates. The people of "Little Egypt" hoped that the system of railroads would help them to regain the ground which they had lost to the northern part of the state during the preceding decade. Since the opening of the Erie Canal, the northern sections had received more immigrants than the south, and it was thought the railroads might once more turn back the tide of migration to the latter. The Illinois Central Railroad with its various branches and crossroads was expected to direct much of the trade to the state southward since it gave an outlet to the year-round river transportation on the Mississippi.

Opposition to the system came principally from those sections of the state which would derive no benefits. Counties along the Mississippi in the lower Military Tract were in opposition because they already had an outlet through the river. Greene county had no interest in the system for the same reason. The areas in the southwestern part of the state tributary to St. Louis were singularly neglected when the act was passed, and their voice was raised loudly in protest against the system.

A repeal of the public works program was suggested as early as the special session of the legislature in 1837.[1] Governor Duncan, the inveterate opponent of the internal improvement system, recommended repeal in his message to the legislature on July 11. He was, however, in favor of carrying forward the work on the canal. He thought the other projects should be constructed by private individuals and companies aided by the state. The *Alton Spectator* charged that the governor wanted to grant the credit of the state to individuals and incorporated companies in order to enable himself and a few others to monopolize the transport business of the whole state.[2] Bills introduced for the repeal of the system were laid on the table in both houses of the legislature—in the senate the vote was 19 to 12—in the house 52 to 34.[3] The internal improvement committee of the senate reported a resolution stating that it had "undiminished confidence in the practicability and incalculable advantages of the system of internal improvements throughout the state as adopted at the last session of the Legislature."[4]

The unsettled financial condition of the country inaugurated by

---

[1] The special session was called for the purpose of protecting the state's deposits in the State Bank. As a result of the panic which swept the nation in 1837, the Bank had been forced to suspend specie payments on May 24. At the time of suspension the State Bank was indebted to the state in the amount of $979,504.40, as follows:

Capital stock held by the state	$100,000.00
Agreement to pay Wiggins loan	100,000.00
State deposits in the bank	388,669.51
Canal funds held in Chicago Branch	285,834.89
Canal fund on New York loan and premium	105,000.00

Governor Duncan's message, *Senate Journal*, 1837, special session, 9. According to a state law passed in 1835, if the suspension of specie payments should continue for more than sixty days, the Bank would forfeit its charter. In the event the Bank closed, the canal funds would be tied up during an indefinite period of liquidation, and construction on the canal would be delayed until the state secured other funds. The legislature's solution of this problem was to pass an act legalizing an indefinite suspension of specie payments. *Laws of Illinois*, 1837, special session, 6.

[2] *Alton Spectator*, July 20, 1837.

[3] *House Journal*, 1837, special session, 63, 74; *Senate Journal*, 1837, special session, 67; *Illinois State Register*, July 14, 1837.

[4] *Senate Journal*, 1837, special session, 96.

the suspension of specie payments in May, 1837, caused other people in addition to the governor to question the propriety of continuing with the public works program. The *Vandalia Free Press,* for instance, said that "it was time for the people to pause, and calmly and dispassionately to inquire into the condition of the state before progressing with the system of internal improvements."[5] It pointed out that the interval of a few months had done much to change the prospects of the system's probable success.

The internal improvement question became an issue in the election of August, 1838, when a new governor and members of the legislature were to be elected. The Democrats claimed that the Whig candidates were hostile to the public works program.[6] "Cyrus Edwards, the Whig candidate for governor is against the internal improvement system," the *Illinois State Register* charged. Thomas Carlin, the Democratic candidate for governor, declared that he was in favor of internal improvements constructed and owned exclusively by the state, and should he be elected he promised to do all within his power to facilitate the construction of the projects which had been undertaken.[7]

In a long editorial on January 20, 1838, the *Sangamo Journal* decried the fact that the Democrats sought to make a "Van Buren party measure" out of the internal improvement system. The *Journal* claimed that the Democratic state convention was managed by four commissioners of the board of public works, Ebenezer Peck, J. W. Stephenson, Murray McConnel, and Elijah Willard.

The election of Carlin, the *Chicago Democrat* proclaimed, showed that the people approved of the system and were determined to finish it.[8] To the *Quincy Whig* the election of Carlin had a different meaning. It declared that "to the internal improvement system are the Whigs of this state indebted for the loss of their governor, not that the people were opposed to the system, for that was not a question, but through the influence which it has had in introducing into our state a mass of foreigners as laborers, unacquainted in a great degree with our laws, with our state policy, and the privilege even which they enjoy as voters."[9]

On October 12, the *Illinois State Register* asserted that the Whigs were planning to make a party machine of the internal im-

---

5 *Sangamo Journal,* Oct. 21, 1837.
6 *Illinois State Register,* Feb. 9, Mar. 9, 1838.
7 Circular of Thomas Carlin addressed to the people, *Ibid.,* Aug. 3, 1838.
8 *Chicago Democrat,* Sept. 26, 1838.
9 *Quincy Whig,* Sept. 1, 1838.

provement system at the next session of the legislature, and that if they could not succeed in getting possession of every office connected with the public works, their next policy would be to destroy the whole system.

Governor Joseph Duncan upon his retirement opposed the system more strongly than ever. In his farewell address to the general assembly on December 4, he declared that his stand had undergone no change as expressed in his objection to the passage of the act, and his recommendation of its repeal at the special session of July, 1837. He pointed out that the chief objections which he had to the passage of the bill were the effects the system would have on the purity of elections and the action of the legislature. Then he went on to say that "the short time that has elapsed has verified the soundness of those objections; and when the whole system shall have been completed, and thousands of officers, engineers, agents, and laborers, shall have the same common interest in sustaining or opposing any measure which may effect their pay or pecuniary interests, they will not only, as was the case at last called session, have representatives in your legislature, but will be here in numbers sufficient, openly or covertly, legally or illegally, to control its actions."[10]

The new governor in his inaugural address expressed the opinion that the success of the internal improvements in other states left no doubt of the wise policy and utility of such a program for Illinois. He predicted, "it will open new channels of commerce and trade, furnish a means of transporting products of labor to market, develop natural and hidden resources of the country, stimulate the enterprise and industry of the people." He approved the policy adopted by the legislature for a system constructed and owned exclusively by the state, but he would have recommended less extensive improvements and the construction of the most important works first; however, since nearly $2,000,000 had been expended already, the system should be completed, but the most rigid economy should be used in the expenditure of the state's funds.[11] Carlin's message led the *Sangamo Journal* on January 5 to inquire what the governor meant by 'modification', "does he mean curtailment or classification?"

The legislature did not heed the advice of Governor Carlin. Instead, it authorized the enlargement of the system rather than its

[10] Message of Governor Duncan, Dec. 4, 1838; *House Journal,* 1838–1839, 10.

[11] Message of Governor Carlin, Dec. 7, 1838; *Ibid.,* 1838–1839, 28.

curtailment. Additional works were projected involving an outlay of nearly a million dollars.[12]

However, the session was not without proposals for cutting down the ambitious program of 1837. In the senate, William Ross of Pike county, moved the adoption of a resolution that the committee on internal improvements be instructed to inquire into the expediency of changing the system based upon the construction of railroads into turnpikes. The resolution was adopted but the committee was soon after discharged from further consideration.[13] Various proposals were made for classifying or curtailing the system.[14] W. J. Gatewood of Gallatin county, in speaking against the classification bill offered by Peter Butler, gave warning that if the progress on the internal improvement system was checked, southern Illinois would retaliate against the canal which in former years it had supported.[15] Byrd Monroe of Clark county made a very sensible proposal in the senate that all work put under contract in the future should be in a continuous line commencing at the terminating points of the various routes.[16]

The house committee on internal improvements was still optimistic over the prospects of the public works program, and in a report on February 16, 1839, expressed the opinion that the system was "within the means of the state to complete without embarrassment to the people or arresting her career of greatness and prosperity."[17] When the bill to incorporate the Albion and Grayville Railroad Company was introduced in the house, the committee reported that it was inexpedient for the legislature to authorize corporations or individuals to construct railroads which might come into competition with similar works in course of construction under the state system of internal improvements.[18]

Supporters of the system were awakening to the fact that additional funds would have to be found if it was to be completed. A letter published in the *Peoria Register* from a New York corres-

12 *Laws of Illinois*, 1839, 89–96, 285.

13 *Senate Journal*, 1838–1839, 40, 63, 135.

14 By French of Edgar county, *House Journal*, 1838–1839, 359, 419. By Stapp of Warren county, *Ibid.*, 1838–1839, 361, 556. By Hardin of Morgan county, *Ibid.*, 1838–1839, 441, 510. By Henry of Morgan county, Ibid., 1838–1839, 214, 399. By Butler of Warren county, *Senate Journal*, 1838–1839, 269, 277.

15 *Illinois State Register*, Mar. 15, 1839.

16 *Senate Journal*, 1838–1839, 220.

17 *Reports General Assembly*, 1838–1839, report of the committee on improvements to the house, Feb. 16, 1839, 3–5.

18 *Internal Improvement Reports*, 1838–1839, report of the committee on internal improvements to the house on the Albion and Grayville Railroad, Jan. 2, 1839, 1.

pondent stated that while the London market was flooded with state stocks, Illinois might secure loans if a direct tax were provided to insure the payment of the interest.[19] Taxation, however, would be bitterly opposed by the people of the state. Abraham Lincoln suggested a plan of financing the public works program by a speculation in the unsold land of the national government.[20] He introduced a resolution asking permission of Congress for the state to buy all the public lands in Illinois. There were at that time about twenty million acres of unsold government land in the state which would cost $5,000,000, if purchased at twenty-five cents an acre. Lincoln thought that the state could borrow the money to pay for the land, sell it at a dollar and a quarter an acre, and use the proceeds to pay the principal and interest on the loan as well as the interest on the internal improvement loans until the public works would yield a profit. The house and senate passed the resolution, but the national government refused to accept the plan.

Early in 1839, public sentiment began to turn against the internal improvement system. Partly responsible was the taxation law passed at the preceeding session of the legislature, providing for a levy of twenty cents on each hundred dollars of real and personal property in the state.[21] The proceeds from the tax were to be used to meet the ordinary expenses of the government. This tax had no direct connection with the public works program, but many people feared that it was the beginning of direct taxation to pay the interest on the rapidly accumulating debt. In commenting on the revenue law, the editor of the *Lacon Herald* said that he agreed to devising some plan for augmenting the income of the state to meet the ordinary expenses of the government, but that he could not acquiesce in any direct taxation to sustain the system of internal improvements.[22]

During the spring and summer of 1839, a series of county meetings were held to demand a special session of the legislature to repeal the system. At a meeting in Bond county on March 16, a resolution was adopted condemning both the revenue law and the internal improvement system.[23] The resolution referred to the $200,000 distributed among the counties without railroads as "hush money," and recommended that the county return its share to the

---

19 *Peoria Register*, Jan. 19, 1839.
20 *Illinois State Register*, Feb. 19, 1839; *House Journal*, 1838–1839, 600.
21 *Laws of Illinois*, 1839, 9.
22 *Lacon Herald*, Apr. 20, 1839.
23 *Illinois State Register*, Mar. 22, 29, June 28, 1839; *Chicago Democrat*, Apr. 24, 1839.

state since it was a "bonus bribe intended to influence acquiescence in a premature and ruinous system of railroads." A. P. Field, the secretary of state, in addressing the assembly declared that the system had been founded on specious promises and calculations of profit which could never be realized. The expense of completing the canal and the railroads was estimated at $21,000,000, which would place an insupportable burden on the state. The meeting appointed a committee which was to request the governor to call a special session of the legislature. In a letter addressed to Governor Carlin on May 27, 1839, this committee wrote that the people were not consulted when the system was established and they would never consent to taxation to support public works.

A Montgomery county meeting held at Hillsboro on April 1, adopted a resolution declaring that the projected internal improvements were unwise and injudicious and that they would impoverish the state and load the people with taxes.[24] A committee was also appointed to prepare a petition to the governor requesting a special session of the legislature. Similar meetings were held in Morgan, Hancock, Pike, Madison, White, Crawford, Warren, Adams, Peoria, and La Salle counties.[25] The Adams and Warren county meetings passed resolutions proposing classification with the state concentrating its efforts on the most promising part of the system. The meeting held at Peru adopted a resolution stating that the canal should be pushed to keep faith with the national government which had donated large tracts of land, but that the railroads should be classified, with the Central Railroad getting the preference for immediate construction. At Peoria the opinion was expressed that the railroads should be abandoned and the canal completed.

Occasionally, however, a word was spoken in behalf of the system as it stood. Residents of Edgar county meeting at Paris on June 3, 1839, declared themselves by a 261 to 60 vote in favor of continuing the public works. They also passed a resolution requesting the governor not to call a special session of the legislature.[26]

The issue of a special session to repeal or modify the public works program was taken up by the newspapers. The *State Register* claimed that the demand for a special session was a Whig scheme to break up the system and elect a member of their party to the United States Senate. It was against abandoning this work and

[24] *Illinois State Register*, Apr. 19, 1839.

[25] *Alton Telegraph*, May 11, 18, 24, 1839; *Illinois State Register*, June 14, 21, Nov. 30, 1839; *Quincy Whig*, July 6, Sept. 7, 1839; *Sangamo Journal*, Aug. 16, 1839.

[26] *Illinois State Register*, June 21, 1839.

thought that only retrenchment was needed. In taking a stand against classification it brought forward a scheme by which the people might decide every year what sum they would spend upon improvements. Classification would result in repeal, the *Register* declared, for "strike off a single work, or classify a single road into a second or third class, and you make the friends of such road the mortal enemies of the whole system, and they will go for repeal."[27]

The Whig papers were generally in favor of calling a special session. The *Daily Chicago American* strongly urged that something be done to stop the internal improvements.[28] It declared that the mass of the people wanted a special meeting of the legislature to repeal the system. At least $3,000,000 more would be spent on the improvements before the next regular session unless something was done quickly to stop the work. The *American* declared that the legislature was not to blame for the system as nearly everyone had favored it in 1837 when money seemed plentiful and the people had thought that the system could be completed without an increase in taxes. The change in the financial condition of the country had put a different light on the whole thing.

The *Quincy Whig* was especially vociferous in its demand for a special session.[29] It contended that there had been a revolution in public opinion against the system since the legislature had last met in the regular session. It recommended that the laborers and contractors should be paid after which the whole system should be suspended. The *Whig* was in favor of building some internal improvements such as good turnpike roads, but it was against taxing the people to pay for building 1300 miles of railroad which it denounced as the "grand Van Buren system."

The sentiment toward the Illinois and Michigan Canal was generally favorable for continuing the project. The *Alton Gazette* was an exception. In an editorial on July 30, the paper declared that when the state should attempt to curtail or modify her system of internal improvements, the first to be dropped should be the canal, a single mile of some portions of which cost more than fifty miles of railroad.[30] It asked why the people of other sections of the state should be deprived of the benefits resulting from improvements when they were likely to be taxed for the construction of a canal less than one hundred miles in length.

---

[27] *Ibid.*, Apr. 5, 18, June 21, July 6, 1839.
[28] *Daily Chicago American*, May 29, June 1839.
[29] *Quincy Whig*, July 6, Oct. 5, Nov. 23, 1839.
[30] Reprinted in the *Sangamo Journal*, Aug. 9, 1839.

When Governor Carlin finally decided in November to call the legislature to meet on December 9, a number of the newspapers changed their position. The Whigs began to doubt the wisdom of calling a special session, though they still professed to favor classification. It appears that the Whigs sought to place responsibility for the special session on the governor, although they had been most insistent in demanding that one be called. The *Sangamo Journal* and the *Quincy Whig* charged Governor Carlin with inconsistency. In July, they declared, he had been an uncompromising friend of the system, but now he was an opponent and friendly to classification. Some of the Democratic papers backed up Carlin while others opposed him. The *Chicago Democrat,* which criticised the governor for calling the special session, was censured for this attitude by the *State Register,* which felt that the criticism was disrespectful to the governor and wholly unmerited. The *Register* declared it would be time enough to censure him after he had given his reasons for calling the legislature together; the governor doubtless knew better than any editor the wishes of the people in this matter, and he had only done his duty in calling the legislature together to discuss the internal improvement program. Democratic leaders at the beginning of the session disclaimed any responsibility for calling the general assembly, and they were inclined to let Carlin explain the reasons and suffer the consequences of having called it.[31]

In his message to the general assembly Carlin gave as his reasons for calling the special session, the demand of the people for a modification of the internal improvement law, and the necessity of doing something to arrest the costly expenditures on what appeared to be unnecessary work.[32] He stated that he had always thought the system too extensive for the resources of the state, and recommended that in the future all labor and expenditures be concentrated upon the most useful and promising roads, and upon the improvement of such of the larger rivers as might be navigable by steamboat, and to suspend operations and expenditures on other works until the more important were completed. The governor gave a summary of the financial condition of the state, estimating the total state debt on account of internal improvements at that time as $9,752,000, and predicting that the debt would amount to $21,846,444.50 on completion of all public works authorized by law. He concluded

[31] *Illinois State Register,* Oct. 12, Nov. 9, 16, 1839; *Sangamo Journal,* Sept. 23, Nov. 15, 1839; *Quincy Whig,* Sept. 14, 1839.
[32] *Senate Journal,* 1839–1840, 9–12.

with the declaration that some members of the legislature would be unwilling to suspend the projects of their own district but he hoped that selfish interests would be sacrificed for the welfare of the state.

When the special session got under way it soon became apparent that there was little unanimity of opinion on the internal improvement question. Proposals varied from outright repeal to continuation of the system as it was then constituted. Early in the session, Wyatt B. Stapp, representing Warren, Knox, and Henry counties, offered resolutions in the house which denounced the system in harsh words. He declared that the people of the state of Illinois viewed with just indignation and alarm the extravagant and reckless manner in which many millions of dollars had been expended upon works from which there was little prospect of any benefits. He charged that the people had been led to believe that the cost of the system would not exceed $8,000,000, that they had been deluded into thinking that they were to have railroads to every corner of the state without being taxed one cent, and the dividends on bank stock and the income from railroads would not only provide the interest on all sums paid for the construction of the system but would also produce sufficient revenue to defray the ordinary expenses of the government. Instead, there was a debt of more than $11,000,000 with the work barely begun, and if the system was to be completed, ruin and desolation, and a debt of at least $40,000,000 would be the result. Stapp moved that a bill be reported by the committee on internal improvements, repealing the internal improvement law and dismissing the officers of the system in the pay of the state. Robert Smith of Madison county asked that the resolutions be laid on the table, which was carried by a vote of 43 to 40.[33]

Various propositions were placed before the senate for extricating the state from its embarrassment. William H. Davidson of White county proposed a suspension of all operations upon the public works until 1841, in order to give the people of the state an opportunity to express their views upon the propriety of continuing the system by the choice of such individuals at the next general election as would reflect their sentiments upon the question in the legislature.[34] He stated that at the time the system was adopted the people had believed it could be carried without resort to taxation, that the bank dividends, the premium upon bonds, and other sources would

[33] *House Journal*, 1839–1840, 28–30.
[34] *Senate Journal*, 1839–1840, 23, 34–35; *Illinois State Register*, Jan. 8, 1840.

be sufficient to defray the interest on the sum borrowed until after the works were completed, when they could support themselves and pay off the principal on the cost of construction. Now that the deranged monetary affairs of the country had dried up those resources, the people should have a chance to decide whether they wanted to continue the works, since they would have to bear the cost.

Senator Hacker of Union county was in favor of suspending work on the less important parts of the system and completing the remainder.[35] He denied that the resources of the state were dried up or that its resources had wholly failed, but he admitted that the system was an extravagant one. He argued that if the whole system were abandoned there would be nothing to show for the money already expended, while if some of the works were completed there might be enough revenue to pay the interest on the principal borrowed. He asked if the senators were "willing to saddle upon their constituents a debt of $5,000,000 with not a dollar's worth of property to show for money expended." Senator Byrd Monroe, representing Clark and Coles counties, made similar pleas for curtailment.[36] He proposed to abandon 600 miles of railroad, and to repeal nearly all the appropriations made at the last session of the legislature, so as to reduce the cost of the system more than $5,000,000 and leaving a balance of approximately $4,000,000 to be expended.

The system had a consistent champion during the debates in William Gatewood of Gallatin county.[37] He declared that if the state abandoned the improvements, private companies would seize the works and appropriate them for their own use. Charters had once been granted to companies for constructing railroads along the routes of the Central, the Alton and Shawneetown, the Alton and Mount Carmel, and the Northern Cross roads. Gatewood charged that those people most clamorous against the system were deliberately attempting to get the state to abandon the works so that these companies might be revived to receive the benefit of the work which the state had done.

Numerous proposals were made for the completion of one certain work while all others were to be dropped.[38] In nearly all such

---

[35] *Senate Journal*, 1839–1840, 129; *Illinois State Register*, Jan. 8, 1830.
[36] *Ibid.*
[37] *Ibid.*
[38] *House Journal*, 1839–1840, 46, 211–15, 250, 258, 283, 284, 287, 299; *State Journal*, 1839–1840, 149, 150.

proposals individuals sought to complete works in their own districts. As for example, Rawalt of Fulton county asked for the construction of the Peoria and Warsaw Railroad from Peoria to Canton, Dawson of Sangamon county wanted the Northern Cross road completed, Crain of Washington county and Carpenter of Hamilton county would have continued work on the Central Railroad, and Smith of Madison county sought to have the Alton, Shelbyville, and Terre Haute road completed.

Finally, a bill to repeal the act "to establish and maintain a general system of internal improvements" was passed. The bill was introduced in the senate on December 28, by William Weatherford, representing Morgan, Scott, and Case counties, and after many unsuccessful attempts at amending to retain portions of the system in which different senators had a special interest, it passed the senate on January 20 by a vote of 21 to 19. Eight days later the bill passed the house, 47 to 35.[39] The bill did not become a law, however, through a technicality. When it was on its way through the senate an amendment was offered providing that no money should be paid for the right-of-way except where a railroad may be completed.[40] The amendment was adopted, but not copied onto the bill, and left on a separate sheet of paper. When the bill was read in the house the proviso was not with it, having been lost or abstracted by someone. Upon its return to the senate after having passed the house, the speakers had their names stricken from the bill, when it became known that the amendment was missing. Davidson introduced an order requiring the speakers to sign the bill. The order was laid on the table, however, by a vote of 20 to 19 with the lieutenant-governor, Stinson H. Anderson, casting the deciding ballot.[41] Thus the bill to repeal the system was defeated.

When it was supposed that the system was repealed, an act was passed to settle with the contractors and wind up the system.[42] The old board of public works and the board of fund commissioners were obolished. They were replaced by one fund commissioner and three commissioners of public works. The act provided that construction might continue under the old contracts, but that no new work was to be let until provided for by future legislation. In commenting on the work of the special session, the *State Register* declared that

---

[39] *House Journal*, 1839–1840, 22, 264; *Senate Journal*, 1839–1840, 64, 133, 134, 153, 155.

[40] Letter of John J. Hardin of Morgan county to the *Peoria Register* reprinted in the *Lacon Herald*, Feb. 19, 1840.

[41] *Senate Journal*, 1839–1840, 230–231.

[42] *House Journal*, 1839–1840, 293, 316; *Laws of Illinois*, 1840, 93–96.

"the system of internal improvements, concerning which the legislature was called together, is undoubtedly unrepealed."[43]

By the close of 1839 complete abandonment of the internal improvement system was becoming increasingly acceptable throughout the state. A number of Democratic county conventions passed resolutions demanding cessation of work on the railroad system.[44] The Democratic state convention, convening in December at Springfield, however, made no recommendations in regard to the internal improvement system.

Both parties sought to place the blame of the state debt on their opponents. The *Quincy Whig* tried to show that the Democrats were not only the first supporters of the internal improvement system, but until it began to grow unpopular with the people, were completely identified with it as a party. The *Quincy Argus* rejoined with the argument that the editor of the *Whig* was ignoring the fact that two-thirds of all Whigs in the legislature in 1837 voted for the measure.[45]

Most Whigs believed the problem of the state debt could be solved only with the aid of the national government. The *Sangamo Journal* stated in an editorial on July 24 that the only solution was the passage of Henry Clay's distribution bill. Whig proposals for assumption of state debts by the national government met the determined opposition of Governor Carlin. In a letter to Richard M. Young, United States Senator from Illinois, Carlin declared:

> I must repeat were I in Congress I would vote against any and every measure tending that way, were it even to save Illinois herself. Should the

[43] *Illinois State Register*, Feb. 5, 1840.

[44] *Ibid.*, Nov. 23, 30, Dec. 7, 1839; Jan. 4, Apr. 10, May 29, 1840. Scott county Democrats meeting at Winchester on November 2, 1839, passed a resolution expressing their unqualified opposition to the system of internal improvements. A week later the Peoria county Democrats declared, "we are opposed to the further prosecution of the useless and unproductive scheme of the railroad system." The Lee county meeting at Dixon on November 16, favored classification, with river improvement, the Central Railroad, and the two Cross railroads in the first class. The following day the Democratic convention in Sangamon county went on record against further increases in the state debt. On November 19, the convention held at Greenville in Bond county added its disapproval. The Democrats assembled at Brownsville in Jackson county on November 23 passed a resolution declaring that since to complete the whole system seemed impossible without ruinous taxation, the internal improvement program should be curtailed; that the Central Railroad was the most important of all the works and should be completed, while the state was bound to complete the Illinois and Michigan Canal because of the land grant from the national government. A convention meeting at Danville on the same day also advised reduction. Menard county Democrats also gave their disapproval to any further work on the railroad system.

[45] *Quincy Whig*, Aug. 1, 1840; Editorial of *Quincy Argus* reprinted in *Illinois State Register*, Jan. 1, 1840.

government assume the debts of Illinois must she not assume the debts of all other states and of course contribute a like amount to states not indebted, and the whole country become overwhelmed and enslaved.[46]

During the summer of 1840 the canal question became an issue in Cook county politics. A disagreement in the Democratic convention led the disgruntled group to charge that the Democratic ticket was anti-canal. When an independent canal ticket was nominated, the Whigs chose no candidates, but gave the canal ticket their support. The regular Democratic ticket won; John Pearson was elected senator over James Turney, and Ebenezer Peck, Albert G. Leary, and Richard Murphy representatives over W. B. Ogden, John Wilson, and G. A. O. Beaumont. The *Chicago American* charged that the canal laborers were responsible for the defeat of the canal ticket.[47]

Since the state had no funds on hand to meet the interest payment falling due January 1, 1841, the legislature was convened on November 23, more than a month ahead of schedule, in order to give it time to provide means for paying the interest.

In his message Governor Carlin recommended that a bill be passed authorizing the hypothecation or sale of bonds below par to pay the interest due on January 1, 1841.[48] He suggested that an effort be made to secure for the state some of the proceeds from the sale of public lands to meet future interest payments. He recommended, therefore, that the general assemble instruct the Illinois delegation in Congress to use their influence to procure passage of Calhoun's bill ceding to the states the public lands lying within their respective limits, on the condition of their paying into the national treasury, on February 1, annually, one-half of the proceeds arising from the sales and reserving the other half to themselves. The governor further proposed the sale of canal lands to pay the interest on the canal debt.

In discussing the problem of providing means for paying the interest on the debt, the *Quincy Whig* asserted there were but two courses open to the state: taxation or repudiation.[49] "Let us pay now and our credit will rise," the *Chicago Tribune* declared.[50] It

---

[46] Carlin to Young, Feb. 18, 1840, *Governors' Letter Books*, 1840-1855, edited by Evarts B. Greene and Charles M. Thompson (*Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, Vol. VII, Springfield, 1909), 8.

[47] *Chicago Weekly Tribune*, June 27, July 18, 1840; *Daily Chicago American*, June 25, July 27, 30, Aug. 5, 1840.

[48] Message of Governor Carlin, Nov. 26, 1840, *House Journal*, 1840–1841, 9–16.

[49] *Quincy Whig*, Dec. 26, 1840.

[50] *Chicago Weekly Tribune*, Dec. 5, 1840.

expressed regret that the governor had not favored direct taxation in his message. The *Sparta Democrat* warned that any increase in taxes would meet with serious opposition, but admitted that taxation would eventually be adopted to pay the state debt.[51] R. F. Barrett, the fund commissioner, sent a communication to the legislature, requesting that taxation or some other permanent provision be adopted to provide for future interest payments.[52] He pointed out that the state credit could not be sustained much longer by borrowing. Such expressions favoring taxation, however, were the exception rather than the rule.

After passing a law to provide for the payment of the interest due on January 1 by the hypothecation of state bonds, the legislature proceeded to consider the problem of meeting future interest payments. Many proposals were made, but none seemed to have enough advocates to secure their adoption by the legislature. The house finally appointed a select committee of nine to study the problems of providing for the payment of the interest, the disposition of the system of internal improvements, and the continuance of the canal. The committee made its report on February 27.[53]

Taking up the disposition of the railroad system first, the committee recommended that the plan submitted by the committee on internal improvements be adopted. This plan provided for the total suspension of all operations upon the several works, for the reservation to the state of all lands and rights acquired under the system from forfeiture to the individuals or corporations from whom they were obtained, and for the sale of all the perishable materials and iron belonging to the state. The select committee further concurred in the plan to give up the railroads to private companies upon the condition that the work done by the state should be valued, that the company should expend a sum equal to the valuation and then half as much as would be necessary to complete the work before the state should be called upon to contribute anything further in its prosecution, after which, the state and the company were to be joint proprietors and participate in the profits of the system.

In its recommendations for providing means to pay the interest, the select committee concurred with the finance committee in its plan for taxing the salaries of state officials and members of the

---

[51] *Sparta Democrat*, Dec. 11, 1840.

[52] Letter of Barrett to the legislature, Jan. 7, 1841, *Reports General Assembly*, 1840–1841, senate, 330.

[53] Report of the select committee of nine, Feb. 27, 1841, *Ibid.*, 1840–1841, house, 389–97.

medical and legal profession and for a graduated tax upon deeds and other instruments of writing to be recorded. It did not, however, concur with the committee on finance in its proposals to tax merchants. The select committee further proposed that, in addition to the taxes already laid, the sum of twenty cents should be collected on every $100 of property, and that in valuation of real estate the minimum should be fixed at four dollars an acre. Since the revenue to be derived from taxation would not be available for some time, the committee recommended that the governor should be authorized to issue interest bonds in such amount as would be absolutely necessary to raise funds for the payment of interest and the redemption of bonds hypothecated.

The committee further recommended that a law should be passed to legalize the suspension of specie payment by the State Bank, upon the condition that the bank should advance to the state the sum of $100,000 annually, until the next regular meeting of the general assembly. This bank bonus was to be applied to the payment of state debts other than those due the bank.

For the canal the select committee recommended a steady and rapid progress toward completion. To finance the project the state should issue $3,000,000 more bonds to be sold.

The legislature eventually passed a law to provide additional state revenue. A tax of ten cents on each $100 of real and personal property was levied, and the fund raised by this means was set aside for the payment of interest on the state indebtedness. The minimum valuation of any lands subject to taxation was fixed at three dollars an acre. A law also was passed authorizing the governor to issue bonds which the fund commissioner was to sell at the best price possible to raise funds for paying the interest. Another act abolished the board of public works and appointed the state treasurer to adjust its accounts. Finally, a law was passed providing for the completion of that part of the Northern Cross railroad between Springfield and Meredosia. Thus, the internal improvement system was completely disposed of, but the problem of paying the interest on the debt was not solved. The legislature adjourned without making any provision for the continuation of work on the canal.[54]

The Whig papers bitterly denounced the general assembly after it adjourned. The *Vandalia Free Press* declared that after a session of ninety-eight days nothing had been accomplished, that a "more useless expenditure of time and money had never occurred in the

[54] *Laws of Illinois*, 1841, 165, 166, 194.

annals of American legislation."[55] In the north both Whig and Democratic papers attacked the Cook county delegation for failing to secure funds to complete the Illinois and Michigan Canal. The Whig papers charged that the partisanship of Pearson, Peck, Leary, and Murphy alienated the friends of the canal in the legislature and foiled their efforts to secure any measures for its completion. It was stated that their own party failed to sustain the Cook county representatives in behalf of the canal, and when they worked for the election of a partisan canal commissioner the Whigs became disgusted and withdrew their support from the canal. The *Sangamo Journal* remarked that Cook and Will counties were reaping the bitter fruit of seed planted by their own hands.[56]

The friends of the canal did not give up hope of its completion. Meetings were held in northern countries and resolutions drafted requesting the governor to call a special session of the legislature for the purpose of devising means to continue work on the canal.[57] Northern newspapers likewise took up the appeal for a meeting of the legislature, and some of them demanded the resignation of the Cook and Will county members in the hope that more efficient ones might be elected to represent the canal region in the special session. Papers in the southern part of the state opposed a meeting of the legislature, although the *Belleville Advocate* declared that the canal would be of advantage in marketing products of that region. Wheat was selling in Chicago at a dollar a bushel, while south of Sangamon county the price was only fifty-eight to sixty-three cents. The difference occurred because the products could be shipped east from Chicago by a continuous water route, the *Advocate* pointed out, and if the Illinois and Michigan Canal were completed, the southern part of the state would enjoy the same advantage.[58]

Governor Carlin expressed the opinion that a called session would be inexpedient because he thought nothing would be done for the canal since the legislature had the same members as at the previous session. He was in favor of selling more state bonds to raise funds for the continuation of work on the canal.

---

[55] Editorial reprinted in *Sangamo Journal*, Mar. 19, 1841.

[56] *Alton Telegraph*, Feb. 13, 1841; *Daily Chicago American*, Jan. 14, Feb. 15, Mar. 18, 1841; *Ninawah Gazette*, Mar. 6, 1841, *Sangamo Journal*, Mar. 26, 1841.

[57] Counties holding meetings included Marshall, La Salle, DuPage, Bureau, Stark, Putnam, and Peoria counties. *Illinois State Register*, Apr. 2, 841; *Ninawah Gazette*, Mar. 13, Apr. 13, 1841; *Sangamo Journal*, Mar. 26, 1841; *Chicago Weekly Tribune*, May 1, 1841.

[58] Clipping from the *Belleville Advocate* printed in the *Illinois State Register*, Oct. 15, 1841.

The Whigs generally opposed further sales of bonds. To support their arguments they pointed to clippings from the *New York Herald* stating that the hypothecation of bonds to Macalister and Stebbins had destroyed the credit of the state.[59] The *Sangamo Journal* argued that while the canal should be completed, the state could never do it through the sale of bonds, but that if the canal were put in the hands of a private company it would soon be completed.[60] The *State Register* opposed this plan on the ground that the state would not receive any revenue from the completed canal with which to pay the interest on the state debt.[61]

The heavy debt and the hard times which made it seem even more burdensome led some people to despair of preserving the state credit and to demand repudiation. Meetings were held in Bond, Montgomery, and Scott counties to protest against additional taxation to pay the state debt. At the Bond county meeting held early in 1841 a memorial was adopted, which Bentley, the county's representative in the house, presented to the legislature. The reasons assigned for repudiation in the petition were that the debt was contracted by the legislature without the consent of the people, that the issue of bonds by the state was in violation of the Federal constitution which prohibits issuing bills of credit, and that to levy a tax to pay interest would be ruinous. After two attempts at reading were refused, Bentley withdrew the petition.[62]

The doctrine of repudiation was quite generally denounced by

---

[59] In June, 1841, John D. Whiteside, fund commissioner, made an agreement with Macalister and Stebbins of New York to hypothecate with them interest bonds of $1000 each at the rate of $400 per bond or forty cents to the dollar. He delivered to the firm 804 bonds with the understanding that they were to pay $321,600 on the interest due on the state debt, and that they would not dispose of the bonds unless sold at seventy-five per cent of their par value. Whiteside promised that the loan would be refunded within six months, and that 3½ per cent interest would be paid on it during the period. Macalister and Stebbins paid $261,560.33 on the interest of the state debt in July. As the price of Illinois bonds declined after the contract, Macalister and Stebbins asked for more security and took into their possession forty-two more $1000 bonds and $67,215.44 in scrip, so that they held a total of $913,215.44 in state liabilities as collateral security for the loan of $261,560.83. The firm had to pledge these bonds in various amounts with different brokers and banks in order to raise money loaned the state. When the fund commissioner was unable to repay the loan in December, the creditors of Macalister and Stebbins proceeded to sell the bonds in their possession in an effort to satisfy the advances which they had made to that firm in order that it might loan the state the $261,560.83. Five hundred and thirty-five of the state bonds selling at fifteen to twenty cents on the dollar netted only $89,877.24.

[60] *Alton Telegraph*, Nov. 13, 1841; *Ninawah Gazette*, Apr. 17, 1841; *Sangamo Journal*, Sept. 10, Oct. 22, Nov. 19, 1841.

[61] *Illinois State Register*, Nov. 26, 1841.

[62] *Ibid.*, Apr. 2, Dec. 24, 1841; *Sangamo Journal*, Jan. 21, 1841.

the newspapers of the state, but accusations were hurled back and forth in an attempt to place opposition papers on the defensive. When the *Sangamo Journal* published accounts of the repudiation meetings without any comment, the *Chicago American* expressed a regret and asked the *Journal* if it endorsed the proceedings of those meetings. The *State Register* declared that the *Journal* had stated that the state must choose between repudiation or taxation, and since taxation sufficient to pay the debt was impossible, the *Journal* must be willing to follow a policy of repudiation. The *Journal* on the other hand could point out that a proposed anti-repudiation plank in the Democratic state platform had been tabled. Perhaps the only paper in the state which espoused repudiation was the *Battle Axe,* a sheet without much influence. The *Alton Telegraph,* however, was not far from repudiation when it declared that the payment of interest should stop unless the bondholders would take still more bonds at par.[63]

After July, 1841, the state defaulted on her interest payments and her bonds fell to fourteen and fifteen cents on the dollar. Eastern papers often copied articles from Illinois newspapers discussing repudiation thereby further depressing the credit of the state. Statements were frequently heard in Illinois that the fear of taxation was driving immigration to other states.[64] The *Sangamo Journal* brought forward figures to show that taxes in Illinois were not as high as in surrounding states. It pointed out that in Ohio a two dollar tax was paid on every $100 of assessed property, in Indiana something like one dollar was paid on the same amount of property and besides, a poll tax was levied there, and in Missouri one per cent was collected on property as well as heavy license taxes, while in Illinois the taxes in no cases exceeded eighty cents on $100 of assessed property.[65] It must be remembered that other western states had heavy debts as well as Illinois.[66] Indiana had stopped interest payments some time before Illinois, and the state of Missis-

---

[63] *Alton Telegraph,* Nov. 13, 1841; *Daily Chicago American,* Jan. 12, 1841; *Illinois State Register,* Oct. 1, 29, Nov. 5, 1841; *Sangamo Journal,* Jan. 21, June 11, Nov. 19, Dec. 25, 1841.

[64] Contrary to the common belief that the population of Illinois remained practically stationary from 1840 to 1845, a substantial increase took place. The increase of thirty-nine per cent was a higher percentage than in most other states. *Chicago Democrat,* Jan. 13, 1846; *Reports General Assembly,* 1846–1847, house, 48.

[65] *Sangamo Journal,* May 20, 1842.

[66] Pennsylvania had a debt of $40,000,000; Alabama, $11,500,000; Louisiana, $23,871,000; Mississippi, $12,500,000; Indiana, $15,000,000; Ohio, $13,724,755; and Michigan $5,000,000. Only seven states were without debts—all small eastern states. Article reprinted from *New York Herald* in *Illinois State Register,* Apr. 23, 1841.

sippi had adopted a policy of outright repudiation. Thus the financial confusion was general throughout the country, and Illinois was in no worse plight than many of her sister states.[67]

During 1841 and 1842 many proposals were made for rescuing the state from her plight, but in all of them a personal, sectional, or party interest can be detected. The *Sangamo Journal* consistently maintained that if Clay's distribution bill were adopted the state would receive sufficient funds from the public lands to enable her to pay the interest on the debt and complete the public works.[68] The *State Register* opposed Clay's bill on the ground that the policy of distributing the proceeds from the sale of public lands among the states would tend to destroy state sovereignty and consolidate power in the national government.[69] Whig papers quite generally were favorable to the distribution bill as a party policy. The *Chicago American* revived Governor Duncan's plan of internal improvements constructed by private companies to whose stock the state would make subscriptions.[70] It also proposed drastic economy in government and taxation to pay the interest on the bonds. From the northeastern section of the state emanated a plan for applying to Congress for further donations of land to be sold and the proceeds used for finishing the canal.[71] At a meeting held at Ottawa, a petition was drawn up and forwarded to Senator R. M. Young, who was to present it to the United States Senate. The petition made a request for 492,818 acres of land, an amount equal to that which had been received by the state of Ohio. It was the general opinion that if the canal could be completed, the revenue which might be derived from the tolls would furnish a fund which might be applied to the payment of the interest on the state debt. Many Democrats still clung to the hope that more bonds might be sold. The *Sangamo Journal* claimed that the *Quincy Herald* was the only opposition paper which opposed issuing more bonds.[72]

Early in 1842 the *State Register* offered a plan proposing that the debt be paid by a sale of lands, railroad iron, and other state property. Bonds and other evidences of state indebtedness were to be received in payment of the property to be sold. The plan also proposed a separation of the state from the banks, to be effected

---

[67] *Ibid.*, Aug. 20, 1841; *Sangamo Journal*, Oct. 29, Dec. 17, 1841.
[68] *Ibid.*, Jan. 22, Apr. 16, May 14, 21, June 11, 1841.
[69] *Illinois State Register*, May 21, 1841.
[70] *Daily Chicago American*, May 11, 1842.
[71] *Alton Telegraph*, Apr. 30, 1842; *Chicago Democrat*, Feb. 18, 1842; *Sangamo Journal*, Feb. 11, 1842; *Illinois State Register*, Feb. 18, 1842.
[72] *Sangamo Journal*, Dec. 17, 1841.

by a withdrawal of the bonds held by the banks. A dispute arose over the authorship of this plan. The *Sangamo Journal* claimed that Henderson, the Whig candidate for lieutenant-governor, was the author and that the *Register* had stolen the plan. To these accusations the *Register* replied that William Gatewood should have the honor of the authorship since he had suggested the plan four months previously, and it charged that a statement embodying the plan had been stolen from his office about December 20, 1841.

The *Register* and the *Journal* also engaged in an argument as to the amount of the state debt, the *Register* insisting that the bonds sold by the bank, the appropriated school fund, the federal deposit, and all bonds irregularly sold might be deducted to the amount of six million dollars, and leaving a debt of $10,213,089. The *Journal* contended that the debt was at least $17,000,000. The Whig papers apparently took delight in pointing out that such an enormous debt had been contracted during a Democratic administration. The *Ottawa Free Trader* charged that false statements printed in the Whig papers found their way into the columns of eastern journals, where they were magnified so as to result in a loss of faith in the credit of the state by American and European capitalists.[73] With such irrelevant arguments and impractical schemes as were presented the question could not be settled.

At a public meeting held in Springfield a committee was appointed which gave a rather able report on the debt situation. The total of the state debt was estimated at fifteen and a quarter million dollars. The committee reported that the only available income at the command of the state consisted of the revenue from the state tax. This they estimated as sufficient to meet the current expenditures of the government, but no more. The committee believed to the fullest extent in the obligation of the state to pay all her debts, but the necessity of circumstances compelled her to defer payments until practical measures could be adopted after a thorough examination of the state's resources. The return of better times would result in an increase in population and wealth so that the payment of the debt through taxation would not place too heavy a burden on the people. It was also pointed out that savings might be made by economy in public expenditures.[74]

The debt problem and the continuation of the canal became the

[73] *Daily Chicago American*, Jan. 19, 1842; *Illinois Gazette*, Feb. 11, 1842; *Illinois State Register*, Jan. 21, Feb. 4, 1842; *Sangamo Journal*, Dec. 10, 1841.

[74] *Ibid.*, Jan. 28, 1842.

chief issues in the election of 1842. Whig county meetings generally passed resolutions opposing the issue of any more bonds for any purpose whatever.[75] The Democrats demanded completion of the canal more emphatically than the Whigs.[76] The *Quincy Whig* charged that the *Chicago Democrat* wanted a Democrat nominated who was favorable to the canal, because the canal supported 5,000 laborers, a sufficient number to keep the legislature always Democratic, and to keep Illinois from voting for a Whig candidate for President.[77] When the Democratic papers of northern Illinois proposed to make the canal a party measure, the *State Register* and the *Illinois Gazette* warned that the entire Whig press of the southern part of the state would oppose the canal and destroy all hope of its completion.[78]

The position of the gubernatorial candidates on the internal improvement question was the subject of much debate. The Democrats tried to show that Duncan, the Whig candidate, was the cause of the difficulty in which the state found itself because he had been governor at the time the system of internal improvements was adopted. At Jacksonville on April 29, Duncan delivered a long speech to refute the charge that he had been originator of the system, and quoted his former acts and speeches to show that he had always favored construction of public works by joint-stock companies.[79] The Whigs declared that Thomas Ford, the Democratic candidate, was in favor of completing the canal when speaking in northern Illinois, and against it in his address in the southern part of the state.[80]

In stating his views on the debt and canal questions, Joseph Duncan had no solution to offer but merely told what he would not do.[81] He opposed further sale of bonds at less than par to continue work on the canal, and would not advise an increase in taxation to pay the interest on the debt. He proposed to sell all state properties and bank stock, receiving state indebtedness in payment.

---

[75] Tazewell county Nov. 13, Madison county Nov. 20, McLean county Nov. 27, and Scott county Dec. 4. The Tazewell and McLean county meetings approved completion of the Illinois and Michigan Canal by the state. *Ibid.*, Dec. 3, 17, 31, 1841.

[76] *Illinois State Register*, Nov. 19, 26, Dec. 3, 1841.

[77] *Quincy Whig*, Nov. 6, Dec. 11, 1841.

[78] *Illinois Gazette*, Dec. 10, 1841; *Illinois State Register*, Sept. 24, 1841.

[79] *Ibid.*, Apr. 8, 1842; *Sangamo Journal*, Apr. 1, 15, May 13, June 3, 1842.

[80] *Illinois Gazette*, July 23, 1842; *Illinois State Register*, July 29, 1842; *Sangamo Journal*, July 22, 1842.

[81] *Illinois State Register*, May 13, 1842; *Sangamo Journal*, Mar. 4, 1842.

Being a good Whig he thought that the return of his party to power would bring a prosperity which would enable the state to meet its liabilities. He looked to the national government for aid, rather than for the state to work out its own solution. He promised additional land grants for the canal and aid from the distributive fund if the people would place the Whigs in power.

The views of Ford were not well known as he had not been actively engaged in state politics prior to his nomination for the governorship. During the campaign he opposed any further sale of state bonds. He insisted that the state must acknowledge its just debt and make provision to pay it.[82] Ford won the election.

Governor Carlin, in his farewell address to the general assembly, took a pessimistic view of the situation and offered no practical solution.[83] In an attempt to assign the responsibility for the state's plight, he charged that Illinois as well as other states had been induced to adopt an extravagant system of internal improvements by the wild spirit of speculation engendered by a lavish and reckless issue of paper money by the banks. He estimated the debt at $11,171,370.65, upon which the legislature would have to provide for the payment of interest. He declared that the sale of state lands could not be relied upon to meet interest payments since there was no money available to invest in land, and taxation also was impossible in consequence of a disappearing circulating medium, a declining tax roll and popular disapproval. Thus, dismissing all hope of making any permanent provision for the payment of interest, Carlin claimed that the only possible solution of the problem was to reduce the principal of the debt by surrendering the lands and other property of the state to the bondholders. He denounced the plan of the Whigs to distribute the proceeds from the sale of the public lands among the states as being unwarranted by the Constitution. He recommended a separation of the banks from the state, and a rigid supervision of the banking institutions in the future. In closing, he apologized for his gloomy view of the state's condition and expressed the hope that his successor might work out a solution.

In his inaugural address, Thomas Ford frankly stated the responsibility of the state to pay its debts,, while asking for patience on the part of the creditors until rehabilitation of the state's finances could be accomplished.[84] The total of the state debt he placed

[82] *Illinois Gazette*, July 30, 1842; *Illinois State Register*, July 22, 1842.

[83] *House Journal*, 1842–1843, 16–33.

[84] *Ibid.*, 1842–1843, 38–51.

at $15,187,348.71. In presenting his program, Ford let it be known to the people of the state that no oppressive taxation was to be levied; at the same time he sought to convince the creditors that the people were determined to pay the debt. He recommended that the creditors be given at a fair valuation all the land of the state in order to diminish the debt as much as possible. He urged the immediate completion of the canal so as to enhance the value of the canal lands and to give the state a source of revenue for paying the interest on the debt. In conclusion, he asked for strict economy in governmental expenditures and that the banks be closed if they could not resume specie payments within a short time.

Governor Ford deserves much credit for the courageous manner in which he faced the state's financial difficulties. Under his leadership the legislature inaugurated a program which eventually solved the debt problem. Most important, though, in explaining the solution of the financial difficulties are the better times and increased wealth. A study of the following table will show how it became possible for the state to pay the internal improvement debt.[85]

Year	Assessed value of real estate and personal property	Amount of tax charged	Net amount collected for ordinary expenses
1839	$ 58,889,525.00	$ 117,779.05	$ 106,201.03
1840	58,752,168.00	117,821.28	105,411.61
1841	70,196,053.00	210,498.10	189,404.52
1842	72,605,424.00	108,908.08	98,546.14
1843	72,416,800.00	144,833.60	134,754.55
1844	75,757,765.00	151,495.53	140,917.83
1845	82,327,105.00	246,981.22	229,617.08
1846	88,815,403.43	311,118.00	290,075.08
1847	92,206,493.96	339,779.53	314,830.66
1848	102,132,193.97	379,232.01	344,422.93
1849	105,432,752.13	612,428.19	578,763.81
1850	119,868,336.37	702,076.17	593,142.81
1851	137,818,079.30	834,495.60	700,951.26
1852	149,294,805.00	909,472.87	791,749.40
1853	225,159,633.00	1,116,993.37	962,282.09
1854	252,756,568.00	1,279,089.87	1,190,021.18
1855	334,398,425.00	2,260,904.90	2,097,951.43
1856	349,951,272.00	2,368,741.81	2,199,814.43
1857	407,477,367.00	2,750,346.01	2,515,501.08
1858	403,140,321.00	2,739,429.90	2,446,576.77

[85] Data for this table was obtained from the biennial reports of the auditor of public accounts.

It will be seen that the state enjoyed a steady and rapid increase in property valuations after 1843. Even more important was the increase in taxes which the state could collect. It doubtless was less burdensome for the people to pay more than two and a half million dollars in taxes during 1857 than it had been to pay only ninety-eight thousand dollars in 1842.

After 1842, internal improvements constructed by the state, with the exception of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, were no longer an important issue. Those problems which remained were chiefly in connection with the payment of the debt and the chartering of private companies to construct railroads.

JOHN H. KRENKEL

Arizona State College,
Tempe

James Stuart's Journey up the River Mississippi in 1830

The two decades after the Anglo-American War of 1812 were the great years of travellers' tales about the new nation. Cobbett, Frances Trollope, and Captain Basil Hall all wrote what were equivalent to best sellers, describing their own experiences. The industry of Dr. Thwaites has made even the minor travel books easy of access, and accounts like those of Fortescue Cuming, John Woods, and William Faux, are reprinted in his series *Early Western Travels.*

But one of the best of them all has been strangely neglected. James Stuart's *Three Years in North America,* published in 1832 in Edinburgh and London, ran to three editions in twelve months before it stopped on the ground that it was too pro-American. Yet Stuart had no conceivable reason to flatter the Americans. He was a well-to-do Scot, in his middle fifties, who returned to England after his visit to become editor of the *Courier,* and later, in 1836, one of His Majesty's Inspectors of Factories, with the whole of Scotland and Ireland under his charge.

Moreover, he went through the United States with the eye of a man whose experiential background was considerable. Eight years before, he had been subjected to bitter attacks by the *Edinburgh Beacon,* and later by the *Glasgow Sentinel.* The reason for the attacks was Stuart's whig activity, the writer of the attacks was the great Boswell's eldest son. Stuart took his reputation, like his politics, seriously, and challenged Boswell to a duel. Unfortunately for Boswell, he was killed, and Stuart was tried for Murder on June 10, 1822. The entire trial has been recorded, and the acquittal of Stuart seems to have been fair enough on the grounds that Boswell widened the breach once it had begun.[1]

After his acquittal, Stuart retired to his estate, and five years later, decided to visit the United States. His intentions are nowhere revealed, but it was probably to tide over the time till his friends the Whigs returned to power in Parliament, for Stuart's whig principles were by no means relished in Fife, where he was a landowner.

[1] Sir Walter Scott uses the duel scene in his *St. Roman's Well.* The matter was hotly debated in the House of Commons (Hansard: *Parliamentary Debates* vii 1324–48, 1357, 1372, 1368–92; and ix 664–690). The trial is reported in *The Trial of James Stuart Esq., of Dunearn before the High Court of Justiciary at Edinburgh,* Edinburgh, 1822.

He had arrived in New York on August 23, 1828, and travelled round the eastern seaboard till the beginning of 1830 when he began his journey Southwards with the intention of seeing the Mississippi. On his way down he was introduced to President Jackson, General Macomb, and General Atkinson. He wrote: "The president has very little the appearance or gait of a soldier as I have been accustomed to see them. He is extremely spare in his habit of body,—at first sight not altogether unlike Shakespeare's starved apothecary,—but he is not an ungenteel man in appearance; and there are marks of good humour, as well as decision of character, in his countenance." Eaton, who was then Secretary of War, gave him some useful hints from his own and the president's journey to the south.

However, Stuart did not, as they, travel on horseback. He went by stage to Mobile, and thence by steamer to New Orleans. The boat in which he crossed, under Captain Quin, surprised him by charging only twelve dollars and giving claret even at breakfast. Disembarking within six miles of New Orleans, he came up the canal on a small boat in time to eat his breakfast on 22 March.

He got a room at the Planters and Merchants Hotel, as the hotel to which he had been recommended (Richardson's) was full. A fortnight before he arrived, the State legislature had passed two acts on March 6 and 17 forbidding the publication of tendentious literature on the colour question, and curtailing speech on the slave question. Stuart was surprised at the severity of the laws expelling free coloured people in view of the fact that they were the most conspicuous defenders of the city sixteen years earlier. He remarked on the fact that Louisiana was the only state in which the number of newspapers had decreased in that time, whereas in other states they had doubled and quadrupled. He met Miss Carrol, who was trying to establish reading rooms in the city, and was pleased to hear that the only British Newspaper she was buying was the *Scotsman.*

Though he records that "no state has made more rapid progress in improvement than Louisiana," he lists several shortcomings. There were only forty hackney coaches, whose drivers were most extravagant in their demands. There was no delivery of letters. But his chief complaint was that the slaves were punished so cruelly. Yet he is cautious in this as in other generalisations—for he went to a plantation four miles from New Orleans owned by a Mr. Hopkins, and admitted that the slaves looked well cared for. The sight made him think of the British Colonies, and he regretfully concludes

that there too, education is entirely denied to the black man. Their day of sport was the race ground on the road to the battle field.

Having seen the races and the battleground, Stuart decided to go up the river in the *Constitution* commanded by Captain Paul,—a vessel of 400 tons and 130 horse power. The fare was thirty dollars to Louisville, and fresh provisions were obtained on the banks of the river every day as they daily stopped for wood. Stuart travelled one of the twenty staterooms on the boat, each of which was so much larger than a stateroom on an ordinary packet that there was room for a desk and a couple of chairs. His only complaint was that the substitute for the water closet was in bad order—a fault he found universally in his travels.

They set sail at one o'clock on the afternoon of April 5, three hours later than scheduled time. Spirits of all kinds were on the sideboard, and everyone who came into the boat was invited to drink as much as he liked. The surprise was that nobody seemed the worse for it. Stuart devotes pages of description to the geographical grandeur of the river, the difficulties of its navigation, but he records that already steam had made travelling so easy that a family in Pittsburgh considers it a light matter to pay a visit to their relations on Red River—some 2,000 miles. Yet three fifths of the produce was carried down the river in flats.

He sailed past the great plantations of General Hampton, seventy miles from New Orleans, and the numerous villas on the banks of the river adorned with evergreen shrubs and orange trees. Passengers made remarks about the cruel manner in which Hampton treated his slaves, which was all the more remarkable since they were "obliged to speak with great caution" in view of the recent laws. Four miles from Baton Rouge, the boat stopped at the Mackillop plantation, where Stuart had the pleasure of seeing the owner who was a fellow countryman. They took on board some hogsheads of sugar.

On the evening of the third day they reached Natchez, then a town of 5,000 or 6,000, and Captain Paul warned Stuart to leave his watch and money on board, as he considered the neighborhood of Natchez to be "the most profligate place in the world." Stuart records:

"there are three or four houses, situated at the landing place, open for travellers, in which vice and immorality of every kind are unblushingly displayed. Dancing assemblies, which are frequented by persons of bad character of both sexes, are held in the public rooms of these houses almost every night; and there are rooms in the same houses devoted to gambling".

Gambling however was not confined to Natchez, for among the twenty passengers on the boat was one who made a trade of making money by play. He won one hundred dollars on the trip. Stuart was captivated by the odour of the Pride of India tree, but not by the dancers, and refused to join a party. He remarked how strange it was that such a nuisance should be permitted in America, since in the chief cities there was much more decorum than in Europe.

Seventy five miles from Natchez (where one passenger, a Kentucky farmer, left his wallet and five hundred dollars) they passed "one of the finest and most extensive cotton plantations upon the river, which belonged to Mrs. Tyler, wife of a Protestant clergyman, who was formerly a Mrs. Turner." Further on, he found that a tenant of a wood refuelling spot paid rent of four hundred dollars an acre. Since the *Constitution* used twenty six cords of wood a day (1024 cubic feet) and the average price of a cord was rather more than two dollars a cord, he could recoup his outlay in a fortnight. Another forty miles and they were at Vicksburg "a thriving place on the side of a hill."

On April 9, they passed the red waters of the Arkansas, whose remote sources were as yet unexplored, and the following day Captain Paul took him to see a judge in the neighborhood who gave him some rye whisky—the best he had seen in the United States," for it is very seldom of good quality." The judge told them of a case of Lynch's law being carried into effect on the river, and how he, the judge, had rather thought the example would be productive of good effects "on account of the great number of lawless people at present upon the river." Stuart noticed that all the people carried a large sharp knife, not unlike a carving knife, in the side pocket of their breeches, and remarked "their conversation is quite sufficient to convince a stranger that there is in these wild regions great recklessness of human life."

At Memphis, Stuart had intended to leave the boat and go by stage to Nashville, but he heard that the stage would not be on the road for some time, and so he decided to continue his journey in the *Constitution.* On April 12, the boat was delayed owing to the breakage of an upright shaft, and they drew up at Little Prairie where he recorded the confusion that existed without legal land ownership titles being in force. While they were there, a plantation owner named Brown found that part of his land was being ploughed by another settler called Eastwood. This happened as Stuart was going ashore. He records:

Brown and his two daughters, of whom his family consisted, seemed to be in a state of great exasperation against the intruder. Whether the father or the two daughters were most loud in their imprecations against Mr. Eastwood, it would be difficult to determine; but such oaths and curses as they uttered, I have seldom, if ever, heard. I have never seen more barbarous looking people. Brown had sent his eldest daughter to some neighbor at a distance to borrow a long rifle, that he might take secure aim and bring down the man, but after having got the gun, his affection for the girl prevented him from using it. He bethought himself, that if he had shot Eastwood, she might have been tried as an accessory before the fact. Eastwood's conduct was not so absurd . . . nothing is more common in the Western States than for settlers to take possession of, and to improve, land, without having ever thought of procuring a title.

They passed Wolf Island, owned by the professional gambler James Hunter, and six miles later came to Gorman's Plantation, where the people said they would be miserable were it not for the camp meetings that were occasionally held in the neighborhood. Stuart felt confident that this feeling was general among the industrious, well-disposed part of the population along the western rivers. At this point Stuart interrupted his narrative to refute "the absurd and wonderful stories which Mrs. Trollope and many British writers on America have sent forth to the world." Stuart agreed with the Rev. Timothy Flint (whom he later met in Cincinnati) that camp meetings were producing a palpable change in the habits and manners of the people.

They passed the junction of the Ohio and the Mississippi at twelve o'clock on April 14, when their progress became quicker owing to the slower current against them. Captain Paul asked him if he had ever seen so beautiful a river. Stuart replied that it was not to be compared with the Hudson, and wisely omitted to mention the Rhine. As well as the boat going faster, the wood for the boat was cheaper, for when they stopped at a spot not far from the mouth of the Cumberland river, wood was a dollar and a half and a dollar and a quarter per cord. Stuart noticed the bright yellow slippers of those who carried the wood aboard. More and more cultivation began to appear as they approached their landing place at Shipping-port, which they reached on the night between April 16 and 17, landing between five and six o'clock on the morning of April 17. Four horsed Hackney coaches took them to Louisville, a mile distant.

So James Stuart, the Scots lawyer, came up the Mississippi in twelve days, with twenty other passengers. The males had played draughts, backgammon, or cards, often with the pilots and mates.

"People of all different stations in point of wealth associated together, on perfectly equal terms, during the voyage" he noted. Of Captain Paul he had written on April 5 that "he is rough, or more properly blunt in his address, and like the southern people in general, never opened his mouth without swearing." But at the same time he remarked "he is frank and good humored, and most assiduously attentive to his duty; so much so that I don't believe he slept an hour at one time during the twelve days which I spent with him." Apparently Captain Paul had need of brusque speech, for the passengers were too fond of congregating on one side of the boat near the landing deck, with the result that the boat used to heel over. Since this had the effect of draining the boilers on the other side, there was danger of an explosion. Bursting boilers on the Mississippi at that very time included three fine vessels—the *Huntress,* the *Caledonian,* and the *Kentucky.*

Of his passengers, he mentions three. There was the Kentucky farmer who lost the five hundred dollars at Natchez. There was Bamborough, a portrait painter, who boarded the boat at Natchez; who came out from England originally to farm but now found that he could make more by travelling round as a professional artist. Finally there was the inevitable Scot—this time a Macleod, a locksmith from New Orleans, who admitted that his sobriety and health kept him alive while all his friends in the city died through remaining there in the unhealthy part of the season. Macleod was making this trip for exercise and health, out of the seventy-five dollars a month which he received in New Orleans.

Stuart was keen to notice the improvements which were being made. The first was the new double steam boat that was removing the obstructions to navigation of the river. This consisted of a couple of steam boats, united at the bows by an immense beam, which pulled up the sawyers and planters with great ease and rapidity. It was the invention of an old pilot called Captain Shreve, and cost between 26,000 and 27,000 dollars. Congress had granted some 30,000 dollars to enable the scheme to work. The second was the canal to obviate the falls on the Ohio, which made the town of Louisville exist by porterage. Stuart remarked "there is at present a want of funds, but the work is so far advanced that there is no risk of it not being completed."

The lure of the river proved too strong for James Stuart to dally in Louisville, although he met several people there who had formed part of Robert Owen's establishment at New Harmony—Ainslie a Scotchman, who was now a prosperous brewer; Simkins, an English-

man, now a store keeper, and MacKenzie another Scot, also in the same business. He also saw Mrs. Drake, the best actress in the United States "who would be reckoned a good actress anywhere." There were public reading rooms on the one hand, yet on the other a curious absence of manners. "At the hotel table at Louisville there was a greater rush into the room when dinner was announced, than at any other place where I have been," he wrote. The theatre also came in for comment for it had a separate entrance "for ladies who were not received in polite society." Evidently these were the ladies who lived a little way out of town where there were "two or three houses, obviously occupied by females of light character, as they display themselves at the doors. This is a nuisance which certainly ought to be abated, as well as the still more flagrant abomination of the same kind which exists at the landing place at Natchez; but it would be unfair," Stuart went on, "not to mention, that, with these exceptions, I have seen no instance of female indecorum in the streets of any of the cities or villages of the United States."

So, on April 20, after a three day stay at Louisville, he embarked on the *Volunteer,* with the intention of travelling to St. Louis. This involved retracing some of the journey to the Ohio—Mississippi junction, and then sailing up river once more. This time he was in a much smaller boat. The *Volunteer* was only 120 tons and sixty horse power, as opposed to the *Constitution's* 400 tons and 130 horse power. This time he had some very interesting passengers on board with him, and the five days were spent in some conversations which are of value to the social historian.

To begin with, there was Mr. Garrard, who had been an English farmer, and who came to Pittsburgh to farm with English servants. He did not make his farm pay. So he took another, and this time employed American servants, who ate and boarded with him, and he was now prospering. He said that they were ten times better informed than Englishmen, who knew nothing beyond their own business about farming and marketing. The other reason was that an American was more ready to put his hand to all sorts of work, whereas an Eglishman would not. All Garrard's implements were bought at Pittsburgh "as well as if he were in London."

Also on board was Mr. Mather, formerly speaker of the House of Representatives of Illinois. Mather told James Stuart how Birkbeck had been responsible for preventing Illinois from being a slave-holding state during his brief period as secretary of state. Mather recommended the Sangamon district of Illinois as very fine land; the sentiments were probably evoked by the fact that four upper

cabin passengers were travelling from New Hampshire to settle in Illinois.

But perhaps the most singular passenger on the boat was an old officer from the Peninsular War against Napoleon, who had fought at Corunna, but who, on his return, had got embroiled in the famous political meeting at Manchester which was fired on by the Hussars and earned the name of "Peterloo." He was now the owner of a manufacturing house on the Ohio. Stuart goes on:

"He cannot live comfortably without his port wine, He cannot get it good at the hotels, or in the steam boats of this country, and therefore carries it about with him in large bottles called Jeroboams."

It was as he was relating the story of Peterloo to his fellow passengers, perhaps over some of this port, that he was corrected by a Mr. Keyte, who had been at the same political meeting, and who was now a merchant "of some eminence" at St. Louis. Apparently Keyte was dealing in real estate by buying the bounty lands from the soldiers or their representatives.

Port was not the only liquor carried on the *Volunteer.* There was a German among the deck passengers who had 2,300 gallons of Monangahela whisky, and had already carried it 1,700 miles to sell it. He proposed to sell it at one shilling a gallon, and it was, as Stuart says, "of tolerable quality."

In one of the stopping places for wood, just above the confluence of the Mississippi and Ohio, Stuart had a chance to speak to a farmer who claimed to be descended from his namesake, Bishop Brox, of England. Brox disposed of the livestock on his 700 acre farm to New Orleans butchers, who journeyed all over the country to make their purchases. Brox had the common farmer's complaint —prices were too low.

As they went further up the river the appearance of the Mississippi changed a good deal for the better, and a greater number of old French plantations came into view as the high lands approached nearer to the river. Fifty miles up, after the Ohio, they passed Cape Girardeau, where the plantation stretched forty or fifty miles into the interior. Deer were swimming in the river. Another forty miles they passed a decaying French settlement, older in date to Philadelphia, and now with only a thousand inhabitants to its former seven thousand. St. Genevieve Island, seventy miles from St. Louis, was also largely French, and also twice as large. Herculaneum, Missouri, had a great name as a shot manufactory.

At last, on a cold Sunday morning on April 25, he left the river.

He had been impressed by the handsome approach to the town, as they saw on the west side of the river three parallel street of houses rising above each other, with the principal street over a mile long. He was now to take to the road again.

His remarks on this trip damned his book as a classic of travel in the manner Frances Trollope's or Captain Hall's have become, largely because he was held to have been to pro-American and apt to condone their treatment of slaves in the south. In the edition which I have been using, which belonged to George Grote, the famous Utilitarian and English historian, who was Vice-Chancellor of London University, there is a pencilled comment on the front page which illustrates better than any formal review what contemporaries found to criticise in James Stuart's book.

> I observe that Mr. Stuart's partiality in favor of the Americans amounts to prejudice, for while he praises them whenever he thinks them deserving, he carefully restrains from blaming them even with regard to the foul stain upon their national character which consists in their feeling towards the colored population and their barbarous treatment of them. Are these Tyrants themselves free? See page 109. No Mr. Stuart, whatever the merit of your book may be, you are not an impartial writer and I hardly know how to trust you."[2]

This may explain why an account, so rational and easy in its composition, and so full of incident for the historian, has been so long neglected both in England and America.

W. H. G. ARMYTAGE

University of Sheffield, England

---

[2] Stuart, in his page 109, is describing the erection of a church on a spot where a theatre had been destroyed by fire, with an abjuration which Grote probably considered superstitious.

So radical did Stuart's book appear to English readers that it was banned by the governing body of the Lincoln Mechanics' Institute, a fact which was bitterly lamented by Richard Cobden, who made a secret trip to America himself in 1835. He described Stuart's work as "probably the best, because the most matter-of-fact and impartial of all the writers on that country." *England, Ireland, and America*, by A Manchester Manufacturer, (i.e. Richard Cobden), Manchester, 1835, 103. Cobden was incensed at the effect which the writings of Mrs. Trollope and Basil Hall had on the middle class reading public.

Early Agriculture in Pimería Alta

In 1591, missionaries of the Society of Jesus entered Sinaloa and began the northward advance, and by 1697, thirty Jesuits in the Mayo, Yaqui, and Sonora River valleys were serving about 40,000 neophytes in seventy-two pueblos. Before 1687, the northwestern frontier of New Spain did not extend beyond the Altar and San Ignacio Rivers. Flowing from east to west, these watercourses separated a comparatively well-settled country from a vast, unsubdued and little known land. To this northern "tierra incognita" which pertained to the province of Nueva Vizcaya was given the name Pimería Alta, land of the upper Pima Indians. Extending northward from the Altar River to the Gila, and westward from the San Pedro to the Colorado,[1] Pimería Alta was an unplumbed reservoir of heathen souls and potential riches. The Piman inhabitants were sedentary farmers, for the most part, and readily amenable to the gifts of Christianity.

From the Huachuca Mountains south to the Altar lived the Pima proper, concentrated in valleys formed by San Pedro and Santa Cruz on their northward course. Dwelling on these same streams to the north of the Pima were Sobaipuri, while the desert west of the Santa Cruz was sparsely populated by Papago, or "Bean Eaters."

The area thus comprised was rugged, dry and little suited to agriculture except along rivers and near springs. That an extensive native agriculture did develop under such adverse conditions of topography and climate is a compliment to the Indian ingenuity which devised it.

In the San Ignacio River valley there were many fields divided by irrigation ditches, and the village of Caborca on the Altar River raised crops of maize, frijoles, and squash,[2] and on the Santa Cruz and San Pedro cotton for garments was grown in addition to the above mentioned staples.[3] At Ranchería de San Agustín de Oiaur, present site of Tucson, Arizona, crops of maize, frijoles, cotton, pumpkins, muskmelons, and watermelons were under irrigation. There the prosperous and cautious Sobaipuri had stored up many supplies against future misfortune.[4] The diet of the desert dwelling

[1] Father Francisco Eusebio Kino, *Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta,* translated and edited by H. E. Bolton, Berkeley, 1918 I, 50.

[2] Juan Mange, "Luz de Tierra Incognita," *Publicaciones del Archivo General,* Mexico, 1926, X, 217.

[3] *Ibid.*, 247.

[4] *Ibid.*, 256.

Papago was less varied their sterile surroundings producing few crops and mostly a stunted variety of frijole.[5]

Periodic floods inundated fields and uprooted seedlings.[6] During such periods of emergency, recourse was made to the plentiful wild fruits of the desert, chief of which were the fruit of the saguaro cactus (*pitahaya* in the Piman tongue) and the mesquite bean. So important was the June harvest of the *pitahaya* that it marked the first month of the Piman calendar.[7] This fruit was about the size of an egg and when ripe possessed a red color and sweetish taste. Rind similar to that of an orange surrounded pulp and many small seeds. All was eaten, but "in order to pluck it and free the rind of its particles, it is necessary to have the lazy disposition and deft hands of the Indian," wrote a frustrated Jesuit padre.[8]

Mesquite beans were harvested later than the saguaro, and the crop was prone to fail—"especially in hard times," naively complained the Pimas. The beans were eaten raw or dried in the sun and ground into fine flour on a stone *metate,* a device alike in operation to a mortar and pestle. The meal then could be stored indefinitely and used as desired, either with water as gruel or baked into small cakes. From the mesquite tree, too, were derived tender leaves and shoots for stews.[9]

The root of the maguey, or American aloe, was frequently utilized as food. Quite similar to the West Indian cassava, maguey root was rendered palatable by prolonged boiling or by roasting. In the latter process a pit was dug, lined with stones and thoroughly heated by fire. Into the hot ashes the root was dropped, covered for a day and night and removed ready to eat.[10] Other important items on the native Piman menu were wild grapes, acorns, wild lettuce, and *tuna,* which was fruit of the prickly pear.

Various substances were used in brewing divers liquors, all potent and commonly used. Sometime after the Spanish occupation of this area, Bishop Benito Crespo of Guadiana proscribed the processing of maguey root into mescal brandy. Because they encouraged debauch and fantastic orgy, he threatened with excommunication

---

[5] Father Javier José Molina, "Carta al Senor Governador y Capitán General Don Agustín de Vildosala," *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico,* Ser. 3, Pte. 6, Mexico, 1856, 197.

[6] Cristóbal Bernal, "Relación . . ." *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico,* Ser. 3, Pte. 6, Mexico, 1856, 805.

[7] Frank Russell, "The Pima Indians," *Report of the Bureau of Ethnology,* 1904–1905 Washington, 1908, 36.

[8] "Rudo Ensayo," *American Catholic Historical Society,* V (1894), 149.

[9] *Ibid.,* 153.

[10] *Ibid.,* 152

all Spaniards who gave assent to native drinking bouts. Despite this prohibition, the Bishop permitted distillation of brandy for medicinal purposes, "the beverage used in moderation having great-healing qualities."[11] Also, pleasant and intoxicating wines were made from *pitahaya* and mulberry, and the products of the alder tree contributed a more potent type liquor.[12]

Food preparation among the Pima was not far advanced. Stewing, roasting, and drying were most common, and fortunately the arid atmosphere of Pimería Alta quickly dehydrated vegetables and made long storage feasible. Muskmelons, pumpkins, squash and the fruit of *saguaro* all were cut into strips and dried, forming a stock of provisions against future need.[13]

Maize was by far the most important crop to Pima tribes, *pinole,* a sort of gruel formed by boiling together ground maize and water, being the most common dish. To prepare for consumption, maize was roasted on the ear and dried, and a rough meal then was made by grinding the parched kernels on a stone *metate.* Either *pinole,* as suggested, or a crude cake was the finished product. Still another method of maize preparation was to boil shelled grain in ashes (thus utilizing the lye content) and removing the hulls to form a variety of hominy.

Peculiar topographical and climatic problems encountered early necessitated improvision of suitable agricultural methods. Rotation of crops was not practised, but this fact can hardly be used as a criterion to assess this culture, for seasonal deposits of rich silt along river bottoms precluded any such necessity. Indeed, like the River Nile, the Rio Yaqui insured opulent yields only when it did overflow and thus renovate soil.[14] Evidences of irrigation were manifold and extensive. On the Gila stood Casa Grande, a large adobe structure so named by early Spanish explorers. Two leagues away, up the river, was a tremendous reservoir, "holding sufficient water to supply a city and to irrigate for many leagues the fruitful land."[15] With water the desert bloomed, and on both banks of the Gila "so much cotton is raised and so wanting in covetousness is the husbandman, that, after the crop is gathered in more remains in the fields than is to be had for a harvest here in Sonora . . .," wrote an anony-

---

11 "The Relation of Philip Segesser," translated and edited by Theodore E. Treutlein, MID-AMERICA, XXVII (July, 1945), 149.
12 "Rudo Ensayo," 154.
13 Russell, "The Pima Indians," 71
14 "The Relation of Philip Segesser," 179
15 "Rudo Ensayo," 127

mous Jesuit father.[16] At Casa Grande, a *madre acequia,* or main ditch, ten *varas* wide and four *varas* deep[17] carried water to arterial ditches[18] and thence to thirsty fields. Lt. Juan Mange, military factotum of Pimería Alta, from 1694 to 1702, remarked the first time he viewed this canal that it could possibly serve for protection as well as for irrigation.

Where no flowing stream watered the land, Pima Indians used flood irrigation. Hillsides were cleared of brush to allow rainfall to run off freely, and at the base of the slope dykes were constructed which caught and restrained the water, guiding it into useful channels. Literally miles of great canals could be traced across mesas as well as along river bottoms.

All aspects considered, Piman agriculture was a praiseworthy answer to the challenging environment in which they worked; and when Spanish missions were planted in this land, much dependence was placed upon these excellent, though sometimes indolent, farmers.

Near the headwaters of the Altar river the Mission Nuestra Señora de los Dolores was begun in March, 1687, by Father Kino. This marked the initial Spanish occupation of Pimería Alta. To feed the multitude of mission neophytes and instruct them in the rudiments of civilized life, it was necessary to augment and perfect the native agriculture described in preceding paragraphs. Not only was mission agriculture needed to feed the converted host, but also to sustain missionary fathers. Annually the King of Spain allotted three hundred pesos from New Spain's treasury for support of each missionary in Sonora.[19] Out of this sum the fathers were required to support themselves, but a far greater amount was expended for church ornaments and Indian demands than for personal needs. On every *arroba*[20] of goods shipped overland from Mexico City to Sonora a freight charge of four *pesos* was levied.[21] Practically forcing the missionaries to depend upon the country about them for sustenance.

The system of agriculture devised for Sonora missions by the Society of Jesus made each Indian responsible for his own support, and the Indian village, or pueblo, collectively responsible for support of the mission. During each week the natives devoted three days of labor to personal fields and three days labor to communal fields

16 *Ibid.,* 128

17 A vara equals 2.78 feet, or about 33 inches.

18 Mange, "Luz de Tierra Incognita," 253

19 Theodore E. Treutlein, "The Economic Regime of the Jesuit Missionaries in Eighteenth Century Sonora," *The Pacific Historical Review,* VIII (September 1939), 290.

20 An *arroba* equals about twenty-five pounds.

controlled by the mission.[21] Farm implements of European origin, such as iron hoes and axes, were introduced and furnished to each village.[23] At planting time the Indian governor and justices of the pueblo called to the mission for necessary seeds, which were then apportioned by the father. A yoke of oxen and a plow also were maintained for community use.

That portion of the mission crop which was not utilized as food was sold to Spanish miners who invested the region after a rich silver strike near Guebavi in 1736. "Everywhere there are people who seek metal uphill and downdale; but there are few persons who wish to work. Since there are no inns in this country, these fellows move from house to house with their bare-boned nags and somehow earn a right to sponge and lounge about."[25] Yearly the missionaries purchased from three to four thousand pesos worth of cotton and linen cloth for the Indians, and the funds came from the sale of excess garden and field crops, in which maize was the most abundant product.

Many plants were introduced from Europe. Although it would be extremely difficult to ascertain the exact time and place of introduction into Pimería Alta, certain foreign crops made a very early appearance in that area. In 1697, Father Kino planted wheat at a *ranchería* which today is Mission San Xavier del Bac, an institution still flourishing near Tucson, Arizona.[26] Straw from two different varieties of wheat and one kind of barley, all newly introduced into the land, were utilized in constructing Mission San Cayetano del Tumacácori in 1701.[27] At San Valentín on the Altar river a type of wheat straw entirely different from the above mentioned was used in constructing a mission building in 1706.[28] In mission gardens chick-peas, lentils, lima beans, kidney beans, peas, mustard, radishes, anise, sugar cane and Castiallian grapes soon appeared.[29]

---

[21] Ignaz Pfefferkorn, *Description of the Province of Sonora together with other noteworthy accounts about the Interior Parts of New Spain . . .*, unpublished translation by Theodore E. Treutlein, I, 24.

[22] Don Diego Oritz y Parilla, "Carta . . .," *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, Ser. 3, Pte. 6, 898.

[23] Padre Antonio de los Reyes, "Memorial Sobre las Misiones de Sonora, 1772," *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, Ser. 3, Pte. 5, 755.

[24] "The Relation of Philip Segesser," 150.

[25] *Ibid.*, 184.

[26] Cristóbal Bernal, Relación, 807.

[27] George W. Hendry, "The Adobe Brick as a Historical Source," *Agricultural History*, (July, 1931), 111–12, tells of identifying in adobe bricks remnants of these plants.

[28] *Ibid.*, 12.

[29] "Estado de la Province de Sonora," *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, Ser. 3, Pte. 6, 626.

These exotic foods came as alien, and they remained to flourish. Wheat was planted in the fall and harvested in early spring, producing from twenty five to fifty bushels in return for one bushel of seed. The greatest problem presented in cultivation of wheat was absence of natural moisture, but this was partially solved by application of the same irrigation methods earlier used by the native Pima. Exactly in reverse was the problem of Indians dwelling along the Gila, who were periodically deluged with too much water.[30] Working on the theory that the one ploughing given by natives of Pimería Alta to their fields was insufficient and the cause of small crops, Father Ignaz Pfefferkorn at the Mission of Cucurpe determined to give Sonoran soil a test of fertility under ideal conditions. He ploughed a fresh plot of earth three times, cultivating it thoroughly. This piece of land he planted in wheat and received an extraordinary yield of seventy five units of grain for each unit of seed planted.[31]

The threshing of wheat in Pimería Alta was accomplished by horses and mules.[32] Immediately after harvest the missionary or "boss farmer" of the mission selected a hard, flat plot of ground. Around this, posts were deeply imbedded and fastened together by crosspieces. The corral thus formed was large enough for twenty five to thirty horses. Leading to it was a narrow lane walled with thick shrubbery and strong branches which extended for two or three hundred paces into the open field. Horse or mules, once entering this sturdy palisade, could not escape. Sheaves of wheat were scattered in the enclosure until they covered the ground. Now the "dance" would begin. The animals were forced into the corral and driven around and around by an Indian mounted on the wall and armed with a long whip. To prevent dizziness, they occasionally were turned in a reverse direction and were rested when weariness was apparent. Trampled straw was overturned with rakes to allow for complete threshing. In this manner a large amount of grain could be handled in a few hours. After threshing, the mass of straw and grain would be tossed into the air, and after the wind had blown away the chaff, the grain could be cleansed of refuse such as sand and straw.

Garden produce grew to large sizes, radishes and onions responding especially well and melons reportedly attaining weights of twenty to thirty pounds.[33] Spanish pepper, or chile, was a popular, though delicate crop, which had to be watered every day, and the

---

30 Padre Jacobo Sedelmair, "Relación," *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, Ser. 3, Pte. 6, 850.
31 Pfefferkorn, *op. cit.*, 28.
32 *Ibid.*, 29–30.
33 *Ibid.*, 44.

slightest frost was fatal.[34] Furthermore, the field had to be kept absolutely clear of weeds. This pepper was prepared for eating by roasting in ashes or used as a salad with vinegar and olive oil. Both Spanish and Indians ate it with such great gusto that "their mouths froth and tears come to their eyes," declared Father Pfefferkorn. This same Jesuit, a native of Germany, reacted to the universal use of this spice in the following way:[35]

> The constant use of this hot sauce is at first an unbelievable hardship for the European. He must either be content with dry bread or burn his tongue and gums as I did when, after a difficult fifteen hour journey, I tried for the first time to still my hunger with such a dish. After the first mouthful the tears started to come. I could not say a word and believed I had hell-fire in my mouth. However, one becomes accustomed to it after frequent bold victories, so that with time the dish becomes tolerable and finally very agreeable.

Sugar cane was introduced and became widely cultivated. Bread dipped into liquid sugar soon was Pimería Alta's most popular dessert and was especially acclaimed by Indian groups.[36] Canes grew from four to five ells tall and about three to four inches thick. Every January the crop was harvested and the tops immediately severed from the cane in order that they might be deeply set in moist earth, there to be kept until March when they were transplanted. Each cane top was good for about three year's planting before deterioration set in. The mill, or *trapiche,* was a simple affair, consisting generally of three vertical rollers, geared and turned by a horse or mule.

Cotton cultivation as carried on by early Indian inhabitants was continued under mission fathers.[37] Seeds were planted in March and April for an October or November harvest. Some farmers preferred to utilize the same shrub for several seasons. Each autumn, if this latter method was followed, the plant was cut off at the ground and covered with straw. Roots treated and protected in this fashion produced cotton for three or four seasons.

Maize was planted by the Spanish farmers in March, April, or May and harvested during August, September, or October. Frijoles were planted the last of July and picked from the middle to the last of November.

The following foreign fruits were introduced into and successfully grown in Pimería Alta, although incessant care was essential to their welfare and probably precluded any extensive adoption by

---

[34] *Ibid.,* 31.
[35] *Ibid.,* 32.
[36] *Ibid.,* 34–35.
[37] *Ibid.,* 36.

non-mission Indians: pomegranites, quince, figs, pears, apricots, grapes of all kinds, peaches, oranges, limes, lemons, and apples. Generally speaking, these fruits from another land responded well to the soil and climate of Pimería Alta. Figs tasted as though they had been "baked in sugar," and lemons and oranges contained twice as much juice as those purchased in Germany, wrote Father Pfefferkorn of Cucurpe.[38] Apples seem to have been the one unhappy exception. They would not ripen on the tree and so were picked in October, placed in chaff and thus ripened.

Jesuits of Pimería Alta tried in vain to make a palatable wine. Though there were two small vineyards at the town of Guasavas[39] and a fine large vine at Mission de Caborca,[40] the grapes produced were generally too acrid for use. Most probably alkali soil and mineral-laden water caused this. If the Jesuits had been successful in their efforts, they would have saved a conspicuous item of expenditure, since Spanish wine in Sonora cost sixty pesos for a small keg holding about ten gallons.[41]

Cattle, sheep and horses were numerous, grazing freely upon hills and valleys near the missions. To renew these pastures, the Indians sometimes intentionally set fire to the dry grasses before the rainy seasons in late summer and early spring.[42] This brought forth tender, young shoots and aided in fattening the livestock. The animals were quite low in price, a cow or an ox selling for ten pesos, a steer for five pesos, and a calf for two or three pesos.

Mules were much in demand to haul freight, and in each *manada* of twenty-five mares and one stallion an ass was allowed to run, some mares thus producing mule foals.[43] While tamed horses only sold for about ten pesos, a good mule was worth one hundred pesos.

In these first days of Spanish settlement, the mission was a center for a good life for most of the farming of Pimería Alta. Later onslaughts by warriors of Apachería and friction between temporal and secular authorities changed this simple mode of existence. Both native and Spanish agriculture, however, had left deep imprints upon the farming institutions which have been carried down to the present.

RICHARD J. MORRISEY

University of California at Davis
College of Agriculture

38 *Ibid.*, 67–68.
39 "Rudo Ensayo," 210.
40 Reyes, "Memorial," 317
41 Treutlein, "The Economic Regime of the Jesuits," 295
42 "The Relation of Philip Segesser," 157.
43 *Ibid.*, 185

Attempted Mayhem on Père Marquette

It has been a consensus among historians for years that very little can be added to what is known of the life of Father James Marquette, the Jesuit priest who accompanied Jolliet on his voyage of exploration of the Mississippi in 1673, who returned in the winter of 1674-1675 to Illinois to evangelize the Indians, and who died near Ludington, Michigan, on his way back to St. Ignace in 1675. These facts have been commonplace knowledge for generations. Many pages of MID-AMERICA have been devoted in the past to the detailed findings of scholars of Father Marquette's life and journeys. Gilbert J. Garraghan was tireless in his efforts to find all the minutiae in archives of Europe and America, and he published whatever he found of the Marquettiana documents in various articles and books. From a research viewpoint all is complete. There seems to be nothing more to say.

Recently, however, in two scholarly magazines several statements have been made by one writer, whose purport is to perpetrate mayhem on the name of Marquette as a hero, a priest, a priest-explorer, and as a missioner to the Illinois. Strange as it may seem, the writer is a Catholic priest. Strangely, too, the chief and (we hope) unwitting accessory is a magazine under Catholic auspices. Far be it from us to take the case to court or even to embark on any unseemly dispute with fellow clergymen. Since the writer of the remarks draws largely on the Institute of Jesuit History publications for his authority and in a friendly way encourages its scholars to get at the truth, we wish in an amicable fashion to explain the truth in some detail and thus to preclude answering individual letter writers on the subject of Marquette's "paternity."

There is "strong proof, however negative, that Jacques Marquette was not an ordained priest of the Catholic Church," says Joseph Carlton Short, of St. Patrick's Church, New London, Wisconsin, in his article "Jacques Marquette, S.J., catechist," published in *La Revue de l'Université Laval,* Quebec, January 1949, page 436. This remark on the first page of the article, this "strong proof, however negative," becomes at the end of the article the "inescapable conclusion that Marquette was not a priest, and that, in consequence, the whole narrative of the second voyage of Marquette to Illinois must

be regarded less as an historical document than as a charming bit of fiction." This, according to Father Short, is "startling information." It is merely startling.

Again, in a review of Father Delanglez's recent *Life and Voyages of Louis Jolliet,* which Father Short terms "a marvelous piece of scholarly research," we find the attack on Father Marquette continued. This review appeared in *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for December, 1948. There, page 228, is found the key to Father Short's mistake. It is stated that Marquette made "his final vows as a *spiritual* coadjutor *and* formed lay brother, being ineligible for the priesthood because of his lack of theological training in France." (The italics are ours.) Shortly after this we find: "Indeed, it is unbecoming the standing of an historian like Father Jean Delanglez to carry the torch for a synthetic hero like Jacques Marquette, whose title to fame as the 'great priest-explorer' has been so piously preserved in the cellophane of misinformation." (For this opinion the editor of the magazine is, of course, not responsible.)

Now, in both his article and in his review, Father Short holds that Marquette was a *spiritual coadjutor.* But, we argue, a spiritual coadjutor in the Jesuit constitution is always a *priest!* Therefore, Marquette was a priest. Here the matter might stop, but, backed by the negative evidence that the record of Father Marquette's ordination and first Mass has not been found, Father Short falls into a series of errors which take the form of an unbelievable thesis.

Not to waste too much time on a matter only remotely connected with historical research it may prove interesting to see the framework of Father Short's thesis: First, Marquette as a young Jesuit "perhaps" thought that he might fail in his course of philosophy, and so asked his superiors to send him to the missions; next, Marquette declared that he had no taste for theological studies. Instead of making the logical conclusion that Marquette preferred the missionary life to that of studying and teaching in Europe, Father Short deduces that Marquette had no desire to become a priest! Secondly, Marquette "was the baby boy of this powerful, wealthy, Catholic family . . . ," therefore it is reasonable to think that there would be a grand celebration on the occasion of his first Mass; but Father Garraghan, the great Marquette scholar, could not find any "hint or rumor" of this, nor any record of the date of Marquette's ordination; therefore, there was no ordination to the priesthood! Third, "in all the seventy-three volumes of the *Jesuit Relations* there is no mention of his administration of any sacrament other than Baptism, before October 1674." *Conclusion inescapable*: Marquette was not

a priest. *Corollary extraordinary*: Therefore he did not return to Illinois; therefore the whole account of his last year of life is a myth. *Appendix* to the article: A testimonial letter of the Archbishop of Quebec, dated September 10, 1948, certifying that no record of Marquette's ordination in Quebec has been found in the Archdiocesan Archives.

To prove these points of his thesis Father Short carefully culls his evidence from a sum total of thirteen pages of reading. These are pages 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 of Garraghan's article in the January, 1946, MID-AMERICA, and page 17 of O'Dea's article in the January, 1948, number; pages 269, 270, 284, and 285, of Garraghan's article in volume IV of the *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu;* and pages 167, 189, and 190 of volume 49 of the *Jesuit Relations.* All evidence contrary to the thesis is allowed to remain "piously preserved in the cellophane of misinformation."

Unfortunately for the whole thesis, the one upsetting word was left undeleted in the very first of his citations. The word is "spiritual." It comes in the sentence quoted from Father Hamy's *Au Mississippi*: "Jacques Marquette, of Laon, born June 1, 1637, entered the Society [of Jesus] Oct. 8, 1654 at Nancy; pronounced the vows of spiritual coadjutors July 2, 1671 in Canada at Sault Ste. Marie of the Algonquins." Apparently, to make sure that this documentary statement was actually misunderstood, Father Short adds an item to it in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History.* He has Marquette take the vows of a spiritual coadjutor *and* temporal coadjutor, or formed lay brother. This, translated into Jesuit terminology is the same as saying that Marquette was a priest *and* a lay brother, that is, he was twins, one in each category.

Far be it from us to bore the reader with another description of the groups, or grades, of Jesuits. These have been described many times and most simply in the *Catholic Encyclopedia,* volume XIV, page 83, and in the new *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* volume XIII, page 10. The gradation is: 1) Novices: who enter the order either to become priests or to become coadjutor (lay) brothers; they take simple but perpetual vows after their novitiate and are thenceforth religious; 2) Scholastics, or students for the priesthood; 3) Coadjutors: these in any Jesuit house are priests and brothers; the priests are the spiritual coadjutors and the brothers are the temporal coadjutors; 4) Professed: these are all priests who have made a solemn profession of three or four vows. This should make quite clear just where Father Short made a rather fundamental mistake. It should be quite clear also that there is no grade of *catechist* in the Society,

hence the title of his paper is quite illogical, for it keeps Marquette in the Society by using the S.J. after his name, and puts him, in an unheard of category.

This classification has been in vogue since the sixteenth century and among scholars it has been such common knowledge that no Parkman, Thwaites, Pease, Bolton, Kellogg, Schlarman, Quaife, Nute, Steck, or writers of books and textbooks ever hesitated to mention Marquette as Père or Father.

Did Father Marquette's fellow Jesuits think he was a priest? (Certainly there is no record of their having called him *Brother* Marquette, much less *Catechist* Marquette.) To answer this we need not go beyond the articles cited by Father Short; we merely turn to some of the unused pages of these articles. In the first article we go beyond page 19 to page 22, where we find a document in which Father LeMercier, the mission superior, reports to the General of the Society on: "Father Jacques Marquette, a man well versed in the Algonquin language, of sound health, robust body, excellent character and tried virtue, and highly acceptable to the barbarians by reason of his wonderfully gentle ways." (This is in some contrast to Father Short's estimate: "The crabby, melancholic, rich man's baby boy had gotten just what he wanted: no books, no classes, and the boundless sea and brooding forests that beckoned to The Great Adventure.")

Continuing to page 24 we run upon a letter of Father Claude Dablon to Father Pinet in which there are references to "Pere Marquette," "le pere," and "p. Marquette." The following document on page 25 is an extract of a letter from Pierre Cholenec who expresses a desire to become an imitator of "Reverend Father Marquette," "that great man." The last page of these documents is the letter of Dablon announcing officially to the Provincial of France the death of "that highly apostolic man, Father James Marquette."

Was he officially recognized at the Rome headquarters as a priest? Father Short uses four pages from the *Archivum Historicum* article and documents. The last cited of these is page 285. Had he turned to page 286, he would have found a Latin annotation of the General's secretary written on the back of Marquette's letter of May 31, 1666. This note reads: "P. Jacobus Marquette pro litteris et facultate concessa canadensis missionis maximas agit gratias." (Father James Marquette is deeply grateful for the letter and permission given for the Canadian mission.) Instead of using this Latin page in the *Archivum,* Father Short uses the translation as it appeared in MID-AMERICA, without this notation. (In omitting the

notation Garraghan was not concerned about proving that Marquette was a priest.) Marquette was thus officially known in Rome as a priest, and Garraghan is perfectly sane in assuming that the ordination occurred before this letter was written, May 31, 1666. Consequently, Father Short's "Appendix" is a useless certification, for Marquette was a Père before he set out for Canada. And moreover, he had to wait five years before pronouncing his final vows because that term was necessary for the priests according to the *Institute* of the Society.

The argument that there was no ordination because Garraghan could find no record of it has two definitely weak sides. The record *may* turn up; Garraghan may not have looked in the right place. Secondly, one must subscribe to a much disputed point: "No records, no history," which is bandied about in many books on methodology. In view of the nature of this particular argument one is almost forced to descend to an explanation of fundamentals. If it were left to records alone some of the citizens of our town could not prove that they are alive, or were born, or were baptized, or married. Scholars constantly bemoan the loss, destruction, theft, or misplacement of such records in the many turbulent periods of European history, and the Jesuit houses and archives had no end of such turbulent periods. Besides, if this principle is followed in ecclesiastical history, tradition could no longer have the place it has. This type of argument is pointed out because it might prove a pitfall to the unwary.

Since Father Short recognizes that Father Gilbert J. Garraghan was "generally considered the best-informed Jesuit historian of the Mid-West, particularly in the field of Marquettiana," and since the meagre documentation behind his thesis was practically all garnered from pages published by Garraghan, it is rather startling to find no consideration whatever given to Garraghan's other writings about Father Marquette. For instance, in MID-AMERICA, XXI, April, 1939, Garraghan has "Catholic First Things in the United States," a compilation to which at least twenty-nine authorities furnished information. Here are listed state by state the First Priest, First Resident Priest, First Mass, and First Baptism. According to this, Father Marquette was the second priest to visit Arkansas and Missouri and the first to see Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, and Kentucky.

Did Marquette act as a priest? Father Short simply states that in all the seventy-three volumes of the *Jesuit Relations* there is no record of Marquette administering any sacrament except Baptism before 1674. His only citations from the *Jesuit Relations* are taken

from Volume 49, pages 167, 189, 190, two letters regarding need of missionaries in New France, which seem to have nothing whatever to do with the question. If he had read exactly the same pages in Volume 59 he would have found that Marquette said Mass on different occasions, and on page 181, he offers up the holy mass every day. On pages 190-191 we have the statement of the first recorded masses of the whole Mississippi valley, said by Marquette. On page 192-193 he blesses holy water, and moreover reads his breviary every day. Finally, page 197, he administered the sacrament of penance. Now only a priest performs such ministries. Instead of concluding that Marquette must have been a priest, Father Short, in one brief sentence, without any proof or evidence, repudiates *the whole of volume 59* and states that the above statements are a "charming bit of fiction." And this leads to the inference that all of the renowned scholars of the early Valley history, from Thwaites to the present, have perpetuated this fiction, either as ignoramuses, or prevaricators, or obfuscators.

To take up the point brought up in the last sentence of the article, we ask: If Marquette did not return to the Illinois country and did not die on the eastern shore of Lake Michigan, what became of him? This will forever remain a mystery, since there are no other records. All we must do is admit that Father Dablon lied about Marquette's passing, and we shall have a first class mystery.

The big difficulty does not lie in destroying the authority behind the article and the book review. The problem is to answer the questions of people who wish to know: Why did Father Short ever write such things? Why did the editors of two good historical magazines allow them to be printed? Why at this late date does anyone try to commit mayhem on the remains of Père Marquette? These questions we cannot answer. It is merely our purpose here to see to it that contentions in such papers as these and any others of the kind which may be viable, do not get bruited abroad and bring about widespread repercussions. We do not want to see the legislature of the State of Wisconsin putting through a bill to recall the statue of Marquette from Statuary Hall. Nor do we want to see publishers put to the expense of deleting the Père from Marquette's name in their textbooks, nor such institutions as the Pere Marquette Railroad, the Pere Marquette Council of the Knights of Columbus, and the Pere Marquette Baptist Church, suffer the annoyance of changing their signs and letterheads.

Postscript. Thus far we have considered only the articles from which Father Short selected the materials for fashioning his thesis,

and it must be clear, even without the document recording his ordination, that Father Marquette lived and died a missionary priest. Now, after this editorial had been set in type, word has come to Father Delanglez from the Roman archives that the official record of Marquette's ordination, overlooked by Father Garraghan, is being sent in photostat. The information is that Marquette was made a priest on March 7, 1666, at Toul.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

Institute of Jesuit History

Book Reviews

Paths to the Present. By Arthur M. Schlesinger. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1949. Pp. 317.

This collection of essays from the pen of the most distinguished interpreter of America's past has two objectives. One is to explore the origins of our nation's unique civilization; six chapters deal with the American character, the associational activities of this "nation of joiners," immigrant contributions, urbanization, or dietary habits, and the prophesies of self-styled seers who have attempted to cast the national horoscope. The other is to reevaluate aspects of the political and diplomatic past of the United States; four chapters are concerned with the role of the executive in American history, and three with the nation's place in world history.

Such a space allotment invites comparison with Professor Schlesinger's earlier book of essays, *New Viewpoints in American History,* published twenty-seven years ago. In that useful work he explained the American heritage largely in social and economic terms; only two of his chapters were primarily political while six emphasised the economic background. Professor Schlesinger's reawakened interest in politics probably indicates the shifting point of view of many historians. For the past sixteen years they have witnessed the vast social repercussions of strong political leadership; little wonder that they have begun to realize that their earlier reaction against nineteenth-century political history carried them too far afield.

Certainly the portions of *Paths to the Present* that explore our political past are among the most stimulating. His concern is with the six "great" presidents in American history: Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Wilson, and Franklin D. Roosevelt. With dispassionate objectivity he analyses both the traits that elevated them to supremacy and the nation's reaction to their rule. He finds, for example, that all were mediocre administrators, all battled with the supreme court, all were opposed by the nation's press, all were subjected to a tirade of abuse, and all since Jackson wanted a third term and most worked openly to secure one.

Even more shocking to what Professor Schlesinger terms the *"Chicago Tribune* school of historians" will be his sections on America's world role. He conclusively demonstrates that the United States has been involved in every major European war since 1689; World War II, he insists, should properly be labeled World War IX. He proves that no statesman of the early Republic ever counseled isolation as a permanent policy. He shows that every stage in the country's development—every step toward democracy, nationalism, industrialism, imperialism, humanitarianism, and culture—has paralleled similar progress abroad. And he rebukes historians for emphasising the infrequent conflicts between Europe and the United States rather than the common growth of the two continents. "The scholars through whose writings the living generation learns of the past," he writes, "have compiled case studies of abnormal and exceptional behavior."

This is a book that no historian, no political scientist, no intelligent lay-

man, can afford to ignore. Here Americans will find an explanation of their past and a blueprint for their future. Professor Schlesinger has added an admirable guide to further reading on each of the topics treated, but the footnotes which graced most of the essays when they appeared in professional journals have been omitted.

RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON

Northwestern University

Horns of Thunder; The Life and Times of James M. Goodhue, including selections from his writings. By Mary Wheelhouse Berthel. Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, 1948. Pp. xii-276.

The publication of this book just in advance of the centennial year commemorating the Congressional Act which constituted Minnesota a territory is most timely. In the first place, it tells the part played by a man who brought his printing press to the village of St. Paul by the first boat in the Spring of 1849 and began publishing a paper immediately. This would justify Miss Berthel's efforts. But, in the "selections from his writings" which constitute nine out of the book's fifteen chapters it supplies a most vivid contemporary picture of the ideals and compromises, the expectations and failures, the things noble and sordid, orderly and lawless that were typical of our nineteenth century frontier as it tried to shake off the barbarian uncouthness of the wilderness and adopt the respectable manners of civilization. To have rescued this record from the obscurity of old newspaper files in the archives of the Minnesota Historical Society and to have presented it to Americans whose notion of the period is largely based on glamorized fiction, is a work that deserves especial commendation. Moreover, the author was especially fortunate in finding a contemporary newspaper which has supplied her with such abundant, pertinent material.

Many frontier papers were simply vehicles for local advertising supplemented with stale, national news items and columns of abominable literary efforts clipped from Eastern exchanges. Goodhue, however, had determined to "present a daguerreotype of St. Paul—as we see it springing up fresh and vigorous, like the skeleton of a great city, where but yesterday stood a great forest, filled with wild Indians—" (p. 29). The result is that the "selections from his writings" describe in detail the abodes and occupations of the communities occupied by Americans and French voyageurs at the time of opening the territory; the daily growth of Saint Paul between 1849–1852; the entertainment and social life found there; the first steamboat exploration of the Minnesota River; and the treaty which opened the Sioux lands west of the Mississippi for settlement. His purpose in doing this was to attract immigrants and, hence, Chapter seven is devoted to his editorials as a "Minnesota Booster". This spirit is likewise found in the rest of his writing, but he also was a reformer, and his criticism of the crudities of his chosen land off set his exaggerations. Thirty-three illustrations from contemporary sketches have the same effect.

Goodhue's *Minnesota Pioneer* grew into the *Saint Paul Pioneer Press,* but Miss Berthel has chosen to limit her selections to the time when the paper was published by the subject of her biography. He died suddenly

in 1852. Hence, the book leaves one with many questions about the development of the territory unanswered. The author's reticence in drawing any conclusions or generalizations from her material has the same effect, but this is probably a virtue rather than a fault. It may lead to similar research which will furnish more adequate grounds for such historical deductions.

The typographical details of the book are excellent, only once was the reviewer led astray by a reference in note 21 on p. 24 which indicated p. 249 when 248 was intended. The index is worthwhile.

RAPHAEL M. HAMILTON

Marquette University

No Greater Service. The History of the Congregation of Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, Monroe, Michigan, 1845–1945. By Sister M. Rosalita, I.H.M., with a Foreword by His Eminence Edward Cardinal Mooney. Evans-Winter-Hebb, Detroit, 1948. Pp. 863.

Achievement of a Century. The Motherhouse and Missions of the Congregation of the Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, Monroe, Michigan, 1845–1945. Edited by Sister M. Rosalita. Evans-Winter-Hebb, Detroit, 1948. Pp. 299.

The Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary is one of the most flourishing of American teaching sisterhoods. At present there are three independent branches of the institute with motherhouses at Monroe, Michigan, West Chester and Scranton, Pennsylvania. Together they total 3,592 professed Sisters, 209 novices and 104 postulants. The Sisters are employed in three colleges, and more than ninety high, and two hundred grade schools in seven American and two South American archdioceses and in eighteen American dioceses. Moreover the early members of the Daughters of Saints Cyril and Methodius and of the Congregation of St. Casimir were trained in an Immaulate Heart novitiate and the first novices of the Maryknoll Sisters were trained by Immaculate Heart nuns.

A fine history of the West Chester community, written by Sister Maria Alma, was published in 1934. It had been preceded in 1921 by an attractive volume on the Scranton group by Sister Immaculata. There was need for a history of the parent community centering in Michigan. In these two stately volumes, Sister Mary Rosalita of Marygrove College has met this need in a truly excellent way. On the broad canvas of *No Greater Service* she has painted the background, origin, divisions and development of the institute. Even a summary history of the daughter communities is included.

To the founder, Father Louis Florent Gillet, C.SS.R. and to Mother Theresa Maxis, the author has devoted much research and their stories in these pages answer all pertinent questions. Gillet, a Belgian, was responsible for the foundation. As foundress he installed Mother Theresa Maxis who, since she had been for ten years a member, indeed one of the original group, of the Oblate Sisters of Providence, was well fitted to form the first members religiously. Gillet, who for all his holiness was in his early days a stormy petrel, soon lost sight of his foundation, left the Redemptorists,

failed as a parish priest, and spent many years as an honored member and superior in the Cistercian Order in France. His American daughters never lost their love for their first father and in 1929 his remains were brought back to Monroe, Michigan from France and reinterred in a beautiful memorial chapel.

The career of Theresa Maxis was also chequered. After founding the Monroe community and serving as superior for two terms, this daughter of a mulatto found herself, because of the attitude of Bishop Lefevere of Detroit, obliged to choose between a foundation she had made in Pennsylvania and the Michigan community. In 1859 she chose Pennsylvania but after eight years she, in what was no doubt a desperate effort to reunite her divided family, severed her connection with the Pennsylvania group and went to live with the Grey Nuns in Ottawa. Her efforts in 1868 to reënter at Monroe, or failing that, to found another Immaculate Heart center in New Orleans, were frustrated by Bishop Lefevere. From 1869 to 1885 every attempt of Mother Theresa to reënter the Immaculate Heart sisterhood was unalterably opposed by the local ordinaries. Finally in 1885, Archbishop Ryan of Philadelphia allowed her to join the West Chester community. There she spent her last seven years in peace.

The person to whom the Monroe community owes most was Monsignor Edward Joos. He deserves the title of second founder. In 1857, fresh from his native Belgium, he was appointed director and superior of the Immaculate Heart community a position he held until his death in 1901. During the last thirty years he withdrew from pastoral work in order to devote himself exclusively to the religious. On the material plane his was a pay-as-you-go policy. He thought that communities need financial reserves rather than grandiose buildings. In the spiritual sphere, Father Joos was for the strict observance of the rule, which was based on that of the Redemptorists.

Sister Rosalita has also made clear the influence of the Mothers Superior, who especially since Father Joos' death have had increasing authority. Mother Justina, Mother Mechtildis, Mother Domitilla and their successors are of the race of intelligent, spiritual-minded women to whom the Church in America owes so much. Sister Mary Leocadia's long tenure (1894–1938) as mistress of novices must be a kind of record. Her sound spirituality, which is outlined in a brief page, "formed three-fourths of the present congregation to the Immaculate Heart way of life."

In addition to compelling pictures of personalities and a comprehensive study of the development of the Sisterhood, Sister M. Rosalita has excellent chapters on the system of education employed by the Sisters,—a system which came from Bishop Dupanloup by way of Bruges and which embodies the excellencies of traditional Catholic culture. She shows how the system was adapted, and studies the spirit of its application, to American needs. There is also a significant chapter on the missionary spirit of the community.

Achievements of a Century gives for each of the foundations a brief table of statistics showing progress during the century and adds interesting extracts from the chronicles of each house. Both volumes are adorned with a profusion of excellent photographs.

Undoubtedly, these two volumes are models of their kind. Written in a clear, readable style, thoroughly documented throughout, they give a re-

liable and comprehensive view of the institute. As Cardinal Mooney says in his distinguished Foreword: "The story as told by Sister Rosalita is a veritable religious epic a narrative of labor and prayer, of heroism and self-sacrifice, a chronicle of lives completely dedicated to God."

E. A. RYAN, S.J.

Woodstock College

Early Jesuit Missions in Tarahumara. By Peter Masten Dunne. University of California Press, 1948. Pp. x, 276. Illustrated.

This is the third volume written by Father Dunne for the University of California series covering Jesuit beginnings in Spanish North America. This present work follows, chronologically, the story which he began in his *Pioneer Jesuits in Northern Mexico,* the development of the early missions of the Sierra Madre Occidental among the Acaxee, Xixime, Tepehuanes, and into the Laguna area. The first of Father Dunne's three in this series bore the title *Pioneer Black Robes on the West Coast,* beginnings and expansion in the Sinaloa country. The whole series now consists of four volumes; Father Dunne's three follow Father Jerome V. Jacobsen's *Educational Foundations of the Jesuits in Sixteenth-Century New Spain.*

In this latest volume, Father Dunne chronicles the development of the Jesuit missions in the sierras of Western Chihuahua, the religious parallel to the livestock and mining advance of the Spanish frontier in that area. The first few chapters are something of a review of the story of the Tepehuán missions, with a brief picture of the geographic and ethnologic features of the Chihuahua mountain country, the scene of the missionaries' heroic achievements. This introductory material embraces the early work of Father Juan Fonte, martyred first apostle of the Tarahumar country.

Fonte's work and his martyrdom in the great Tepehuán Revolt of 1616–1617 is followed by a very complete review of the rebuilding of the missions and expansion among the Tarahumar peoples, with Father Gerónimo de Figueroa the central figure in the period prior to the 1670's. Figueroa's work, beginning in 1639, lasted into the period of revitalization which began in 1673. In this year, a large assembly of political, military, religious and Indian leaders was called together at Parral to take decisions on frontier measures and particularly to plan the expansion of the missionary effort. From this picturesque gathering came the real beginnings of modern Chihuahua and a tremendous impetus to complete evangelization of the Tarahumares. Fathers José Tardá and Tomás de Guadalajara now became the principal driving forces in this new dedication to the Tarahumar tribes, west and north from the earlier missions.

From here on, Father Dunne gives a panoramic view, with frequent colorful detail, of the Tarahumar mission growth until the moment of Jesuit expulsion, in 1767. The great figures in this phase are Father Joseph Neumann ("certainly the most important Black Robe in all the Tarahumar missions"), 1681–1732, and the last great apostle, Father Herman Glandorff, 1721–1763, plus the already mentioned Tardá and Guadalajara. In this section of the book there is an abundance of hardship—storms, Indian

revolts, trickery and treason, and the often discouraging isolation of the padres. But there is also the happier side—growth of the individual missions, a Jesuit college at Chihuahua, great heroism, and the rather humorous tales of Father Glandorff's fantastic traveling exploits which made him a legendary figure among Indians still noted for feats of travel. In some detail, with comparative data, are the Zapata visitation of 1678 and the final report of the visitor Lizasoain in 1761. The story ends on a note of tragedy with the sudden order of expulsion and some of the sad details of the way in which the order was carried out.

Father Dunne's excellent running description of the Jesuit deeds among the Tarahumares is rounded out by a good map of the country, a large bibliography, abundant notes, and two appendices which give statistical material from the Zapata, Guendulain, and Lizasoain reports. There are also some photographic illustrations of a few of the mission churches and an excellent index.

One can find but little to criticize in this fine monograph. Occasionally some monotony, possibly inevitable, for there is something of a sameness in a century and a half story of developments which very naturally became somewhat standardized. The author has lightened the reader's task very well in many places, by insertion of entertaining and colorful detail, all to the good. For the non-Jesuit reader, understandably enough, there may seem to be insufficient material from the secular side for a true rounding out of the story, although the author has obviously tried to avoid this lack of proportion. Again, understandably enough, the author is sometimes carried away by the same type of hero-worship that unbalances many biographers; in truth, much of the present volume is biography. But these are minor things and detract but little from what is generally a first-class and highly enlightening story of a truly heroic period in North American history.

In many ways I think this volume is superior to the author's *Pioneer Jesuits in Northern Mexico*. He seems to have given this present work more affectionate care and the literary style is better polished. Father Dunne and the editors of the series are to be congratulated on such a valuable historical contribution, carefully based on the best authorities and as carefully written.

PHILIP W. POWELL

University of California
Santa Barbara College

Church and State in the United States. By Gerald G. Walsh, S.J., and James Milton O'Neill. Volume XXXVII of *Historical Records and Studies*, United States Catholic Historical Society, New York, 1948. Pp, 110.

The First Freedom. By Wilfrid Parsons, S.J. The Declan X. McMullen Company, New York, 1948. Pp. 178.

The above books are a portion of the large amount of literature that has appeared since the decisions of the Supreme court in the "New Jersey Bus" and the McCollum cases and the advent of the question of federal aid to educational institutions. Father Walsh's contribution is an address originally given before the United States Catholic Historical Society in October,

1947, a few months after the New Jersey school bus decision had been handed down. The writer, after a sketch of the European and American colonial background of the relation of Church and State, enters into the meaning of the First Amendment. He then takes up the un-American ideas that came to this country from nineteenth-century Europe. We must be aware of past trends, he says, as well as those of the present, if we wish rationally to debate the question of Church-State relations.

Professor O'Neill does an excellent job of pointing out some bad logic and bad history in the opinions expressed by the Supreme Court Justices in the Everson case. He makes a few slips, however. In his quotation of the Due Process clause he says: "Nor shall any state deprive any citizen . . ." One of the most important words in the Constitution is *person,* not *citizen,* as used in the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments. The word person raises our system to the sphere of the Natural Law, differentiating it from that of the Soviets, for example. Because this usage is repeated by Professor O'Neill, and because he says elsewhere: "The Federal Government has no rights except the rights that the states gave to it," instead of *states and people,* this reviewer wonders if sufficient thought was given to these concepts involving fundamental philosophy. The above quotation should include the people, otherwise we are right back where we were before the Civil War with the Calhoun Nullificationists.

Father Parsons' small book should be read by everyone interested in the Supreme Court's recent interpretation of the First Amendment. Written after the McCollum decision it is in a better position than the earlier writings to evaluate a trend, to point out the defects in the decisions from logic and the dissenting opinions, and to throw much light on the real attitude of the Justices toward Church and State relationships.

CHARLES C. CHAPMAN

Loyola University, New Orleans

Notes and Comments

A very unusual book has recently come from the office of Peter Smith, Publisher, (321 Fifth Avenue, New York, 16). This is Constantine Rafinesque's *Western Minerva, or American Annals of Knowledge and Literature,* First Volume, for 1821. The story of *Western Minerva* is interesting, as told in the accouncement by Peter Smith and in the preface by E. D. Merrill. In Palermo, Sicily, Rafinesque was editor and publisher of a learned literary and scientific magazine in 1814. He applied for a professorship in one of the American colleges of that time and ultimately became one of the staff of Transylvania University at Lexington, Kentucky, the Athens of the West. Here in 1820 he projected a quarterly magazine to cover the various intellectual interests of the professors, tutors, and students, which he named "Western Minerva." The first number of this designed as a contribution "to dispel the Clouds of Ignorance, Mental Sloth and Apathy," reached the status of page proofs, but got no further because certain ones of the Lexington and Cincinnati press and citizenry resented being placed by Rafinesque in the categories of savages, sophisters, moles, and paltry owls.

Two of the three sets of page proofs disappeared, while the other, corrected in ink by Rafinesque, is now the property of The Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia. This lithoprint before us, reproduced from the original page proofs, is the first actual printing of the *Western Minerva.* Though the print is difficult at times to read, it is a good sample of fonts in the west of that day. The ninety pages are almost "strictly original," that is, with Benjamin Franklin, Leibnitz, Prof. C. S. Rafinesque, Archimedes, M., J. T., Agricola, Mentor, and others. Many of the pages have an interest and flavor and they cover a wide variety of topics. The section of original poetry is put in to please the fair ladies of Lexington and also reach the French speaking people on the periphery of the Athens of the West. It is good to have this book as a sample of early Western Americana.

* * * *

The Conquest and Colonization of Yucatan, 1517–1550, by Robbert S. Chamberlain, was issued in 1948 as Publication 582 by Carnegie Institution of Washington. It ranks as a contribution in all

respects, except in the service of an index. The maps and the illustrations, the typography, the editing, and the bibliography leave nothing to be desired. The contents are carefully organized and the style is sympathetic and pleasing, while the citations reveal a vast amount of research labor. The book has long been needed.

The era of the conquest of Yucatan is divided into three phases: the discovery and first prase from 1517 to 1529; the second phase carries the story to 1535; the third is the final conquest between 1535 and 1549. The fourth larger section of the work describes the coming of the civilizing influences in the early colonization period from 1541 to 1550, the civil administrators, and the Franciscans. In a sense this story of the conquest of the Maya lands might be called a biography of the Montejo family, Francisco de Montejo and his son of the same name. Their vision of a flourishing province in the New World inspired them with remarkable persistency through the long years of strife and building. These two strong men can take a well won place in the annals of American pioneering, and Dr. Chamberlain has done well to indicate their niche.

* * * *

Old Illinois Houses, by John Drury, has just been published as Publication 51 of the Occasional Publications of the Illinois State Historical Society. In the Foreword by Dr. Jay Monaghan note is made of the indebtedness of the Society to *The Chicago Daily News* for which Mr. Drury was long a correspondent who wrote for the people on historical sites in Illinois. Since Mr. Drury published *Old Chicago Houses* in 1941, pictures from the metropolis are omitted from the present volume. In this work the author is not as much concerned about the age of the residences as he is in the people who lived in them and are part of the history of the Prairie State. The pictures and the descriptions with their historical background are very interesting. One wishes that he could get into his car and follow the trail of the author house by house through Illinois.

* * * *

A Century of Service is a brochure of seventy-six pages published by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. It brings together in neat form the addresses delivered in commemoration of the one-hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Society.

Anyone wishing to read about people of rugged character who cluster about the framework of history, may find these several books published by Macmillan of some interest. *Little Annie Oakley and Other Rugged People,* by Stewart H. Holbrook, may be read after the children have retired. It is a collection of articles published in various periodicals for their entertainment value, a gallery of pen-pictures of notorious persons, places, scenes and events, written in a dramatic style Skeletons of Ethan Allen, Bill Cody, Calamity Jane, Kit Carson, Ned Buntline, the James boys, and others, are brought forth from their closets for the polishing which history has denied them—and probably will continue to deny them, despite the realistic writing of Mr. Holbrook.

Tomorrow Is Beautiful, by Lucy Robins Lang, "the girl from the Ukraine who never lost her zest for life and adventure," is either an autobiography or reminiscences, with "none of the marks of dull or pompous history," the jacket tells us. The authoress after her escape from a dull life in the Ukraine became involved in radical labor movements in America, despaired to the point of suicide over the American institutions that protected her, found a new hope in Scandinavia, and returned to a United States that seems to give much promise for the future.

The Trail Led North, Mont Hawthorne's Story, by Martha Ferguson McKeown, is about people of rugged character in the rugged Northwest and Alaska. Mrs. McKeown presents the story of his life as told to her by her eighty-three year old uncle. It is a narrative of adventure in the brawling days of the Northwest, containing detailed descriptions of pioneer methods of life (and death) and names that otherwise might slip into oblivion. It may be useful to historians for its accounts of the origins of the salmon industry and the men and women who aided in building the industry, and for some details of the gold rushes to the Yukon.

* * * *

Lationamérica, a monthly review of culture and orientation, began its career in January of this year. It is published in Spanish by Buena Prensa of Mexico City (Donceles 99-A, Apartado 2181.) Its contributors are many of the scholars and journalists of the Latin American republics. The purpose of the publication is to present an interpretation of world events and ideas to the peoples of these republics and to inform them of the more important heritages of their cultural past.

From Scotland comes *The Story of Pluscarden Priory,* written by a Tertiary of St. Francis and published at the Pluscarden Priory, Elgin, Moray, Scotland. It is an unassuming, paper-bound booklet of 118 pages, including the illustrative drawings and index. Its flavor is distinctly medieval. The first charter was given to the priory by King Alexander II of Scotland in 1233. The records of the first eighty years of its existence are lost or obscure. It was the period of Thomas of Aquino, Dante, Boccacio, Albertus Magnus, and Bonaventure, of the beginnings of Westminster Abbey and the Doge's Palace in Venice, and of the Scot Declaration of Independence.

The early monks were the White Benedictines from France, who remained at Pluscarden for two hundred and twenty-three years before transferring ownership of the priory to the Black-habited Benedictines in 1456. In 1594-1595 the priory and its lands passed into Protestant hands, first into those of Kenneth Mackenzie and last into those of the Earl of Fife. In 1898 the properties returned to Catholic ownership when purchased by John Patrick, third Marquess of Bute, who began the restoration of the walls and interiors. His youngest son, Lord Colum Crichton-Stuart inherited Pluscarden and from 1920 to 1943 sought to obtain monks for the priory. In 1943 the Benedictines of Prinknash accepted the offer. They are now residing in the priory and attempting by degrees to restore the monastery to its pristine glory.

Around this framework the un-named author weaves a story, diffuse at times, but explanatory of the life in a priory to which so few are called. One is impressed with the agelessness of the narrative as well as its medievalness. The work will prove good reading to many interested in monasticism.

* * * *

Far, far in contrast with the simple story of seven hundred years of a monastery in Scotland is the most recent publication of the Columbia University Press. This is *The Tenetehara Indians of Brazil, a Culture in Transition,* by Charles Wagley and Eduardo Galvao, whose publication date is March 24, 1949. The study of the spiritual and economic culture surrounding a monastery in Europe is so vastly different from the records of the family and sex life of a small group of Indians in the state of Maranhao in northern Brazil that

it staggers the imagination. From inspiring Gothic in the vale of St. Andrews to thatched roofs on the Pindaré River is a long leap.

The Council for Research in the Social Sciences of Columbia University and the Committee for Inter-American Artistic and Intellectual Relations made grants to Mr. Wagley whereby he was able to spend first eighteen months in central Brazil studying the acculturation and later a year in the same type of field work among the Tenetehara. The general program of the anthropologists has as its aim the salvaging of all data about aboriginal tribes before they become extinct or before the tribal customs are contaminated by contact with the whites.

Mr. Wagley's field party of four visited the Tenetehara for four months from November 1941 to March 1942, and in 1945 his three helpers returned for another four months to verify data and to incorporate changes in the natives during the intervening period. The observers gathered all possible information from seven natives in particular and whatever they could hear from the people in general.

The findings are grouped into seven chapters in the book. The first chapter sketches the historical setting in general. The second describes the social organization, the family, the extended family, and the leader, or chief. The economic life of these woodsmen is the subject of the third chapter. Then follows a long chapter on the personal life of the Indians, which is chiefly the sex life of aborigines. Here the harrowing details might readily have been spared since the sexual side of amoral primitives seems no different from that of amoral whites in our larger communities. The religious life as described in the fifth chapter appears to be the same mess that it was when these tribes were first visited by the padres in the seventeenth century. Anything can be made a god by the feverish or stupid imagination of the tribesman, and such subjective gods can be made the instigation or the excuse for any evil deed. The transition in culture in this respect seems to be that the natives are no longer bothering about some of their ancient tribal rites. The sixth chapter is a collection of Indian yarns and beliefs classified as mythology and folklore. According to the publicity writer of the jacket there are "thirty-seven delightful stories." Some of these are revolting rather than "charming." Others, as well as some passages in the earlier text, incline us to wonder if at times the Indians were not joshing the investigators. The last chapter, "A Culture in Transition," is a very good summary of the findings.

The book of two hundred pages is well printed and edited. The pictures and the index are very helpful. Mr. Wagley's style is exact but interesting throughout. Undoubtedly, this study of a section of the broad field of Brazilian culture will be considered as a good contribution by anthropologists and ethnologists.

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

VOLUME 31, NUMBER 3 JULY 1949

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

JULY 1949

VOLUME 31 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 20 NUMBER 3

CONTENTS

Published quarterly by Loyola University (The Institute of Jesuit History) at 50 cents a copy. Annual subscription, $2.00; in foreign countries, $2.50. Publication and editorial offices at Loyola University, 6525 Sheridan Road, Chicago, Illinois. All communications should be addressed to the Managing Editor. Entered as second class matter, August 7, 1929, at the post office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Additional entry as second class matter at the post office at Effingham, Illinois. Printed in the United States.

MID-AMERICA
An Historical Review
JULY 1949
VOLUME 31 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 20 NUMBER 3

The Early Theatre in the Upper Mississippi Valley

In the nineteenth century as the frontier line of settlement moved westward across the American continent, one of the first of the arts to gain a foothold was the drama. The theatre was a vital force on the frontier, and no phase of social life was more colorful or more closely related to the constantly changing background as the tide of population flowed westward.[1] While some denounced the theatre with vehemence, others used any means at hand to establish an institution for which they felt a definite need.[2] In some regions theatrical activity first appeared when amateur societies were organized by local citizens, while in others it was introduced by groups of strolling thespians.[3] In some areas where the pioneer population was rough and restless, theatricals first appeared in the form of crude variety entertainment, to be succeeded later by the legitimate drama. The term "drama" was used broadly at that time, and a statement by Walter Prichard Eaton conveys the interpretation commonly ac-

[1] Noah M. Ludlow, *Dramatic Life as I Found It*, St. Louis, 1880, 2. Ludlow, the well-known actor-manager who took his companies into many pioneer regions, brings out the significance of frontier thespians and their activities.

[2] *Ibid.*, 268. Here Ludlow indicates the keen interest of the pioneer in entertainment: "The first adventurers to a new country are generally bold and active spirits, with an unbounded desire of novelty and excitement. Such have besides a considerable amount of romance in their natures, and take hold of the ideal with an eager though rude grasp."

[3] James E. Murdock, *The Stage, or Recollections of Actors and Acting from an Experience of Fifty Years. A Series of Dramatic Sketches*, Philadelphia, 1880, 414–415. The west was looked upon as an excellent place for ambitious players to gain experience. Murdock termed it "that professional school for youthful thespians..." Many examples of the optimism of the frontier and of pioneer thespians are found in Solomon Smith, *The Theatrical Apprenticeship and Anecdotal Recollections of Sol. Smith, Comedian, Attorney at Law*, Philadelphia, 1847, 102–113.

cepted: "The theatre is wherever anybody gets up before a public and entertains them by pretending."[4]

Early in 1834 Charles Fenno Hoffman, from the state of New York, traveling in the upper Mississippi Valley, arrived at Prairie du Chien, where he wrote a letter dated February 12, in which he told of attending a theatre at Fort Crawford. At the town tavern a mile from the fort he was greeted by the landlord, a portly, soldier-like German, who bowed him into a large room heated to suffocation by a Canadian stove, and placed in his hand a "strip of newly written paper." Hoffman was much surprised to find that it was a playbill "respectfully informing the public that the sterling English comedy *Who Wants a Guinea?* and Fielding's afterpiece of *Don Quixote in England,* with songs, recitations, etc.," would be presented that evening by the soldiers of the first regiment at Fort Crawford.[5]

Arriving at the fort after supper, the writer tells of handing the ticket which had been furnished him by the landlord to a soldier acting as doorkeeper. He then entered a "large barrack-like room" fitted up as a theatre by the soldiers, with well arranged scenery and lights ingeniously placed in bayonets. The seats, gradually elevated like the pit of a theatre, were arranged to divide the audience into three sections: one for the officers, with their families, another for the soldiers, and a third for the "gumboes", Indians, and a few Negro servants. When Hoffman arrived, the play was in progress, and the audience was so intent upon it that he waited until the act was finished to take his seat, one offered him by an officer in the more favored part of the house. Hoffman expressed much surprise at the skill and judgment with which the soldier-thespians played their parts.[6]

Continuing his travels Hoffman went down river to Galena, Illinois, a lead-mining center. There he wrote a second letter on February 22, 1834, in which he told of witnessing another play in a theatre less pretentious than the one at Fort Crawford. Arriving in town during the early evening he found the tavern deserted and upon inquiry as to the cause learned that there was "a play to be acted in town" that night. Directed to the place of the performance, he found it to be "the upper part of an unfinished house on the side

---

[4] Walter Prichard Eaton, *The Actor's Heritage, Scenes from the Theatre of Yesterday and the Day Before,* Boston, 1924, 44.

[5] Charles Fenno Hoffman, *A Winter in the West, By a New Yorker,* New York, 1835, I, 1–4.

[6] Thespian societies were common in western army posts during the nineteenth century. Where women were not available men played the female parts.

of a hill." He told of entering the building, and, since the first floor was not completed, making his way along a narrow plank laid on naked beams to a rude staircase. The lower part of the building was used as a stable, and at the time was occupied by horses. Going up the stairway "leading to the histrionic realms" in the upper story, Hoffman entered the rough unfinished room which served as a theatre.[7]

The company consisted of four adults and a ten-year-old child. These apparently strolling thespians were presenting a melodrama, *The Woodman's Hut,* and in spite of the crude surroundings and poor acting, the audience was enthusiastic, showering half-dollars "like peas upon the stage to express its delight at the little girl's dancing between acts." In one of the intermissions, Hoffman, who happened to be standing in the first story, was startled when a heavy missile passed through the air not far from his head. The mystery was cleared up when a little Negro, dropping hurriedly to the entrance from the "Thespian Hall" above, asked him if he had seen a gun come by. One of the actors, attempting to stand the gun in the corner, had let it slip through an opening in the planks of the floor.[8]

Galena was also visited in 1839 by the McKenzie-Jefferson Dramatic Company,[9] a troupe of able players, who made a barnstorming trip through parts of Illinois and Iowa. On the first lap of their journey they had traveled by the lake route to open a theatre in Chicago, where, after a short season, they moved on to Galena. The actors traveled in open wagons, their trunks serving as most uncomfortable seats as the tired horses drew the jolting vehicles over muddy and rutted roads. They stopped at farm houses and rude taverns for refreshments, often playing in these or in barns, with candles for lighting. The company offered a short season in Galena, going from there to Dubuque in the newly formed Territory of Iowa.

According to Charles A. Krone, in February, 1858, a theatrical company consisting of twelve actors and an orchestra of six pieces

---

[7] A wide variety of places were used for theatrical purposes. For example, Albany, New York, in the early nineteenth century used a barn, a hospital, a dancing hall, the Thespian Hotel, and finally a permanent theatre; see William A. Dunlap, *A History of the American Theatre,* New York, 1832, 32, and Charles Lowell Lees, "An Introductory Study of the American People of the 18th Century Through Their Drama and Theatrical History," doctoral thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1934, 28, 34–37.

[8] Hoffman, *A Winter in the West,* II, 50–51.

[9] This was Joseph Jefferson, Sr., and his brother-in-law, Alexander McKenzie, who formed the Illinois Theatrical Company that played seasons in Chicago in 1838 and 1839 and took to the road between times; Bessie L. Pierce, *A History of Chicago,* New York, 1937, I, 310.

was playing in a large hall in Quincy, Illinois, on the banks of the Mississippi River. The hall in which this company performed was on the floor of a brick building on Hampshire Street not far from the public square. It had a stage "of respectable size," and the prices of admission were 35, 25, and 15 cents. The company offered the popular plays of that day to large audiences who seemed pleased with the repertoire and the ability of the individual actors.[10]

Theatricals and amusements related to the theatre were not plentiful in the towns of frontier Iowa in the thirties, although there had been some activity. The Lafayette Circus Company from New York had given several performances at Dubuque to large and enthusiastic audiences, and a menagerie of wild animals had been exhibited in the various Mississippi River settlements. A few strolling magicians, singers, dancers, gymnasts, acrobats and mimics, had presented programs in the dining rooms of taverns at Burlington, Davenport, and Bloomington (Muscatine), but their appearances had been at long intervals.

In the river town of Dubuque early in 1838 a group of young men who wished to satisfy their interest in the drama, as well as to relieve the monotony of a long Iowa winter, organized the Iowa Thespian Association, probably the first amateur dramatic organization in the Iowa area. The newly organized society made arrangements to use the "large upstairs room" of the recently constructed Shakespeare Coffee House and Free Admission News Room owned and operated by Charles Corkey.[11] A stage was erected across one corner of the room at an elevation of three or four feet from the floor, seats were provided, and the scenic artist furnished colorful scenery and a drop curtain. The organization named its playhouse Shakespeare Hall.[12]

The ambitious amateur thespians of Dubuque met in Shakespeare Hall during the winter months to rehearse their plays and songs. Some of their offerings were such dramas as *Pizzaro* and *England's Iron Days,* and, according to the press, many of the roles were "admirably played, and all the plays were well received and applauded." Numerous national and sentimental songs were offered by a young

---

[10] Charles A. Krone, "Recollections of an Old Actor," *Missouri Historical Society Collections,* Volume 3 (1911), 275.

[11] *The Iowa News,* November 15, 1837, carried an advertisement stating that the Coffee House provided "free use of legislative and congressional proceedings and newspapers from all parts of the Union, Canada and Texas, as well as access to a superior and well selected assortment of wines, liquors and cordials at the bar 'cash up'."

[12] Bruce E. Mahan, "The Iowa Thespians," *The Palimpsest,* January, 1923, 14–15; Joseph S. Schick, *The Early Theatre in Eastern Iowa,* Chicago, 1939, Appendix I, 177–180.

gentleman whom the editor of the *Iowa News* thought possessed musical powers, which, "if cultivated, bid fair to rival the best vocalists of the day." Shakespeare Hall was highly recommended to all lovers of the drama as a place to spend some very profitable winter evenings.[13]

Probably the most pretentious offering of the Dubuque thespians during their first season was a patriotic melodrama in five acts, entitled *The Glory of Columbia, Her Yoemanry,* written by William Dunlap. Advertised in the *News* of February 24 to be presented on Monday evening, February 26, the play was to be concluded with "a variety of songs, duets, and trios." Children under ten years of age were not to be admitted, and tickets were on sale at the bar of the Shakespeare. The performance attracted such a crowd that it was impossible for all to gain admittance, and loud applause greeted the drop of the curtain at the end of each act.[14] The play was repeated the following Saturday night with the addition of an afterpiece, *Gretna Green.* The thespians found their first season so successful that they made plans for an even more extensive repertoire for the following one.[15]

The second season was made significant because of the visit of the McKenzie-Jefferson Company, the first visit of a troupe of professional actors who had acquired some reputation in the east, to the newly created Territory of Iowa. Traveling on sleighs on the ice of the frozen Mississippi River from Galena, the company reached the town safely, although their baggage, properties, and scenery had been on a sleigh which had broken through and were thoroughly soaked. The opening of Shakespeare Hall was delayed until the wardrobe could be dried out and the scenery touched up. The halls and bedrooms of the tavern where the company stopped were strung with clotheslines upon which were hung Roman shirts, tights, gilded pasteboard helmets, and numerous other articles, some ruined beyond repair.

The McKenzie-Jefferson company played an eleven night engagement, offering such popular plays as *Othello, Rob Roy, Richard III, The Lady of Lyons* and *Camille,* with typical afterpieces such as *The Waterman* and *How to Rule a Wife.* The audience responded with enthusiasm to juvenile roles and singing by young Joseph Jefferson and his sister. Each evening at six-thirty the curtain rose to a crowded house, where for three and a half hours a varied program

[13] *The Iowa News,* February 3, 24, 1838.

[14] One writer has suggested that frequent visits to the bar between acts no doubt helped to accentuate the enthusiasm of some spectators.

[15] Mahan, "The Iowa Thespians," 17–18.

was offered. Admission prices were a dollar for adults and half price for children. So entranced was the audience that "even the property man who replaced the burned down candle footlights between the big show and the afterpiece received his share of applause."[16]

The Dubuque engagement had been so highly successful both from the standpoint of finances and that of appreciative audiences that the troupe well pleased with the results left the town to play in other river settlements down the Mississippi. But in spite of amateur efforts and the visits of a good professional company, emphasis on theatricals declined in the early forties and the Iowa Thespian Association apparently disbanded. Shakespeare Hall was closed to the patrons of the drama, although the tap room on the floor below with its free reading room continued to dispense liquid cheer. No longer could one obtain "a ticket . . . to see Nightengale and his mummers tear a passion to tatters or portray comedy with the broad strokes then so popular."[17]

In the 1850's theatrical entertainment increased, reaching a high point when, on August 31, 1857, a playhouse called the People's Theatre was opened on the second floor of the Odd Fellow's building on the corner of Bluff and Eighth Streets. The drop curtain, the ceiling and the boxes had been lavishly ornamented, and as usual local reports boasted that the town now had "one of the handsomest [theatres] in the west, the finest . . . of its kind outside of New York City," and that "neither Chicago nor St. Louis possessed [one] so well equipped and arranged."[18]

Miss Eliza Logan had been booked for the opening night, but when she failed to arrive a member of the regular company played her role in the opening play, *Evadne.* Miss Logan arrived for the next performance, playing Julia in *The Hunchback,* in which according to the local press "the inhabitants of the wilderness" gave her a reception she must have long remembered. She rewarded them by playing in, *The School for Scandal* and *The Lady of Lyons.* When

---

16 *The Autobiography of Joseph Jefferson,* New York, 1897, *passim.*

17 Mahan, "The Iowa Thespians," 23–24. While little attention was paid to the legitimate drama in the forties, Dubuque had its quota of magicians, lecturers, and general entertainers, circuses and menageries, although records regarding these are fragmentary and incomplete.

18 The playhouse had been decorated by Samuel W. Gulick, a scenic artist of ability, who had painted on the drop curtain a copy of Cole's "Voyage of Life." The proscenium had been decorated and topped by two large eagles done in stucco casts. It was reported that $5,000 had been expended in fitting the theatre, with an added $1,000 invested in scenery; William Eulberg Kelm, "The People's Theatre," *The Palimpsest,* March, 1928, 89–90.

Hattie Bernard came to Dubuque, the editor of the *Daily Express and Herald* termed her "as pleasing an actress as ever stepped on the boards" in this town. C. B. Mulholland, a dialect actor, appeared in two afterpieces, *The Irish Lion* and *The Old Guard,* adding according to the press "a certain zest to the literary repast." Maggie Mitchel, a comedienne popularly called the "Fairy Star of the West" played to large audiences, and late in November, the famous tragedian J. W. Wallack played the lead in *The King of the Commons, The Merchant of Venice,* and *The Man with the Iron Mask.* The first season of the People's Theatre came to an end late in December, and although it had witnessed a wealth of drama, from the beginning it had not been successful financially. The company withdrew to the Julien Theatre located on the corner of Locust and Fifth Streets where it continued with apparent success, while the original playhouse remained dark during the rest of the winter and spring.[19]

The Express and Herald, was of the opinion that the failure of the People's Theatre was due to mismanagement, and the directors were accused of not being liberal enough with complimentary tickets to such individuals as reporters, railroad conductors, hotel proprietors, and steamboat captains, who might have assisted them in obtaining audiences, and of having on their free list too many "deadheads" such as the city council, stockholders of the theatre, and their own friends. But if the theatre had cost them as much to build and equip as the press claimed it did and "stars" were still carrying away most of the proceeds, it is easy to understand why it failed.[20]

On July 10, 1858, the People's Theatre was opened by Harry Farren with his "Star Company of the West," usually referred to as Farren's Varieties Troupe. Coming from St. Louis, the company consisted of ten persons in addition to the Farrens, both of whom were able players. It was received with enthusiasm in Dubuque, opening in *The Lady of Lyons,* private boxes selling for five dollars, stall seats for seventy-five cents, seats in the dress circle and parquet, fifty cents, and those in the gallery for a quarter. An extensive repertoire was offered, and Mr. Farren was said to have played a fine Shylock, and "as the bloody and remorseless Richard" was reported to have been equal to Booth, no doubt the highest compliment the local critic could have tendered him. But, like so many frontier companies, while it drew enthusiastic audiences, it did not find its performances very lucrative. It may have derived some consolation,

---

19 *Ibid.,* 90–96.

20 *Ibid.,* 96; John Ely Briggs, "The Star System," *The Palimpsest,* March, 1928.

however, in the fact that when it left by boat for Davenport and Peoria, many of Dubuque's best citizens were at the wharf to see "this gentlemanly and ladylike" company off. Other troupes tried their luck at this theatre that year.[21] Early in October, 1858, a Mr. Wilson opened for a week's engagement with a capable company and a few days later a company of players under Breslaw[22] and Allen presented the celebrated Mr. and Mrs. Waller at the People's. These stars specialized in Shakespearean productions. Mr. Waller's Hamlet was ranked by the local press as good as could be found "either in England or America," and Mrs. Waller's Ophelia was acclaimed the "work of a great artist."[23] But even with such ability on the part of its stars, and with the support of an able company, the performances were not well attended.

In the spring of 1859 the undaunted Harry Farren returned to Dubuque for an extended engagement, bringing numerous stars to the People's Theatre, among whom were James E. Murdock and James H. Hackett, "the greatest living Falstaff." Probably the most expensive star to visit Dubuque this season was Mathilda Heron. Her Camille was pronounced by the local critic the best he had ever seen, and he spoke in detail of the way in which she brought out "with the refined taste of a true artist, all the delicate lights and shadows, subduing and spiritualizing the sensuous portions of the character, she makes the play what few have ever succeeded in doing, a beautiful, instructive, refining representation."[24] Th second season of the Farren Company closed on May 14, 1859. Some of the troupe remained a few days to appear in a benefit[25] for Welsh Edwards, who "brought down the house tremendously" in *A Bachelor's Bedroom, Cavaliers and Roundheads,* and *The Magic Shirt.* On

---

21 Schick, *Early Theatre in Eastern Iowa,* 67–70; Kelm, "The People's Theatre," 100–101.

22 This may have been the Breslau found elsewhere in the west; the frontier press and contemporary writers were careless about spelling, first names, and initials.

23 *Dubuque Express and Herald,* October 3, 10, 17, 1858.

24 *Ibid.,* and Kelm, "The People's Theatre," 103.

25 Theatrical benefits are an interesting phase of American theatrical history. They were apparently of English origin during the time of James I. After 1695, when receipts were too small to pay the actors in full, it became common to give benefit performances, in which players offered favorite bills, made appeals to the public to attend, and pocketed most of the proceeds. Colley Cibber, *An Apology for His Life,* New York, n. d., 87.

Such benefits became an important clause in the agreements between actors and managers on the western frontier. Dunlap says that the performer often lived beyond his means, expecting benefit proceeds to pay his debts. In western theatres the phrase "the benefits had begun" was usually indicative of the approaching end of the season. Dunlap, *History of American Theatre, passim.*

May 27, 1859, the People's Theatre was burned to the ground, and its activities brought "to an abrupt and untimely end."

In 1833 the first permanent settlement was made in the vicinity of Davenport, in what later became eastern Iowa, and three years later a town was plotted.[26] The first settlers were Americans, but in the forties many Germans came in, and both Americans and Germans were active in the development of the early theatre in Davenport. In its early years this river town enjoyed many kinds of entertainment. The first play given in this vicinity, according to available records, was *Monsieur Tonson,* presented by a dramatic company called The Thespian Players from Fort Snelling in October, 1836.[27] Two years later the town had its first recorded circus performance when the American Arena Company appeared in the month of July.

That there was considerable activity connected with the theatre in Davenport before November, 1840, is evident, since at that time the Town Council decided to tax such entertainments, which so far had been free from license fees. Unfortunately, there are no newspaper records of theatricals in the forties. That there was interest in the stage is reflected by contemporary newspaper items relating to the theatre in other towns, much of which seems to have been adverse commenting on the general wickedness of the stage and those connected with it.[28] The first advertisement of a dramatic performance in Davenport was that of a temperance play, *The Drunkard,* or *The Fallen Saved,* offered in April, 1852, by the F. L. Robinson Company. There was also a temperance farce, given as an afterpiece, and songs, duets and instrumental solos. All seats were twenty-five cents, and the audience was seated in a "large wat-

[26] Fort Armstrong was established in 1812 on the Mississippi not far from where Davenport was later located.

[27] At this time Davenport, only a few years old, had 500 people. Whereas in many frontier towns amateurs preceded professional players, the reverse was true of Davenport; Schick, 174.

[28] Burlington was reported to have had a theatre in July, 1840, and a theatrical company played at Lawrenceburg in 1849. Performances were reported at Galena and Rock Island from time to time during the forties. The thespian organization of Davenport, operating in 1838, and many later dramatic companies, players, and entertainers, also played in other Iowa towns. Dan Rice, well-known manager and clown, tells of his exhibitions in the tavern of Captain James Palmer in Bloomington (Muscatine) in the early forties. Palmer, suspicious of Rice's financial ability to pay the tavern bill, asked for payment in advance. He agreed to accept payment later when Rice made him door keeper and ticket seller. After the exhibition when Rice asked Palmer for the proceeds, "Captain Jim" had very little to turn over as he had allowed all his friends to enter free. Rice could not pay the tavern bill, and Palmer did not attempt to collect it. Bruce E. Mahan, "Three Early Taverns," *The Palimpsest,* August, 1922, 260.

erproof Pavillion." In August, 1852, the Spaulding and Rogers North American Circus Company gave an afternoon and evening performance, presenting as one of their features a "very interesting National Drama entitled *The Spirit of '76.*" In September Dan Rice's Hippodrome Circus Company presented *The Bedouins of the Desert, The Tournament,* and other pieces, apparently spectacles, rather than pure drama.

The fact that from 1836 to 1853 all entertainments in Davenport had to be staged in hotel dining rooms, church assembly rooms, school rooms, outdoor pavillions, or in the court house, for lack of other accommodations, may have restricted or delayed the appearance of the legitimate theatre. Early in 1853 Le Claire Hall was opened, and for several decades was the amusement center of Davenport. The building was four stories high and was an imposing structure for so young a town. Theatrical performances were given in a hall on the third floor, reached by an outside stairway, and lighted with oil or fluid lamps.[29] It was leased by G. J. Adams, who opened it as the National Theatre," for the production of the moral drama."[30] The next year a theatrical troupe under a Mr. Wyman gave performances in the hall. Although the American newspaper in Davenport made no mention of the playing of this company, the German paper reviewed it enthusiastically.

In October, 1855, Sallie St. Clair's St. Louis Varieties opened an engagement playing for two weeks. Offering such favorites as *The Lady of Lyons,* and *The Loan of a Lover,* the company received satisfactory reports from the press. On September 2, 1856, Hough and Myers managers of a theatre in St. Paul, Minnesota, opened at the Le Claire with a company of twenty-two players, offering *Uncle Tom's Cabin, The Lady of Lyons, The Stranger, Fazio, Ingomar, Camille, Lucretia Borgia, Therese, The Orphan of Geneva, Clari, The Maid of Milan,* and *Richilieu,* some of which were presented more than once. Davenport saw its first Shakespearean play, *Romeo and Juliet,* this season. Hough and Myers were the first to introduce the star system to the Davenport stage when, after a short period of plays by the regular company they began to bring in

29 Schick, 50–51.

30 Opposition to the theatre was on two counts—to plays and "play-actors," and to the general character of people who attended. Plays were sometimes presented under the guise of lectures, readings, concerts, and museum exhibitions; thus occasionally an overture would be advertised and the entire musical play produced. Opposition was often broken down by the methods of the F. L. Robinson Company who in April, 1852, presented a temperance play and afterpiece. Doubtless, many editors reflected the attitude of a majority of their subscribers. Eaton, *The Actor's Heritage,* Chapter VII.

well-known players among whom were Kate Denin, Samuel Ryan, an Irish comedian, and Kate Denin's sister Susan. The performances of the company according to the press were "of a chaste and high character . . . well calculated to afford information and amusement to all." On several occasions the audience was so carried away by the acting that they rose to their feet cheering. The managers felt the reception given their company warranted planning a regular semi-annual visit there.[31]

Early in 1857 Sallie St. Claire brought her St. Louis Varieties for another engagement presenting a number of frontier favorites. In March it was announced by the press that Gary Hough had returned and was making preparations for altering Le Claire Hall. While this was being done, he opened at the German Theatre, on March 17, in *The Wife* and *The Yankee Duelist.* The streets were in an almost impassable condition—as usual in the spring in midwestern settlements—but those who managed to attend found the program excellent. A second performance was offered in the German Theatre and a third in the remodeled Le Claire Hall. During the season Hough offered many competent guest stars, such as the McFarlands, Sallie St. Claire, Susan Denin, G. W. Jamison, a fine impersonator of the Negro, who must have commanded a high salary, and the Couldocks, C. W. and his daughter Eliza. Hough's company and its stars offered an extensive repertoire, presenting the largest group of Shakespearean plays in Davenport in pre-Civil War days.[32] An advertising device new upon the frontier was commented upon by the *Iowa Gazette,* that of placing on the drop curtain the names and addresses of various Davenport business firms. The press gave Hough credit for the plan which they said, "was used at that time in but few cities of the Union." They insisted however, that newspaper advertising would reach a much larger audience.[33]

---

[31] Not long after Hough and Myers left the town council of Davenport levied a tax of ten dollars for a single performance, fifty dollars for a month's engagement, one hundred and fifty for six months and two hundred dollars for one year; Schick, 59.

[32] Newspaper criticism of this company's productions was mostly favorable; the emphasis of the press was almost altogether on the fact that the plays and acting had been entirely respectable and in no way morally offensive. Unlike that in many other frontier regions the press said little of the plays or the kind of acting of various players. Davenport no doubt portrayed the fundamental attitude characteristic of the rural communities toward the theatre; basically, they looked upon the institution as being capable of vulgarity and half expected to be shocked at any time. Scruples were gradually overcome, and, as the managers were wily enough to present plays as "moral dramas" and to maintain "chaste and correct" acting, the public was able to enjoy and applaud the theatre; Files of the *Iowa Gazette,* 1857; Schick, 65–72.

[33] Files of the *Iowa Gazette,* March, April, May, 1857.

In September, 1857, a theatrical troupe played an engagement of about a week at Le Claire Hall, but the repertoire it offered was not very good and there was little newspaper comment. The records of theatrical activity in the early part of 1858 are fragmentary, and it is not exactly known what companies played there.[34] Farren brought his company back on September 18, then going to Rock Island for one performance. Returning he offered *Camille,* and promptly invited adverse press comment.[35] The morality of this production was considered "of very questionable nature." Farren proceeded to offer such plays as *The School for Scandal, London Assurance, Macbeth* and *Richard III,* without further criticism, but before his engagement terminated in October, the editor of the *Gazette* was beginning to regret this lenient attitude toward the stage, and to comment that he now had ample basis for his former suspicions of "all playactors." "For a long time," he mused, "he had been supporting the theatre with some wear and tear of conscience," for it was true that "every theatrical company had left Davenport without . . . paying [its] bills in full." Afraid that Farren would do likewise, the Gazette sued him for payment, and the actor promptly retaliated by bringing suit against the newspaper to secure payment for the complimentary tickets that had been so liberally supplied to members of the staff. It hardly needs to be said that the local court decided in favor of the paper.[36]

Other companies visited Davenport in the late fifties, but undoubtedly the best that appeared before the Civil War was McVicker's. This company opened in June, 1859, at the German Theatre, playing twelve nights, offering not only old favorites, but some new plays such as *Our American Cousin, Pike's Peak or The Davenport Boys on a Gold Hunt, Bride of Lammermoor,* and *A Handsome Husband.* It closed with *Sam Patch in France,* the last American play given here until 1863, for until then interest centered in the German theatre.

It has been noticed before that wherever the Germans settled they supported the theatre, as well as musical organizations, and nowhere is their attitude toward the stage better shown than in Davenport. The German theatre there was composed originally of amateurs, none of whom earned a living from the stage. It had

---

[34] Companies managed by William Henderson and Mr. Weaver appeared in Rock Island; Weaver's troupe was advertised to appear in Davenport, but there is no record that it did. Doubtless some companies were frightened away by the high licence fees.

[35] *Iowa Gazette,* September 23, 1858.

[36] *Ibid.,* September, October, November, 1858; Schick, 68–70.

an existence of some years, from 1855 to 1910, more than a half century of considerable activity, with its best period probably being the decade from 1865–1875. During the summer, plays were offered in the local beer gardens, and in the winter, after 1856, in the regular German theatre, which has been mentioned as being used by American companies when the Le Claire was being redecorated.

The German theatre differed in several ways from the American theatre in Davenport. It opened its doors on Sundays, which the latter never did, and none but Germans looked with favor on such a custom. It remained open the year around, for there was always enough interest to attract an audience, while the American theatre had short and financially insecure seasons. The Germans considered women on the stage respectable people in honored positions, but it was a long time before Americans in general would take such a view of feminine players. The Germans built the first permanent theatre in Davenport, while the Americans contented themselves for many years with the makeshift upper story of a local building.

When the American theatre closed in 1859 the German stage became even more important than it had been. After 1862 the American newspapers praised highly the acting of the professional stars who had almost from the first appeared with the German amateurs, and urged even those citizens who did not speak the language to attend the plays. The Verein maintained its amateur standing until 1872, when the Turner Society bought the building it had built, and continued through the first decade of this century as a professional organization.[37]

Laid out in 1846 at the confluence of the Raccoon and Des Moines rivers the town of Des Moines developed slowly. Lacking good river navigation, and with stage transportation expensive and uncertain, it remained on the outer edge of settlement until the arrival of the railroad. Fort Des Moines, with an early population numbering a few hundred, did not have a theatre, and held its social gatherings and what few amusements it enjoyed in the log court house. There is no record of when the first theatricals were held at Fort Des Moines. In the late 1840's "Winchell, the ventriloquist, with his trained mice," ventured that far west, and played to an appreciative audience. As the town grew in size and importance the old log court house was no longer satisfactory as a meeting place, and in 1853 Hoyt Sherman, a citizen of some importance, built Sherman Hall. While there is no description of the building avail-

[37] Schick, 74–106; the panic of 1857 reduced most amusement activities to a low point and they were not revived until after the Civil War.

able, it is reasonable to assume that it was patterned after the halls of the period, and doubtless was a frame structure with a stage or platform at one end, heated with stoves, and provided with seats for a few hundred people. It was in this hall that the first theatrical troupe to play to a Des Moines audience appeared.[38]

From April 7 to 14 J. C. Morrison, an actor-manager, presented his company of players in Sherman Hall in a series of comedies and tragedies, the names of which are not known. Characteristic of the frontier period, especially in rural areas, Morrison's troupe ran into church opposition. While theatricals were presented at Sherman Hall in the evenings, union prayer meetings were held there during the daytime, and a heated controversy developed. A local editor, reviewing the situation made the following comments:

> A theatrical troupe under the direction of the popular actor, J. C. Morrison, has been giving therein [Sherman Hall] night entertainments of a creditable character to our play loving people. Thus our spiritual teachers have been funished with a lively subject for comment and illustration, and the mental barometer of the city has rapidly fluctuated from grave to gay . . . Life is only a checkered scene and the serious and the comical are often singularly blended. . . .[39]

On July 5, Des Moines had its only other recorded entertainment in 1858, when the Spaulding and Rogers Circus played to enthusiastic crowds, pitching its "canvas top" on a vacant lot on the edge of town. Sherman Hall experienced some competition in 1858, when the Savery House was made into a "hall" with "superb chairs" for its patrons. While the new hall never became popular for theatricals, it served for a number of years as a place to hold dances, concerts, ice cream and strawberry festivals, and benefit suppers.

Through the late fifties the theatrical scene was very quiet in the Iowa capital, and there was little entertainment except an occasional musical program, and an average of one circus a summer.[40] In November, 1860, the ventriloquist Winchell returned to Des Moines, and was greeted with delight by the public. "Winchell always draws a good crowd," wrote a local editor, "and then splits their sides with laughing. If a fellow is in trouble with the blue

---

[38] *Des Moines Daily Register*, February 1, 1847; Agnes O. Lewison, "A Theatrical History of Des Moines, Iowa, 1846–1890," Master's Thesis, University of Iowa, 1931, 1–2.

[39] *Iowa Weekly Citizen*, April 14, 21, May 6, 1858.

[40] The location of the rural village of Des Moines rather than frontier handicaps retarded theatrical entertainment. Troupes from Chicago went south via Louisville to St. Louis and New Orleans, leaving Des Moines off their schedules. Lewison, 4.

D---ls he should go at once to see Winchell's show, and we guarantee a speedy cure."[41] Winchell played for two nights to packed houses at Savery Hall.

When the Civil War began, Des Moines had no playhouses to close, as happened in so many other places, but its two halls were dark most of the time except for a few recitals, concerts and lectures, or a traveling menagerie that chanced to come that way. By 1864 many of the citizens were hungry for entertainment, and when a local editor learned that Dubuque, another Iowa town, was having "full blown exhibitions," he wrote a few words of commendation of such activity, assuming a critical attitude toward his own town. The editor's statement that

> The good old days of Dubuque are fast coming round again. This all comes from a superior civilization of the town. We expect it will be a long, long day before *we* can have any high old tragedy here.

brought forth the following heated reaction from one of Des Moines citizens:

> Your quasi regrets, Mr. Editor, that our good city does not rejoice over 'full blown theatrical exhibitions' such as are now fully feathered in Dubuque, grate harshly upon my ears, when we are so badly deficient in other more needed and more reputable institutions. A city which failed to establish a course of lectures last Winter, and which has not made the first effort to procure a library and reading room for the masses, should suffer a long while for want of theatrical exhibitions. Would not such an institution, well provided with the best literature of the day, be pointed out to with more pride and satisfaction than a theatre. This is from one who wants first to establish a public library.

The editor of the *Weekly Register,* afraid, no doubt, of losing subscribers and advertisers, as well as of being charged with disloyalty to his own town, meekly retracted his statement, explaining that he had been writing "only in fun," and would "rather have a quiet, sensible reading of Will Shakespeare at our fireside than to see and hear a whole regiment of professional actors, as now-a-days stalk across the boards and saw the air in pretended mimicry or tragedy."[42] Nothing more was heard concerning theatrical activity in Des Moines for a period of at least two years, during which time a library was established and a lecture course provided.

On November 12, 1866, P. T. Barnum lectured in the court house

---

[41] *The Des Moines Commonwealth,* November 13, 1860.

[42] *Weekly State Register,* April 27, 1864. Town rivalry was keen in the west; each town was sure of its destiny to become the "greatest and largest town in its state or territory, or even in the whole west." This rivalry is well presented by Marie Haefner, "Rivalry Among River Towns," *The Palimpsest,* May, 1937, 160–175.

at Des Moines on "The Art of Getting Money." His appearance stirred enough interest in providing some entertainment to bring forth from the editor of the *Register* a request for a home talent production to while away some of the long winter evenings. On December 28 and 29 one D. Pine and Company presented a "combined panorama" at the court house. This was well attended, but did nothing to further the amateur production, and there was no theatrical activity in Des Moines for many months.[43]

The real theatrical history of this Iowa town began in October, 1867, when Dick Johnson, a Des Moines citizen interested in the possibilities of the drama there, converted Turner's Hall into the Northwestern Theatre.[44] He organized a stock company, and presented Mrs. Melissa Breslau as his leading lady. The engagement of Johnson's company lasted from October 21 to January 15, with the usual programs of a play and an afterpiece.[45] The outstanding production was probably Des Moines first Shakespearean play, *Macbeth,* offered on October 25 at Mrs. Breslau's benefit. The new theatre had been well equipped, one item being its drop curtain painting entitled "A View of Venice." The press carefully followed the activities in the theatre, commending the acquisition of stoves late in October, but protesting "against the sale of peanuts on the theatre floor." "The music by the peanut army last night," commented the editor, "was like the crunching chorus of hungry swine turned into a new corn pasture. Give us cessation and—ventilation."[46]

Various stars were presented by Johnson to bolster his regular stock company. At a benefit for a Mr. Norman early in November, Bessie Clifford appeared as Desdemona in *Othello,* and some three weeks later Mr. and Mrs. Selden Irwin, well-known players on various frontiers, appeared in *The Hunchback.* They remained in Des Moines for several weeks. At their performance of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* Miss Carrie Savery of Des Moines made her debut, playing the part of Little Eva. A few weeks later Harry Rainsforth and H. King appeared as stars in *Our American Cousin.*[47] The engage-

---

43 *Weekly State Register,* April 27, May 4, 1864; *Daily State Register,* November 10, 15, 18, 23, and December 25, 29, 1866.

44 The Des Moines Turners, organized in July, 1857, had been admitted in August to the American Turnerbund, whose purpose was "the cultivation of the perfect man, physically and mentally." Turner Hall in Des Moines was a frame structure. Lewison, 8.

45 Among the plays were *The Hidden Hand, The Drunkard, The Lady of Lyons, La Tour de Nesle, Camille, The Female Spy, Ingomard the Barbarian, The Hunchback, Uncle Tom's Cabin,* and *Romeo and Juliet. Daily State Register,* October 22, 24, 29, 1867.

46 *Ibid.,* October 22, 1867.

47 *Ibid.,* November 5, 11, 27 and December 12, 20, 1867.

ments of Johnson's Company ended because of financial difficulties. In spite of its lack of financial success, this first theatrical season was important because it aroused interest in the drama and laid the foundations for its future activities.[48]

In early November, when the theatrical season had been at its height, an organized movement had been started for the erection of an opera house in Des Moines. Sponsored by the Turner Association and backed by several substantial citizens, including the editor of the *Daily Register,* the project was not successful, and was soon abandoned as a community venture. The Turner Association, however, raised enough money to construct a hall two stories in height, which provided a room for meetings and entertainment purposes larger than that furnished by Sherman Hall.[49]

Early in February, 1868, Dick Johnson opened the Northwestern Theatre with a new company of sixteen members under the direction of T. S. Holland, a "capable tragedian," starring Miss Katie Putnam, advertised to have come from Crosely's Opera House in Chicago. The engagement lasted until February 28, on which date Katie Putnam, who had enjoyed great popularity in Des Moines played her farewell presentation. There was no further theatrical activity in Des Moines until April, when a company calling itself the Chicago Theatrical Combination opened a two weeks' engagement at Turner's Hall. That Johnson might have had the true venture lust of actor-managers of an earlier day seems indicated by curious press comments concerning him. He certainly had labored hard to offer theatrical entertainment and had brought really good players to Des Moines. However, when the Chicago Theatrical Combination appeared at Turners Hall and Johnson was to be a member of the troupe, the *Daily Register* asked the community to support the company and not to take out their feelings against Johnson on the other players. The company finished its engagement on May 13, curiously enough tendering its last appearance as a benefit for Dick Johnson "in appreciation," to use the words of the press, "of his long and continued labors to give Des Moines good theatrical entertainment and amusement."[50] Two days later a new company under the management of C. W. Riddle opened an engagement, retaining a few members of the retiring troupe. A limited

---

[48] On January 15 the theatre lights were turned off when the company's gas bill was unpaid; the audience waited until candles were lighted for the play to proceed, but no more performances were offered. Lewison, 10–11.

[49] *Daily State Register,* November 3, 1867.

[50] *Ibid.,* April 25, 26, 28, and May 10, 12, 1868.

patronage brought their stay in Des Moines to a speedy close, and the company disbanded.[51] The sole amusements during the summer and fall of 1868 consisted of a circus and managerie, and a local amateur minstrel production offered by the newly organized Timbuctoo Musical Association.[52]

In December, 1868, Moore's Hall, located on the corner of Walnut and Fourth Streets, was completed, and became the chief amusement and theatrical center of Des Moines until More's Opera House was erected in 1874. Moore's Hall was built by a merchant of that name, and located above his department store. It was 92 by 44 feet in size, and measured 27 feet from floor to ceiling. It could seat some 850 persons, the gallery accommodating about 150. The press described the arrangement of the hall as good:

> and the frescoes . . . are in the main excellent. Much credit is due Mr. Moore for the enterprising spirit he has displayed in furnishing our citizens with a fine hall, which is destined to be the rallying point for all concerts, lectures, exhibitions, and public entertainments generally.[53]

The first recorded entertainment held in the new hall was a concert, given by the Timbuctoo Musical Association on December 10, to an audience of more than 800 people. On January 25, 1869, Varney's Dramatic Troupe opened in this hall with *Ten Nights in a Bar Room,* offering the same play for six successive nights to crowded houses, and closing its engagement on January 30 with several short comedies.[54] Moore's Hall had its boards occupied from time to time between the engagements of regular dramatic companies by single-night stands of acrobats, minstrels, lecturers, ventriloquists, and magicians whose performances were, as a rule, well attended. One of the most successful one-night productions in Des Moines during this time was that of a group of midgets consisting of Tom Thumb[55] and his wife, Commodore Nutt, and Miss Minnie Warren. Offered on February 22, 1869, this exhibition caused so much interest among the people of Des Moines that as

---

51 *Ibid.*, May 15, 22, 1868.

52 This group of local musicians and players appeared at times in Des Moines for a number of years. The first program, September 1, 1868, featured Chris Bathman, a local barber, "doing corks". Lewison, 14-15.

53 *Daily State Register,* December 18, 1868.

54 *Ibid.*, January 19, 25, 28, 30, 1869.

55 The "General" was born in Bridgeport, Connecticut, in January, 1832. His real name was Charles S. Stratton. P. T. Barnum first introduced Tom Thumb to the public in his museum in New York in 1832. He was immensely popular and visited Europe in 1844 and 1865. In 1863 he married Lavinia Warren of Middletown, Massachusetts. T. Allison Brown, *History of the American Stage, 1733 to 1870,* New York, 1870, 361.

many as 450 people were turned away from Moore's Hall because of the lack of room.[56]

The Varney Company appeared again in March, 1869, for a short engagement, the high point of its repertoire consisting of a presentation *Under the Gaslight.*[57] In the summer of 1869 the Plunkett Star Dramatic Troupe, with its chief actor the comedian John Dillon,[58] played an engagement, advertising a company of "twenty-one first class players." One of the most successful productions offered was *The Factory Girl,* with Miss Plunkett in the leading role.[59] The subject of an opera house for Des Moines continued to be discussed late in 1869 and in 1870, but no action was taken. The population of the town in January, 1870, was estimated at 7,000 and was supporting two theatres. At Turner's Hall Professor J. W. MacCallister, a magician, was appearing under the direction of Harry Weston, while at Moore's Hall the Plunkett Star Troupe was featuring Mr. and Miss Couldock in the popular plays of the day, as well as in dramatic readings.[60]

In April, 1870, the Seldin Irwin Company played an engagement, and in July it was reported that Laura Keene and her capable company would appear for two nights. In September the press commented that "Laura is a good girl histrionically, and we shall be glad theatrically to see her." Miss Keene, however, became ill and her company did not appear in Des Moines, but did play in Davenport in the latter part of August, at which time the *Davenport Democrat* stated that "Laura Keene has gone back on Des Moines—she prefers playing in larger cities like Davenport." The editor of the *Daily Register* promptly retorted that there were places "where the people like to spend their money on worn out, played out, traveled out actresses and didn't know the difference."[61]

For some time the success of the Timbuctoo Musical Association had caused talk of forming an amateur dramatic society in Des Moines. Early in November, 1870, the Des Moines Library Association appointed a special committee to organize a dramatic society

---

56 *Daily State Register,* February 19, 22, 27, 1869.

57 Lewison, 17–19. On March 31, the press heralded the return of the "irrepressible Dick Johnson, the best comedian ever in Des Moines,... with a troupe of players." This was his last appearance there, though the papers record his activities elsewhere.

58 John Dillon had been a popular comedian in the east and in the McVicker theatres of the Great Lakes area. His wife was a sister of Mrs. John Langrische. The Langrisches played widely in the west.

59 *Daily State Register,* July 12, 17, November 29, December 6, 1869.

60 *Ibid.,* January 10, 14, 21, 26, 1870.

61 *Ibid.,* August 30, 1870.

for the purpose of staging what was termed "a series of parlour theatrical performances." The group was organized and James Ellis was chosen as manager. On November 18, the opening program of *The Lady of Lyons* and *Bombastes Furioso* was offered, and was later repeated. The proceeds improved the financial status of the Library Association, and the Parlor Theatrical Troupe was placed on a stable basis. A second program was offered on January 12, 1871.[62]

On April 13 the Lisa Weber Troupe of British Blondes, a famous burlesque and company combination, made its initial appearance at Moore's Hall, and from May 8 to May 20 the N. C. Forrester Dramatic Company of New York played at Moore's, presenting such plays as *Don Ceasar de Bazan, East Lynne, Under the Gaslight, Rosedale, The Octoroon, The Lady of Lyons* and *The Honeymoon.*[63] In the fall of 1871, Selden Irwin organized a circuit that included Des Moines, his troupe playing there for two week periods on five different occasions from September through December. The company featured Harry Richmond and Mrs. Phelps in *Black Eyed Susan,* Harry Rainsforth in *Rip Van Winkle,* George Arden in the nautical play, *Ben Bolt,* and presented the Irwins in a number of popular roles. At this time Moore's Hall was improved, the stage being enlarged and the front made circular, more dressing rooms installed, a prosecenium erected, new scenery and equipment added, and the interior redecorated.[64]

The press was heartily in support of the theatre in Des Moines, complimenting the various theatrical troupes, and urging the public to attend the plays. But even with good dramatic companies and the improvement of Moore's Hall, the hopelessness of securing satisfactory audiences in competition with variety entertainment was shown by the following editorial comment:

> It is really too bad that the legitimate drama cannot be better supported in this city. When every nigger show, sleight of hand performance, or dead beat 'mystery man' can draw crowded houses. Here we have an excellent dramatic company which comprises some star actors and actresses of more

---

62 *Ibid.,* November 4, 12, 18, 22, 1870.

63 Nate C. Forrester, actor-manager, made his first appearance in Philadelphia in 1848 and his wife made hers there in 1850. Both won national reputations, co-starring for a quarter of a century in leading theatres of this country. In the late seventies Forrester opened an opera house in Denver, where he presented a great array of talent; Brown, *History* of the American Stage, 133; Melvin Schoberlin, *From Candles to Footlights,* Denver, 1941, 254–259.

64 Daily State Register, May 5, 12, 18, 20, 1871; Lewison, 25–26.

than average talent, with a good stock company to assist them, and they play night after night to empty benches.[65]

Seeburger's Music Hall, a "handsome building lighted with gas," was opened December 9, 1871, by an engagement of the S. T. Armstrong Theatrical Company. From 1872 until the opening of Moore's Opera House in February, 1874, various theatrical troupes visited Des Moines. Among these were the Selden Irwin Company, the Sawtelle Troupe, Fanny Price's Dramatic Company, and the Kendall Comedy Company, each of which presented "stars." In January, 1872, the *Register* paid high tribute to the Selden Irwin Company for its contributions to dramatic standards in Des Moines, stating that Mr. Irwin had "done more to give Des Moines a true decent drama, and has adhered resolutely to such a course despite the knowledge that the less legitimate drama would have paid . . . better."[66]

The angle formed by the confluence of the Mississippi and Minnesota Rivers was well known to fur traders and explorers long before a military post was established there. In 1805 the title to the land on which Fort Snelling was later built was acquired from the Sioux Indians for the United States Government by Lieutenant Zebulon Pike, and in 1819 a detachment of infantry headed by Colonel Henry Leavenworth was assigned to establish an army post which might serve as a wedge to open this northwest Indian country. After several temporary camps had been built, Colonel Josiah Snelling was chosen to succeed Leavenworth, and immediately began the construction of Fort Anthony on the bluffs overlooking both rivers. Although occupied in 1822, the post was not finished until 1823 and in 1825 its name was changed to Fort Snelling in honor of the commanding officer. The work of Major Lawrence Taliaferro as supervisor of the fur trade in the area was very effective, and for more than thirty years Fort Snelling was the army's most northern post, and a place of considerable importance.

With the Indian cessation of the triangular shaped area between the St. Croix and the Mississippi Rivers to the United States government in 1837, lumber towns sprang up and the post office of Point Douglas was opened at the mouth of the St. Croix in 1841. In 1843, St. Paul had three or four log stores and in 1846 was granted a post office. When Minnesota Territory was created in 1849, this little settlement boasted of 840 inhabitants and was made the capital.

---

[65] Despite this editor's observation, one of the largest crowds of the season assembled in Moore's Hall, October 26, 1871, to see the Selden Irwin troupe present *Othello; Daily State Register*, October 27, 1871.

[66] *Ibid.*, January 28, 1872.

During the fifties settlers flocked to Minnesota in large numbers. Almost every day large wood-burning side-wheeler steamers arrived at the landing with five or six hundred passengers, and "plowed down the river again" toward St. Louis, loaded with furs, moccasins and dried buffalo tongues brought to St. Paul from the north in caravans of creaking Red River oxcarts. Minnesota came into the union as a state in 1858, at which time St. Paul was a thriving frontier town, and capital of the new commonwealth.

The first theatrical performance offered at Fort Snelling was the play *Pizarro,* given in 1821 or 1822. One Joseph Brown, who saw the same play presented at Market Hall in St. Paul in the summer of 1856, wrote a story for the local press in which he stated that he had been in the cast at the fort thirty-five years before, playing the role of Elvira, the tragic heroine. Colonel John H. Bliss, who was a boy at Fort Snelling in the early 1830's while his father was in command there, tells how "undeniably tedious" both officers and men found the long winters. Every fortnight or so they would get up a theatrical performance in which those taking feminine roles would borrow dresses from the wives of the officers, while they made a "generous sacrifice to art of their cherished whiskers and mustaches."[67]

In the autumn of 1836, Inspector General George Groghan visited the fort in line of duty, and the thespian players of the garrison presented *Monsieur Tonson,* in his honor on the evening of October 7. The parts were, of course, all taken by men, and one writer in describing this play commented that "here, far away from the city streets and French barbers on a crude stage, Jack Ardourly fell in love with the beautiful Adolphine de Courcy—who, probably only a few hours before had been hurrying to finish a task of cleaning guns," in order that the enthusiastic thespians might "call on the generous women of the garrison and beg from them capes, bonnets and hoop skirts."[68]

Harry Watkins, who served at Fort Snelling as regimental fifer from 1838 to 1841, had his first taste of drama there at the age of fifteen when he played leading lady in a soldier cast. According to him, the post library contained a large number of plays, and the company stationed there gave a performance every fortnight. Wat-

---

[67] Theodore Blegen, *Building Minnesota,* Boston, 1938, 115–116; Frank M. Whiting, "Theatrical Personalities of Old St. Paul," *Minnesota History,* December, 1942; John H. Bliss, "Reminiscences of Fort Snelling," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society,* Vol. II, 342.

[68] *Minnesota Historical Collections,* II, 130.

kins later left the army to become a strolling player.[69] It is thought there were many performances at Fort Snelling in the 1840's and 1850's although the records are fragmentary and incomplete.[70]

Mazourka Hall, St. Paul's first theatre, was erected in 1850. It was a large frame building constructed of heavy, roughly hewn timbers, fastened together with wooden pegs, two stories high, and with the hall serving as a theatre on the ground floor. The upper floor was supported by large wooden columns. There were benches for seats, a medium sized stage, and two small dressing rooms. St. Paul had its first professional drama in the summer of 1851 when George Holland, the famous comedian and at that time manager of Placide's Varieties in New Orleans, brought a company by steamboat to the little Minnesota town for an engagement of two weeks.[71] Opening on August 12 they presented farces, light musical skits, melodrama and novelties to appreciative audiences. The venture was a financial success.

The editor of the *St. Paul Daily Times,* T. M. Newson, who was somewhat of a crusader against the stage in general, only commented briefly on Holland's appearance in the city and offered no attack. In the meantime, the actor was living up to a national reputation, playing six different parts in a single play, ranging from that of an old man to the role of a french maid.[72] The editor of the *Minnesota Pioneer* was so strongly impressed that he declared Holland to be a "wonderful Protean actor," in himself the equivalent of a complete dramatic company." The citizens of St. Paul, who could now count their numbers as a little over a thousand, evidently agreed with the editor, for they supported Placide's Varieties with enthusiasm during the eleven nights on which performances were presented.[73]

In the summer of 1852, the Langrische and Atwater Theatrical Company played a two weeks' engagement at Mazourka Hall to

---

69 Maude and Otis Skinner, *One Man in His Time, The Adventure of H. Watkins, Strolling Player, 1845–1863, From His Journal,* Philadelphia, 1938, 250.

70 Frank M. Whiting, "A History of the Theatre in St. Paul, Minnesota, from Its Beginnings to 1890," Doctoral thesis, University of Minnesota, 1941. Through the courtesy of Dr. Grace Nute, Curator of Manuscripts in the Minnesota State Historical Society Library, notes were obtained on this thesis covering the period down to 1868; references to this material will be made as Whiting, Notes.

71 In the 1850's the theatrical season in St. Paul was largely a summer month affair, lasting from two weeks to five and a half months, depending upon the number of companies appearing and the support offered.

72 The average frontier thespian considered versatility a necessity, and even mediocre players took pride in their ability to play a range of characters. In many cases the acting must have been inferior.

73 Whiting, Notes; "Theatrical Personalities of Old St. Paul"; T. M. Newson, *Pen Pictures of St. Paul,* St. Paul, 1886, 260–261..

crowded houses.[74] Among the plays offered were *The Lady of Lyons, William Tell, The Honeymoon, Charles the Second,* and *Don Ceasar de Bazan.* No professional troupes played the boards in St. Paul in 1853, although two such companies had planned to come. The factor that prevented their appearance was no doubt transportation. Two minstrel shows made their appearance, a panorama was shown and two other single entertainments appeared. One of these was a Mr. Winchell who presented a program of "drolleries," and the other a capable wizard and magician named McCallister.[75] In spite of the lack of legitimate drama, the year 1853 was of some importance theatrically as two additional playhouses were provided —the court house to be used for short engagements or single night stands, and Market Hall, which soon came to be the most important place in the town in which to offer a program.

In the summer of 1854, the St. Louis Varieties appeared for a three weeks' engagement, starring Miss Charlotte Crampton, who, like Holland, amazed the citizens by her versatility. Although a good list of popular plays were presented, the press failed to show much interest in the productions.[76] The same group came again in the summer of 1855, featuring Miss Sallie St. Claire,[77] with Jack Huntley as manager. That summer a bitter editorial battle raged between Charles J. Heenies of the *Daily Pioneer* and T. M. Newson of the *Daily Times* regarding the general corrupting influence of the theatre, and the noise, drunkenness, and even immorality, which often accompanied it. The public, however, seemed little influenced by the argument and supported the St. Louis Varieties well. In addition to dramatic offerings in St. Paul that summer, Ole Bull gave a number of concerts. There seems also some proof that Price's Burlesque Opera Company presented minstrel and variety performances.

In 1856, the Hough and Myers Dramatic Company played a long engagement at the Market Theatre, lasting from May 7 to August 6. While the company was an able one in general, the real star was C.

---

74 Whiting, Notes. Undoubtedly this was Jack Langrische and his brother-in-law, John B. Atwater, both of considerable importance in the theatres of the west. On the mining frontier Langrische and his wife were major figures, and Atwater was well known in California. The two men had formed a partnership in the early 1850's and at this time were operating a circuit in Wisconsin and Illinois.

75 Whiting, Notes p. 2.

76 *Ibid.,*

77 Sallie St. Claire (Clair), dancer and actress, was at the height of her popularity at the time of her engagements in St. Paul in 1855 and 1857. She might be called a "glamour girl of the fifties."

W. Couldock,[78] whose presence enabled it to offer a number of Shakespearean dramas. Plays already familiar to St. Paul audiences were offered, and others not already performed there were also given including *Fazio, Ingomar, Daughter of the Regiment, Still Water Runs Deep, Lucretia Borgia, Romeo and Juliet,* and *Camille.* Interest in the drama was further manifested by the organization of the Booth Dramatic Association, composed of a group of young men who wished to offer plays. In addition to the legitimate drama, Ole Bull gave three concerts; there were two minstrel shows, and an exhibition of Wilber's Chemical Panorama.[79]

The summer of 1857 was the most active in the early period of St. Paul's theatrical history. Three companies played engagements there—the Sallie St. Clair Company, The Henry Van Liew Troupe, and the D. L. Scott Company, all of some importance. St. Paul was also visited by the Langrische Atwater Company playing in a tent, and the amateur organization, the Booth Dramatic Association was active. Several dramatic performances were offered by German citizens of the town in their language, and the soldiers at Fort Snelling presented a commendable performance of *The Lady of Lyons* with an all male cast.[80] In addition to dramatic activity, there were two circuses, a Hutchinson concert,[81] an appearance by the Sylvian Sisters Variety Troupe, a dime museum, a recital of readings by Mr. and Mrs. Scott and Mrs. McCready, and one minstrel show. The Sallie St. Claire Troupe consisting of ten players presented C. W. Couldock and his daughter Eliza as guest stars, John Templeton, character actor and "Little Kay Putnam," who created a sensation

---

78 Couldock, a man of violent temper, was famous for roles portraying intense emotion. In 1857 while in a Shakespeare play, he lost his temper because the manager had eliminated a scene without consulting him. In an ensuing sword scene he attacked his player opponent violently and when the curtain went down tore off his robes. Regaining his composure, he complimented the orchestra, rolled up his costume, and walked off the stage; *St. Paul Pioneer Press,* April 8, 1888, January 22, 1889; Clara Morris, *Life on the Stage,* New York, 1907, 130–131; Whiting, "Theatrical Personalities," 310–311.

79 Whiting, Notes, p. 3.

80 *Ibid.,* 3–4.

81 The Hutchinson Family was famous on the frontier in the 1850's. The original Hutchinsons had come from Milford, New Hampshire, and consisted of Asa, John, and Judson and their families. Widely known as spiritualists and temperance singers, they were so popular that towns in Kansas and Minnesota were named after them. The three brothers founded Hutchinson, Minnesota. They and their sister, Abbey, were a famed quartette, assisted by Asa's wife, Lizzie, who sang solos. For fifteen years Asa's children had an independent troupe. He took the quartette to England in the 1840's where it was very successful. He die in Hutchinson, Minnesota in 1884. M. B. Leavitt, *Fifty Years in Theatrical Management,* New York, 1912, 5–7; Philip Jordan, "The Hutchinson Singers," *The Palimpsest,* May, 1937.

as Little Eva in *Uncle Tom's Cabin.*[82] A special feature of the performances were the musical numbers offered by a local organization of musicians called "The Old Gents Band."[83] The Couldock's offered several Shakespearean plays and in July *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was played on five consecutive nights. According to the press the company had a very successful season.

Two points of view regarding the theatre are well brought out in an argument between two St. Paul editors at this time concerning the versatile Sallie St. Claire. On June 22, 1857, the *Daily Minnesotan* praised the actress in the usual florid terms of the frontier in the following manner:

> This accomplished lady stands proudly upon the very summit of the gorgeous temple of renown, the priestess of its glories and the guardian of its fame . . . The highborn genius of Miss St. Claire flings a glory upon the drama. To all these she adds a perfect *physique* and charm of grace—which make her the embodiment of that ideal, which only one in a thousand of candidates for histrionic honors can ever attain."

There were others, however, who felt differently, and Joseph Wheelock, another St. Paul editor, took up the challenge and answered the *Minnesotan*:[84]

> If she has such enthusiastic admirers in more appreciative circles, it is not the first time that an enchanting figure and ravishing ankles have created a sensation among very young men. She simply capers gracefully. She holds her head well, with a superb arching of the neck, and prances with a splendid curvette through the routine of the Thespian menage . . . Yet it must be confessed that Sallie has some talent. If her powers had been concentrated in a particular line of characters, instead of being squandered in ambitious but shallow displays of versatility, it is not impossible that she might have become an artiste.

Miss St. Claire was probably little disturbed by such realistic analysis, as her popularity continued and her company prospered. At the close of her first season a group of prominent citizens, including the governor of the Territory, gave her a benefit. In 1856 a young man in Muscatine, Iowa, had offered to fight a duel in her behalf, and the number of young men in St. Paul in 1857, who admired her was a standing topic of gossip. There seems to have been no scandal, however, connected with her name, and she was

---

[82] Perhaps the Katie Putnam of later years in the west.

[83] One of these musicians was George Siebert, second violinist, and later St. Paul's best orchestra leader; Whiting, Notes, 4.

[84] Quoted in Whiting, "Theatrical Personalities," 308, from *The St. Paul Financial, Real Estate and Railroad Advertiser,* June 27, 1857.

said to have been "happily married and a person of much real worth."[85]

One of the factors which delayed the dramatic development of this pioneer town in the 1850's was the lack of an adequate playhouse. Mazourka Hall, the court house, and Market Hall were all poor substitutes for a real theatre. Sara Fuller, a member of a prominent St. Paul family, in a letter written in the early fifties, speaks of attending a performance, and tells how greatly she suffered from the lack of ventilation. The only means of providing fresh air were the skylights overhead, since the windows were at one end and behind the stage. The audience had scarcely been seated when it began to rain and the skylights had to be closed. It was a very warm night and the young lady's escort took her to the door where she fainted, and her face was so marred for more than a week she had to wear a bandage. She decided that until conditions improved she would stay away from the theatre.[86]

The first manager to attempt to improve housing conditions for the drama in St. Paul was Henry Van Liew, who arrived in the spring of 1857 and set about constructing a temporary playhouse to serve until a first class place could be built. He called his first building the People's Theatre, and it had the distinction of being the first building in St. Paul constructed primarily for theatrical purposes. It was a crude barnlike building, with sides of rough boards and a canvas roof, much like the boom playhouses of western mining regions in the early days, and is said to have cost $750. The interior was as primitive and rough as the outside, the stage was "cramped and small," and movable benches served as seats; little is known of the lighting arrangements except that there were four footlights. However, Van Liew, who had been associated with the Julien Theatre in Dubuque, Iowa, brought with him an extensive wardrobe, properties and scenery. The People's Theatre was opened on June 27, 1857, with a capable company, including guest stars, singers, dancers, a good orchestra, a stage mechanic and a scenic artist. An ambitious repertoire of plays was offered.

Early in August the panic of 1857 closed all places of amusement except Van Liew's, who continued to play to small audiences. He closed on October 19, promising to reopen in the spring and he did so, even offering new players and new plays. The season lasted until

---

85 Whiting, "Theatrical Personalities," 310-311.
86 *Ibid.*, 311–312.

September 8, 1858.[87] The People's Theatre continued to be used until September 8, 1859, when it burned and everything that Van Liew owned was lost.[88] From 1859 to 1864 St. Paul had no regular professional drama, although during the summers of 1860 and 1861 attempts were made to offer plays.

As the war dragged on, however, some of the former interest revived. In the summer of 1864 the McFarland Dramatic Company presented a number of favorite plays, including *The Colleen Bawn* and *The Octoroon.* The company, consisting of six members, was ranked by the press as "rather average." While there was no professional drama in St. Paul in 1865 there were numerous operatic, minstrel, variety, and amateur programs. In 1866 John Templeton and his troupe offered such productions as *Evadne, Fanchon the Cricket,* and *The Lady of Lyons.* Later the Charles Plunkett Dramatic Company arrived with sixteen members, among which were such favorites as J. W. Carter and Susan Denin.[89]

The frontier period of St. Paul's theatrical history came to a definite close with the building of the St. Paul Opera House, which was begun in 1866 and completed in the spring of 1867. This was a large building, said to have cost $50,000, with limestone walls, lighted with gas, and capable of seating 1200 persons. The A. McFarland Company was the first troupe to offer legitimate drama in the Opera House, paying $600 per month for the privilege, and offering plays new to the audience—*The Black Crook, Ten Nights in the Barroom, Our American Cousin, The French Spy, The Hidden Hand,* and *The Sea of Ice.* The productions were well done but the season was not financially successful.

In 1847, one year after the St. Paul post office had been established, a settlement was begun on the east side of the Falls of St.

---

[87] Some plays new to St. Paul were: *As You Like It, The Iron Mask, King of the Commons,* and *The Huron Chief. Mazeppa* ran for a week, as did the novelty production, *The Poor of New York, or, The Panic of 1857.*

[88] Van Liew's bad luck continued after the fire. While going down the Mississippi on a sand barge, the craft sunk and he was left penniless. He was next reported as manager of a burlesque house in Memphis and many years later during the Black Hills gold rush, a "gentleman from St. Paul" ran across this courageous manager in Deadwood Gulch, "gray and grizzled but almost as cheery as in the days when he catered to the elite of St. Paul in the amusement line." *The St. Paul Pioneer Press,* January 22, 1889.

[89] The Plunkett Dramatic Company was the first to attempt to establish a permanent theatre in St. Paul by playing through the winter. In the winter of 1868–1869 it offered plays with such stars as Marietta Ravel, Susan Denin, and Fanny Morgan Phelps, but by July the manager admitted failure. For the next fourteen years St. Paul depended upon traveling companies for entertainment. Whiting, Notes, 6–8.

Anthony, and two years later the first buildings on the west side were erected. Bridges were later constructed between the two villages, and they were merged into a settlement that was to become the city of Minneapolis. St. Anthony on the east side was recognized as an incorporated town in 1850, and in 1858, when Minnesota came into the union as a state, had a population of some 3500 inhabitants. Minneapolis, on the other side of the falls, at the same time had a population of 1500. While the town of Minneapolis was not incorporated into a city until 1867, it was an even later date, 1872, when the two settlements were officially joined by an act of incorporation. Theatricals were not as numerous in Minneapolis in the early years as in St. Paul, although there were numerous halls and theatres, and some of the dramatic companies that visited this area doubtless played in both towns.

Probably the first hall in Minneapolis to be used for theatrical purposes was Woodman Hall, owned by I. T. Woodman, and erected in 1857.[90] According to one account, the first theatrical attraction to be presented at Woodman's Hall was the Sallie St. Claire Troupe, which also played in St. Paul in 1857. In 1859 Harmonia Hall was erected. It boasted a proscendium, which gave it some advantage over the "other temples of Thespis" in the frontier settlement.[91] John and Fay Templeton, Alice Vance and numerous other dramatic stars and companies appearing in St. Paul offered short engagements from time to time at Harmonia Hall. The first hall built as a place in which to offer amusement and fitted out with full stage equipment was, apparently, Harrison Hall, which was finished in 1864 and down through 1866 was used on various occasions by theatrical troupes.[92]

The first real theatre to be erected in Minneapolis was the Pence Opera House,[93] located on Second Street and Hennepin Avenue. It

---

[90] Central Hall was built in St. Anthony in 1853, but it is doubtful whether it was used in those early years as a theatre. Randolph Edgar, "Early Minneapolis Theatres," *Minnesota* History, IX, 31.

[91] Fletcher's Hall, Boardman's Hall, and a second Woodman's Hall, built after this, were merely community gathering places, with possibly a slightly elevated platform at one end. *Ibid.*, 31–32.

[92] Isaac Atwater, *History of the City of Minneapolis,* New York, 1893, I, 326; Horace Hudson, *Half Century of Minneapolis,* Minneapolis, 1908, 115; Livia Appel, "Early Drama in Minneapolis," *Minnesota History,* V, 43–44.

[93] While the Pence Opera House was in process of construction in the spring of 1867, there was some opposition among certain groups to the building. When it was struck by lightning before its completion with minor damage, a local minister explained from the pulpit that this was an act of God's retribution. A few weeks later when this clergyman's church was struck by a bolt, he made no comment. Edgar, "Early Minneapolis Theatres," 33–35.

was begun as a music hall in the spring of 1867, and was opened and dedicated on June 21, 1867, by a joint concert given by the Minneapolis Musical Union and the St. Paul Musical Society. *The Daily Tribune* made the usual claim that the Opera House was "the largest theatre in the west," and added that it had "as good painting and fresco work as any building in the United States." The part of the building used as a theatre was reached by climbing two flights of stairs. There was a gallery and the main floor was built on a level plane, with removable upholstered settees each seating four persons, and there was also a proscenium with small stage boxes. There were accomodations for about 1400 spectators.[94]

The first dramatic production offered at the Pence Opera House was on June 24, 1867, when Rachel Johnston and J. R. Healy appeared in *The Hunchback,* following this play with a fairly large repertoire including such productions as *East Lynne, Leah, the Forsaken,* and *Ingomar.* During the summer several dramatic companies presented plays at the Pence Opera House. One of them was Emilie Melville, "vocalist and comedienne," with her troupe of players, among which were George De Vere, Nellie Mortimer, and a Miss Creamer. The company remained for an engagement lasting three weeks, and some of the plays offered were *The Hidden Hand, Our American Cousin, The Cricket, The Comical Countess,* and *Camilla's Husband.* On the last night of the engagement, the company offered a production called *The Black Cook,* and at the same time *The Black Crook* was being offered in St. Paul. It was probably a burlesque, and was advertised as follows:

> *The Black Crook* put to blush by the Great Comic Sensational Extravaganza entitled *The Black Cook,* introducing the renowned Parish Ballet Troupe and Gudger's Transformation Scene.[95]

During the summer the Plunkett Company appeared at the New Theatre. This was apparently its second engagement in Minneapolis during the season of 1867. On the previous visit, the *Tribune* had commented favorably on the company's playing, but had shown considerable irritation at the manner in which the orchestra performed, offering the following advice:

> The orchestra should bear in mind that practice makes perfect and a personal application will perhaps enable them to play an accompaniment that will not set one's teeth on edge.[96]

---

[94] *Ibid.,* 35–36; Appel, 44–45; *The Minneapolis Daily Tribune,* June 10, 21, 23, 1867.
[95] *Ibid.,* July 13, 14, 1867.
[96] *Ibid.,* August 23, 1867.

The Plunkett Company presented a broad range of plays, including *The Drunkard, Robert Emmett, The Pet of the Public, Othello, The Merchant of Venice,* and *Macbeth.*[97]

Although the Pence Opera House[98] continued to operate throughout the seventies and eighties, it was supplanted as the town's leading playhouse by the Minneapolis Academy of Music, which was opened on the evening of January 2, 1872, with a joint concert by the St. Paul Musical Society and the Minneapolis Harmonia Society, offered as a benefit for the owner, Joseph Hodges. The Academy was built on the corner of Washington and Hennepin, and like the Pence Theatre was located upstairs. It was larger than the Pence, and housed most of the attractions which came to Minneapolis until the Grand Opera House was opened in 1883, when this theatre took over the lead. The Academy of Music burned on the night of December 25, 1884.[99]

Minneapolis had numerous music and variety theatres. Some of the more popular were the Theatre Comique, erected in 1874, and the Casino Music Hall, Orchestration Hall, and the Park Theatre. The first theatre in Minneapolis to play straight variety bills was the Standard, which was built in 1878 on Washington Avenue North, and was managed for a period of three years by the "notorious" Captain W. W. Brown, when it had the reputation of being somewhat risque. Like many other western towns—and, in fact, towns all over the United States—Minneapolis had museums, and these usually had stages for the presentation of song and dance and variety acts. Two of the best known museums were Kokl and Middleton's Palace Museum on Washington and Marquette and Exposition Hall on Hennepin Avenue.[100]

Germain Quinn, who was a stage mechanic and general utility man at the Pence Opera House in Minneapolis for many years, later serving in the same capacity at the Academy of Music and at the Grand Opera House, has left an account of his experiences. He started his theatrical career by distributing bills for the performances at the Pence and doing odd jobs backstage. Quinn wes expected to have as much versatility as the actors. He was basket boy,[101] stage

97 Edgar, 32–35; Appel, 44–45.

98 The name of the Pence Opera House was changed to the Metropolitan Theatre in 1879, to the Criterion in 1880, and to the original name in 1881. Edgar, 36.

99 *The Minneapolis Daily Tribune,* December 26, 1884.

100 Edgar, 36–38.

101 The "basket boy" carried the actors wardrobe to and from the theatre; no stock company was complete without this very necessary person.

door tender, box office boy, assistant advertiser, curtain boy, and assistant janitor, and on one occasion he read the part of one of the actors in *Rosedale* when he was unable to appear because of illness. One of his tasks was to walk downstage and light the footlights after the overture, using a lighted taper. It was far from a pleasant task, as he usually performed this duty amid the "boos and catcalls" of the "gallery gods." Once a rope lasso was thrown toward him from the gallery, which was about eight feet above the main floor, and young Quinn siezed it and drew the man who had thrown it down, for which he was severely reprimanded by the manager.[102] Apparently the same informality and even "rough house" prevailed in the early Minneapolis theatres as could be found in playhouses all over the west.

HAROLD E. BRIGGS and
ERNESTINE BENNETT BRIGGS

Southern Illinois University, Carbondale

[102] Germain Quinn, *Fifty Years Backstage; Being the Life Story of a Theatrical Mechanic*, Minneapolis, 1926, 1–10.

The Yakima Campaign of 1856

A fact often forgotten is that the frontier of the United States advanced through country already occupied. True, white men did not stand in the way, but dark-skinned people with no less love of their families, homes and lands contested every encroachment by the whites. The last scenes of these centuries of spoliation were acted out along the Pacific slope, from California to New Caledonia, present day British Columbia. As the first opposition to the colonial Americans had been bitterly intense, so the final phase of Indian resistance was magnificent in its patriotism and bloody in its fierceness.

The fur traders had been in the Pacific Northwest for half a century carrying on trade, lucrative for themselves and beneficial to the Indians if one considers the civilization of the whites a blessing for aborigines. Posts of the Hudson's Bay Company dotted the country west of the Rocky Mountains and with only occasional opposition from indigenous tribes the Company had pursued a policy of strict commercial enterprise without interference in tribal affairs. Indians had come to believe that these whites had no designs on their lands, their hunting or fishing places.

This state of affairs was disrupted by the steady trickle of American emigrants that became a flood before the end of the 1840's. White families simply squatted on land hitherto roamed over by the Indians. The first resistance to the white tide was sporadic, and mostly a private and individual fight.

The Cayuse War of 1847 gave common expression to the accumulated grievances of the tribes in the eastern portions of the present States of Washington and Oregon, and the western part of Idaho. The most celebrated incident of this violent outburst was the massacre of Dr. Marcus Whitman, his wife and twelve others at the Waiilatpu Mission. In obtaining the release of the captives taken by the Cayuses at this time, Peter Skene Ogden was responsible for one of the finest passages in the history of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Oregon Country. He organized a party, packed supplies, and set-off immediately from Vancouver Fort. In one month he had ransomed the prisoners with Hudson's Bay goods, and escorted the terrified women back to Vancouver where they were given calico for new clothes. No bill was ever presented for payment.

It is sufficient, for the purposes of this sketch, to remark that the war against the Cayuse was carried on by 500 volunteers recruited

from the settlers of Oregon and commanded by Colonel Cornelius Gilliam. Actual campaigning was over by September 15, 1848, with the Indians being cowed but unconquered, and maintaining a sullen silence. It was not until June 3, 1850, when the condemned Indian leaders were hanged, that the war was considered as closed.

War's end did not cure the festering complaints of the natives. White men continued to exploit them, to cheat them, to treat them as less than animals. Above all else, white men were still taking their lands. More and more settlers made it ever harder to live the nomadic life to which they were accustomed. They were being hemmed-in, their possessions taken from them without compensation of any kind.

Neighboring tribes began to regret their refusal to join the futile attempt made by the Cayuses to stay "Manifest Destiny." Nothing had been gained by tolerating the whites for more than a decade. Perhaps it was not too late to unite all the Indians and do away with the white plague. Restlessness spread throughout the country. At this juncture three determining, but apparently unconnected events transpired: the Pacific Railroad Survey; discovery of gold in Washington Territory; and Stevens' Treaty Tour.

Washington Territory was created, March 2, 1853. Isaac Ingalls Stevens of Massachusetts, was appointed Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the new Territory. He was also placed in charge of the survey for a northern railway to the Pacific. A party of 243 men, including eleven Army officers and a staff of scientists and artists, left St. Paul, Minnesota in May, 1853.

As the main group worked westward, smaller parties were sent out to explore and map the country. By the time eastern Washington Territory was reached, in September, 1853, the Indians had become intensely interested in knowing why soldiers were in their country. It was explained carefully that a wagon road would be built through the mountains and the tribes would profit greatly from the stream of emigrants who would travel over the thoroughfare. The advent of the soldiers was preceded by stories passed among the Indians to the effect that the whites would give them a few presents and then pretend they had purchased the land. Captain George B. McClellan had to explain over and over again that the soldiers did not desire the Indians' lands. One reason his protestations were received guardedly was the very activity of the surveying parties. It was difficult for the Indians to reconcile McClellan's words with the spectacle of men busily pounding surveyor's pegs into their land. However, not a single unpleasant incident marred the passage

of the party. The Indians were made definitely apprehensive over the final outcome of these systematic scourings of their homeland.

McClellan explained away their immediate fears. He also informed them that Governor Isaac Stevens had power to negotiate for the sale of their lands. This meant that the whites did plan to settle permanently. Moreover, the treaties to be proposed by Stevens would probably cheat the Indians as had those with their blood brothers in Oregon. These simple people did not understand the vagaries of Senate ratification before the United States could fulfill its part of an agreement. They knew perfectly that land had been purchased from the tribes in Oregon, whites had settled the Treaty Lands readily enough; but, the Indians had received no money, no schools, no teachers, no farm implements, nor anything else agreed upon. With such information in their possession one can understand why the Yakimas, Palouses, Klickitats, Cayuses, and Walla Wallas looked askance at McClellan's surveyors and listened somewhat cynically to his sincere words.

December, 1854, saw Governor Stevens begin negotiating for the purchase of land from the Indians west of the Cascade Mountains. The Treaty of Medicine Creek of December 26, with the Nisqually, Puyallup, Steilacoom, Squawksin, S'Homamish, Steh-chass, T'Peeksin, Squiaitl, and Sa-ha-wamish tribes and bands of Indians was the first in a series of agreements that stretched through 1855. A discussion of these treaties and of Stevens' entire Indian policy has no place in these brief remarks, other than to mention that he has enthusiastic defenders and antagonists.

The immediate background for the series of documents to follow, is found in the Treaty with the Yakima, Cayuse, Walla Walla, and Nez Perce Tribes, signed on June 9, 1855, at Council Ground, Walla Walla Valley, Washington Territory. The Indians gave up 29,000 square miles of land for which they were to receive annual subsidies and the other usual blandishments held out to them by the Government. It is now certain enough that these tribes signed the treaty only to gain time for the war of extermination which they had determined upon. Later on they explained their duplicity by reminding the whites that treaties were not bi-lateral agreements but clever instruments used by the superior race to despoil the Indian of his lands. It was less than obvious why they shouldn't make use of a treaty for their unexpressed aims, as the whites apparently had done.

Their scheme was to continue gathering supplies of all kinds, including the harvest of 1855, and after the snow was on the ground

and the rivers frozen they would fall on the settlements and kill every white person in the Oregon Country. With the rivers and trails closed,, no help could reach the settlements before the whites had been totally wiped out. This plan was not fantastic. There is no reason for doubting the probable success of the initial onslaught. Fortunately for the settlers, the conspiracy was never put to the acid test by launching the attack as planned.

Indians had feared and protested against the encroachments on their lands. McClellan and his explorers, and Stevens' treaties had convinced them of the white man's determination to take over the Indian country. On the heels of this profound conviction, came the discovery of gold on Pend d'Oreille River. As early as May 26, Angus McDonald, the Hudson's Bay Company factor at Fort Colvile reported the news to Chief Factor, Dugald Mactavish at the Company's, Vancouver Fort.[1] Whites, including many undesirables, rushed to the new strike. The trails from the coast, from the east and from the south were suddenly in constant use. Whites came alone, in pairs and in large groups. At the moment when the Indians had determined to annihilate the whites for violating their soil, they found themselves deluged by gold hungry invaders.

In the beginning, the natives adopted a policy of warning the miners not to travel through Indian territory. These warnings were ignored completely, but the swelling stream of whites did not pass unnoticed by the Indians. Soon stragglers and very small parties of miners were ambushed and killed. Kamiakin, Chief of the Yakimas, and moving spirit of the allied tribes, hoped that this would finally prove to the whites the serious intent of the Indians.

Rumors of these slayings filtered back to the settlements, causing indignation and alarm. Finally on September 23, 1855, Andrew J. Bolon, sub-Indian agent for the tribes east of the Cascade Mountains, arrived at the Catholic Mission in the Yakima country to investigate a rumor concerning the recent killing of four miners returning to Seattle over the Cascade Mountains.[2] Kamiakin was not at the Mission so Bolon contented himself with demanding the surrender of the culprits for trial in an American court. If the Indians refused to comply with his demand, he threatened to return with troops and to fight the tribes until they were crushed. His stay of a few hours at the Mission ended in this violent tone. That

[1] Mactavish to W. G. Smith, Secty of the H. B. C., Vancouver, W. T., 23 June 1855. Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company, Beaver House, London.

[2] Durieu à Richard, Mission des Yakamas, 30 September 1855. Dellanoy Copies, Archives of the Diocese of Seattle.

same Sunday afternoon he started on his way, planning to reach The Dalles, Oregon, on the next day. He never did. On the trail, he caught up with a party of younger Yakimas. They cut his throat, buried his body, shot and burned his horse. This meant war.

Bolon's long absence had already caused concern among the officials at The Dalles. Their worst fears were fulfilled by news of his murder brought by an Indian woman.

Brevet Major Granville O. Haller, Fourth Infantry, U. S. Army, with 102 fighting men, crossed the Columbia River on October 2, enroute to investigate the report of Bolon's murder.[3] At three o'clock in the afternoon of October 6, as the soldiers were descending the Piscoe Mountains, about sixty miles from The Dalles, they met a force of Indians.[4] The ensuing battle lasted through October 6 and 7. In the night of this second day, Haller managed to escape with his men and began a running fight that lasted through the third day. He retreated to The Dalles, having lost five killed and seventeen wounded, before an enemy force of over a thousand.

Haller's defeat had serious consequences. The tribes that had been wavering in their decision to join Kamiakin's confederation now threw in their lots with the successful warriors. On the other side, Brevet Major Gabriel Rains, commanding the District, ordered all troops into the field against the hostiles.[5] Furthermore, a citizen's army of volunteers was hastily recruited in Oregon and placed under command of Colonel J. W. Nesmith. These two forces were distinct organizations although they operated jointly during the campaign that now got underway.

Major Rains, with 334 regulars, crossed the Columbia on October 30. A force of 500 mounted volunteers followed in his wake. This very respectable frontier army engaged in one or two skirmishes, captured some Indian horses and had some of theirs captured by the Indians. The troops never succeeded in overtaking enough natives to give battle. One dubiously memorable accomplishment was theirs—the regulars plundered the Catholic Mission, and the volunteers burned it to the ground, November 13, 1855. By No-

---

[3] Granville O. Haller, *The Dismissal of Major Granville O. Haller of the Regular Army, of the United States, by order of the Secretary of War, in Special Orders, No. 331, of July 25th, 1863. Also, A Brief Memoir of his Military Services, and a Few Observations.*, Paterson, N. J., Printed at the Daily Guardian Office, 1863. p. 37.

[4] Granville O. Haller, *Journal of a scout into the Yakima Country.* MS. Pacific Northwest Collection, University of Washington, Seattle.

[5] G. J. Rains, Orders No. 17, Fort Vancouver, 9 October 1855. MS Records of United States Army Commands, War Records Division, The National Archives.

vember 25, the troops were back at The Dalles with nothing to show for their efforts except a detestable display of bigotry.

Winter put an end to any campaigning until the spring. Colonel George Wright, commanding the newly organized Ninth U. S. Infantry, reached Fort Vancouver from Fortress Monroe, Virginia, at 11 o'clock p. m. on January 20, 1856.[6] Quartering the regiment, drilling whenever weather permitted, and preparing for the spring campaign filled the weeks following their arrival.[7] As soon as the Columbia was free of ice, men and supplies were pushed forward to the base of operations, Fort Dalles, Oregon.

Wright finally crossed the Columbia on March 26, 1856 to hunt down the Indians in the Walla Walla Valley. The invasion lasted less than a day since the Indians had picked March 26 to attack The Cascades on the Columbia. Wright had crossed the river and advanced to Five Mile Creek when an express rider from Major Haller reached him at 10 o'clock p. m. with word of the Indian assault on The Cascades.

The natives had been watching Wright's expedition form and the last word their spies had sent was that the troops would move from The Dalles on March 24. This meant that Wright would have been two days' march into the interior and away from the Columbia by March 26. The Cascades was no ordinary settlement of whites. It was the key link in the river transportation system. Here all freight was unloaded from the boats coming up from Vancouver and Portland, put on the famous wooden-railed, horse drawn railroad to be hauled around the rapids to the Upper Landing, where goods were reloaded onto the small streamers operating on the upper Columbia. Obviously the point was of supreme military importance. If the Indians could hold the portage they could cripple any force of troops campaigning against them.

Nineteen men and one woman were killed, and fourteen wounded in the two days' fight at The Cascades. The hostile Indians did not hold the narrow strip of land because Wright relieved the beleaguered settlement on March 28. Besides Wright, forty Dragoons under Lt. Philip H. Sheridan had rushed up from Vancouver, and a volunteer force from Portland came to the rescue.

Although the Indians failed to hold The Cascades, their daring maneuver did force Wright to delay his advance into the Indian country. After The Cascades were retaken, Wright spent a month

---

[6] Wright to Thomas, Fort Vancouver, 21 January 1856, Records of the Headquarters of the Army, Letters Received. War Records Division.

[7] Captain J. J. Archer to his Mother, Fort Vancouver, 28 January 1856. Archives of the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland.

near the river to make certain no further danger existed in this quarter. This month of forced idleness gave the rivers in the interior adequate time to reach flood stage. As appears from the following letters, swollen streams harassed Wright at every turn and rendered impossible anything like real war against Indians.

Finally on April 28, Wright began the long-planned campaign. The reports show this operation to be one of the most remarkable in the annals of Indian warfare. More walking, talking and less fighting transpired in the next weeks than in any frontier campaign.

This series of reports is notable for its completeness and the light they shed on the difficulties of pursuing a large host of Indians through unknown country. One may follow the day by day progress of a relentless pursuit that fell short of war for lack of an opposing army.

All of these letters are preserved in the Records of United States Army Commands, Letters Received, War Records Division of The National Archives, Washington, D. C. Report No. 22 is in the files of the Office of the Adjutant General, Letters Received. Report No. 10 is also in the files of the Washington Superintendency of Indian Affairs, Miscellaneous Letters Received, Natural Resources Division of The National Archives. Nine of the reports were printed in *Senate Executive Document No. 5,* 34th Congress, 3rd Session (Serial Set, No. 876). The complete series of letters is here published for the first time as it was written.

The map of the campaign is in the files of the Chief of Engineers, Cartographic Division of The National Archives.

WILLIAM N. BISCHOFF, S. J.

Gonzaga University.

DOCUMENTS

1.

Head Quarters Northern District
Department of the Pacific
Camp "Klikatat" W. T. 25 miles N.E. of Fort Dalles

May 1st, 1856

Sir,

I commenced the crossing of my command at Fort Dalles, on the 28th Ulto; and on the 29th at 12M, I moved forward to "8 Mile Creek", where I encamped—On the 30th I marched at 5½ AM, and arrived at this place at 3 PM—I found the trail in very good order; and experienced but little difficulty on the march. By attaching ropes to the Mountain Howitzers, to keep them from upsetting on the side-hills, we managed to get them along without any serious accidents.

It rained very hard yesterday, and our men were thoroughly wet on making camp: the mountains in advance of us appeared to be covered with a deep snow: and I had to muster the troops, and make the monthly returns, hence I determined to halt here today. It is at this point that the trail divides, that of Major Haller going nearly North, and that of Major Rains farther East—The former is much the shortest, but has more snow on it. Early this morning I sent Capt. Russell of the 4th Infy., with the Company of Dragoons, to make an examination of Haller's trail, and ascertain whether or not, I could pass over with the command. Capt. Russell returned at three o'clock this afternoon, and reports the snow about two feet deep; and extending between two and three miles; that there are only two bad places, which can be made practicable for the passage of the Troops, artillery and pack animals, by first crossing with the Dragoons; and possibly requiring the use of the spade.

After mature reflection, I have determined to make the attempt; and shall march at 5 AM to morrow.

On the morning of the 28th Ult; just as I commenced the passage of the river, at Fort Dalles, I was advised, that the Indians had run off all the horses from the encampment of Oregon Volunteers, about five miles from the Dalles. I immediately sent the Dragoons forward to the Volunteer camp, to ascertain the facts in the case, and to pursue, if there was any probability of overtaking the Indians. Lieut. Davidson, on reaching the Volunteer camp, ascertained that they had lost a large number of animals, (reported 350),

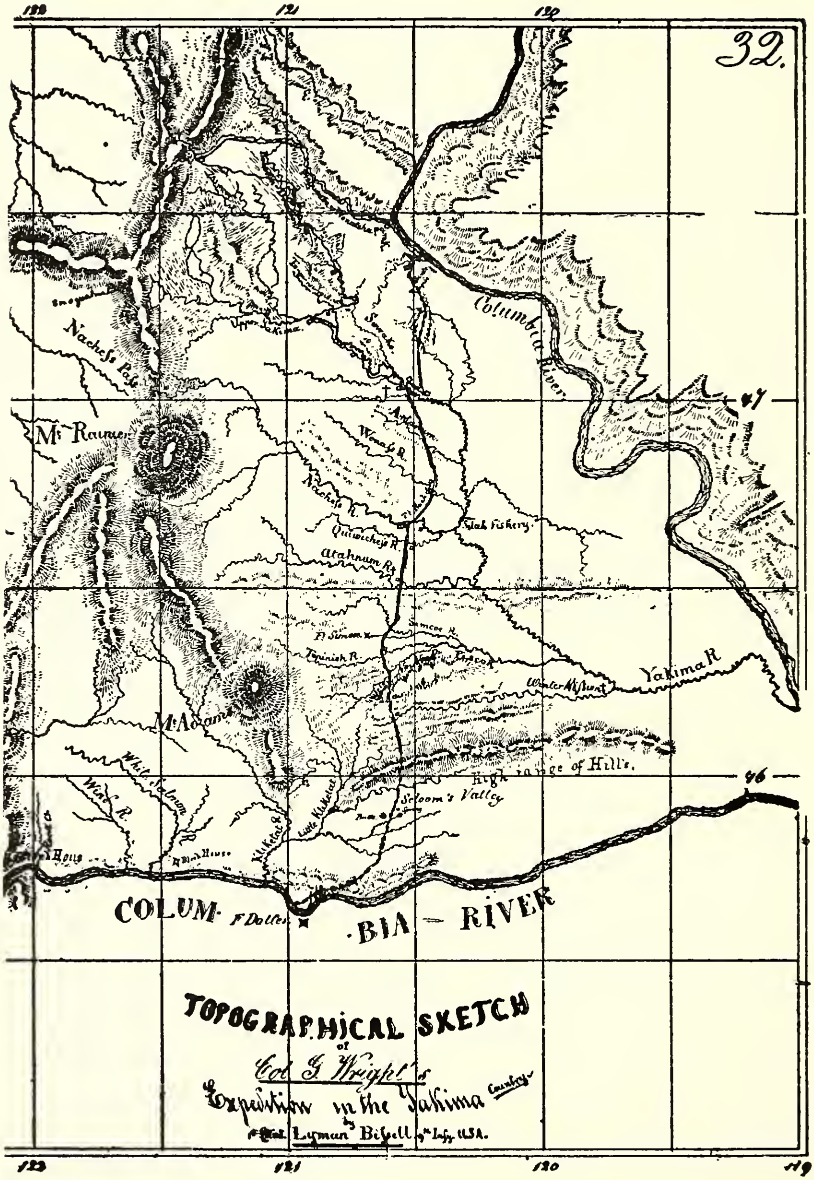
and from the best information to be had, they had already gone beyond his reach. It requires the greatest vigilance, and watchfulness, to guard a large number of animals, and prevent their being stolen by these Indians; who are constantly hovering about us, and awaiting an opportunity. We spare no exertions, by night or day, to insure the safety of our animals; but if we do not lose any during the campaign, I shall consider that we are extremely fortunate.

Capt. D. R. Jones[9]
Asst. Adjt Genl
Head Qrs. Dept. of the Pacific
Benicia
Cala

Very Respectfully
Your Most Obd Svt
G. WRIGHT[8]
Col. 9th Infy
Commdg

[8] George Wright was born in Norwich, Vermont, 21 October 1803 and graduated from West Point in 1822. He gained much experience during several tours of duty on the Indian frontier in Wisconsin, Iowa, on the Canadian border, in the Seminole War and in the Mexican War. For gallant service in Mexico he was made Brevet Colonel on 8 September 1847. As the Colonel Commanding, he brought the Ninth Regiment of Infantry to Fort Vancouver in January, 1856. This same year he campaigned against the Indian tribes in eastern Washington Territory. In 1858, with greater success and more fighting, he conquered the hostile Indians of this district. Wright was drowned 30 July 1865 when the *Brother Jonathan* was wrecked off the coast of Southern Oregon. At the time he was enroute to Fort Vancouver to assume command of the Department of the Columbia.

[9] David Rumph Jones was born in Orangeburg District, South Carolina, 5 April 1825 and graduated from West Point in 1846. The following year he served in the Mexican War. In 1853 he was transferred to the Dept. of the Adjutant General, and served on the Pacific Coast and in St. Louis, Missouri. He resigned from the U. S. Army 15 February 1861. His career as a commander of Confederate troops was varied and brilliant until his death, 15 January 1863.


32.
Columbia River
Nachess Pass
Mt Rainier
Yakima R
High range of Hills
Mt Adams
White Salmon
Wind R.
Klikatat R.
Little Klikatat
Atahnum R.
Nachess R.
Simcoe R.
Toppnish R.
Selah Fishery
Winter Mission
COLUM · F. Dalles · BIA — RIVER
47
46
121
120
119
TOPOGRAPHICAL SKETCH
of
Col. G. Wright's
Expedition in the Yakima Country
by
Lyman Bissell
USA.

2.

Head Quarters Northern District
Department of the Pacific
Camp 24 miles N. of Camp "Klikatat", W. T.

May 3rd, 1856

Sir,

I marched from Camp "Klikatat" at 5 AM on the 2d inst., as I reported my determination to do, in my communication No. 1 of the 1st inst.

I found the weather cold on approaching the mountains; and our front covered by snow, presented a forbidding aspect; but I knew we could get through, and thereby save a long march by a circuitious route; and besides, I had a still greater object, and if I succeed, I shall be amply repaid for all the hardship endured. This pass is considered as closed up until late in this month, and possibly the Chief Kamiakin, may not be aware of our approach. If such should prove to be the case, our advent in to the valley of the Simcoe, may somewhat disconcert him.[10]

But to resume the history of our movement of yesterday the 2d inst. After a severe march of seventeen miles, over mountain trails, and frequently through snow, varying from two to twenty feet in depth; I succeeded in passing all our troops, artillery, baggage and pack train, in safety over the northern slope. Last night it was snowing or hailing most of the time, but encamping on the edge of the forest, our men soon made themselves comfortable. This morning I sent forward the Dragoons, to make a reconnaisance of the country in advance, and with the view of deciding on the trail I would march on. I moved at 8 o'clock, and arrived at this camp at 1 PM.

Thus far we have seen no signs of an enemy. To day at this camp, some indications of horses having been here, are visible; probably several days since.

I shall march early to morrow morning, and expect to reach the Simcoe valley by 12M, unless I encounter the enemy, or should

---

10 Kamiakin, principal Chief of the Yakima bands and confederated tribes in the war of 1855–1856. At the close of Colonel Wright's campaign of 1858 in the Spokane country, Kamiakin refused to surrender. He spent a year in British Columbia, two years with the Crow Indians in the buffalo country, and in 1861 returned to his friends among the Palouse Tribe. Here he farmed a small plot and lived in obscurity until his death about 1880.

be diverted from my point of direction in the hopes of striking a blow.

I shall be at the A-tah-nam Mission on the 5th.[11]

Capt. D. R. Jones
Asst. Adjt. Genl.
Head Qr. Dept of the Pacific
Benicia
Cala

Very Respectfully
Your Most Obed Svt
G. WRIGHT
Col. 9 Infy
Commdg

3.

Head Quarters Northern District
Department of the Pacific
Camp on the A-tah-nam Creek near the
Yakima Mission, W. T.

May 6th, 1856

Sir,

Marching early on the morning of the 4th, I passed over a high range of Mountains, and made a rapid descent into the valley of the To-pinish, and encamped about a mile in advance of the point where the Indians attacked Major Haller—Some signs of the enemy were visible, and in the afternoon, four Indians were discerned at a long distance, on the plain. I sent out parties of Dragoons in different directions, with a view of intercepting the Indians; but they could not succeed. I am very anxious to capture one or two of these Indians, and make them serve as guides to conduct us to their camp.

Yesterday, I marched at 5 AM, crossed the Simcoe at 7, and after passing over a high range of hills descended in to this valley, and encamped at 2 P. M.

We have occasionally seen one or two Indians on horseback, and at a long distance, but on our approach they vanish.

Along this stream and at the Mission, there are no indications of any number of Indians having been living, since last year. I am under the impression that they are most of them, either in their mountain retreats or at the Fisheries. At all events, I think the Fisheries will be the great point of concentration, certainly by the 20th of this month.

This morning I have sent Capt. Russell with the Dragoons, to make an examination of this creek, for a few miles above the Mission: not only to look after the enemy: but what is equally important

[11] The Roman Catholic Mission of St. Joseph on the A-tah-nam, founded by the Oblates of Mary Immaculate in 1848 and finally abandoned in 1859.

to me, to see if any timber is to be found within a reasonable distance. All these valleys are entirely destitute of timber. On the water courses there is sufficient for fuel—but none large enough for building—hence it will be very difficult to erect Block houses at the crossings.

To morrow morning I shall march North to the Na-chess cross that river, strike the military road, and proceed to the Fishery, or to the *Pass,* as circumstances may render advisable.

Capt. D. R. Jones
Asst. Adjt. Genl.
Head Qr. Dept of the Pacific
Benicia
Cala

Very Respectfully
Your Most Obd Svt
G. WRIGHT
Col. 9th Infy
Comg

4.

Head Quarters Northern District
Department of the Pacific
Camp on "Council Creek" 7 miles North of the Yakima Mission W. T.

May 8, 1856

Sir,

At 11 O'clock P. M. on the 6th inst, my camp on the A-tah-nam creek was attacked by the Indians, and at the same moment the Prairie was set on fire in two places to windward. The night was dark, and the Indians were not discerned by the Sentinels, until the firing commenced. The Troops were promptly under arms, and Detachments sent forward, but the Indians had fled: parties were also sent out, and after considerable labor subdued the fires on the Prairie. All remained quiet after the alarm, until the beating of reveille at 2½ AM. At the first dawn of day, while we were packing up, preparatory to marching, the Indians appeared in large numbers on the crest of the long range of hills in our front: as soon as practicable, the Troops, were put in march on the trail, which gradually approaches the hills: the Indians at the same time, made a flank movement towards the point where the trail ascends the hills. On reaching a point near the base of the Hills, our Dragoons suddenly deployed, and made a handsome charge at full speed, closely followed by a company of Infantry. The Indians fired one shot, and then fled in every direction—the ground was cut up by ravines, and nearly all covered over with a heavy growth of the Sagebrush.—The Indians on their fleet poneys, accustomed to marching over that

country, very soon gained so much distance, that I arrested the farther pursuit by the Dragoons.

Keeping our baggage and pack train as much concentrated as possible, and strongly guarded, I again moved forward on the trail to this place: the Indians were constantly to be seen on the hills in our front, but retired as we approached. I sent some of our friendly Indians in advance; and they succeeded in holding a talk with the hostiles: they said they did not want to fight. I again sent, and endeavoured to induce some of them to come to me: but they could not be persuaded to trust themselves in my power. They made various excuses; they said there was no Chief with them; and that they were afraid to hold any communication with me, or come into my camp; as they might be blamed for so doing, by their Chiefs —I again moved forward; the Indians retreating slowly as before, keeping just beyond striking distance—On descending into the valley where we are now encamped, the Indians appeared on the hills, on the opposite side of the creek, in large numbers; and some of them came over into the valley: and gradually approached the head of my column, until a talk was commenced with out people. They stated that the Chief Skaloom was on the other side of the creek; that he did not wish to fight: that he wanted me to halt and encamp here, until Kamiakin and the other Chiefs arrived: when they would all come to my camp—I sent back to Skaloom, desiring to see him personally, but he announced that he was not authorized to hold a talk with me; that he was afraid his acts might be disapproved by the Chiefs; that he had sent for Kamiakin and the other Chiefs, to come in as soon as possible.[12] The day was intensely hot, and our men had been under arms since three o'clock in the morning: and I determined to encamp. At 4 P. M. five Indians came over from the opposite bank: they were sent by *Kamiakin* who had just arrived at their camp.

Kamiakin sent word that he will come to my camp as soon as Ow-hi, and the other Chiefs come to him.

Between 4 O'clock and sun set, I received several messages from Kamiakin & Skaloom, expressing the greatest friendship for us, and a very great desire for a permanent peace. They apologized for the attack on our camp at the A-tah-nam, & said it was done by some

[12] Skaloom, or Skloom was Kamiakin's brother. As early as 1854 the Catholic missionary, D'Herbomez, O.M.I., was warning others of the vicious influence Skloom was exercising on the Agent, Andrew J. Bolon. According to D'Herbomez, Skloom duped Bolon into believing the Yakimas were responding to the overtures for peace. D'Herbomez à Brouillet, Attanem, Camp des Yakamas, 28 Aout 1854. Dellanoy Copies, Archives of the Diocese of Seattle.

Indians living in the Mountains beyond their reach. At sunset, when they saw us driving in our animals, and picket them, inside of the chain of Sentinels, as we always do at night: they sent a special express, to say that we could let them run at large during the night. I assured them that I had no fears that any of Kamiakin's people would touch my animals, that I placed firm reliance on the Chief's word, but that it was my practice to picket my animals at night, to keep them from straying off, where we could not find them. Every thing passed off quietly during the night.

It is now 9 o'clock AM.

Very Respectfully
Your Most Obd Svt
G. WRIGHT
Col. 9th Infy
Commg

Capt. D. R. Jones
Asst. Adjt Genl
Hd Qr Dept of the Pac.
Benicia, Cal.

5.

Head Quarters Northern District
Department of the Pacific
Camp on the Na-chess river, W. T.

May 9th, 1856

Sir,

After 9 O'clock AM. yesterday, when I closed my communication No. 4, I received several messages from Kamiakin, stating that he was waiting for some of the Chiefs, who had not arrived; and more especially was he awaiting the arrival of Young Pu-Pu-Mox-Mox, son of the Chief who was killed by the Volunteers. Kamiakin intimated that nothing could be done without the presence of this young Chief, who seems, from some cause or other, to have suddenly become the leader, and head, of all the different tribes east of the Cascades. During the night all was quiet, the Indians were on the hills in front of us until after dark. At three o'clock this morning, I broke up my encampment & after crossing the creek, we ascended a high range of hills, on our route to this place. Just after leaving my camp, I received a message from the Chiefs Skalom & Sha-wa-my, proposing an interview. I answered that I could receive them in my camp on the Na-chess this afternoon. On our way over the hills several men came to meet us, and to keep their young men from stealing our animals &c. On approaching this place, quite a number of Indians were seen, but they all retired soon after I established my camp. The river is very high & rapid. At the points of crossing, there are

from 5 to 7 branches of the stream, separated by small islands, thickly covered by willows. After a careful examination of all the fords near here, it was found impossible to cross the men or animals over any of them. To morrow I shall have a reconnaisance made, with a view to ascertain whether we can, during the high water, cross the river at all.

After encamping, I sent a message to say to Skaloom and Shawa-my, that I was ready to see them. My messenger crossed the river and went to their encampment, he says that he found them assembled in council; that the Chiefs Kamiakin, Ow-hi, Skalom, Te-i-as & Sha-wa-my were seated in a circle; that the young Chief Pu-Pu-Mox-Mox was in the center, addressing them; that they had angry discussions about the cause of the war, and as to who was to blame; that Pu-Pu-Mox-Mox appeared to take the lead in the discussions, and the greatest deference paid to him by the assembled Chiefs. Pu-Pu-Mox-Mox said that he did not know what reliance to place on the word of the White Chief, who said that his heart was good: that they had been deceived before, and his father lost his life: and finally, he said that he was now a poor man, that he was on foot, had given away all his horses to the Indians between this & Colville, & that he was prepared for a general war during the summer. He said, that neither Skalom or Shawamy, who had sent to me, expressing a desire for a meeting, or any other Chief should come to my camp to day. In a subsequent talk, before my messenger left: Pu-Pu-Mox-Mox somewhat moderated his tone: some of the other Chiefs not exactly appearing to like the air of superiority assumed by the young man.[13]

Kamiakin, did not seem to have much to say, he seems bound to act in accordance with Pu-Pu-Mox-Mox, & to yield to him in every thing. My messenger returned & reported to me; and in a few minutes, two men were sent over to see me with messages from the Chiefs. They are very evidently having angry talks among themselves, and after my messenger left them, were not well satisfied

[13] Ow-hi, uncle of Kamiakin and father of Qualchen who is generally blamed for the murder of sub-Agent, Andrew J. Bolon. Ow-hi was killed during an attempted escape from Colonel George Wright at the close of the campaign in the Spokane country, September, 1858. Te-i-as, uncle of Kamiakin and also, his father-in-law. Although his stature as a lesser chief of the Yakimas was not great, Te-i-as had the reputation for being consistently friendly to the whites. Sha-wa-my, or Show-a-way, uncle of Kamiakin. Tradition among the Yakimas has it that Kamiakin usurped the power of Show-a-way who as the son of Ki-yi-yah, was legitimate heir to the leadership of the Yakima Nation. Chief Pu-Pu-Mox-Mox, son of the great Chief of the Walla Wallas, Pu-Pu-Mox-Mox. Old Pu-Pu-Mox-Mox was shot and shamefully mutilated by the Oregon Mounted Volunteers when he attempted to escape, 7 December 1855.

with what word they sent me, and hence their messenger speedily followed with a conciliatory message to smooth down the first.

I had now determined that the peace negotiations should be brought to a close, and accordingly said to the messenger, "go back to Kamiakin, and say to him, that no messengers of his will be received by me, unless he is desirous of making peace—that all Indians found approaching my camp will be fired upon.

It is now 6 O'clock PM, and since my last message, no Indians have been seen about.

Capt. D. R. Jones
Asst. Adjt General
Head Qr. Dept of the Pacific
Benicia
Cala

Very Respectfully
Your Most Ob. Svt.
G. WRIGHT
Col. 9th Infy
Comg

6.

Head Quarters Northern District
Department of the Pacific
Camp on the Na-chess River, W. T.
May 11th, 1856

Sir,

At sun set on the evening of the 9th, Kamiakin sent to me two men, saying that the assembled Chiefs had at last, all agreed to make peace, and that probably they would come to my camp on the next day. He further sent word that he would send off his young men to their homes. I had no doubt that Kamiakin had sent the message; but I had strong suspicions as to his sincerity, and I increased my precautions for the safety of my camp and animals. The whole of yesterday wore away without any message from the Chiefs. Early yesterday morning a large party was seen crossing the hills on the other side of the river, and moving off North toward the We-nass. Scattering Indians have been seen about the crossing and on the hill top ever since. In the afternoon I sent the Dragoons to make a reconnaisance for a few miles up the river, with a view of ascertaining the practicability of crossing: but they found no place where we could ford—at one point the river might possibly be crossed by ferrying, but we have only two Indian Rubber boats, and there is nothing with which to make a raft. It is at this moment doubtful, whether I shall be able to effect a passage, before the river falls.

Last evening a Klikatat Indian from Kamiakin's camp, came here to see *Joe,* the Indian I brought with me from Fort Vancouver, he is one of a party of Klikatats, who are desirous of getting away

from the enemy & joining us: but the difficulty is that they cannot get their families off. He says that Skalom & Sha-wa-my are for peace, but that the other Chiefs are all for war. He warned us to be on our guard, and that they would attack our camp either last night or to day. The night passed off quietly, but we see a few Indians on the hill tops.

Finally, I am fully under the impression that we shall have to make a long campaign of it; if beaten at one point, the Indians will retreat North, where they have many very strong positions. I am anxious to establish a Depot, and build a Block house; but have not yet been able to find a place suitable. There is no timber of any kind on any of the streams East of the Cascades. Our large pack train requires a heavy guard, and my force is not sufficient to justify a separation.

I shall send an order by express, for Col. Steptoe to move forward with all the disposable force on the Columbia river, the route is entirely open: and I am in hopes that a force may be early pushed forward from Puget Sound.[14] I am much in want of another troop of Dragoons, and I hope the General will order Capt. Smith to join me.[15]

Capt. D. R. Jones
Asst. Adjt Genl
Head Qrs Dept of the Pacific
Benicia
Cala

Very Respectfully
Your Mo. Ob Svt
G. WRIGHT
Col. 9th Infy
Comg

7.

Head Quarters Northern District
Department of the Pacific
Camp on the Na-chess river, W. T.
May 15th, 1856

Sir,

Since my last communication (No. 6) to Dept. Hd. Qrs., nothing has transpired to change the views I therein expressed. The Indians are mostly collected North of us, and although they are not unanimous in a desire to continue the war, yet I believe they are all willing to engage in it, in the hopes of plunder.

[14] Edward Jenner Steptoe was born in Virginia, 1816, and graduated from West Point in 1837. Served in the Mexican War, and later in New York, Utah and Washington Territory. His resignation from the U. S. Army was tendered, 1 November 1861. He died at Lynchburg, Virginia, 1 April 1865.

[15] Major General John Ellis Wool, commanding General of the Department of the Pacific with Head Quarters at Benicia, California.

It seems that this country has been selected as the great battle field, where all the Indians East of the Cascades, propose to unite and oppose us. Besides the whole Yakima Nation, we have in front of us, DesChutes, John Day, Umatilla, Walla Walla, Palouse & Nesquallys. The Walla Wallas are probably the most unmanageable, Young Pu-Pu-Mox-Mox will never forget the death of his father.[16]

I have moved my camp about four miles lower down the river, for better grazing. The river is gradually falling, but not yet fordable at any point: as soon as I can cross, I shall march where the Indians are assembled, and if possible engage them.

We see daily a few Indians on the hills opposite our camp, watching our movements, but we have held no communication with any of them since the 10th.

Very Respectfully
Your Most Obt Srvt
G. WRIGHT
Col. 9 Infy
Commdg

Capt. D. R. Jones
Asst. Adjt. Genl
Head Qrs. Dept of the Pacific
Benicia, Cala

8.

Head Quarters Northern District
Department of the Pacific
Camp on the Na-chess river, W. T.

May 18th, 1856

Sir,

On the 15th inst. the date of my last communication I had a reconnaisance made of this river to its junction with the Yakama; it is not yet fordable at any point; no timber suitable for building is to be found on any of these rivers—good pine timber doubtless abounds in the mountains; but it cannot be floated down the Nachess, as suggested by Capt. Cram.

I am now in the very heart of the Yakama Country; this river abounds with fish, and is a great resort for the Indians early in the season. This river flows into the Yakama about five miles below this point; hence I am within an hour's ride of all the great fisheries

16 The Yakimas, Des Chutes, John Day, Umatilla, Walla Walla and Palouse were all members of the Shahaptian Indian linguistic group. In general, these tribes and bands lived in present-day northeastern Oregon, eastern Washington, and western Idaho. The Nesqually were of the Salish group and lived on the southern extension of Puget Sound, Washington, at the mouth of the Nisqually River.

of the Yakamas. But to resume my narrative of occurrences since the 15th.

Towards evening on the 15th, many Indians were discovered crossing the distant hills, and approaching the opposite bank of the river, which at this place is about half a mile wide, intersected by islands covered with a dense growth of willows and cotton wood. After some delay, our friendly Indians learned from three on the other side, that they desired to have a talk, and that some of the Chiefs had arrived, and that all of them would soon reach their camp. Several attempts were made to cross, but the water was too deep and rapid. The Indians said they would again attempt to cross early on the following morning.

On the morning of the 16th, a crossing was effected and I was informed that most of the Chiefs were assembled, and that they were anxious to come and have a talk with me, as soon as they could pass the river. During the forenoon, a few individuals passed to and from the opposite bank. Lt. Van Vorst crossed over, and saw Young Ow-hy, son of the Chief of that name. This young man is of some note, & wields great influence over the young men & warriors of the nation: He came over to my Camp, and talked freely, and appears determined to put a stop to the war. He said that his father was in their camp, and would come and see me, if he could cross the river. Towards evening a large body of Indians approached the river from the North, they paraded on the hill side, and march down in line to the river. Such was the regularity and order of their movement, that it was supposed by some, on first seeing them, that they were mounted troops of our own Army approaching. They proved to be the great Chief Te-i-as & his people. Te-i-as is called the Head Chief of all the Yakima Nation; He has always been friendly to the White people, and all say that whatever Te-i-as agrees to, they will abide by.

The night passed off quietly, and yesterday Ow-hy sent over word that he would come & see me. He was conducted into camp about noon, and although a little timid at first, it soon wore off. He expresses a great wish to stop this war, and a great friendship for the white people. After a long, and very satisfactory talk, he said that he would go over to his camp, and send "Old Te-i-as".

Owhy has the most numerous band of any of these Chiefs, and by attaching him and his people to us, the war party, if they still should hold out, might be very readily subdued. Kamiakin, of whom we have always heard so much, has sunk into comparative insignificance, the Chiefs rarely mention his name, and his influence is pretty much gone.

Last evening, the Old Chief Te-i-as succeeded in crossing over, and came to see me: It will be recollected that Te-i-as has always been the firm and true friend of the white people, and his word is regarded by all as law. After giving him a cordial reception, and assuring him of his perfect safety when in my camp, and also of the great pleasure I felt in taking by hand so celebrated a Chief &c, I restored the confidence of the Old Chief, which seemed at first to be rather shaken. Te-i-as spoke well, he remarked that he was a poor man, that he was not a great Chief, but that he had always been the fast friend of the Whites, and had always exerted his influence to preserve a good understanding between his people and ours. After talking in a subdued strain for some time, the Old Chief prepared to re-cross the river, to have a council with the Chiefs there, Te-i-as gave me to understand distinctly, that whatever he said, they (the other Chiefs) would all agree to.

The river is at a stand, and barely passable by a man on a large horse. It is now 8 AM, and I have not heard anything from the other side this morning.

Very Respectfully
Your Most Obed Svt
G. WRIGHT
Col. 9th Infy
Comg

Capt. D. R. Jones
Asst. Adjt. Genl
Hd Qr Dept of the Pacific
Benicia, Cala

9.

Head Quarters Norther District[17]
Department of the Pacific
Camp on the Na-chess River, W. T.

May 30th, 1856

Sir,

Since my last communication (No. 8) which I addressed to you on the 18th inst, nothing has occurred to change the position I then occupied in relation to the Indians. The river is now, and has been at all times impassable. The Indians occasionally cross over by swimming their animals, and by this means I collect what news I can, as to their movements and designs.

The salmon have not commenced running, in any numbers, and hence the Indians are compelled to go to the mountains to seek subsistence. It is reported that Kamiakin, has gone over to see some

[17] Printed in *Senate Executive Document No. 5, 34th Congress, 3rd Session.* (Serial Set, No. 876.)

of the Nez Perce Chiefs, who were engaged with him in getting up this war, and is expected back in three days from this time. I believe that most of these Chiefs desire peace: but some of them hold back, in fear of the demands that may be made upon them, for their murders and thefts. They seem to think, and say, that they had strong and good reasons for the murders they have committed, both of the miners and Indian Agent, the outrages of the former, and the injudicious and intemperate threats of the latter, if true, as they say, I doubt not, maddened the Indians to murder them.

Col. Steptoe joined me yesterday with four Compy. his pack train returns immediately to Fort Dalles to bring up supplies escorted by Captain Patterson of the 9th Infy, with his Company.

Exclusive of Detachments with pack trains, I have about five hundred men with me, and as soon as I can cross the river, I shall advance to the We-nass, and the Fisheries, and if I do not bring the Indians to terms either by a battle of by a desire for peace on their part, I shall endeavor to harass them so much, that they will find it impossible to live in this country.

I am now throwing up a field work, of earth and gabions of dimensions sufficient to contain a company or two & all our stores. This Depot will enable me to move unincumbered with a large pack train.

Capt. D. R. Jones
Asst. Adjt. Genl
Head Qrs Dept of the Pacific
Benicia
Cala

Very Respectfully
Your Most Obd Svt
G. WRIGHT
Col. 9 Infy
Commg

10.

Head Quarters Northern District
Department of the Pacific
Camp on the Na-chess River, W. T.
June 8th, 1856

Sir,

Since my last communication (No. 9) of the 30th Ult°, I have completed the Fort at this point, and the bridge over the Na-chess will be finished in two days. I shall then advance to the fisheries, and thence to the "Kittitas" Country.

I have now in my camp, a body of "Klikatat" Indians, numbering about 80 in all.[18] These Indians formerly lived in Oregon, but

[18] The Klikatats were a Shahaptian tribe living in south central Washington.

at the treaty last year, Kamiakin demanded that they should be sent to this country, claiming them as a part of his people. They were accordingly sent here by General Palmer. It appears that they have been treated very harshly by Kamiakin, and on my approach, they sought every opportunity of escaping, and joining us. This they found very difficult, as Kamiakin kept a vigilant watch on the women & children—lately a large number have succeeded in reaching my camp, & I will send them all into Fort Dalles, and I have written to the General Superintendent, and suggested the propriety of receiving them back, and locating them on one of the Reservations in Oregon. These "Klikatats" can never live in peace in this country, they are friendly disposed, and only require protection from us. If not sent out of the country, they must be driven to join the war party.

At this moment, the Yakimas, and principal Chiefs, are above the fisheries, in the Kittitas country. They are divided in their councils, and in all probability, when I approach, they may propose a parley. This I cannot consent to, except in their own camp, where they have their women & children. If they are sincere they can have no objections. Kamiakin has thus far been the great obstacle, and I shall not treat him lightly if once he falls into my hands. I have a force sufficient to crush these Indians at once, if I can only bring them to Battle. I shall pursue them, and they must fight or leave the country.

I doubt not that they have spies about, and are fully aware of the near completion of the bridge, and know full well, that I shall then be after them.

My command is perfectly healthy & ready for any emergency.

Very Respectfully
Your Most Ob. St.
G. WRIGHT
Col. 9th Infy
Commg

Capt. D. R. Jones
Asst. Adjt. Genl.
Head Qr. Dept of Pacific
Benicia, Cala

11.

Head Quarters Northern District[19]
Department of the Pacific
Camp on the Na-chess River, W. T.

June 11th, 1856

Sir,

On the 8th inst. a party of Indians, numbering thirty-five men, with a Chief at their head, paid a visit to my camp. These Indians are living high up in the mountains, on the branches of the Na-chess, they do not consider themselves under the authority of any of the Great Chiefs of the Yakima Nation. They have not been engaged in hostilities, and evinced the most friendly disposition.

On the 9th inst, a party of fifteen Indians, with their Chief, from the neighborhood of the Priest's Rapids, came to see me. The Chief presented me a letter from Father Pandosy. It appears that these Indians at the commencement of the war, were living at the A-Tah-nam Mission, and fled immediately to the North. The Chief has numerous testimonials as to his attachment to the white people, and his unwavering fidelity in our cause.

I also received deputations, headed by Chiefs, from several other smaller bands. They have had nothing to do with the war, thus far, and do not wish to be involved in it. Should hostilities continue in the Yakima Country, they doubtless foresee that in all probability, their own country might become the theatre of operations. I have made perfectly satisfactory arrangements with all these Indians.

For several days no signs of Yakima Indians had been seen, everything was quiet, when on the evening of the 8th, two men came to me, from the Chief Ow-hi, saying that himself and other Chiefs, would come in on the next day. These men brought in two horses, belonging to the Volunteer Express, monthly sent over from the Sound. The men remained with us, and on the evening of the 9th Ow-hi, Kamiakin, and Te-i-as, encamped on the opposite side of the river. The Chiefs, all of them sent the most friendly messages, declaring that they would fight no more, and that they were all of one mind, for peace. I answered them, that, if such was the case, they must come and see me. After a while Ow-hi and Te-i-as came over and we had a long talk, about the war, its Origin &c. Ow-hi, related the whole history of the Walla Walla Treaty, and concluded, by saying that the war commenced from that moment, that the

[19] Printed in *Senate Executive Document No. 5, 34th Congress, 3rd Session.* (Serial Set, No. 876.)

Treaty was the cause of all the deaths by fighting since that time. Ow-hi is a very intelligent man, he speaks with great energy, is well acquainted with his subject, and his words carry conviction of truth, to his hearers. I spoke to these Chiefs, asked them, what they had to gain by war, and answered them by enumerating the disasters which must inevitably befall them; their warriors all killed or driven from this country, never to return; their women and children starving to death, far to the North, where the snow never melts. But if peace was restored, they could live happily in their own country, where the rivers & ground offered ample food for their subsistence &c. I was determined to assume toward these Chiefs a tone of high authority, and Power. I said if they all desired peace, they must come to me, and do all that I required of them, that I had a force sufficient to sweep them from the face of the earth; but that I pitied the poor Indian, that I was willing to spare them, to make them happy, provided they would comply with all my demands &c. I have never seen Indians apparently more delighted, than these Chiefs were, they expressed their highest satisfaction with everything I had said to them. We have fixed upon *five* days as the time to be allowed for the Indians all to assemble here, prepared to surrender everything which has been captured or stolen from the white people, and to comply with such other demands as I may then make.

With regard to *Kamiakin,* he did not come over during the conference, on the opposite bank. He sent me the strongest assurance of friendship, and his determination to fight no more; this was confirmed both by Ow-hi and Te-i-as.

I am fully persuaded that all three of the Chiefs are for peace, and I doubt not I shall soon settle everything satisfactorily. But I am in no hurry; they must be made to see, and feel that they are completely in my power, that they are, as I told them, "children in my hands."

I told the two Chiefs to say to Kamiakin that if he wished to unite with them and make a peace, he must come to me: if he did not do so, I should regard him as an enemy, and pursue him with my troops. I said to them, that no Indian should be a Chief in this country, without coming to my camp.

Skloom & Shaw-a-my, the two other Chiefs in this country, have crossed the Columbia, and gone to the Palouse country. They probably belong in that country. Their people have remained here, and are incorporated with Ow-hi's band. I think everything bids fair, for an early and satisfactory termination of this war. Kamiakin, says but little, is proud, and very jealous of his rights. Heretofore

he has always been friendly to the white people, but habitually distant and reserved in his intercourse with them. I must humble him, and make him feel, that hereafter, his position as Chief can only be maintained by his faithful adherence to our cause.

Rumors have reached me some days previous that Leshi, with a band of Nis-qually Indians was on this side of the Mountains, and I was trying to communicate with him, when I found he had come in without any agency on my part. He came with Owhi & Te-i-as. He says he came over with about twenty warriors, with their women & children. He is decidedly for peace. This man Leshi, is connected with Ow-hi's people by marriage, and if peace is made, he is perfectly willing to go wherever I say: either to the Sound, or to remain with Ow-hi. I think he would prefer the latter, and perhaps that would be the best disposition that could be made of him.

After my great labor the bridge over the Na-chess is this day completed. The river is broad, at one point twelve feet deep, and a velocity of 8 or 9 miles an hour. It is made in trestles, and may stand for a long time, but should the water rise very high, the floating logs would much endanger its safety.

Capt. D. R. Jones
Asst. Adjt. Genl
Head Qrs. Dept of the Pacific
Benicia
Cala

Very Respectfully
Your Mo. Obed. Svt.
G. WRIGHT
Col. 9th Infy
Commdg

12.

Head Quarters Northern District[20]
Department of the Pacific
Camp on the Yakima River, W. T. Kittitas Valley.

June 20th, 1856

Sir,

In my last communication, (No. 11) which I had the honor to address to Dept Head Quarters on the 11th inst, I reported the visit of the Chiefs Ow-hi and Te-i-as, and their promise to come in at the expiration of five days. I have no question as to their sincerity and strong desire for peace, and I am at a loss to know the reason of their their failure. However such is the fact, I have not seen any of those Indians since. The Chiefs told me that they had sent a messenger over to the Sound, and they seemed very anxious to hear from

[20] Printed in *Senate Executive Document, No. 5, 34th Congress, 3rd Session.* (Serial Set, No. 876.)

there, before they came in: but whether they did or not, they were to come in at the expiration of five days.

I now learn from Gov. Stevens, that Ow-hi & Te-i-as, some three months since, made overtures of peace, and desired to pass over into the Sound district; that several messages have passed between them; and that the Governors last message invited them to meet him at a point West of the Cascades.

After the last visit of the Chiefs to my camp I did not relax my labors on the bridge across the Na-chess. The difficulties were greater than I anticipated; after bridging the main stream, a dense undergrowth of six hundred yards had to be cut through, and five or six smaller bridges made. However, on the evening of the 17th the road was opened.

On the morning of the 18th, I crossed the Na-chess, with 8 Comps. (1 Dragoons, 1 Artry, 2 of the 4th Infy, & 4 of the 9th Infy.) 450 rank & file, and marched North over a broken country, nine miles, and encamped on the We-nass. Yesterday morning I marched at sunrise, and still pursuing a northerly course, crossed two ranges of mountains, over a very rocky & steep trail, where the Mountain Howitzer had to be dismounted & packed, and arrived in this valley (17 miles) at 2 P. M. On our march I saw no Indians. To day I have scouting parties out, exploring the country. This is a very fine valley, some twenty miles in diameter, small branches of the Yakima flowing through it. It is almost entirely surrounded by high mountains, some of them now covered with snow.

I have made a personal examination of the Na-chess, to its mouth, from thence up the Yakima, to the fisheries, the military road, & the We-nass river: and I now occupy with my Troops all the great valley.

Major Garnett joined me on the 13th inst. with Compy B & K 9th Infy. I left Bt. Lt. Col. Steptoe with three Comps of the 9th Infy, & a mountain Howitzer, with artillerymen, to occupy "Fort Na-chess" This is an important point—as a depot, and within easy march of the great fisheries.

I do not despair of ultimately inducing these Indians to sue for peace. I believe they really desire it, and I must find out what outside influence is operating to keep them from coming in. I shall probably stay in this valley for several days. This is an unknown region, and I have to feel my way; but when the campaign is over, I hope to present a good sketch of the country.

My men are much in want of some articles of clothing, especially shoes, stockings, & overalls. I pray that the Quarter Master below

may be able to keep a supply on hand. Shoes, particularly those pegged last but a few days, marching on sharp rocks.

Capt. D. R. Jones
Asst. Adjt. Genl.
Head Qrs. Dept. of the Pacific
Benicia
Cala.

Very Respectfully
Your Most Obd Svt
G. WRIGHT
Col. 9th Infy
Comg

13.

Head Quarters Northern District
Department of the Pacific
Camp on the Upper Yakima River, W. T.
June 25th, 1856

Sir,

On the 23rd inst. I marched from my camp at the "Kittitas", and following the course of the Yakima river for twelve miles, when I reached the lower mountains, and an abundant supply of pine timber. Soon after reaching the woods, my advance guard, fell in with and captured an Indian, from whom I learned that a party of Indians were in advance of us but a short distance, engaged in fishing. The Indian prisoner did not communicate this information, until after I had halted for the night. As soon as possible I moved forward with one half of my command, with the Indian as guide. It was three o'clock and I expected to reach the Indian encampment within an hour, as from the best information to be obtained from the guide, it could not be more than three miles. It proved to be nine miles, and our men already having marched fifteen miles, I could not reach the point until half past five. The guide, on the route, had communicated the additional fact, that the Indians were on the opposite bank of the river. On the march we saw fresh horse tracks, towards their camp, and I know that they were aware of our approach. On reaching the ford, an Indian on the opposite bank, was calling in a loud tone, evidently warning his people to hurry off, as the soldiers were coming. The river at the ford was rapid and deep. The footmen could not cross; the Dragoons passed over, and advanced rapidly for about two miles. When they came to the fishing traps, the Indians had all fled, except one man and one woman, who were captured. It was ascertained that the party was a small one, and not connected in any way with the hostile Indians, and would doubtless have surrendered at once, had a small party only approached them. I then commenced our return march to

camp, which was reached at half past 9 o'clock, our men having marched thirty four miles.

Yesterday I marched at 12 M, ascended the river four miles, and encamped at this place. At this point there is a trail crosses the river, leading north from the mountains to a river which flows into the Columbia.

Kamiakin, Ow-hi & Te-i-as, with their people, are all over the Mountains, on the river above referred to. It is a stream as large as the Yakima and offers a plentiful supply of salmon. The distance from this point, is three days march, over a good trail, except for a short distance, which is very difficult. This is the information obtained from our two Indian prisoners—questioned separately.

I am now preparing to cross the river, and as we have timber at hand, I hope to make the passage, and march to morrow afternoon, or early next morning. I am determined to pursue these Indians, and push them to the last extremity. They are all in a state of great alarm, and have spies out on all the trails, to give them timely warning of our approach. If I do not overtake them, I can destroy their fishing traps, and harass them so much, that I think they will find it to their interest to surrender. They may elude me during this summer, but in the winter, they cannot live in the Mountains. I can grant them no terms now, but an unconditional surrender.

Capt. D. R. Jones
Asst. Adjt. Genl
Hd Qrs. Dept. of the Pacific
Benicia
Cala.

Very Respectfully
Your Mo. Obed. Svt.
G. WRIGHT
Col. 9th Infy
Commdg

14.

Head Quarters Northern District
Department of the Pacific
Camp on the Upper Yakima River, W. T.

July 1st, 1856

Sir,

After my last communication, which I had the honor to address to Department Head Quarters, on the 25th Ult°. I had a reconnaisance made of the country in advance of my position; and the result was that the trail over the mountains proved to be a bad one, and the distance much greater than I supposed, to the river, on which

the Indians were living. I had already ordered that the supply train from Fort Na-chess, should advance to the "Kittitas", and there halt, until I communicated farther orders; trusting that the direct route from thence, to join me, north of the Mountains, would shorten the distance I had marched, and enable the train to reach me before my supplies were exhausted. Not being able to obtain reliable information, regarding the trail from the "Kittitas", I did not deem it prudent to advance from this point, without a good supply; such as would justify me in pursuing the Indians for eighty or a hundred miles. Should I cross the mountains with a limited supply, and the train not reach me in season; I might possibly have been forced to make a retrograde movement: which would have been regarded by the Indians as a retreat. Accordingly on the 26th, I sent my Quarter Master, with the pack train, to Fort Na-chess; the train will reach here to morrow, when I shall be perpared to march, at once.

Yesterday, at noon, a body of Indians, some sixty in number approached my camp, with a white flag, headed by Father Pandosy; these Indians, are direct from the camp of Kamiakin, Ow-hi & Te-i-as. They represent that a large number, in addition, proposed to accompany them, but that the threats of Kamiakin prevented them. Father Pandosy says that on his arrival at the Indian camp, a week since, Kamiakin was organizing a war party to attack me, on the Kittitas.[21] This has been the policy of Kamiakin ever since my arrival in this country. To keep alive the war party he uses all the arts of deception and falsehood, that he is master of. But his influence is on the wane; his young men are beginning to fall off. Notwithstanding his pretended anxiety to attack us, they see him constantly retiring before our troops. I must push him to the last extremity, and break the charm. At this moment a messenger has arrived from the Indian camp, stating that Kamiakin has passed the Columbia River, and Ow-hi has accompanied him: the latter, it is reported went only after his family, and would then return to the camp, where Te-i-as was remaining. The peace party now with me, have agreed to go and bring their families all in, and locate at any point I may designate. If they come in, I shall place them not far from Fort Na-chess, where they can procure fish, and subsist

[21] Reverend Charles Marie Pandosy, Oblate of Mary Immaculate, was the Catholic missionary in the Yakima country. When the Indians fled before Major Gabriel Rains Expedition in November, 1855, Father Pandosy had been taken by the Indians to their northern retreat.

themselves, and at the same time be under the supervision of the Army.

I shall march as soon as practicable, after receiving our supplies.

Capt. D. R. Jones
Asst. Adjt. Genl.
Head Qr. Dept. of the Pacific
Benicia
Cala

Very Respectfully
Your Most Obed Svt
G. WRIGHT
Col. 9th Infy
Commdg

15.

Head Quarters Northern District
Department of the Pacific
Camp on Upper Yakima River, W. T.

July 1st, 1856

Sir,

In my communication (No. 12) of the 20th Ult°, I noticed the fact, that messengers had been passing between Gov. Stevens, and the Chiefs Ow-hi & Te-i-as, commencing some three months since. This information I received from the Governor himself. At my last interview with the Chiefs, Ow-hi & Te-i-as, when they promised to come in at the expiration of five days, they appeared very solicitous about hearing from the Sound, and stated that they expected their messenger within two days. I did not know at that time, that they were in communication with the Governor. Their subsequent failure to comply with their promise, induced me to suppose, that possibly, the news they had received from the Sound was the cause.

Yesterday, the two Indians who brought the message from Gov. Stevens, came in with the peace party; and I called them up, when they gave me the following statement. They say, that the Chiefs Ow-hi & Te-i-as received a message from Gov. Stevens, directing that they, with all their people would pass over to the Sound to have a talk, but the Chiefs determined not to go themselves, but to send these two young men (the messengers); that they went to Olympia, and met the Governor. That after a long conversation about the origin of the war, &c the Governor said to them, go back to Ow-hi & Te-i-as, and say to them, that I wish them to cross the mountains, to the west of the Cascades, and bring with them their families, all their horses & stock of any description. The Indians were desired to cross at the "Snoqualimi" pass, and halt at a prairie on the other side—where the council was to be held. The messengers

replied to the Governor, that it was no use for them to take back such a message, that the place designated for the council was not large enough for one half of their stock and horses, and that the Chiefs and people would not cross over under any circumstances. The messengers being about to depart asked the Governor, if he had any letters to send to me, he replied that he had not, saying, "You did not come from the Troops, go back to the Indian Camp". The messengers state, that they then started on their way back, in a canoe, and were accompanied some distance by Mr. Simmons, the Indian Agent. That Mr. Simmons told them, that it was not necessary for the Indians, all to cross the mountains, that the requirements of the Governor on that point might be regarded as idle talk; that it was only necessary for the Chiefs & some of the leading men to attend the council, when everything could be satisfactorily arranged. He told them to go back and say this to the Chiefs; and further he told them to place their women and children in some place in the mountains, remote from the Troops, and warned them to keep away from my camp, that if caught there I would most assuredly hang them.

The above is the story as the messengers have given it to me. I cannot of course vouch for its authenticity. But whether true or false, the effect on the Chiefs & other Indians was the same. This message was received by the Indians, after my last interview with the Chiefs, and before the expiration of the five days. The result was that they all fled to the mountains.

This double negotiation which has been in progress has exceedingly embarrassed me. It has had its effect upon the Indians, and tended greatly to prolong this war. It is indispensably necessary that the war against these Indians, should be exclusively in the hands of but one individual. Otherwise, we cannot expect a favorable termination of the difficulty.

Some six weeks since I received a communication from Col. Shaw, then in the Sound district, informing me that he had some two hundred mounted men, and by direction of the Governor, proposed to cross the mountains at the Na-chess, for the purpose of cooperating with me. I answered him, that I had a regular force ample for operations in this country, but, that in the event of any unforeseen circumstance requiring it, I would call upon the Governor for troops to be mustered into the service. Notwithstanding this, Col. Shaw & his Mounted Battalion, have been pushed across the

mountains, and when last heard from (unofficially) he was encamped on the We-nass river.

Very Respectfully
Your Most Obd Svt
G. WRIGHT
Col. 9th Infy
Comg

Capt. D. R. Jones
Asst. Adjt. Genl
Head Qr Dept. of the Pacific
Benicia, Cala

16.

Head Quarters Northern District[22]
Department of the Pacific
Camp on the We-nat-cha river
Northern Washington Territory
July 7th, 1856

Sir,

On the 3d instant I broke up my camp on the Upper Yakima, near the Snoqualimi pass, forded the river without accident, marched five miles and halted for the night. Marching at sunrise on the 4th, our course lay east of north, following a tributary of the Yakima, until I reached the base of the Mountains. During this days march, the repeated crossing & recrossing the stream, rendered our progress slow, and after marching twelve miles, finding myself at a point where the route deflects from the water course, and takes a direction North, over the Mountains, I encamped for the night.

Resuming our march early on the 5th, we began to experience some of the difficulties, which our Indian guides had enumerated. The mountains are very high, the trail frequently obstructed by masses of fallen trees, which had to be removed by a pioneer party. Again the trail runs along the side of a mountain, with barely room for a single animal, and occasionally the stones & gravel yielding to the pressure, a mule with its pack would roll down the precipice. After marching twelve miles, we encamped in the mountains.

Marching at daylight on the morning of the 6th for the distance of five miles, the trail was far worse than that of the preceding day. However we soon struck a stream, and following its bed and crossing it frequently, at last ascended a high mountain, which overlooks this valley, into which I descended and encamped at 1 P. M.

As I apprehended, the Chiefs who had visited me on the Yakima, came out to meet me; also the Priest Pandosy. They assured me that everything was progressing favorably, and that a large number of

[22] Printed in *Senate Executive Document No. 5, 34th Congress, 3rd Session.* (Serial Set, No. 876.)

Indians with their families, were on the other side of the river, fishing. After I had encamped, the Chiefs and a number of warriors came over to have a talk. They appear to have no fears, and seem willing to do all I may require. They say that they will all go at once, to the Kittitas, if I require it: but they express great apprehension about their subsistence, and would prefer to stay here for a while until they can lay up a good supply of salmon, when they could all go to the Kittitas to winter. I have examined the fishing places south of this, and there are none to compare with this at this season of the year. These Indians have always been in the habit of fishing here, but moving farther south to winter. This river is considered as the northern boundary of the Yakima Country. But few Indians are living north of this point, as far as the British possessions.

If I consent for these Indians to remain here temporarily to fish, I shall require hostages for their good behaviour, and compliance with their promises.

Kamiakin has fled to the Palouse country & Ow-hi has gone beyond the Columbia & in all probability will not attempt to come back before next winter.

I have sent word to the nations beyond the Columbia, that they must not harbor these renegade Chiefs. That if they do, they will suffer for it, as the war may be carried into their country.

The Chief Te-i-as is in my camp, and I shall keep him and his family with me. Although he is brother to Ow-hi, & father-in-law to Kamiakin, he is, and has always been, our good friend.

Capt. D. R. Jones
Asst. Adjt. Genl.
Head Qr Dept. of the Pacific
Benicia
Cala

Very Respectfully
Your Most Obdt Svt
G. WRIGHT
Col. 9th Infy
Comg

17.

Head Quarters Northern District[23]
Department of the Pacific
Camp on the Upper Columbia River, W. T.
July 9th, 1856

Sir,

I marched from my camp on the We-nat-cha river, at sunrise this morning. Our route along the right bank of the We-nat-cha was at times almost impracticable, the trail passing over rugged

[23] Printed in *Senate Executive Document No. 5, 34th Congress, 3rd Session.* (Serial Set, No. 876.)

mountains, and but a few inches wide, where a single false step, would precipitate man or beast into the roaring cataract, five hundred feet below. By working at the trail, and then leading each animal very carefully, I succeeded in crossing over the whole command, with baggage, pack train, & three mountain Howitzers, safely, and at three P. M. encamped on the right bank of the Columbia.

Previous to marching I made arrangements for the Indians with their families and baggage to follow immediately in rear of our pack train: with a Company of Infantry & Detachment of Dragoons as rear guard. It was nearly 9 O'clock before all the Indians could get off. They have probably a thousand horses, and extended some five miles. With their women and children, of course they move slow. It is impossible to say at this moment, how many there are in all. I left many to fish & others will cross over by another trail. They were all willing to come with me now, if I said so, but as they desired to remain a short time at the fisheries, I had no objections. My principal object being to carry off the large mass of the Yakima nation, and locate them permanently, and beyond the possibility of their being operated upon by their former Chiefs. Such a large number of these people, as I now have, will not be able, for a while, to subsist independent of aid from the Government. Dispersed over the whole country they can get along very well: but then we should have no hold on them for their good behaviour. They have heretofore had but little intercourse with the white people, and that little has been anything but satisfactory to them. They have mostly kept their women and children remote as possible from our people: and it has been a work of great delicacy and labor, to allay their fears & convince them that I have the power and will, to protect them from insult and injury. Our success in quieting their apprehensions, has exceeded my highest expectations.

During my halt on the We-nat-cha, I was visited by several little parties of Indians, living on streams to the North, and east of the Columbia: most of whom had been in or sent to me, when I was on the Na-chess. These Indians live outside of the Yakima Country, are very friendly to us, and appear very anxious to cultivate a good understanding. I have given them good advice, & told them they should not be molested.

In all my operations recently, the aid I have received from Father Pandosy, has essentially contributed to our success. He has great influence with these Indians, and has exerted himself, both night & day, in bringing matters to their present state.

Kamiakin who plunged these people into war, and was con-

tinually boasting of what he would do, has basely deserted his people, and fled, probably to the Palouse Country. His career on this side of the Columbia is ended. I have two or three good and influential Chiefs with these Indians: a new government must be erected, which will unite all their hearts, and place them in deadly hostility to the refugee Chiefs. This can all be accomplished by the judicious management of the Military Commander who may be left in this quarter.

Capt. D. R. Jones
Asst. Adjt. Genl.
Head Qr. Dept. of the Pacific
Benicia
Cala

Very Respectfully
Your Mo. Ob Svt
G. WRIGHT
Col. 9th Infy
Comg

18.

Head Quarters Northern District[24]
Department of the Pacific
Camp on Yakima River Kittitas Valley, W. T.

July 18th, 1856

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 3d inst. and the pleasure of reporting, that notwithstanding the numerous difficulties and embarrassments I have encountered, that the war in this country is closed.

When I last had the honor to address Department Head Quarters, on the 9th inst., I was on the Upper Columbia, at the mouth of the We-nat-cha, en route for this valley. Resuming my march on the morning of the 10th, three days brought me to the Yakima river, and on the 13th I encamped at this place. Since leaving Fort Na-chess, this command has marched one hundred and eighty miles, principally over a rugged, mountainous country, hitherto unknown to us, and deemed impracticable for military operations. But the patient endurance of officers and men, overcame every obstacle. We have penetrated the most remote hiding places of the enemy, and forced him to ask for mercy. Deserted by their Chiefs, and perseveringly pursued by our troops, the Indians had no other course left them but to surrender. I have now about five hundred men women & children at this place, with a much larger number of horses and cattle. These Indians, of their own accord, brought in, and delivered

[24] Printed in *Senate Executive Document No. 5, 34th Congress, 3rd Session.* (Serial Set, No. 876.)

up all the horses and mules in their possession, belonging to the Government, about twenty in number. Were it advisable, I could assemble a much larger number of Indians at this place, but the difficulty of subsisting then, makes it necessary to allow them to occupy separate districts of country, where fish and roots can be obtained in abundance. This River affords them but few fish at this season of the year. When the salmon commence their fall run, they will prepare their winter supply. To the people now with me, I am compelled to issue at least two hundred & fifty pounds of flour daily to enable them to get along. Still, I think it better to do this, than to send them far away, beyond my immediate control. Other Indians are constantly coming in. This party is the nucleus, the central point, around which they will all gather in the fall. I have had intercourse with nearly all of the Yakima Nation, and they are fully impressed with the folly of their continuing the war. They have been made to feel the inconvenience of it. So long as Troops simply moved through their country and retired, it had but little effect. The Indians were generally the gainers by it. But a steady advance over their whole country, rendering it necessary to move their families and stock, has had a different effect; and understanding as they do, that the country is to be permanently occupied.

I have examined this country pretty thoroughly, and I am somewhat at a loss to fix upon a position for a permanent Military post. The whole country should be given to the Indians. They require it; they cannot live at any one point for the whole year. The Roots, the Berries, and the fish, make up their principal subsistence: these are all obtained at different places, and different seasons of the year: hence they are frequently changing their abodes, until fall, when they descend from the mountainous districts, and establish themselves in the lower valley for the winter. There is but little timber on the streams, and after the rainy season sets in, early in December, the bottom lands all overflow, and the plains are covered with a deep snow. South from this, the most eligible point for a post, is a short distance beyond the "Topenish", where there is good timber for building, grass and water in abundance. This point is on the southern boundary of the Simcoe Valley, and at the point of intersection of the trails from Fort Dalles, and the Kamash Prairie. The Kamash Prairie, or Lake, it will be recollected, is about thirty miles from the Columbia River, and reached by ascending the Klikatat. It is the habitation of the Klikatats, & it was from that point, came the war party which attacked the people of the Cascades. The point above referred to has the advantage, also, of commanding both

routes to the Columbia, and holding in check the Klikatats, who would not be likely to commit any hostile acts, with a military force in their rear.

The season is rapidly wearing away, and arrangements for the winter must be made as soon as practicable. The Indians during the coming winter must occupy the warm valley, and I would suggest that one Military post of four Companies, would be ample until next Spring.

Very Respectfully
Your Most Obd. Svt.
G. WRIGHT
Col. 9 Infy
Commg

Maj. W. W. Mackall[25]
Asst. Adjt Genl.
Head Qrs. Dept of the Pacific
Benicia, Cala

19.

Head Quarters Northern District[26]
Department of the Pacific
Camp on Yakima River Kittitas Valley, W. T.

July 18th, 1856

Sir,

Recurring again to your communication of the 3d inst. I would remark, that my letter of the 1st gave you all the information I possessed, in relation to the movements of the Volunteers under Col. Shaw, from Puget Sound. My prompt reply to Col. Shaw's letter, before he commenced his march, declining all aid, and informing him that I had an ample force of regular troops for operations in this Country, led me to presume that the expedition would be abandoned. Subsequently, Col. Shaw crossed the mountains, passed down the We-nass, since which I have heard nothing from him. When in the country I received no message from him whatever.

I have not overlooked, from the first, the evident determination, to co-operate with the Regular forces in bringing this war to a close;

---

[25] William Whann Mackall, born in Maryland and graduated from West Point with Steptoe in the class of 1837. Served against the Seminole Indians in Florida, and in the Mexican War. During 1856 he was on duty in the Department of the Pacific. Mackall resigned from the U. S. Army, 3 July 1861, to enter the service of the Confederate States until the end of the Civil War. His last years were spent on his farm at Fairfax, Virginia, where he died, 19 August 1891.

[26] Printed in *Senate Executive Document No. 5, 34th Congress, 3rd Session.* (Serial Set, No. 876.) Also, in the files of the Office of the Adjutant General, Letters Received, 1856: The National Archives, Washington, D. C.

and I have steadily resisted all advances. My efforts have been retarded, but not defeated, by what was done.

Kamiakin has gone far away, and probably will never again come back. Ow-hi has gone to the upper Columbia, and probably to the Buffalo Country. Old Te-i-as with his family is still over on the Columbia. He is an old man and very timid: but our very good friend: his sons and daughters were very anxious to come with us, but the old man insisted upon keeping them with himself, until he came in.

Before I marched from Fort Na-chess, I sent an Indian to ascertain the whereabouts of the "Klikatats," what they were doing &c. The messenger has returned, & informs me that they are at the Kamash Lake digging roots; that they are desirous of meeting me, and only awaited for me to fix the time and place. I have sent messengers for them to meet me at the Ah-ta-nam Mission on the 25th inst.

Three friendly Indians, belonging to the Cascades, who joined the hostile party in the attack, fled when I re-took that place, and are now with the Klikatats. They must be given up, and additional security for the future good conduct of the whole band.

The Indians who murdered the Agent Bolan, are not here. They have probably fled from the country.

I shall march for the Ah-ta-nam, on the 21st inst, with three Comps, leaving Major Garnett here with four. As a post of observation, this point must be occupied until the Indians move to their winter residence.

With regard to my depot at Fort Dalles, it is, and always has been perfectly safe. When Col. Steptoe left there, he left a Detachment nearly equal to a Company and besides Capt. Jordan had more than one hundred employees at his command. I directed Col. Steptoe, to leave one Company entire, if he deemed it necessary, he reported that the guard he left was ample.

Some time since I received an application from Lieut. Derby, through Captain Winder commanding at the Cascades, for a guard for the party at work on the Military road. I directed Capt. Winder to furnish a small guard, if practicable, from his Company, informing him that it was my design to send an additional Company to that point, at an early date. The occupation of three Block houses by Capt. Winder's company, left him no men to spare for the guard; and I had determined before I received the application of Maj. Bache, with the endorsement of the General, to send down a Company as soon as I returned from my expedition to the North.

On the 16th inst, Bt Major Lugenbeel with Compy "A" 9th Infy, marched from this place, with orders to proceed forthwith to Fort Dalles; the Major to assume command of that Post, and then to detail a Lieut. and seventeen men to occupy the Block house at the Upper Cascades. Capt Winder to occupy the lower Block house, detaching a Lieut. and thirty men to remain constantly encamped with the party under Lt. Derby. The small central Block house, I have ordered to be abandoned, on the representations of Capt. Winder; that it is entirely unnecessary; and that the people living there, keep the party of soldiers drunk all the time. Even his best men cannot be relied upon.

Maj. W. W. Mackall
A. A. G.
Hd Qrs. Dept. of the Pacific
Benicia Cala

Very Respectfully
Your Mo. Obed. Svt
G. WRIGHT
Col. 9 Infy Commdg

20.

Head Quarters Northern District[27]
Department of the Pacific
Camp on the A-tah-nam Creek, W. T.
July 25th, 1856

Sir,

On the 21st inst I marched from the "Kittitas" with one Company of Artillery, two of Infantry, and a Det. of Dragoons; leaving Major Garnett with three Comps & a Det of twenty five Dragoons. I brought with me a party of Deschutes Indians, with their families, whom I have permitted to fish at the Columbia River, on the north side, above the Dalles. I also brought a party of Klikatats, with their families; they are to halt on the To-po-nish, a short distance below where the road crosses—they can obtain subsistence by fishing digging roots, &c.

I halted two days at Fort Na-chess, at which place I was visited by a party of Nis-qually Indians, who are temporarily living on the upper waters of the Na-chess. Eight of the principal men came in, the number of men, women and children in their camp, is probably seventy. They are poor, having lost nearly all their horses and property, when they crossed the Mountains last winter. They are very anxious to return to the "Sound," either to the reservation, or any other point which may be decided upon.

At my camp on the "Kittitas" I left Leshi, Nelson and Kitsap,

[27] Printed in *Senate Executive Document No. 5, 34th Congress, 3rd Session.* (Serial Set, No. 876.)

with a small party of Nisqually's.[28] Leshi is the recognized Chief of these people, including those on the Na-chess. They are all desirous of returning to the Sound, provided they can do so in safety. With regard to the three named, I sometime since received a letter from Gov. Stevens, suggesting that no terms be granted them, but in as much as they came in and departed in security previous to that time, and appeared to be determined to be our friends, I would not take any harsh measures without having proof of their guilt. I can establish nothing against them worthy of death. I have no doubt that they have during the course of the war, committed many murders, at least so we would designate their acts; but they look upon the killing of men, ,women & children as a legitimate mode of warfare. Even of this I have no evidence. I have written to Col. Casey to ascertain from the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for this Territory, if he will receive all these Nisqually's on the reservation, and guarantee their safety. If the answer is in the affirmative, I will then send these Indians, under a guard, to the nearest Military post, west of the Mountains to be from thence forwarded to the reservation.

Since I have been in this country, I have marched over its entire length and breadth, from the Dalles, north to the We-nat-cha; and all the rivers have been examined from the Mountains to the Columbia River. I have seen all the Indians and they are now living only at points which I have designated, either near Military stations, or higher up on the streams, to enable them to gain a subsistence. They are all at this moment, very happy, and fully convinced that their true policy is to abstain from war and remain forever our friends. I have also dispelled their fear of Kamiakin, who has oppressed and robbed them for many years: and should he ever return to this country, these Indians will all unite against him.

Yesterday morning I left this camp at 3 o'clock, & with a Det. of Dragoons, made a reconnaisance of this creek to its junction with the Yakima, and also up the Yakima &c. It is twelve miles to the Yakima, there is no timber at all on this creek. From the mouth of this creek to the mouth of the Na-chess it is ten miles. The Yakima presents the same appearance throughout; cottonwood and willow in abundance, but no building materials.

---

[28] Leshi, or Leschi, Nisqually Chief and leader of the tribes west of the Cascade Mountains during the Yakima War. He commanded the attack on Seattle, 29 January 1856, that was beaten off by a naval battery on a ship in the harbor at the time. The arrest, detention, trial, condemnation and hanging of Leschi, 19 February 1857, became a bitterly debated issue of the times.

This is the day I fixed upon to meet the "Klikatats" at this point. Our messengers have been gone nine days. If they do not come by to morrow, I shall march on the next day for Kamas Lake.

Maj. W. W. Mackall
Asst. Adjt. Genl.
Head Qrs. Dept of the Pacific
Benicia
Cala

Very Respectfully
Your Most Obd Svt
G. WRIGHT
Col. 9 Infy
Comg

21.

Head Quarters Northern District[29]
Department of the Pacific
Camp on the A-tah-nam Creek, W. T.

July 27th, 1856

Sir,

On the afternoon of the 25th inst., the "Klikatats" all came in to my camp, headed by their venerable Chief *Tow-a-tax,* commonly called *Ni-ka-tan-i.* They are direct from the Kamas Lake, and numbered about forty men. I have been in council with them for two days, and their conduct throughout, has given me the highest satisfaction; their promptness in coming in, and the frankness of their speeches and ready compliance with all my demands, assures me, that hereafter we may rely upon their permanent friendship.

The Chief *Ni-ka-tan-i,* and the Sub-Chiefs related the whole affair of the attack at the Cascades. It corresponds with what I have already heard—that Kamiakin had sent a party of Yakimas to Kamas Lake, and commanded that the Klikatats should join them, with their young men, and proceed to the Cascades, communicate with the Cascade Indians, and if practicable gain them over, then availing themselves of the moment when both Steamboats should be there, to burn them, and at the same time make a simultaneous attack on the whole line. Kill all the white inhabitants, and hold possession of the place until Kamiakin should arrive, which he promised to do with a large force, comprising all the Indians in this country, and the borders of the Columbia. They say that the design of Kamiakin was to hold the Cascades permanently. By threats and persuasion Kamiakin induced twenty of the Klikatats to join the Yakimas. The latter numbered thirty. The whole party of fifty then went to the Cascades and held secret meetings with the friendly Indians, gained

[29] Printed in *Senate Executive Document No. 5, 34th Congress, 3rd Session.* (Serial Set, No. 876.)

over the Chiefs Chenowith and Bannahan, and then made the attack. It does not appear that there was any Chief with the party attacking at the Cascades.

The Chief Ni-ka-tan-i, says that the Klikatats, have been suffering for a long time, the oppressions of Kamiakin and Ow-hi. They have been forced to give up their horses and women, and suffered every species of maltreatment, without the power to make a successful resistance.

I demanded of these Indians, the immediate surrender of three Cascade Indians, who fled with the Klikatats, at the time I recovered that line. They were promptly brought in and delivered to my custody. After a minute and careful examination of their cases, I can find nothing against them worthy of punishment. Their own story corroborated by many witnesses, satisfies me that they did not engage in the murders. That they fled, is true, but the defection of their Chiefs led them to believe that if taken by us, they would all be hung. It is proved by the concurrent testimony of all these Indians that the Cascade Chiefs Chenowith, & Bannahan, set fire to their own houses, with the view of making us believe that the enemy had done it. I next demanded the restitution of all property in their possession belonging to the white people; that they should live at the places I should designate; not roam over the country without authority; promise inviolable friendship towards the white people; and to oppose with all their forces, any attempt of the refugee Chiefs, to disturb the quiet of the country; & finally, to deliver hostages to me, to insure a faithful compliance with their agreement. These conditions were all instantly and cheerfully complied with.

When I came away from my camp on the Kittitas, I brought with me about one hundred Klikatats, who had been for some time kept with the Yakimas. I have now re-united them with these from Kamas Lake, and over the whole of them, placed Chief Ni-ka-tan-i and five sub-chiefs.

The main body of these Indians will live at the Kamas Lake during the summer. In the winter they will move down on the Klikatat river, where there is but little snow. Another party I have located in the valley of the To-po-nish, below where the road from the Dalles passes.

Soon after I arrived in this country, quite a party of Klikatats, escaped from Kamiakin's people, and came to my camp. They were anxious to go back to Oregon, where they had lived before the Treaty: and in the then unsettled state of the country, I had no place

to put them in safety. Accordingly, I permitted them to go to the Dalles. They will now be brought back and incorporated with their own people. The Klikatats at Fort Vancouver, will also join the Head Chief at Kamas Lake. By this, the whole Klikatat nation will be re-united, and I have the strongest faith in the friendship of the Chiefs & people. I will guarantee that they will be on our side, in any war we may be engaged in.

Maj. W. W. Mackall
Asst. Adjt. Genl.
Hd Qr. Dept of the Pac.
Benicia
Cala

Very Respectfully
Your Most Obd Svt
G. WRIGHT
Col. 9 Infy
Comg

22.

Head Quarters Northern District
Department of the Pacific
Camp on the To-pon-ish Creek, W. T.

August 3rd, 1856

Major:

On the 29th ultimo I marched from the A-tah-num to this place; and since that time I have carefully examined the Simcoe Valley; and I have come to the conclusion that my present position, is the most desirable one for Station for the Winter.

In front of us is an open plain to the Yakima River, and both up and down that River, there is a good trail over a level country; one leading to the Selah & Kittetas, and the other in the direction of the Walla-Walla. On the To-pon-ish, there is Oak and Cotton-wood; and at a distance of four miles West of us, there is an abundant supply of the best of pine timber accessible with wagons.

This valley is much warmer in Winter, than any of those farther North, and the Indians now at the Kittetas and on the Yakima, Nachess &c will all winter here. This is a central point: The Roads from the Dalles, Kamas Lake, and from the North, all unite here; and also from Walla-walla. The Simcoe Valley is extensive; affording grass for our animals and sufficient good land for gardening.

The Express has just arrived from the Camp on the Yakima, *four* Companies are there under Bvt. Major Haller, and everything was quiet.

I have received your communication of the 19th ultimo and I shall carry out the instructions of the General, as soon as practicable.

I have abandoned the Camp on the Na-chess, and ordered Col. Steptoe with his command to this place.

The Company of Dragoons will proceed to Fort Dalles to escort the supply train to Walla-Walla, and after its departure the Infantry Companies will march from this point, direct for Walla-Walla, to reach there at the same time as the train.

Supplies are now coming up to enable the Troops here to begin at once to build huts for the Winter.

It is out of the question to confine the Indians in this Country to a certain District unless the Government furnish their entire subsistence. The whole country between the Cascade Mountains and the Columbia River, should be given to the Indians, it is not necessary to the white people. The Indians can subsist themselves if they have it; the mountains, the plains & the rivers each in turn affords them food. In the Winter they are compelled to live in the Valley; and one Strong Military Post will ensure their good behaviour.

Very respectfully
Yr most obed. Servt
G. WRIGHT
Col. 9th Infty
Comdg

Major W. W. Mackall
Asst. Adjt. Genl.
Hd. Qrs. Dept. of the Pacific
Benicia, Cala.

23.

Head Quarters Northern District
Department of the Pacific
Camp on To-po-nish Creek, W. T.

August 6th, 1856

Sir,

Inclosed herewith you will receive two communications from Major Lugenbeel, commanding at Fort Dalles, and one from Major Haller commanding at the Camp on the Yakima.

All is quiet in this country, and everything bears the aspect of peace. I shall lose no time in establishing a post in the Walla Walla Country; and I hope that the presence of regular troops in that district will prevent any further hostilities. Our pack train reached here on the 3d, bringing up twenty thousand rations of subsistence, and a small supply of tools for erecting temporary quarters at, or near, this point.

We had brought up, also, two pair of wagon wheels, no great difficulty was encountered on the way.

The post of Fort Dalles, is at present without a medical officer. I was obliged to call Asst. Surgeon Brown, temporarily from that station, for duty in the field. Asst. Surg. Randolph is at the Camp on the Yakima, and I must send him with the Walla Walla Command. It is indispensably necessary that, at least one, additional medical officer, be sent here.

Very Respectfully
Your Most Obed St
G. WRIGHT
Col. 9 Infy
Comg

Maj. W. W. Mackall
Asst. Adjt. Genl.
Head Qr. Dept. of the Pacific
Benicia, Cala

Jean Delanglez--In Memoriam

Many expressions of regret have been received by Loyola University and the Institute of Jesuit History over the departure from this life of Father Jean Delanglez, S.J. Historians, geographers, cartographers, and anthropologists of France, Canada, and the Mississippi Valley feel the loss to research of a capable scholar. Few were aware that for the past fifteen years Father Delanglez was hurrying through a lifetime of production, conscious during each of the days of the suddenness with which death might strike him, conscious, too, of the vast labor still before him. In his world of documents he worked without fear of his life's end, but with a feeling of annoyance that it would arrive before he was half finished with the research at hand. In these years he suffered eight major coronary attacks, yet it was a cerebral hemorrhage which proved fatal. He was stricken late in the night of May 8, and did not regain consciousness until his death the following afternoon at five-fifteen, in Mercy Hospital, Chicago, despite the efforts of the Pulmotor squad and consulting physicians. Funeral services were held in St. Ignatius Church at ten o'clock in the morning of May 11, and the interment was in All Saints Cemetery.

Born in Mouscron, Belgium, thirty miles northeast of Lille, France, on January 14, 1896, Jean Delanglez received his elementary and secondary education there in the Collège de Notre Dame until 1914. The first surge of the German armies of World War I carried seven miles beyond his town to the French border and there dug in, thus making Mouscron an occupied zone during the entire war. After studying sporadically during the Allies' shellings young Delanglez finished his college training at Florennes in 1920 at the Collège de St. Jean Berchmans. There he did some teaching for a year while preparing to enter a seminary. Given his choice of seminaries and lands for his future life he decided to become a Jesuit. He entered the novitiate of the New Orleans Province of the Society of Jesus at Macon, Georgia, August 31, 1921.

In the Society he completed his novitiate in 1923, made his vows, and was sent to Grand Coteau, Louisiana, for a year's review of his college studies. From 1924 to 1927 he followed the customary philosophy courses of the Jesuits toward the Master of Arts degree at Mount St. Michael's outside of Spokane, Washington. A year of regency in history and the classics at Spring Hill College, Alabama, was his next task. From there he was sent to Dublin in 1928

for his theological studies at Milltown Park. He was ordained to the priesthood July 31, 1931. He completed his fourth year of theology at Milltown Park and at Berchmankolleg, Munich.

Father Delanglez began his doctoral studies in history at The Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., in the autumn of 1932. It was his good fortune to have the eminent Dr. Peter Guilday as one of his professors and director of research. The doctorate was conferred upon him June 9, 1935. His dissertation, *The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana, 1700–1763,* (New Orleans, 1935), was the first of his books. After his studies he was sent to Port Townsend, Washington, to undergo the third year of probation, the tertianship of the Jesuit course of training. Toward the end of this period in the Lent of 1936 he suffered his first severe heart attack.

Partly because of his heart condition and partly because of his scholarly bent, he was assigned by his superior in New Orleans to full-time research in the Institute of Jesuit History at Loyola University, Chicago. Excepting one term spent in conducting a seminar he did no teaching nor ministerial work. Nor was he fitted by temperament to teach or preach.

Arriving in Chicago in the Autumn of 1936 he discussed his plans for research with the director of the Institute. Father Delanglez proposed to exploit the mission history of the Jesuits in the Amazon Valley, feeling that enough had been done on the French missions of the St. Lawrence-Great Lakes region. The director, with ulterior aims, prodded Father Delanglez with the question: "Why did La Salle miss the mouth of the Mississippi and settle at Matagorda Bay?" Father Delanglez's first thought was that La Salle was lost, but within a few days the director knew that the casual shaft had gone home. The scholar set himself to answering the irritating question. Thereafter, he found more than sufficient material to keep his mind on the Mississippi rather than the Amazon.

While gathering his documents on La Salle he quickly developed some enthusiastic "hates." Discovering how Pierre Margry had foisted falsified and mutilated documents upon Francis Parkman, Father Delanglez's indignation at Margry became almost apoplectic. His disillusionment about one block of sources led him to question all of the documentary materials pertaining to the French regime in America and all of the secondary writings. He saw how vast an amount of spade work would be necessary before the definite history could be written. He set himself to a critical analysis of every scrap of evidence. He hated untruthfulness and focussed his

indignation on such notable characters as La Salle, Bernou, the Jansenist coterie in Paris, Jean Cavelier, Hennepin, Frontenac, Cadillac, and less known writers and cartographers. He considered each historical mistake a personal affront. Indeed, his ire over some historical miscreancy at times verged on the epic. Little wonder was it that his writings were sharp when he had the truth on such a high pedastal. Few know how often this editor's jaundiced eye eliminated choice expletives from Father Delanglez's copy to soften the blasts at some long departed scribe.

His hours among the historical treasures of The Newberry Library were many and profitable. Very soon Dr. Ruth Butler and Mr. Utley recognized him as the "hypothetical reader." For years the Newberry custorians had been purchasing books and documents, excusing their expenditures on the grounds that "some day, someone may need these." Father Delanglez used the purchases widely, and owed a debt of gratitude to the staff of the Newberry for constant assistance and courtesies. As the years passed, he called upon many archivists in the United States, Europe, and especially in Canada, who aided in completing his file of documents. He visited many archives and libraries, carrying with him his photographic equipment, hand made by one of his brethren and of necessity fool-proof, since anything like a tool or mechanical contrivance baffled him completely.

As a linguist Father Delanglez had few peers. He had the rare gift of learning strange languages. He acquired a good knowledge of Russian in two months. Arabic seems to have taken him more time, but this he studied more in detail with a view to study of the Arabian cartographers, mathematicians, and astronomers. Latin, Greek, and Hebrew were necessary for his philosophy and theology courses. He was quite at home with French, German, Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian. He found the English more difficult to compose, and his writings indicated his inclination to anglicize words from one or other of the many languages running through his mind. He made no pretence at a polished style or at rewriting passages, chiefly because his time was short and he was concerned with finding and presenting the raw facts as quickly and as accurately as possible. He wrote for scholars only, with no thought of the palate of a popular audience. He allowed no *Roget's Thesaurus* or other aid to waste his time.

His industry was as immense as his love of history. He was his own typist, photographer, and proof-reader. Box upon box of notes reveal his enormous amount of reading. These notes are to

all practical purposes uncipherable, since they are in code and in a shorthand of his own fabrication. Moreover, he had the thrifty habit during the war of conserving paper to the effect that new notes were written on the back of or among already discarded copy or notes.

Father Delanglez published more than fifty scholarly articles in twelve learned periodicals. There is no record available of his book reviews, editorials, and press notices. He contributed articles or revised them in encyclopaedias and biographical dictionaries. Many of his articles appeared in his books. After his *French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana,* the Institute of Jesuit History published his *Some La Salle Journeys* (1938), *The Journal of Jean Cavelier* (1939), *Frontenac and the Jesuits* (1940), *Hennepin's Description of Louisiana. A Critical Essay* (1941), and *Life and Voyages of Louis Jolliet, 1645–1700* (1948). The United States Catholic Historical Society, New York, published his *El Rio del Espiritu Santo* (1945). He finished and edited Father Gilbert J. Garraghan's *A Guide to Historical Method,* which was published by the Fordham University Press, New York, 1946, (second edition, 1948.) Three days before his death he had submitted the completed manuscript of a volume on Cadillac.

In 1947 at the invitation of Laval University he aided in the organization of its Institut d'Histoire et de Geographie. That same year, The University of Montreal presented his lectures during the inauguration of its Institut d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française. The Geographical Commission of the Government of Canada conferred a unique honor upon Father Delanglez in April, 1947, in recognition of his research in Canadian history. It named a peninsula in Lake Mistassini Presqu'ile Delanglez.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

Notes and Comments

Midwest Heritage, With Hundreds of Old Engravings, by John Drury, was published last year by A. A. Wyn, Incorporated, of New York. It is a history of the midwest in pictures with an accompanying narrative prepared by Mr. Drury after long research in the Newberry Library and in the Chicago Historical Society, and patient selection of illustrations in fifty-one state, county, and local historical depositories. The author, a former correspondent of *The Chicago Daily News* on historic sites in Illinois, has won acclaim for his two previous publications, *Old Illinois Houses* and *Old Chicago Houses,* which set the pattern for this work.

The reader is transported, as it were, back to the early years of the nineteenth century, traveling in one of the side-wheelers on the Mississippi River, past cities on the banks of the Father of Waters and its tributaries—St. Louis, Hannibal with its memories of Mark Twain, Cairo, Fort Armstrong, Burlington, Minnehaha Falls—up to its very source. Chicago, which was outstripping St. Louis as the metropolis of the west, has a chapter to itself and its story is carried from the early days of shipping, railroads and packing industries to the close of the century with the advent of artistic, educational, and other cultural institutions. Passing into the area of the Great Lakes, the cities, the prairies, the wheatlands, the cornfields, and the life of the early settlers are pictured by Drury —hunting, planting, reaping, spinning, weaving, husking bees, singing school, and grange meetings. Lincoln's homes and offices occupied by him are shown. The National Road comes in for attention as it was traveled by stagecoaches rumbling past state houses and colleges, by Conestoga wagons drawn by six-horse teams, and by droves of cattle and pigs. Then, too, there is Johnny Appleseed, whose real name was John Chapman, who wandered for forty years through Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, an itinerant, barefooted preacher, always carrying one or two bags of apple seeds from which later sprang fruit trees. Places, incidents, and men associated with the Ohio River are gathered together—flood scenes, troubles with Indians, navigation, portraits of Alonzo Taft, Nicholas Longworth I, Lyman Beecher and his daughter, Harriet Beecher Stowe. Pictures of the old French towns, Cahokia, Kaskaskia, Fort de Chartres, Prairie du Rocher, recall the deeds of the early missionaries.

The story is well told in its salient outlines and will interest the casual reader. The student will welcome this labor-saving treasury of pictorial data of early society in the midwest.

WILLIAM STETSON MERRILL

* * * *

The title page of a very worthwhile book just published is quite simple: *Alfred Tennyson* by his grandson Charles Tennyson, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1949. Opposite is a restful picture of the great poet, one of a dozen choice illustrations in the nearly six hundred pages of the volume. The printing and editing through an exceptionally long index are excellent. The chapter headings are the years, and there are sixty five chapters divided into three parts. In such surroundings Sir Charles B. L. Tennyson places all of the available details of the life of his grandfather.

In 1897, Hallam, Lord Tennyson, son of the poet, brought out what has been considered a comprehensive biography of his father. Charles Tennyson now considers that after fifty years the life story should be rewritten, since the former work, designedly an official memoir, omitted much of the poet's early life, and since Lounsbury did not finish his project. Moreover, innumerable additional materials have come to light during the intervening years, which have not been assembled between two covers of a book. The author has consulted the plentiful writings about his grandfather and has gathered by letter or personal conferences all of the interesting and uninteresting data, reminiscences, letters, critiques, and interpretations, whether published or unpublished. These are quoted throughout the book, but without either footnotes, which would have added too much bulk, or bibliography.

The purpose of the author is amply achieved, in a style literary but accurate, as one might anticipate from the pen of the mature barrister. No one will question the honesty or the authority of the writer. Scholars may, of course, regret the absence of exact footnote citations, documentary calendaring and criticism of sources, but less exacting readers will be happy to have the volume in its present form as an authoritative contribution. Librarians will do well to place it on their list of needs for reading and reference, even at the price of seven and a half dollars.

The first American edition of *A Popular History of the Catholic Church,* by Philip Hughes, has recently been printed by Macmillan. The text runs to 269 pages and is followed by the chronological tables and index. The first six chapters are somewhat of a digest of Father Hughes volumes entitled *A History of the Church.* For nearly two years this *Popular History* has found a general reading public in the British Isles and now it is presented to the Americans. It quite achieves its purpose of being a readable and servicible story of the development of Christianity from its origins to 1947.

J. V. J.

* * * *

To combine the writing of verse with history is no mean accomplishment, but it has been carried off with uncommon success in the volume: *A Cycle of the West,* by John G. Neihardt, (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1949.) In 656 pages of superior verse Mr. Neihardt recounts in stately measures the story of westward expansion. "The Song of Three Friends" is the Ashley fur brigade relived in poetry; Hugh Glass and his celebrated crawl from Grand River to Fort Kiowa is perpetuated in "The Song of Hugh Glass"; much of the courage, resourcefulness and incredible sufferings of the early traders comes to life in "The Song of Jed Smith." One of the best in this *Cycle* is "The Song of the Indian Wars." The poet manages to say much in a few lines when he has a Cheyenne chieften remark to white soldiers:

"Your talk is sweet today. So ever
Speak the white men when they know their hands are weak
That itch to steal. But once your soldiers pitch
Their teepees yonder, will the same hands itch
The less for being stronger? . . ."

"The Song of the Messiah" is the least interesting of the poems. Yet even this merits attention for its passages on the Indian heroes of the plains, Red Cloud, Crazy Horse, and Sitting Bull.

No one will read *A Cycle of the West* to learn the history of that region from the Mississippi to the Pacific but anyone with more than passing acquaintance with the known facts will read these *Songs* with pleasure.

Mr. Neihardt's five songs published separately over a period of twenty-six years, 1915 to 1941, are now issued together in their

correct sequence for the first time. Doubtless this fact explains the peculiar format of the book with its varied kinds of type. With a wary eye on a limited sale, the publishers apparently have done little more than bind together reprints made from the original plates. The result is not felicitous, although the end map added to this edition is a distinct help and improvement.

Any student or collector of Western Americana will want this book for its novelty and the periodic flashes of insight into the spirit of the frontier. He will not read the book at one sitting because it does not lend itself to such concentration. Rather, will this volume be a constant companion for occasional pleasant hours spent in the past.

W. N. Bischoff

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

VOLUME 31, NUMBER 4 OCTOBER 1949

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

OCTOBER 1949

VOLUME 31 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 20 NUMBER 4

CONTENTS

Published quarterly by Loyola University (The Institute of Jesuit History) at 50 cents a copy. Annual subscription, $2.00; in foreign countries, $2.50. Publication and editorial offices at Loyola University, 6525 Sheridan Road, Chicago, Illinois. All communications should be addressed to the Managing Editor. Entered as second class matter, August 7, 1929, at the post office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Additional entry as second class matter at the post office at Effingham, Illinois. Printed in the United States.

MID-AMERICA
An Historical Review
OCTOBER 1949
VOLUME 31 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 20 NUMBER 4

Cattle Industry In Colonial Brazil

Beginning of the Industry, 1500-1654

Cattle were not indigenous to the Western Hemisphere. Introduced by Columbus to the Caribbean islands before 1500, cattle, raised on royal farms, increased at a prodigious rate due to the lack of predatory animals, the mild climate, and bountiful pastures. Soon after the conquest Cortés imported cattle from the Greater Antilles into Mexico. The latter province also proved highly adaptable to livestock raising, as evidenced by the fact that before the end of the sixteenth century herds of over forty thousand were not uncommon there.

Thus, even before Pedro Álvares Cabral claimed Brazil for Portugal in 1500, cattle had been introduced and were thriving in the New World. Herds the size of those found in Spanish America were not developed in Portuguese America during the sixteenth century.[1] However, because of the highly integrated economy, centered around the sugar industry which grew up in Brazil prior to 1580, those cattle which were available played a most important role in the growth of the area.

The first cattle known to have been brought to Brazil were imported by Martim Affonso de Sousa between 1531 and 1533.[2] By 1530 the Portuguese crown was decided upon settling Brazil to prevent its loss to the French who had been encroaching upon the Portuguese dye-wood trade. The method of settlement employed was

Editor's note: This paper is condensed from a dissertation submitted to the Department of History of Stanford University as a requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.

[1] Alexander Marchant, *From Barter to Slavery: Economic Relations of Portuguese and Indians in the Settlement of Brazil, 1500–1580*, Baltimore, 1942, 31–45.

[2] Gabriel Soares de Sousa, "Tratado descriptivo do Brazil em 1587," *Revista do Instituto histórico e geográphico brazileiro*, XIV (1851), 106.

the captaincy system, which previously had been tried successfully in the Azores and Madeira.[3] Owing to the lack of sufficient financial backing, and to the hostilities of the French and Indians, most of the captaincies soon failed. In those which survived sugar was the chief crop; and where there was sugar there were cattle to haul the cane from the fields and to power the mills. As early as 1521 sugar had been planted in Brazil, but it was never profitable until oxen were available as power. Sugar was soon introduced into Pernambuco and Espírito Santo. At least as early as 1545 there were five sugar mills operated by water-power and two mills powered by oxen in the latter captaincy.[4]

Both the sugar planted in Brazil and the oxen used on the plantations were imported from the Portuguese islands in the Atlantic. The first cattle came from Maderia. The ease of acclimatization of the animals from the islands is generally accepted as the reason for their preference, but the hazards involved in trans-Atlantic voyages in the sixteenth century certainly must also have influenced the choice of the islands over the mainland as a source of supply. At any rate the practice developed of obtaining nearly all livestock from the Azores, the Cape Verde Islands, or from Madeira. This custom was followed throughout the rest of the century.[5]

Very little is known definitely about the type and breed of cattle imported into Brazil. It is highly probable that they were originally peninsular stock of the Andalusian breed. These animals, while smaller than the cattle of today, were noted for their size, their large head, and the length of their horns. They were good grazers but not heavy milk producers, and were raised primarily as draft animals. In Portugal and Spain the breed was also raised for beef.[6]

The size of the herds in the colony gradually increased by natural propagation and by continued importation during the captaincy period.[7] However, the rate of increase was sufficiently slow that

---

[3] F. A. Varnhagen, *História geral do Brasil*, 3rd ed., Rio de Janeiro, 1906, I, 206–207.

[4] Marchant, *From Barter to Slavery*, 62. For a description of the captancies and their failure see William B. Greenlee, "The First Half Century of Brazilian History," MID-AMERICA, XXV (April, 1943), 91–120.

[5] Victor Viana, *Histórico de formação económica do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, 1922, 121.

[6] Prudencio de la C. Mendoza, *Historia de la ganadería argentina*, Buenos Aires, 1928, 28. While this account deals with cattle in Argentina, the information concerning the origins of those cattle is also pertinent to the industry in Brazil.

[7] Greenlee, "First Half Century," *loc. cit.*, 112.

there were not enough cattle to permit their use for purposes other than as beasts of burden. So badly needed were the cattle as draft animals that at that time beef was not ordinarily eaten in Brazil.[8]

The cattle industry received its greatest impetus following the founding of the captaincy-general in 1549. In that year the Court abandoned its former policy and initiated a single government for the entire colony. Henceforth it was the obligation of the Crown to furnish Brazil with colonists and supplies. Among the supplies sent out cattle were significant. The first such cattle provided under the new policy arrived with the fleet carrying the first Governor-general, Thomé de Sousa.[9]

The Governor-general set up his capital on the *bahia de Todos os Santos* in the former captaincy of Bahia.[10] For the development of the cattle industry the site was a fortunate choice. The bay formed a natural harbor, while the *reconcavo,* the crescent-shaped coastal plain which lay behind it, was readily accessible and extremely fertile, thus permitting easy shipping facilities and fine pasture for the livestock imported into the new colony. The rich meadow grasses, found in abundance throughout the entire region, were excellent forage for draft animals. The cattle which fed on these pastures soon recuperated from the effects of the ocean voyage, and in a minimum of time were acclimated to the new land.[11]

In addition to cattle the Governor-general's fleet also carried other domestic animals and fowls from the Portuguese islands, as well as European grains, fruit, and vegetables. These products were to be used by the nearly one thousand persons who sailed with Thomé de Sousa to the New World. Of the voyagers, approximately four hundred were convicts and political prisoners exiled from Portugal, over three hundred were soldiers and other Crown employees, while at least two hundred were genuine colonists who soon became the landed gentry of the colony.[12] It is not known exactly how many cattle came with the fleet, but Pedro Calmon, in his study of the Casa da Torre, stated that they were sufficiently few that they could all be herded by one man. The scarcity of animals made the avail-

---

8 Varnhagen, *História geral,* I, 285.

9 João Capistrano de Abreu, *Capítulos de história colonial, 1500–1800,* 2nd ed., Rio de Janeiro, 1928, 65.

10 Ruth Lapham Butler, "Thomé de Sousa, First Governor General of Brazil, 1549–1553," MID-AMERICA, XXIV (October, 1942), 243. The bay, discovered in 1501 on All Saints' Day, was called Bahia de Todos os Santos. The capital was named Cidade do Salvador da Bahia de Todos os Santos and has been called Bahia, Salvador, and now Baía.

11 Capistrano de Abreu, *Capítulos,* 65–66.

12 Varnhagen, *História geral,* I, 314–340.

able ones very valuable to the colonists. An old bull sold for 13$000 (thirteen mil reis), and a young one sold for 15$000 (fifteen mil reis) in 1549. This was an enormous price when it is considered that one of the fortresses guarding the city was erected at a cost of only 2$100 (two mil one hundred reis).[13]

The new colony, heavily subsidized by the Crown, prospered from the start. Within a few years sugar plantations covered most of the *reconcavo*. Although the herds multiplied rapidly, sugar production expanded at such a rate that natural increase alone could not satisfy the growing demands of the planters for draft animals. Furthermore, the colonials were not unaware of the value of introducing new stock to improve the strain of their cattle. Such cattle and other supplies necessary for the plantations were provided largely by annual shipments to the colony.[14]

With Thomé de Sousa, in 1549, came the first group of Jesuits, Father Manuel da Nóbrega and five companions, whose Order was destined to develope large cattle holdings along the littoral of Brazil. In their capacity as educators they were granted lands in the vicinity of the capital, and later near the other newly founded cities, whose products were for the support of the teachers and students in their *colégios.*[15] Additional support came from the crown and from the colonials. This aid was often in the form of livestock, so that within a few years each Jesuit school had its private herd of cattle.[16] In their capacity as missionaries and guardians of the Indians similar grants were made and herds developed in the *aldeias,* or missions among the organized Indian groups, which became self-supporting by reason of the grazing and agricultural produce. Thus, under the Jesuits cattle were taken into the interior, but still not to the depth of the great grazing areas of the west. Some Jesuits and explorers had early penetrated the *sertão,* as the unoccupied regions were termed, but no sustained efforts toward settlement had been made. Nor did the Jesuits pierce the *sertão* with their herds, but at each mission cattle played an important role.[17]

The rapid expansion of the herds held by the Jesuits is appreciated more fully when one learns that they were originally started with

---

[13] Pedro Calmon, *História da Casa da Torre,* Rio de Janeiro, 1939, 15.

[14] Robert Southey, *History of Brazil, 1500–1808,* 2nd ed., London, 1822, I, 213–216; Butler, "Thomé de Sousa," *loc. cit.,* 246.

[15] Jerome V. Jacobsen, "Nóbrega of Brazil," MID-AMERICA, XXIV (July, 1942), 184.

[16] Serafim Leite, *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil,* Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro, I, 167–186.

[17] *Ibid.,* I, 176.

twelve heifers given by the Crown to Padre Nóbrega in 1552. It is difficult to estimate the total number held by the Order at any time after that date, but indicative of the great growth of the herds is the order of the Visitador of the Company, in 1588, requiring the *colégio* at Bahia always to maintain no less than five hundred cows at one time in its corrals.[18]

While the holdings of the Jesuits were expanding during the second half of the sixteenth century, the rest of the colony was experiencing a similar growth. That growth was due almost entirely to sugar. By 1580, when the Portuguese empire became subject to the flag of Spain, Brazil had become the leading sugar producing area of the world. Most of that production was confined to Bahia and Pernambuco.

The growing importance of cattle in the latter part of the sixteenth century was indicative of the expansion and development of agriculture in the colony. That development was especially obvious in the *reconcavo* where all of the available lands had soon been alloted to the colonists in large tracts, called *sesmarias*. The average size of *sesmarias* near the capital was three square leagues.[19] The occupation of the entire *reconcavo* demanded a large supply of oxen, for, in addition to those required on the sugar plantations, many were used in the production of cassava, cacao, cotton, and tobacco. For most of the above crops cattle were used to clear the land, to prepare it for planting, for cultivation, and for the harvest. However, there is no doubt that during the early period far more oxen were needed for the production of sugar than for any of the other crops, probably more than for all the other crops combined.

Figures for the number of oxen necessary to power a sugar mill and plantation in the sixteenth century have not been found, but methods of sugar production changed so slowly in Brazil that it seems safe to accept João Antonio Andreoni's figures for 1711 as applicable to the earlier period. According to Andreoni, one of the keenest observors ever to write on Brazil, a typical sugar plantation in the *reconcavo* was separated into four divisions: the sugar fields, the wood lot or forest, the pasture, and the *roça,* or land used for raising food for the plantation. In the case of the wealthier planters

[18] *Ibid.*, I, 177. According to an inventory of the Jesuit Province of Brazil for 1701, the total cattle holdings of the colleges, residences, *aldeias*, and missions was 29,243 head; these were in about 90 herds; *Ibid.*, V, 588–596.

[19] F. J. Oliveira Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro*, 3rd ed., São Paulo, 1938, 71–72. The Portuguese *légua de sesmaria* was a unit of linear measure of 6,600 meters, or slightly more than four miles.

the mill also was included as a part of the plantation. Each planter ordinarily maintained his own herd of cattle and for that purpose there were usually one or two corrals on the plantation where the oxen were kept. The animals which were being used at the time were given cane fodder in addition to their pasture. Cattle were used to pull carts of cane from the fields to the mills, to haul firewood for the boilers where the syrup was purified, and in many cases to serve as power for the mill itself. Although the mills varied in size it was estimated that an average water-mill required at least four or five carts and twelve or fourteen strong pairs of oxen to supply it with cane and fuel at harvest time. Apparently many more animals would be necessary for an ox-power mill, for in addition to those needed to pull the carts, several teams of six or eight strong beasts were required to turn the mill.[20]

While the plantation economy of Bahia and Pernambuco was promoting the development of vast herds in the north, far to the south cattle were becoming fairly important in a region not dominated by sugar culture. In the captaincy of São Vicente, there had grown up a community of *mamelucos,* of mixed Portuguese and Indian blood. These Paulistas of the sixteenth century, slave hunters and gold seekers, are important to this study because they introduced cattle from São Paulo northward into the upper São Francisco Valley.[21]

The São Francisco River would be an asset to any country. Its headwaters are 350 miles northwest of Rio de Janeiro and about 150 miles north of São Paulo at an altitude of 2,800 feet. From these it meanders parallel roughly to the coast of Brazil at a distance of about 350 miles inland. It flows north-northeast for about 2,000 miles, then bends northeast for 250 miles, then southeast for another 250 miles. It is thus equal in length to the Mississippi, though its drainage basin about the size of Texas is less. It empties into the Atlantic from a mile-wide mouth midway between Pernambuco or Recife and Baía or Bahia, 200 miles from each. Navigation stops at the Paulo Affonso Falls, the triple falls of 265 feet in a gorge fifty feet wide, some 190 miles from its mouth. These famed falls are at the end of about 190 miles of rapids and whirl-

[20] João António Andreoni, *Cultura e opulência do Brasil por suas drogas e minas; com um estudo bio-bibliográfico por Affonso de Escragnolle Taunay,* São Paulo, 1923, 115. This book, first published in Lisbon in 1711, was immediately suppressed by the crown.

[21] Affonso de Escragnolle Taunay, *História geral das bandeiras paulistas,* São Paulo, 1924, I, is an excellent account of the origins of São Paulo.

pools. The São Francisco Valley was to become the great grazing land.

Long before any cattle reached the headquarters of the São Francisco, cattlemen from Bahia and Pernambuco were pushing their herds along the coast toward the mouth of that river. As the *reconcavo* became crowded, demands were made for lands farther from the capital, and many planters received grants in the coastal plain north of Bahia. As yet the cattle industry was an integral part of the sugar economy, and the animals were owned almost exclusively by the planter class. But, with the expansion up the coast, agriculture and grazing tended to become separate industries. The great landowners began to let portions of their holdings to the poorer colonists in the tidelands and on the frontier where a considerable number of Portuguese immigrants, men who were socially or economically ambitious, became cattlemen.[22]

For over one hundred miles to the north of Bahia the land was divided in *sesmaria* among the leading families of the colony. These vast estates were not densely populated since they were used, at first, primarily for grazing. It became the custom to establish a corral every few miles, thus holding the land against attack while permitting maximum pasture for the stock. Each corral usually consisted of ten cows and a bull, with one or two cowboys to guard them.[23]

The cowboys, known as *vaqueiros* in Brazil, also served as soldiers whenever necessary. Many of the more important landowners were able to muster private armies of several hundred such men when the occasion demanded. The importance of private armies in the conquest of Brazil was first illustrated in the case of Sergipe, which lay between the Rio Real and the mouth of the São Francisco. The area had never been occupied by the Portuguese but was located on the line of march of the corrals and plantations moving up the coast from Bahia. In 1573, when the cattlemen were preparing to push across the Rio Real, the Indians attacked. The savages not only halted the Portuguese but drove them back and stopped the further occupation of the coast for nearly twenty years. Finally, in order to break the power of the Indians, the institution of the "just" war was adopted.[24] Captives taken in such a war could be enslaved despite the fact that Indian slavery had been prohibited. In addition to the

---

22 F. W. Friese, "Drought Region of Northeastern Brazil," *Geographical Review*, XXVIII (July, 1938), 372.

23 Geraldo Rocha, *O Rio de São Francisco*, São Paulo, 1940, 4.

24 Capistrano de Abreu, *Capitulos*, 78. War could be waged only against tribes which first attacked the colonists. Captives in such a "just war" could be enslaved.

inducement of slaves, the Governor-general granted *sesmarias* in Sergipe to the leading cattlemen, and supplied their troops with government weapons. Supported by official sanction and arms, the feudal landowners, in 1590, effectively broke all Indian resistance south of the São Francisco.[25]

The occupation of Sergipe was completed almost exclusively by Bahian cattlemen. The land proved so suitable for grazing that within a few years the entire province teemed with cattle. The occupation marked a further definite step in the separation of the livestock industry from agriculture; for many sugar planters who had previously maintained large corrals on their plantations now found it more advantageous to supply themselves with oxen from Sergipe.[26]

At the São Francisco River the cattlemen from Bahia met a similar group, from the captaincy of Pernambuco, who had been pushing their herds south ahead of the sugar plantations expanding from Olinda.[27] Their conquest of the province of Alagoas, just north of the São Francisco, had been accomplished by much the same means as those employed in Sergipe. By 1600, all Indian opposition had been so completely eliminated that it was possible for the first time to travel safely by land between Bahia and Pernambuco.[28]

By the end of the first quarter of the seventeenth century the cattlemen of the littoral were ready to begin the advance into the valley of the São Francisco. At that time there were approximately four hundred corrals and eight sugar mills in Sergipe, while Alagoas had experienced a similar growth. Some of the more restless *vaqueiros* had already pushed into the *sertão,* and a few of them may have penetrated more than two hundred miles from the coast.[29] However, the movement up the valley had scarcely started when it was interrupted by the Dutch attack on Pernambuco. In May, 1630, they captured Recife, the chief port of Pernambuco, and, after a bloody campaign, the whole province. From this base they extended their sway south to the Rio São Francisco and north around the bulge to Maranhão. Although Pernambuco was more productive of cattle than the province of Bahia, the cattle industry was not yet of sufficient importance to have persuaded the Dutch to attack Brazil.

---

25 Varnhagen, II, 33–38.

26 Vicente do Salvador, *História do Brasil,* (Lisbon, 1627), 3rd ed., São Paulo, 1918, 336.

27 The rise of the cattle industry in the province of Pernambuco was similar to that in Bahia, but the former exceeded the latter in sugar production and in the number of cattle raised.

28 Capistrano de Abreu, *Capítulos,* 79.

29 Friese, "Drought Region," *loc. cit.* 363–372.

It was the wealth to be gained from sugar which convinced the directors of the Dutch West India Company that a Brazilian colony would be a profitable venture, though trade in hides might provide a substantial income.[30]

The effects of the Dutch occupation on the cattle raising were important. The thriving livestock industry was nearly destroyed in the initial campaigns. Later it was revived and expanded under Governor Maurice of Nassau. During the last decade of the Dutch occupation renewed hostilities forced it inland. The Dutch forced relatively large numbers of men to visit the *sertão,* which was found suitable for livestock. This was especially true along the São Francisco where both belligerants became well acquainted with possibilities on the left bank.[31] The advance into the valley had begun even before the final expulsion of the Dutch, for, prior to 1650, prominent cattlemen loyal to Bahia, had been rewarded with huge *sesmarias* beyond the Paulo Affonso Falls.

In the São Francisco Valley

The advance of the cattle industry into the lower valley of the São Francisco was both logical and inevitable. By the middle of the seventeenth century the danger from foreign enemies was largely removed. Also, there was the need for the growing *mameluco* class to find a place for itself in the Brazilian economy. Although technically free, the mixed bloods were excluded from the agricultural society by the prohibitive operating expenses of the sugar industry. Consequently, the men of this group became *vaqueiros* in the *sertão* where the competition was less keen. However, the political and social factors which prompted the shift of the livestock industry to the interior were secondary to the basic fact that there was no longer enough room on the coastal plain for both agriculture and grazing. Even before the Dutch invasion there had developed a growing antagonism between the sugar planters and the stock-men. Since the planter class dominated the coastal society, the laws which were promulgated favored that group against the interests of the cattlemen. The final victory of the agricultural society over the cattle industry in the littoral came in 1701, when, by royal decree, all

[30] Hermann Watjen, *O domínio colonial hollandez no Brasil,* São Paulo, 1938, 76.

[31] Felisbello Freire, *História territorial do Brazil,* Rio de Janeiro, 1906, I, 31.

grazing was prohibited within approximately fifty miles of the coast.[32]

The proximity of the São Francisco Valley to the sugar area and to the coastal settlements, where increasingly greater amounts of oxen and beef were demanded each year, was one of the fundamental elements determining the choice of the valley over other regions of the *sertão* as the center for the production of livestock. That center did not shift from the valley until bigger markets for cattle arose in the South.

The forces which indirectly led to the rise of the cattle industry in the upper valley of the São Francisco varied considerably from those which resulted in the movement of the herds into the lower valley. While the colonists of the northeast were occupied with the Dutch, the Paulistas of the South had begun to move into the upper reaches of the São Francisco. Legends, which had never been disproved, about El Dorado at the headwaters of that river, lured the Paulistas into that region.[33] On their expeditions into the valley they advanced slowly, for they often established corrals of cattle, planted crops and awaited the harvest before moving on. Frequently, a single expedition, or *bandeira,* would remain in the *sertão* for several years. It has not yet been definitely determined when the first such *bandeira* entered the São Francisco region, but it is generally accepted by Brazilian authorities that the territory had been visited before 1600.[34]

The Paulistas did not confine their activities to the upper valley alone, but, as Indian fighters, extended their influence into the area being occupied from the northeast. After the middle of the century the movement of the cattle industry into the *sertão* from Bahia and Pernambuco was retarded by serious Indian wars. The forces from Bahia were unable to put down the opposition without aid, so they called in the *bandeirantes* from São Paulo. On several occasions assistance was sent from the southern province, but the Indians had formed such a strong federation that for nearly forty years even the Paulistas were no match for them. Finally, in 1690, Mathias Cardoso, with a *bandeira* from São Paulo, and aided by *sertanejos,* the men from the *sertão* of Bahia, Pernambuco, and Ceará, defeated and

---

[32] Roberto C. Simonsen, *História económica do Brasil,* 1500–1820, São Paulo, 1937, I, 230.

[33] Antonio Galvão, *The Discoveries of the World, from Their First Original unto the Year of Our Lord 1555,* Translated by Richard Hakluyt, 1601. London, 1862, 170.

[34] Alfredo Ellis Junior, *O bandeirismo paulista e o récuo do meridiano,* 2nd ed., São Paulo, 1934, 84.

scattered all the war-like tribes of the northeast. The Indians remained in small units along the western frontier and in Goyaz, but they were never again strong enough to pose a serious threat to white domination of the interior.[35]

Fortunately for the cattlemen, at no time during seventeenth century were all of the natives of the interior united in their resistance to the advance of the white men. Consequently, even while the Indian wars were going on, the *vaqueiros* were pushing their way up the São Francisco and its tributaries. For, as Roberto Simonsen said:

> It was easier for the cattle raisers, than for the sugar planters, to establish a peaceful "modus vivendi" with the Indians. The work on the cattle ranches was incomparably easier and more adaptable to the Indian temperament than the rough labor of the sugar mills, where the natives perished in a short time. This was the reason for the alliance with the different tribes, which permitted a more rapid expansion of the ranches.[36]

The same "modus vivendi" which the cattle raisers established with the Indians, they ultimately were able to establish with another unruly element in the interior. The latter were bandit gangs, composed of runaway Negro slaves, *mamelucos,* and renegades from the coast, who had gone into the Bahian *sertão* while the cattlemen were being detained by the conquest of the Indians of the valley.

From their headquarters in the interior these bands "infested the trails, attacked the *fazendas* (ranches), stole cattle, and kept the population in a state of unrest."[37] The complaints of the frontier settlers finally gained the attention of the governor-general who resorted to customary Brazilian practice to alleviate the situation: the area occupied by the disturbing element was granted to a powerful cattleman who was to restore law and order by force of arms. In this manner order was established while feudal control over most of the valley passed into the hands of a few wealthy cattlemen.

The destruction of the lawless elements assisted the spread of the cattle industry, for it was now reasonably safe for the *vaqueiros* to push their herds into the valley. The landholders began to bring their families from the coast to live on the *sesmarias* in the valley. Also, at that time, most of the former outlaws became *vaqueiros.* They were soon to be found as herdsmen for the proprietors of the *sesmarias,* or their vassals.

The absorption of the bandits and Indians into the pastoral scene in the valley had not yet been completed when a new market for

---

[35] Urbino Sousa Vianna, *Bandeiras e sertanistas baianos,* São Paulo, 1935, 32–45.

[36] Simonsen, *História económica,* 230.

[37] Sousa Vianna, *Bandeiras,* 49.

cattle suddenly developed in the *sertão.* Undoubtedly the greatest single factor hastening the rise of the São Francisco catlte industry was the discovery, in 1695 and after, of rich gold mines near the headwaters of the river. The "rush" which followed the news of the gold strike involved tens of thousands of people, who were soon heavily dependent upon the *fazendas* of the valley for food supplies. Eventually, large herds were raised in the mining area, but for many years the beef demanded by the miners was provided by the northern ranchers who had previously sold all their animals in the coastal markets.

The geography of the area drained by the São Francisco River,[38] which favored grazing while discouraging sugar production, differed markedly from that of the coastal plain. When the cattlemen entered the valley they found three distinct geographic zones rather than a single homogenous unit. The first zone, called the *mimoso,* was the lower valley, along that part of the river between the Paulo Affonso Falls and the Atlantic. The second major division, the middle valley, or *agreste,* to the west and south of the lower valley, lay upstream between the Paulo Affonso Falls and the confluence of the Rio das Velhas.[39] The upper valley, known as the *campos,* was located entirely within the area of the present State of Minas Gerais, to the south of the middle valley. Each of the divisions differed from the others in elevation, climate, and vegetation, but all were suitable for grazing.[40]

The temperature of the lower valley was higher, on the average, than that of the coastal plain. Upstream the climate was more moderate. Seasonal changes were not great, so that no special provisions had to be made to protect the herds from the elements.[41] There was a relative scarcity of rainfall in the valley during much of the year. Periodic droughts were a characteristic of the northern section of the middle valley as well as of the *sertão* of the northeastern provinces. Rainfall in the valley varied from a negligible amount in the north, during drought years, to as much as forty inches per year, at times, in the upper valley.

---

[38] Jorge Zarur, *A bacia do médio São Francisco,* Rio de Janeiro, 1946, 2. The drainage basin is about 260,000 square miles.

[39] Unless otherwise stated all rivers mentioned hereinafter are tributaries of the São Francisco.

[40] Vicente Licinio Cardoso, *Á Margem da História do Brasil,* São Paulo, 1933, 23.

[41] Orland Valverde, "Divisão regional de vale do São Francisco," *Revista Brasileira de Geografia,* VI, No. 2 (April-June, 1944), 189. Preston James, *Latin America,* New York, 1942, 410–431, has maps of a general nature.

The main source of difficulty in the drought area was an uneven distribution of rain in both time and place. It usually fell in thunder showers between January and June, but the dry season sometimes lasted for more than six months. The periods of drought were interspersed by annual floods sometimes spread to a width of fifteen miles. Following the November rains in the mountains of Minas Gerais, the São Francisco would begin to rise and seldom recede again before March. These inundations often caused great losses among the herds along the river bank. The floods were valuable, however, in that they covered the valley floor with a rich, black silt, which was a source of great fertility.[42] The combination of floods followed by periods of drought led to the formation of numerous salt-beds in the lower and middle portions of the valley for a distance of three degrees of latitude. The presence of that permanent salt supply, without which the cattle could not thrive, was one of the most important factors in the spread of the herds into the valley.

According to Portuguese law all salt was to be sold under crown monopoly at a set price. Since such salt was supposed to be shipped from a few royal salt works on the coast, the cost of the monopoly product was prohibitive in the *sertão*. It was fortunate for the expansion of the cattle industry that the cattlemen of the valley were in a position to ignore the law, for throughout the greater part of the colonial period it was most profitable to raise cattle in those regions where salt did not have to be imported.[43]

Beginning in the last quarter of the seventeenth century the growth of the cattle industry in the valley was remarkable. By the decade of 1670-1680 there were herds along the Rio das Velhas, in the upper valley visited by the Paulistas. Herds from Bahia had occupied the *agreste* region of the lower middle valley, but the area between those two centers was for the most part uninhabited.[44] However, shortly after the turn of the century the entire valley was dotted with cattle ranches, called *fazendas* in the *sertão*. The area from the mouth of the river to the mine fields had been so well settled that a traveller could ride for fifteen hundred miles through the valley without having to spend a night out-of-doors.[45]

---

[42] Johann B. von Spix, *Viagem pelo Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, 1938, II, 194.

[43] J. J. da Cunha de Azeredo Coutinho, *An Essay on the Commerce and Products of the Portuguese Colonies*, London, 1807, 7.

[44] Calmon, *Casa de Torre*, 83.

[45] Capistrano de Abreu, *Capítulos*, 75–90.

The *fazendas* of the valley were made up of many corrals, which varied from two hundred to one thousand cattle each. Some *fazendas* claimed herds of as many as twenty thousand head. When Andreoni wrote, in 1711, the cattle of the valley had propagated to a total of 500,000 in the *sertão* along the right bank of the São Francisco, while in the area governed by Pernambuco across the river there were 800,000.[46] It seems very likely that the Paulistas drove cattle as well as slaves back with them from the wars in the northern *sertão.* It was reported that before 1700 there were over one hundred Paulista families dedicated to raising cattle in the upper valley, and it is doubtful if there had been sufficient livestock in that region before the wars for natural propagation to have accounted for a rapid increase in numbers. Without the aid of additional cattle from the North, the herds of the Paulistas would have grown slowly, since they were started from a smaller nucleus than most of the northern herds. In the upper valley the cattle had previously been used primarily as a food supply for the gold-seekers and were sold to the planters of the coast, as was the case on the Bahian cattle ranges. It is apparent, at least, that cattle from Bahia were available to the livestock men of the upper valley, for thousands of head of cattle had been driven from the coastal plain to the São Francisco Valley.

Most cattlemen entered the valley with the knowledge and approval of the government, which granted them lands and extensive authority over the surrounding territory. However, there were large numbers of men who were not so favored by the colonial government. A considerable percentage of them were independent *vaqueiros* who followed their small herds westward in search of new pastures; while the lure of the frontier attracted many of the propertyless *mameluco* class, who went into the *sertão* in hope of beginning a new life. A few of the latter started as farmers, and from the beginning a small amount of farming was carried on in the valley. However, most of them, too, soon entered the cattle industry as cowboys. None had received any title to the lands they occupied. The condition was similar to that encountered in peopling the western United States; but the Portuguese colonial government developed no system, like the United States homestead law, to create a class of small landholders in the interior. Rather, when the governor learned that a group of such squatters had settled in a certain locality, that locality was granted in *sesmaria* to a leading cattleman. The new owner would then establish a *fazenda,* introduce more

[46] Andreoni, *Cultura,* 264.

cattle, organize the corrals, and gradually bring the settlers under his influence and into his service.[47]

Thus the lands along the São Francisco, and along most of the rivers and streams in the *sertão* between it and the coastal plain, were settled by Bahian cattlemen before 1700. Many received large grants in the valley, but three families in particular benefitted from them. The Ávila family, which already had vast holdings in the littoral and had been important in the cattle industry since the time of the first governor-general, received title to more than two hundred leagues along the left bank of the river, plus extensive lands in Piauhy. The Munizes family received large tracts along the Jacuipe River between the capital and the São Francisco, while the Casa da Ponte, of the famous Brito family, had gained control of 160 leagues in the middle valley.[48]

While the great feudal houses of the coastal plain were gaining sovereignty over much of the Bahian *sertão,* the Paulists were extending their holdings in the upper valley. Before the end of the Indian wars such holdings were relatively few and small, since the energies of the Paulistas were devoted primarily to war and gold hunting. However, by 1700 many of the Paulistas had returned from the wars to settle as cattlemen in the *sertão.* They preferred the life of great landholders in the areas acquired by their arms.

The Paulistas did not receive such huge *sesmarias* as had been given to the Bahian cattlemen. The Indian fighter, Mathias Cardoso, and nineteen of his companions, were granted lands in lots of only four square leagues each. The size of the *fazenda* established and the amount of cattle raised on one *sesmaria* by the individual Paulista were largely determined by the number and docility of his slaves. Antonio Gonçalves Figueira, one of the officers under the command of Mathias Cardoso, had received seven hundred slaves at the end of the Indian wars. With these he was able to set up three separate *fazendas* of cattle along the Rio Verde, in Minas Gerais.[49]

The huge herds and vast land grants were the property of a relatively small group of cattlemen. The concentration of such a large degree of the wealth of the valley in the hands of these men tended to perpetuate in the *sertão* the feudal system of the coastal plain. The problem of distance, encountered in the interior, was largely

[47] T. Lynn Smith, *Brazil, People and Institutions,* Baton Rouge, 1946, 474.

[48] Helio Vianna, *Formação Brasileira,* Rio de Janeiro, 1935, 79.

[49] Diogo de Vasconcellos, *História antiga das Minas Geraes,* Bello Horizonte, 1904, 64.

responsible for such differences as grew up between the societies of the two areas. In general, the practices which had developed in the coastal society were exaggerated in the valley. Seldom were *sesmarias* of less than ten leagues granted to the Bahian cattlemen who sought lands in the interior.[50] Individual *fazendas* were more isolated from outside contacts and control than was the case in the coastal settlements, with the result that the proprietor of a *sesmaria* in the valley was very nearly the absolute ruler over all persons under his control. Not until later, 1754, was the absolute sovereignty of the proprietor over his *sesmaria* somewhat restricted by the law, which required him to maintain the public roads that crossed his property, and, when necessary, to provide ferries for the use of travellers.[51] However, because of the distance from the seat of government, the laws of the colony applied on the *sesmaria* only to the extent that the proprietor wished to respect them.

Although the wealthier proprietors of the *fazendas* sometimes imported fine wines, expensive household goods, and clothing from Portugal, the isolation of the cattle ranches and the lack of regular trade with the coast compelled the *sertanejos* to become almost completely self-sufficing. In the environs of the villages which sprang up around the "casa grande" were found mechanics and handicrafts-fact that the analytical apprpoach often leads the writer into the men of all sorts. Iron, one of the few articles that had to be imported, was worked into tools and horseshoes at the village forge. Carts were made by local carpenters and wheelwrights. Harness, shoes, and leather goods of all kinds were made from hides cured on the *fazenda.*[52] Beef, both fresh and sun-dried, was common, while hogs raised near the village provided the inhabitants with pork and lard. Nearly all food consumed in the village was produced in the immediate vicinity.[53] In the flood lands of the nearest river or stream the cattle ranch contained a *roça,* or cultivated plot, large enough to supply the villagers with the corn, beans, and cassava which made up the chief items in the *sertanejo's* diet. Flour was ground from the corn and cassava in the mill located in the village. When possible, small amounts of sugar cane were grown, from which sugar and rum were manufactured for local consumption.

---

50 Oliveira Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro,* 71–72.

51 Freire, *História territorial,* I, 139.

52 Richard F. Burton, *Exploration of the Highlands of Brazil; with a Full Account of the Gold and Diamond Mines. Also, Canoeing down 1500 Miles of the Great River São Francisco, from Sabará to the Sea,* London, 1869, II, 39.

53 Pierre Denis, *Brazil,* London, 1911, 337–338.

Thread and cotton cloth for clothing for the slaves and laborers were spun and woven from cotton grown on the *fazenda.* Even the tobacco used by the *vaqueiros* was grown and cured on the *fazenda.* Except for iron the *vaqueiros* and slaves usually required nothing that could not be produced in the *sertão.*[54]

At times the villages were more than able to supply their own needs. On such occasions, especially on the *fazendas* which were located along one of the numerous cattle trails, or on the main route to the minefields, the surplus goods were sold to the trail drivers, or to the miners. The Arraial das Pedras, on the São Francisco River in northern Minas Gerais, was such a ranch. Cattle and horses were the most important products, but the flour, coarse cotton cloth, sugar and rum, as well as tools and leather goods which could be obtained there made that *fazenda* one of the principal commercial centers of the *sertão.*[55]

With the development of the cattle industry in the valley, nearly all of the inhabitants soon became cattlemen or dependents of the large landowners. However, the Indians of the valley who had not been involved in the wars against the whites were an exception. During the early part of the seventeenth century Jesuit priests had gathered many natives of the *sertão* together in villages, called *reducções,* where they were converted to Christianity and introduced to the ways of civilization. As the cattlemen entered the valley some of the Indians left the villages to become cowboys, but the majority remained under the guidance of the priests.[56]

The most colorful, and probably the most important, social group in the valley was the *vaqueiros.* These men, drawn from among the landless Europeans, *mamelucos,* Indians, and free Negroes of the colony, performed the heavy labor of caring for the vast herds of the *sertão.* Some men were attracted to the life of the *fazenda* by the excitement of frontier existence, while others became *vaqueiros* because they hoped in that way eventually to become cattlemen in their own right. Customarily the *vaqueiro* served for five

[54] J. F. Normano, *Brazil, a Study of Economic Types,* Chapel Hill, N. C., 1935, 69.

[55] Diogo de Vasconcellos, *História média de Minas Geraes,* Bello Horizonte, 1918, 101.

[56] Friese, "Drought Region," *loc. cit.,* 139. The conflict which emerged between the Jesuits, as champions of the natives, and the cattlemen, who wanted the Indians as slaves, was settled temporarily in 1671. By royal decree proprietors could exercise no authority over Indians of villages even though living on lands granted in *sesmaria.* This law was in effect to the end of the colonial period, and, although honored more in the breach than in practice, a considerable number of the Indian villages continued as free communities until after the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1759.

years without pay, when he was placed in charge of several hundred head of cattle, as an associate of the proprietor.[57]

When the *vaqueiro* first advanced into the *sertão* he left the company of women of his own kind; for the rigors of the cowboy's unsettled life, with the ever-present danger of Indian attack, discouraged the establishment of normal family relationships prior to the pacification of the region and the development of the cattle *fazendas.* The racial strain of the *vaqueiro* group thus tended to become predominantly Indian as the *mamelucos* from the littoral and from *São* Paulo consorted with the women of the defeated tribes. Before the valley was fully conquered a few white women and *mamelucas* from the coast were present, but it was not until after the discovery of gold, with the attendant influx of population, that the percentage of white women rose enough to reverse the trend toward Indianizing the *sertanejo.*[58]

The life of the *vaqueiro* revolved about cattle and the *fazenda,* where he usually remained for most of his life. Even when he managed to attain a herd of his own he often continued to work for the proprietor as before. His cabin, which was located on the *fazenda,* was usually well constructed, of adobe or brick, but of only one story, floorless, and unsealed. The condition of the *vaqueiro's* home reflected the importance of the *fazenda.*

Like the cowboy of the American West, and the gaucho of Argentina, the *vaqueiro* learned to ride at an early age, and did nearly all of his work from horseback. Firearms were not common in the *sertão,* but every man carried a long knife which served as a useful tool in his daily tasks, and as a weapon when necessary. The *vaqueiro* of the Brazilian *sertão* was distinguished from the American cowboy, and from the Argentine gaucho, by his use of a lance instead of a rope as his most important tool. The life of the *vaqueiro* was one of monotonously long days and heavy labor, and while the men became quite skilled in their hazardous work, many of them eventually met death by accident in the *sertão.*[59]

The institution of the round-up and the trail drive were similar to those of the United States and Mexico. During most of the year the cattle roamed at will on the range, but at calving time, in early Spring, the animals were driven into the corrals, where the new calves were cared for. At the same time the yearlings were branded

---

57 Euclydes da Cunha, *Os sertões,* 15th ed., Rio de Janeiro, 1940, 124.
58 Capistrano de Abreu, *Capítulos,* 184.
59 Burton, *Exploration,* II, 192.

and a certain number were separated, to be driven to market on the coast or in the minefields.

The importance of the *vaqueiros* lies in the fact that they were the group who supplied the manpower with which to fight the savages, to push back the frontier, and to people the São Francisco Valley. Their contribution to the expansion of the colony was doubly valuable, for, not only were relatively small numbers of such men able, successfully, to occupy an area far larger than the entire settled coastal region, but they did so at very little cost in men and supplies to the colonial government. Although the lands were granted to the important cattlemen, it was the *vaqueiros* who actually settled the new region, and assured the prosperity of the cattle industry in the interior.

Valley Cattle in the Brazilian Economy

The cattle industry of the São Francisco Valley prospered because it satisfied a definite need in the colonial economy of Brazil. Eighteenth century Brazil was basically an agricultural colony, dependent upon cattle for power, transportation, food, and leather; and, with the exclusion of the herds from the littoral, most of those cattle, until the end of the colonial period, came from the São Francisco Valley. While sugar remained the most important export crop the greatest demand was for beasts of burden on the coastal plantations and in the mills. In 1711 there were over five hundred sugar mills in Bahia, Pernambuco, and Rio de Janeiro, plus others in the *reconcavo* and along the coast. In Bahia alone there were 146 large mills dependent for oxen almost entirely upon the herds of the valley.[60] Large numbers were driven from the interior to the capital every year, as replacements were required constantly because the oxen were too small to survive for long the rigorous labor demanded of them.[61] Each mill owner and planter was obliged to purchase draft animals before they were actually needed, and to maintain a number of them in reserve, for it required eighteen months to accustom the oxen from the *sertão* to the new pasture, and to break them to the yoke.[62]

As the cattle increased fresh beef became such an important item in the colonial diet that a large percentage of the animals driven from the *sertão* to the plantation area were destined for that purpose.

---

[60] Andreoni, *Cultura*, 170.

[61] In the colonial period probably very few Brazilian cattle weighed 1,000 pounds; the majority weighed less than 800 pounds.

[62] Andreoni, *Cultura*, 115.

Since refrigeration was unknown, the planters bought cattle on the hoof, to slaughter them as the need arose. In the cities and towns the preparation and sale of meat was regulated by the local council or *câmara,* which determined the amount to be sold, the price, and the days on which the beasts were to be slaughtered.[63] Even with such control a great deal of meat was wasted by spoilage.

Beef was also a major part of the *sertanejo's* diet. Many of the *vaqueiros* ate meat almost exclusively. In the valley the *vaqueiros* learned to preserve meat by rubbing it with salt and drying it in the wind and sun. Once thoroughly dried, that meat would keep almost indefinitely unless exposed to dampness. On the *fazendas* fresh meat was common, but when the *vaqueiros* were with their herds, or on the trail, the sun-dried *carne de Ceará* was their staple.[64]

Milk, butter, and cheese were produced, both in the older settlements of the littoral and on the *fazendas* in the *sertão.* However, there was no dairy industry as such, and the lack of care exhibited in the preparation of the butter and cheese was reflected in the poor quality.[65]

The discovery of gold and the tremendous "rush" of population into the *sertão* of the upper São Francisco Valley and the Rio das Velhas provided the greatest impetus to the development of the São Francisco cattle industry as a provider of beef for the rest of the colony.[66] The lure of sudden wealth was so great that people flocked into the area without realizing the difficulties to be encountered, namely, the shortage of food and the remoteness of the mines from the centers of agriculture and grazing. The livestock industry already established in that region, geared to the needs of a sparsely settled frontier, was far from sufficient to supply the demands of the miners. Consequently, the first years of the gold boom were ones of serious privation. "There was gold to spend and to spare; yet at times there was nothing to buy."[67] The early miners paid little or no attention to agriculture, and death from hunger was not uncommon. Because of the primitive means of

---

[63] Cassiano Ricardo, *Marcha para oeste,* Rio de Janeiro, 1940, 129; Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil,* 2nd ed., London, 1817, I, 353.

[64] Affonso de Escragnolle Taunay, "Na Bahia colonial, 1610–1761," *Revista do Instituto histórico e geográphico brazileiro,* XC (1921), 253.

[65] Capistrano de Abreu, *Capítulos,* 272; John Mawe, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil,* 2nd ed., Philadelphia, 1816, 80.

[66] On the importance of the valley cattle as a food supply for miners, see Manoel Cardozo, "A History of Mining in Colonial Brazil, 1500–1750," (unpublished doctoral dissertation in the Stanford University Library, 1939), pp. 200 ff.

[67] *Ibid.,* 207.

transportation it was impossible to bring anything but exiguous supplies from Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, or São Paulo.[68]

The best, and most obvious, route to the mine fields was that along the São Francisco River from Bahia. It was open to oxen and well stocked with water and pasture lands, while the expense of hauling goods from Bahia to the new towns was less than from any other port. However, in an effort to stop the large-scale movement away from the coast, and to prevent smuggling, the Crown, in 1701, prohibited all commerce between Bahia and the mines.[69] It was soon evident that without a regular supply of cattle, which could come only from the São Francisco Valley, the miners would starve; so within the year the order was suspended. The provision permitting the passage of herds over the forbidden route was repeated in 1703. In that year, after the worst of the food crisis had passed, an ox was valued at one hundred drams of gold in the mine fields.[70] As a result of the demand for cattle at prices far above those offered in the capital, cattle from the Bahian *sertão* poured into Minas Gerais by the tens of thousands.

The cattle industry also increased in the mining area, but only to a limited degree before 1750. The governor-general granted *sesmarias* in the *sertão* near the mines to Paulista cattlemen, in order to promote the livestock industry, and herds were introduced; but even with official encouragement local producers could not keep pace with the growing demands. It was not until after the decline in gold production had begun, and much of the population dispersed, that Minas Gerais was able to supply its own food requirements.

The São Francisco cattle industry developed, not only because it provided the colonists with food and power, but also because it supplied them with leather. It was the "age of leather", and, to an extent difficult to realize today, the Brazilian economy was dependent upon the use of that product. This was especially true in the *sertão,* where, as Capistrano de Abreu stated:

> The door of the cabin, the rude bed thrown on the ground, and later the childbed, were made of leather; all ropes, waterbags, haversacks, bags for storing clothing, feed-bags for the horses, hobbles for tying them, scabbards, knapsacks, clothing for riding through the brush, vats for curing hides and for purifying salt, all were made of leather; . . . even snuff was carried in leather snuff-boxes.[71]

---

68 *Ibid.*, 208.
69 Simonsen, *História económica*, 240.
70 Andreoni, *Cultura*, 218.
71 Capistrano de Abreu, *Capítulos*, 180.

The extensive use of leather goods was not confined to the interior, but was also practised in the coastal settlements and in the metropolis. In the latter places the demand was greatest for luxury leather products. This demand for leather increased during the eighteenth century until it exceeded that for beef, and every year thousands of cattle were slaughtered for their hides alone.[72]

Four types of leather were prepared in Brazil. In the São Francisco Valley, where salt was readily available, many of the hides were merely scraped and salted, and sent to the littoral or to Portugal for processing. Hides cured without removing the hair, known as *couros em cabello,* were highly valued in Portugal. A fine specimen was worth half the price of the animal from which it came. The most common type was the *meio de sola,* the heavy half-hide used chiefly for making boots; while the finest grade prepared in the colony was the *couro atanado,* or tanned leather. The latter was exported in much smaller quantities than the other three types.[73]

Before 1700 it is probable that most of the hides gathered in Brazil were used in the colony, but during most of the following century leather was shipped to the mother country in ever-increasing amounts. At the beginning of the century ninety thousand *meios de sola* were exported from Bahia and Recife, while another twenty thousand were shipped from the southern captaincies, chiefly through the port of Rio de Janeiro.[74] At that time a *meio de sola* sent from the southern port could be purchased in Lisbon for one-third the price of the same article shipped from Bahia.[75] This situation was due to the fact that, in order to attract the trade of the mining area to Rio de Janeiro, the crown had fixed lower shipping charges between that port and Lisbon. Those rates remained in effect until the capital of the colony was transferred to Rio de Janeiro from Bahia, in 1763. At approximately the same time Portugal removed the import and export taxes on leather from Brazil, while freight rates were lowered and equalized in all ports of the colony.[76] Although, with the expansion of the southern cattle industry, larger amounts of leather were shipped from Rio de Janeiro, Bahia and Recife continued until the end of the colonial period, as the centers of the leather trade because of their location near the vast northern herds. As a result of the new policy, the export of hides and leather

---

72 Azeredo Coutinho, *Essay on Commerce,* 5.

73 Felix Contreiras Rodrigues, *Traços da economia social e política do Brasil colonial,* Rio de Janeiro, 1935, 291.

74 Andreoni, *Cultura,* 270.

75 *Ibid.*

76 Simonsen, *História económica,* 259.

to the metropolis increased rapidly, until, by 1777, it was second in value only to sugar.[77]

However, in the last decade of the century the trade began to decline; it never fully recovered. When Robert Southey wrote, in 1807, leather was not among the leading articles shipped from the northern ports, while in Bahia, ten years later, leather was only an insignificant export item.[78] Despite the loss of trade in the north, leather remained important in Rio de Janeiro for many years. Many factors contributed to the depression in this trade. One was the lowered demand for it in Europe, where the age of leather was passing. Another was the gradual shift of the center of the cattle industry to the south, toward the end of the colonial period. Probably the most important single factor lay in the exploitation of the immense herds of wild cattle in Rio Grande do Sul and in the La Plata region, after 1775. Most of that trade was contraband, carried on chiefly by British shippers.[79]

The decline of the Brazilian leather trade, however, was not quite as serious as it would seem from the above, for, with the development of larger, faster ships, many thousands of cattle were exported to Portugal annually before the end of the colonial era.[80] In addition, and far more important in volume, was the large amount of hides shipped legally but not entered as leather in the customs records of the empire. Those hides were used as covering for rolls of tobacco and bales of cotton.

Tobacco, indigenous to Brazil, was first exported in quantity by the Dutch. The Portuguese later continued the trade, chiefly to the African slave coast. Even before the expulsion of the Dutch, the Crown, in 1642, permitted the free production of tobacco in all parts of the colony.[81] Almost immediately the crop was planted by small farmers in the coastal area, for it could be raised in lands unfit for sugar cane without expensive equipment. The practice of wrapping the rolls of tobacco in leather was apparently begun by the Dutch. The tobacco was pressed into rolls of approximately 250 pounds each, wrapped with coarse leaves, and then a *meio de*

---

77 F. Contreiras Rodrigues, *Traços*, 292. In one year Rio de Janeiro exported 183,530 hides, nearly twice the number sent from all Brazil a hundred years earlier.

78 Von Spix, *Viagem.*, 241–248.

79 Affonso de Escragnolle Taunay, *Visitantes do Brasil Colonial*, São Paulo, 1933, 180.

80 Von Spix, *Viagem*, 247.

81 Pedro Calmon, *História da civilização brasileira*, 2nd ed., São Paulo, 1935, 82–83.

sola was sewn tightly around the entire bundle.[82] This custom obviously created a great demand for hides, for every year thousands of rolls of tobacco were shipped from Brazil. From 1642 until 1800 tobacco rose greatly in importance as an export product. In 1659, the tax on tobacco alone provided one-half as much revenue as the tithe in Brazil, and by 1710, so much tobacco was exported that the revenue from that product brought the crown more than twice the amount received as the royal fifth from the gold mines.[83] As the *sertão* was occupied a greater area was devoted to tobacco culture, and exports continued to increase. With the decline of the mines so many persons turned to the production of tobacco that, by 1777, that crop ranked third among exports from the colony. In Bahia tobacco retained its position until the very end of the colonial period, but the rising importance to Brazilian foreign trade of the cotton culture of Marahão and the northeast caused tobacco to be overshadowed as a use for hides.[84]

The custom of wrapping tobacco with leather also was applied to cotton, which "when ready for packing, [was] pressed into raw hides, so hard as to form very heavy packages."[85] For the last twenty-five years of Portuguese rule in Brazil, the number of these "packages" was far greater than rolls of tobacco exported. Also, cotton was of more importance to the cattle industry, for, depending upon the weight of the cotton, one or two complete hides were needed to wrap each bale. The concentration of cotton production in Maranhão and in the Northeast was determined, at least in part, by the proximity of the herds of the São Francisco Valley and Piauhy.

The market for oxen, beef, and hides, which developed at the mines and in the coastal area, gave rise to long cattle-drives, one of the most colorful features of the cattle industry. Trail herds, known as *boiadas,* were a product of the expansion of Brazil, and had existed to a limited degree since the end of the sixteenth century. With the conquest of Sergipe small herds of cattle were driven from frontier pastures to the *reconcavo* where they were sold to the planters. In the northeast a trail was opened between Rio Grande do Norte and Pernambuco even before the arrival of the Dutch, but in the Bahian *sertão,* between the capital and the São Francisco River, trail

---

82 Andreoni, *Cultura,* 265.

83 Calmon, *Civiização brasileira,* 83. In 1710, 27,500 rolls of tobacco were sent to Portugal from Bahia and Pernambuco, each roll wrapped in a *meio de sola* worth one-sixth the price of the tobacco. See Andreoni, 266.

84 Southey, *History of Brazil,* III, 799.

85 Mawe, *Travels,* 269.

blazing and settlement did not take place until after 1660.[86] However, as the cattlemen advanced up the São Francisco and its tributaries, they soon opened roads between the valley and the coastal plain, with the result that before the discovery of the mines, cattle were regularly converging upon Bahia from five directions.[87] During the seventeenth century the cattle of the valley were driven almost exclusively to the Bahia market, and, even though many herds were later diverted to the mining area, large numbers of the animals continued to be sent to the capital.[88]

To the south the road along the São Francisco between São Paulo and Bahia had been opened by the Paulistas during the Indian wars of the last quarter of the seventeenth century. *Boiadas* were driven by that route to the mines even before the decree of 1701 prohibited such trade with the northern *sertão,* but after the ban against Bahian cattle was lifted there developed the long drive along the São Francisco River and the Rio das Velhas. Herds from the upper valley were naturally attracted to the new market by the relatively short distance to be travelled. However, as the ranches in that region could not supply all of the beef demanded by the miners, *boiadas* from as far north as Piauhy soon became a common sight in the mining area. For the cattlemen in the northern *sertão* could dispose of livestock to professional trail drivers at the corral gate for the same price that the animals would bring in the capital.[89]

As the result of the development of a cattle industry in the mining area in the second half of the eighteenth century, Bahia again attracted most of the cattle from the middle São Francisco Valley and from Piauhy. Every year a larger percentage of the *boiadas* arriving in the *reconcavo* came from the western pastures, as the increase in the herds of the Bahian *sertão* failed to keep pace with the demands of the sugar planters and the growing export trade.

As the *boiadas* travelled ever greater distances from the interior certain definite characteristics of the trail drives became evident. To discover the main routes followed by the *boiadas* between the *sertão* and the cattle markets it is only necessary to look at a hydrographic map of the region, for whenever possible the *vaqueiros* drove their charges along the river valleys where they were assured a supply of water and pasture.[90] Eventually cattle trails fol-

---

86 Orlando M. Carvalho, *O rio da unidade nacional, o São Francisco,* São Paulo, 1937, 24–26.
87 Southey, III, 757.
88 Andreoni, *Cultura,* 268.
89 *Ibid.,* 269.
90 Calmon, *Civilização brasileira,* 43.

lowed the valley of nearly every river flowing eastward through the captaincy of Bahia. From the headwaters of the coastal streams, in the *agreste* region, it was usually only a short march to another river flowing in the opposite direction into the São Francisco. However, on the left bank of the river there were few tributaries, so that it was often necessary for the *boiadas* to travel several days through arid country. In this region it was sometimes possible to dam the seasonal streams and, by irrigation, provide pasture for passing herds.[91] At such places the herds were rested before continuing on their journey. Because the amount of pasture in such spots was usually quite limited, trail herds seldom exceeded two hundred head of cattle. Halting places, called *pousos* (rests), were definitely marked at intervals of twenty or twenty-five miles apart, an average day's march in the *sertão.* At many of the *pousos* small villages sprang up to serve the needs of the passing *vaqueiros.*

Cattle which were on the road for several weeks or months grew thin and tired, so it became the practice, in areas where there was abundant pasture during the rainy season, to rest the herds and fatten them before driving them on to the market. At such places, known as *invernadas,* the chief towns of the *sertão* developed. The most important of these were Jacobina, in the Bahian *sertão,* and Arraial das Pedras and Contagem, in Minas Gerais.[92] Sometimes the *boiadas* remained in the pastures near these towns for five or six months, so the cattlemen who had driven them from the interior usually sold them to local merchants, later to be re-sold at fairs held in the mining area or near the coastal ports.

Because of the necessity for large pastures for the thousands of cattle sold every year, the towns in which the fairs were held were usually located fifteen or twenty miles from the chief market. Near Recife, Goyana was the central point for the sale of cattle from the northern *sertão,* while in the *reconcavo* Capoame, Feira de Sant'Anna, Cachoeira, and Aramary developed as the chief fairs for the *boiadas* which arrived from the hinterland of Bahia. All of the above fairs had been developed before the discovery of the mines and continued to serve the littoral for the remainder of the colonial period.

In the mining region of southern Bahia and Minas Gerais the most important fairs developed at Curralinho, Condeuba, and Treis Coraçoes. With the decline of the mines the fair at Juiz de Fora,

---

[91] Southey, III, 757.
[92] Vasconcellos, *História antiga,* 220.

between the minefields and Rio de Janeiro, surpassed the older centers in importance.[93]

By the end of the colonial era the outstanding fair was held at Sorocaba, in São Paulo. Although Sorocaba was chiefly famed as a mule market, the number of cattle sold there increased steadily during the last half-century of the colonial period.[94] The growing importance of that fair served to illustrate the fact that the center of the cattle industry was shifting to more recently occupied provinces. By 1822, when Brazilian independence was proclaimed, the new herds developing in the south and west were successfully challenging the position of the São Francisco Valley as the leading livestock area. The unrivalled supremacy of the São Francisco cattle industry, which had been such a vital factor in the expansion, occupation, and unification of Brazil, came to an end with the end of Brazil's colonial status.

The Valley and the Nation

Aside from its importance as a source of food and wealth for the colony, the São Francisco cattle industry has made other significant contributions to the development of Brazil. The most obvious such contribution was undoubtedly as an expansive force, particularly within the area originally granted to Portugal by the Treaty of Tordesillas. Throughout the history of the colony there were cattle on the frontier, pushing into the *sertão* and serving as a buffer between the coastal settlements and the savages of the interior. The defense of the plantation society from the constant threat of attack permitted the rapid growth of wealth and population in the sugar area, while each year a portion of that wealth and population was diverted to the cattle industry, to continue the advance into the interior.

The occupation of the Brazilian hinterland was not a steady, uninterrupted march from the coast to the Andes, but rather an erratic, and often haphazard movement toward the interior, governed by the resistance of the Indians, by the climate, and by the vagaries of the cattle themselves. At times those three elements coincided to favor the occupation of a certain area, such as the middle valley of the São Francisco after the final defeat of the native tribes,

[93] *Ibid.*, 315 ff.

[94] A. F. de Saint-Hilaire, *Viagem á província de São Paulo*, São Paulo, 1940, II, 247–254. This account of the author's travels in São Paulo during the 1820's was first published in Paris in 1851.

but that was not always the case. The periodic droughts of the northeastern *sertão* long prevented the complete settlement of that region, while the instinct of the cattle led them to the fine pastures of Piauhy and Maranhão when hose provinces were still controlled by the warlike Tapúias.[95]

Although the cattle industry of the São Francisco Valley was vital as an aid to the expansion of the colony, its importance as a unifying force has been even greater. When Brazil was first colonized two widely separated groups of settlements appeared: São Vicente, Santos, and São Paulo in the south, and Bahia and Pernambuco in the north. For the first century the only communication between them was by sea, slow and uncertain. During the course of that first one hundred years the north and south developed along different lines, and had less in common every year. The Dutch occupation of the northeast, followed by the Indian wars in the *sertão,* which resulted in the opening and use of the São Francisco Valley as an inland highway between Bahia and São Paulo, began to reverse the trend toward separatism and made for closer contacts between the capital and the rest of the colony. Cultural as well as political ties were strengthened, as Paulistas in search of gold and slaves travelled over the river route and settled in the São Francisco Valley, where they mingled with Bahians from the north.[96]

The full importance of the valley as an interior link between the two regions of the colony was realized after the discovery of the mines of Minas Gerais. Thousands of people journeyed up the São Francisco from the capital and from the littoral settlements. In addition to the cattle from the valley which provided the miners with beef, a great deal of contraband was carried over the river route, although contact with Bahia was discouraged by law after 1701. The presence of a large number of Bahians and Portuguese, who had travelled to the mines by way of the valley, was quite probably the greatest single factor preventing a secessionist movement by the Paulistas after the discovery of gold.[97] In the War of the Emboabas, during the first years of the eighteenth century, the northerners defeated the movement, by force of arms.

Since the mining period the São Francisco Valley has continued to serve as a highway joining the north and south. During the colonial period cattlemen, miners, and *torpeiros,* or mule drivers,

---

[95] Oliveira Vianna, *Evolução do povo,* 224.
[96] Licinio Cardoso, *Margem da História,* 50.
[97] Capistrano de Abreu, *Capítulos,* 214.

carrying goods from Bahia and Rio de Janeiro, used the valley as a common route to the interior. In the last century *sertanejos* fleeing the droughts of the northeastern *sertao* have formed an important element in the traffic over the river highway.

The value of the natural geographic position of the valley as an interior highway, plus the dependence of the São Francisco cattle industry upon both the *reconcavo* and the cities to the south as markets for its products, have been great enough to counteract elements tending toward separatism in the valley. The importance of the lower valley as a common rallying ground for Brazilian resistance forces during the Dutch occupation has been mentioned earlier. However, the unifying action of the São Francisco Valley was most graphically portrayed during the two greatest crises in the evolution of Brazil; the discovery of gold in Minas Gerais, and the separation of Brazil from Portugal. During both those periods the importance of the São Francisco Valley to the most heavily populated regions served to maintain the unity of Brazil as a single nation.

ROLLIE E. POPPINO

Stanford, California

The Amateur Theatre in Iowa Life

The presentation of *tableaux vivants* and amateur plays claimed a great deal of the time, energy, money, and imagination of the townspeople living along the Mississippi during the Reconstruction Period. Such tremendous activity during a time when political, economic, and religious questions were of pressing concern to all the hustling members of the growing communities, when the pattern of their lives was changing radically, shows the vital place theatre had in the routine of their daily lives.

People who shared a common background of Greek and Roman mythology, as well as a thorough acquaintance with Biblical narrative, would be expected to draw on this knowledge for theatrical material, and they did. But what is more striking is their wide use of contemporary themes. What comes to us first from a survey of their activities is not so much a quaint, provincial portrait as an over-all picture of the important interests and prevailing problems of the time: the Civil War, abolition, women's rights, strong drink, immigration, the emergence of the United States as a world power, the expansion of the frontier, even bank failures and the business depression of 1873.

Homespun thespians of Reconstruction days were not passive recipients of mass-production amusements. They were the energetic creators of vital drama which had a meaningful place in their community life.

Their home-talent shows were, generally speaking, of two types: tableaux and dramatic performances. Of course, many entertainments combined the two and added music, dancing, a hearty meal and a bazaar; there were innumerable combinations. It is no exaggeration to say that during the sixteen years from 1864 to 1880, one tableau entertainment was given almost every week of the year in and around Davenport, Iowa, alone. It was not, however, until the latter part of this period, in the middle 1870's, that the local dra-

---

Editor's note: This article is a chapter from a Master's dissertation submitted to the Department of History of The State University of Iowa. The broader setting will be found in the article "The Early Theatre in the Upper Mississippi Valley," by Professor Harold E. Briggs and Ernestine Bennett Briggs, in the July, 1949, MID-AMERICA.

matic clubs around Davenport wrote and produced plays frequently, although they were active long before then.

The earliest newspaper notice of tableaux during the years of this study was on December 8, 1864, when the *Davenport Weekly Gazette* mentions that the Reverend Mr. Adams would have had a larger audience at the Methodist Church had it not been for the tableaux at Le Claire Hall. The net receipts from the tableaux, $132.55, were given to the treasurer of the Iowa Home of the Friendless.[1]

After the Civil War, amateur dramatics groups began coming into existence; the *Davenport Daily Gazette* mentions in January, 1867, the formation of The Hawkeye Dramatic Club at Washington, Iowa, and in December of that same year the Davenport Turner Society, organized in 1852, began a dramatic club for the purpose of giving selections from German drama. This group, which included ladies from Rock Island, intended to present an entertainment every two weeks during the winter. Their first presentation was "Hempel, or Doretan Street No. 99", given on the evening of December 12, 1867. Four months later, the enlisted men of Rock Island organized their own dramatic and musical association.

The following description of a typical celebration of the time contains elements similar to folk amusements as far back in history as we have knowledge of:

The Maskers

Comus and his disciples were on the streets last Saturday forenoon on horseback, in chariots and in numerous other vehicles. Alexis was in the procession and Comus himself was seated high above his followers—so high that tree branches brushed his headgear into the mud. All sorts of costumes representing different centuries were shown by riders who concealed their faces under hideous masks—and the cavalcade passed along the streets affording amusement for grown folks and followed by a crowd of boys all anxious to keep up with the band. This was the annual parade of the Thalia Verein—and in the evening their bal masque came off at the Turner Hall. It was attended by a large number of persons and revelry and mirth ruled the hours until satiety broke up the party and sent the devotees of wild pleasure homeward.[2]

At these masked parades and performances, the people were interested in representing not only the colorful and romantic, but also the near-at-hand, local subjects, as is evidenced in the following description of a Turnverein masquerade procession complete with a Prince Carnival and a Grand Marshal, a monster in green array:

---

[1] *Davenport Weekly Gazette*, December 15, 1864.
[2] *Davenport Daily Gazette*, January 15, 1872.

There were trumpeters in red, Uhlans and Cossacks in genuine array, mailed knights, take-offs on the Mormons, the gas works, the water works, the Russian bear, sausage making, cigar making, tailoring and many a thing else.[3]

The use of patriotic and literary motifs in these amusements is well illustrated in the review of the Lotus Club entertainment given at the Burtis Opera House in Davenport on February, 1873, in aid of the Poor Fund:

The house was full and the result will be the placing of $400 to $600 and maybe more at the disposal of the Ladies Religious and Aid Society. The entertainment itself was excellent. Strasser's orchestra furnished the music. The first tableau was "America, Honored of Nations"—Columbia en costume, beautifully represented standing within her sanctuary, receiving the homage of representatives of all the nations of the earth in the costumes of their different countries. The next tableau was "Barbara Fritchie"—the patriotic old lady putting her flag from the attic window as the drums of Stonewall Jackson's command are heard in the distance. The sound approaches, the tramp of the men is heard and at last Stonewall appears at the head of his men. "Halt; Fire!" The muskets blaze and the scene follows so well described by Whittier. The command marches on, the stragglers with their chickens and pigs, etc., creating hearty laughter. The applause was terrific. The Davenport Water Works, boy at a pump, was received with shouts. The Witch Scene from Macbeth was produced with all the weird surroundings that its author would seem to have attending it. The effect was excellent and the applause loud and long.[4]

Growing prairie communities eyed each other's dramatic activities with mixed feelings: jealousy, a patronizing attitude, ridicule, inferiority. All these manifestations were a part of a healthy spirit of competition. The patronizing attitude of the Davenporters toward their less "cosmopolitan" neighbors was shown in the query of the *Daily Democrat* when Waterloo organized a dramatic club: "Can she swing it?"[5] A similar quip was directed at Des Moines when such a local group was formed there: "*The Lady of Lyons* is to be its first victim."[6] Toward Iowa City, however, the *Democrat* felt inferior, for it commented, "Iowa City is ahead in the amusement line; it has a variety theatre for the season with songsters, dancers, funny men, pastime makers, etc."[7] Surveying the State of Iowa, the newspaper reports that, "Home-made theatres are quite the rage all around the Iowa villages."[8] Towns specifically mentioned are Lyons, Clinton, Keokuk, Muscatine, Lansing, and Farley.

---

3 *Ibid.*, February 5, 1872.
4 *Davenport Daily Democrat*, February 18, 1873.
5 *Ibid.*, October 17, 1873.
6 *Ibid.*, November 14, 1873.
7 *Ibid.*, November 18, 1873.
8 *Ibid.*, November 21, 1873.

The business depression of 1873, far from killing interest and support, provided themes for several entertainments. A series of Panic Parties were given in the homes of Davenport and Rock Island citizens, and a Panic Charade Club was organized.[9] On January 27, 1874, this club presented *A Scrap of Paper,* which was favorably received.[10] On February third this play was repeated, followed by the farce, *The Loan of a Lover,* which earned $200 for the club.[11]

Perhaps no other individual did more for Davenport home-talent shows than Dr. J. J. Burtis. Besides generous gifts of time and energy, he built the Opera House and also a hotel for visiting dignitaries. Soon after his Opera House was re-opened on the first of May, 1874, having closed during the depression year of 1873, Dr. Burtis appeared in a local production of Kotzebue's *The Stranger,* given on June 11th. While the work on this play was in progress, the *Daily Democrat* commented: "The rehearsals already show that Davenport will not have to blush for its dramatic while its musical talent is acknowledged everywhere."[12]

In regard to the quality of the play, the *Democrat* noted:

> It requires dramatic talent of no ordinary ability to give anything like a truthful representation of the author's characters; for this reason, very few of the travelling self-styled first-class dramatic companies have the piece among their repertoire and we believe it was reserved for the Dramatic Club of this city to present this grand domestic drama for the first time to a Davenport audience; that it was put upon the stage in an acceptable manner and rendered ably was duly testified by the warm and earnest praise accorded on all sides last evening.[13]

Through pardonable local pride the *Democrat* erred in this belief; for *The Stranger* had been presented in Davenport by Hough and Myers in 1856 and by Hough's Company in 1857.[14]

The Davenport Dramatic Association presented Richard Shiel's five-act play, *Evadne,* or *The Statue,* on August 22, 1874, and followed it with the after-piece, *Box and Cox.* That the importance of vital local dramatic activity was appreciated is shown by the *Democrat's* review:

> If the dramatic association of our city did nothing beyond making our people familiar with the plays which, from their lack of sensationalism and

---

9 *Ibid.,* January 16, 1874.
10 *Ibid.,* January 28, 1874.
11 *Ibid.,* February 4, 1874.
12 *Davenport Daily Democrat,* April 27, 1874.
13 *Ibid.,* June 12, 1874.
14 Joseph S. Schick, *The Early Theatre in Eastern Iowa,* The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1939.

inherent excellence, are never placed upon the boards by regular companies—it would do a good thing. They are art educators and let us see what the grandest minds of old times have produced.[15]

From this time on until 1880, the terminal date of this study, home talent dramatic organizations grew rapidly in number. November 1874 saw the formation of a Junior Dramatic Association[16] which presented *Box and Cox* and a series of tableaux at a private residence in Davenport.[17]

By 1875 the local dramatic group had affixed to themselves the professional title, "The Corps Dramatique," and presented *East Lynne* with considerable finesse as reported by the *Democrat*:

> . . . the amateur company solved the great drawback to such entertainments: a careless committal of their parts, and the consequent stage waits and blunderings. Each part was evidently well committed and played so naturally as to surprise. There was no striving after effect nor efforts to catch the sympathy of the audience. Smoothly, precisely and naturally the piece went off from the rising of the curtain to the going down thereof, it being played in less time by one hour than is usually given it by professionals—the work of Professor Lyman being clearly observable in every entree and exit, in every tone and gesture. I say "clearly observable" because otherwise, the people would be at a loss to account for the carefulness of the acting.[18]

The Corps Dramatique were requested by the citizens of Rock Island to give the play there. A year later, on April 17, 1876, they presented *Caste,* followed by a farce called *Lodgings at the Centennial,* which had been written by Mr. Frank I. Jervis, a local man who took a very active part in home talent dramatics during this period.[19]

Another group of amateur thespians was formed in 1876, calling itself the Eclectic Club. On January fourth they presented *Bread on the Waters* with the after-piece called *The Milk Maid,* interspersing the two shows with music and tableaux.[20] Three months later they gave the comedy, *Naval Engagements,* followed by the farce, *Family Jars.* Both of these appearances of the new club were made at the Unitarian Church in Davenport.[21] A member of the Eclectic Club, Mr. S. A. Fisher, wrote and acted in several long plays which the group produced. The first of these, a four-act drama entitled, *Fate, or The Gypsy's Ransom,* was presented by the club on Valen-

15 *Davenport Daily Democrat,* August 22, 1874.
16 *Ibid.,* November 19, 1874.
17 *Ibid.,* November 23, 1874.
18 *Ibid.,* March 8, 1875.
19 *Ibid.,* April 18, 1876.
20 *Davenport Daily Democrat,* January 3, 1876.
21 *Ibid.,* March 23, 1876.

tine's Day of 1877 at the Unitarian Church, with the author playing the male lead.[22] The second play written by Mr. Fisher was a five-act drama called *The Siege of Richmond,* which was given by the Eclectic Club in April of this same year with the author again sustaining the male lead.[23] The review of this second production is important because it reveals that a sense of the craft of playwriting was being developed by the reviewer at least, which probably reflected a keener critical taste on the part of the local audiences. Also, the review is an interesting example of the influence of Victorian value judgments upon aesthetic questions:

> We have seldom seen a play presented on our local stage so full of admirable situations or chaster dialogue. The author is no mean imitator of predecessors in the line of playwriting. He has an unerring sense of the unities of the drama and it is no fault of his if theatre criticism is presented by persons whose living is adaptation to dramatic effort. The play is nearly faultless from a dramatic point of view; there is nothing overstrained and the moral is unexceptionable . . . We are unhesitatingly of the opinion that Davenport possesses in Mr. Fisher a playwright of excellence and an actor in many characterizations of great ability.[24]

The Eclectic Club's next venture was a children's play, *Mother Goose,* given at the Unitarian Church on February 15, 1878. They followed this a week later with *All a Mistake,* a three-act play in which Mr. Fisher again starred.[25]

As the Negro population around Davenport grew, they too gave expression to their histrionic gifts. On February 2, 1876, they gave an entertainment at the Olympic Theatre for the benefit of one of their members who had lost his property by fire. The year previous, in July, they had given their own minstrel show featuring old plantation songs.

The year 1877 saw the organization of yet another home-talent group, the Emerald Dramatic Association, which was composed of young people belonging to St. Marguerite's Total Abstinence Society. On St. Patrick's Day, March 17, 1877, they gave their first performance, *Ireland As It Was,* at the Burtis Opera House.[26] This was repeated on Decoration Day and followed by the farce, *The Persecuted Dutchman.*[27] On December 18th of this same year they gave a four-act Irish comedy, *Peep O'Day.* For this occasion fifteen

---

22 *Ibid.,* February 6, 1877.
23 *Ibid.,* April 14, 1877.
24 *Ibid.,* April 17, 1877.
25 *Davenport Daily Democrat,* February 21, 1878.
26 *Ibid.,* March 16, 1877.
27 *Ibid.,* May 25, 1877.

members of the amateur dramatic association of Muscatine spent the day in Davenport, by invitation of the Emerald Dramatic Association, and attended the performance that night at the Burtis.[28] Dion Boucicault's play, *Arragh Na Pogue,* was put on the boards by the Association on St. Patrick's Day of 1879; the costumes for the play came from McVicker's Theatre, Chicago.[29] The group cleared four hundred dollars by their entertainment, the funniest part of which was "A refractory mule that was brought upon the stage and refused to move across it or back off and that had to be shoved off finally by the united company."[30] On Thanksgiving Day of this year the Emerald Dramatic Association gave Falconer's four-act play, *Eilene Oge, or Dark's the Hour before Dawn.*[31] They gave a second Boucicault play, *Glendalough,* for the benefit of the Irish Relief Fund, with scenery and costumes from Chicago.[32]

The new amateur dramatic group to come into existence in 1879 was the Mezercon Club, which gave a show for the benefit of the Davenport Total Abstinence Society on February eighth. The program consisted of *Down by the Sea* followed by the farce, *The Man with the Demijohn.*[33]

The local Art Association, noticing that interest in home-talent shows was growing rapidly, formed a Dramatic Section which produced Brougham's *The Gunmaker of Moscow* at the Burtis Opera House on May 15, 1878.[34]

A different type of dramatic entertainment, combining acting, tableaux, and military drills, was organized by a Colonel E. B. Temple who used local people in presenting his *Union Spy,* a Civil War panorama which he had been copyrighted and had been presented in several other Iowa towns: Muscatine, Des Moines, Dubuque, and Cedar Rapids.[35] The proceeds of the performances were to be used for uniforming the Davenport State Guards. The review gives the most clear-cut statement of the public's attitude toward theatrical entertainment that was printed in the newspapers of this period. People were becoming conscious of their own reactions to drama, and to variations of stage presentations. Standards for acting and staging were being evolved. That dramatic criticism was news is proved by the *Democrat's* long and thorough reply to a letter previ-

28 *Ibid.*, December 18, 1877.
29 *Ibid.*, March 8, 1879.
30 *Ibid.*, March 18, 1879.
31 *Ibid.*, November 23, 1879.
32 *Ibid.*, March 5, 1880.
33 *Davenport Daily Democrat,* February 8, 1879.
34 *Ibid.*, May 20, 1878.
35 *Ibid.*, February 24, 1875.

ously published by the *Gazette* which had condemned some of the elements of the play. The *Democrat* of February 24, 1875, made this unequivocal, if somewhat Victorian, statement regarding the importance of home-talent plays:

> The dramatic art is an art of the highest character, requiring skill and practice to attain any degree of perfection and developing the powers of elocution and representation. Its true design is to amuse and interest the listener by playing upon the higher sentiments of his nature. The most potent means by which the drama may be exalted to its true position and its abuses prevented, is by the universal approbation of all attempts to cultivate dramatic talent at home where the performers are men and women of recognized standing and character.

The year 1876 being the centennial of American Independence, the Davenport people started early to commemorate it. They formed a Centennial Association which inadvertently was responsible for dramatic excitement that was not make-believe. The ladies of the Association had planned a series of entertainments, the first one of which was given at Hill's Opera House on the evening of February 22nd. After the elaborate affair was over and all the participants had gone home, fire broke out, burning not only Hill's Hall, but fourteen other buildings in a half-block on Brady Street and nearly half a block on Third Street. The loss was a substantial one, not only to the firms whose buildings were destroyed but also to the ladies of the Centennial Association, who estimated that the value of the property they had borrowed for the show was about nine hundred dollars.[36]

On the Fourth of July of this year the city indulged in "The Largest and Greatest Allegorical and Historical Civic and Military Display Ever Witnessed." The city of Davenport hired Mr. Louis Kindt of Chicago, at an expense of two thousand dollars, to arrange the tableaux in the parade for them. In describing the parade, the *Democrat* reports:

> The tableaux were the wonder and admiration of everybody and reflect credit upon Mr. Louis Kindt, the architect and builder. Nothing like them has ever been attempted before west of Chicago and to the Committee of Arrangements who superintended the general management of matters, provided the costumes for the dressing of the ladies and gentlemen who sustained the characters of the tableaux, attended to all the details of the grand affair, and gave three months of their time and attention to this affair, the thanks of the people of Davenport are due for the success of the celebration.[37]

---

[36] *Davenport Daily Democrat*, February 24, 1876.
[37] *Ibid.*, July 5, 1876.

The following year the subject for several home shows was the presidential election with Hayes and Tilden as chief opponents. On January 27, 1877, the Harmonic Society held a masked ball at Turner Hall and gave tableaux the titles of which were: "The Three Presidential Candidates in a Pinch," "Cooper Not Forgotten," and "America Embracing Its Millions of Souls."[38]

The Fourth of July of 1880 was celebrated by the performance of *The Great Rebellion* which was reminiscent of *The Union Spy* in that it was based upon the Civil War, used local people, and included military drills.[39] The tableaux showed Peace and Union with thirty-seven states, and the "fraternal meeting of Massachusetts and South Carolina." On the day following its presentation in Davenport, the entire case of seventy-five people boarded a steamer and went to Clinton to repeat the performance.

The most active dramatic organization of all those flourishing during this period and one which, because of its vigor and function in the community, deserves a separate study, was the German Theatre. It presented dramatic productions, musical programs, tableaux, balls, and masques more frequently and on a larger scale than any of the other organizations described. The following three examples give a picture of the type of entertainment constantly being given at the German Theatre. On the anniversary of Schiller's birth in 1874 the Germans of Davenport gave a grand ball, a production of *Wilhelm Tell,* and a series of tableaux.[40] A masked ball of the Thalia Society at the German Theatre on February 2, 1878, drew eight hundred spectators and two hundred maskers who danced until dawn. The first tableau was of Queen Cleopatra and her servants of the sea, the second was an episode in the Revolutionary War, "Molly Pitcher at the Battle of Monmouth," the third was the "Watch on the Rhine," the fourth was a ballet, the fifth an elfin dance with "the queen in some manner of vessel drawn by four swans."[41] On the occasion of the 120th anniversary of Schiller's birth, November 10, five *tableaux vivants* illustrating his *Song of the Bell* were presented at the German Theatre in 1879. The remainder of the celebration included the singing of Schiller's song, "Joy Comes Next," by the Harmonic Society, the Maenerchor and the gesang-section of the Turner Society with Strasser's full orchestra accom-

38 *Davenport Daily Democrat,* January 27, 1877.
39 *Ibid.,* July 4, 1880.
40 *Ibid.,* November 11, 1874.
41 *Davenport Daily Democrat,* February 4, 1878.

panying. The third part was the presentation of Schiller's *Wallenstein's Camp.*[42]

The use of thematic material from literature is illustrated in the Dickens Carnival given in February, 1880, in which the Davenporters dressed themselves to impersonate two hundred of Dickens' characters in appropriate scenes which took two nights to show at the German Theatre. This was one of the high points of the home-made theatricals throughout this entire period. The first evening scenes from *Pickwick Papers, Old Curiosity Shop, Martin Chuzzlewitt, Nicholas Nickelby, Little Dorrit, Great Expectations* and *Mutual Friend* were given, each managed by a different director and each enthusiastically received. The following night scenes from *David Copperfield, Oliver Twist, Dombey and Son, Bleak House* and *Barnaby Rudge* were given, again each managed by a different director, the whole affair ending with a grand procession of all the Dickens' characters to music by Strasser's orchestra. The *Democrat* comments that the entertainment was "the most elaborate and extensive ever gotten up in Davenport."[43]

From this review it is easily seen that the Reconstruction days along the upper Mississippi were days of tremendous activity in amateur entertainments. These served to hold the separate parts of the community together, giving each part its native expression. The German Theatre and the Emerald Dramatic Association were the outlets of the immigrant groups. The Negroes had their minstrel shows. The total abstinence societies did more than preach; they acted. Political elections, business depressions, local civic affairs, all were utilized as dramatic material. History and literature were made to contribute to community initiative and amusement. People gave of their time, money, talent, and effort to create, from the material at hand, aesthetic enjoyment for themselves and for their neighbors.

BARBARA BRICE

Tallahasse, Florida

[42] *Ibid.*, November 6, 1879.
[43] *Ibid.*, February 6, 1880.

H. J. Coke on the Oregon Trail

In English agricultural history, T. W. Coke—"Coke of Norfolk"—has a place of honour. For, from the time he succeeded to his patrimony at the age of twenty four, till he died at the ripe old age of ninety, his restless energy was employed in putting his estates ahead of any farm in the country. He so improved his lands that their rental values increased from 2200 to 20,000 pounds in forty years. They became the cynosure of experts all over Europe, who looked at his fat Southdown sheep and Devon cattle, his Suffolk pigs and fields of wheat, with the deliberate curiosity of the impressed.

Till he was seventy, Coke's heir was his nephew William, a noted blood and inventor and sponsor of the "billycock" hat, for whom Coke had chosen as an intended wife Lady Anne Amelia Keppel. The nephew proving a laggard, the uncle, though in his seventieth year, married Lady Anne himself, and by her left a family of four sons and one daughter. Third of this quiverful was Henry, born on January 3, 1827.

The Honorable Henry J. Coke had an unusual life. He joined the navy when he was twelve, saw service in the China War of 1840–1, and left the navy the year afterwards, when his father died. Not long after his father's death, his mother received an offer of marriage from Mr. John Motteux, owner of Sandringham and a frequent visitor to Holkham, the Coke's Norfolk estate. Motteux, to press his suit, announced that he had made a will leaving Sandringham to Henry Coke. Henry's mother took her son into her confidence, and told him that she did not much care for Mr. Motteux. Henry advised her to send Mr. Motteux about his business. What Henry lost, the Crown of England gained, for Sandringham passed from Motteux to Spencer Cowper, and thence to the Royal family.

Henry Coke spent a few terms at Cambridge. But he was a restless soul, and in 1848 was in Vienna during the revolution. In 1849, he heard of the gold rush to California and decided to make a tour to America. He was, as the *Times* wrote of him, "a man of keen intelligence, intensely curious, and resolute at least to attempt the solution of every problem of life which presented itself." In 1852 he was found in Spain, whence he hurried home to contest Cricklade as a Radical, but he did not go to the poll. From 1855–1857 he was private secretary to Edward Horsman, the whig states-

man who at the time was chief secretary for Ireland. When Horsman resigned, he resigned, and in 1861 he married Lady Katherine Grey Egerton. In 1889 he succeeded to the family estate of the Cokes in Derbyshire, situated at Longford.

Henry Coke was almost an anachronism in the nineteenth century, a kind of swashbuckler, who was willing to warm his hands before the fire of life. His life spans two centuries. His father, if we are to believe Horace Walpole, fell in love with the Pretender's Queen, while he himself only died during the first World War, on 14 November 1916. As a youth, he had been taken to Holland House and kissed by its illustrious mistress. He was a habitue, when in London, of Mrs. Thistlewaite's drawing room in Grosvenor Square. He saw the great fight between Sayers and Heenan, and was a guest of Napoleon III at Compiegne. He knew, and spoke with, Ellen Terry and T. H. Huxley.

He wrote a number of books. Some, like *Vienna in 1848* (London, 1849) and *A Ride over the Rocky Mountains to Oregon and California* (London, 1852), were accounts of his travels. Others, more generally autobiographical, were *High and Low, or Life's Chances and Changes* (London, 1854), *Tracks of a Rolling Stone* (London, 1905) which ran to two editions in one year, and *Open Hatchways* (London, New York, 1907–8). He was himself profoundly disturbed by Froude's book *The Nemesis of Faith* (which had appeared in 1849) and showed it in several of his other books: *The Domain of Belief* (London, 1910) and *A Will and a Way* (London, 1858). Completing the bibliography of his works was *Mademoiselle de Scudery* (London, 1880) which was printed as a manuscript, not as a book. Coke was, like Captain Basil Hall, a naval officer, but he had not Hall's waspish pen. He has not even received the tribute of a biographical notice in the *Dictionary of National Biography,* and in view of his observations as a traveller he has needed some sort of treatment these hundred years. The biographical material herein briefly given has been culled from his writings, but the concern of this sketch is with his *Ride over the Rocky Mountains* from May 28 to November 14 of 1850, which has value as a contemporary description of the Oregon Trail and of the posts along it.

His trip to America one hundred years ago was very probably suggested by the Deputy Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, The Right Honorable Edward Ellice M.P., whom Coke's mother married on October 25, 1843, and who thereby became Henry Coke's stepfather. Moreover, his step-brother, Edward Ellice the

younger, had been to the North American continent eleven years earlier.

Coke set sail December 18, 1849, from England in the steamer *Teviot*—"a slow boat, a dirty boat, a noisy boat, full of slow people, dirty people, and noisy people." By Christmas Day he was at Madeira, and by January 8 at Carlisle Bay, Barbados. He spent Passion Week in Havana. It was here that he actually formulated the scheme of crossing the Rocky Mountains. He crossed from Havana to Charlestown in the steamer *Isabel,* and from there to New York, where he busied himself for his trip to the prairies.

Nine mules, eight horses, and two wagons finally set off from St. Louis on May 28, 1850. Besides himself and his friend Fred, there was a British priest of the Church of England "whose strength and dimensions justly entitle him to be called a pillar of the Church," and six Americans. It cost them 1,000 dollars each to fit the party, but as he noted "in this instance, want of management, the purchase of useless luxuries, and the fact of money being comparatively of no great object made our expenses more than double the outlay of ordinary immigrants." One of the party even took white kid gloves and patent leather boots, while Coke insisted on taking a wagon load of chocolate and ginger beer.

The first lap of the journey, from St. Louis to Council Bluffs, quickly disillusioned him. The caravan went by boat as far as St. Joseph, but even so, Fils, the French Canadian guide, managed to slip off unseen, deserting them with his rifle and three months pay. The journey from St. Joseph northwards to Council Bluffs was done on land, and was even more discouraging. The very first night, two mares broke loose; the rest of the animals sorely tried Coke's patience: "Nothing could be more provoking than the behaviour of our teams," he wrote on July 5, "each animal seemed to vie with its yokemate in making itself disagreeable. If they had any idea that it was necessary to pull together, they had no idea of attempting to do so, and all exertions on our part were discouraged by the most vehement kicks and plunges on theirs." So bad did the situation become, that the priest (whom Coke was by now calling Julius Caesar) returned to St. Joseph to buy ropes, picket pins, harness, and straps to replace those which the refractory mules had broken.

During this stage, they cut each others' hair for reasons of hygiene. Coke noted that it distinguished them from the Yankees "whose head and shoulders have all the appearance of dusty haycocks in the month of July." This severe polling had its effect, for

they all caught severe colds. The hills, the bad roads, and the refractory mules made it essential that they shed some of their luggage. One member of the party was sent back to sell 100 pounds of flour, while Coke sold 100 pounds of lead and a similar amount of sugar to a farmer whom he met on the road. The prairie itself filled him with admiration when they reached it on July 7. "What a sight it is!" he exclaimed, "All the descriptions in the world fail to give one the slightest conception of its real magnificence . . . even the mules doubled their speed when they found how easily the wagons rolled over the even sward."

Two interesting characters livened the trek northwards. One, a Philadelphian Yankee whom Coke called Jacob, attached himself to the parson as his servant in order to get to California. The other, a Yorkshire Mormon called Blazard, who was travelling to Salt Lake with his family and cattle, kept them company for a day of rest. Blazard, on his way out for the second time, was messianic in his fervour for Mormonism, and wished to baptize Coke and his party on the spot. Coke sold him the small wagon of the party, and Blazard showed his skill by repairing the wheels of the other wagon left to Coke's party. That remaining wagon, containing the chocolate and ginger beer, amongst other things, was an endless source of trouble, for in addition to its wheels breaking, they had perpetually to borrow oxen in order to pull it out of the muddy bottoms of streams and up the hills. It was in such a predicament that Coke lost his copy of Shakespeare on July 14.

When they reached Council Bluffs therefore, they decided to reorganize the expedition. Among the 200 immigrant wagons encamped there, there was a good possibility of a market, and with Jacob as an auctioneer in real life, they had the right person to dispose of them. So leaving him to sell the salt pork and the spirits, they pressed on to cash their drafts with Major Barrow, the Indian Agent. Major Barrow also obliged them by taking their remaining wagon off their hands, plus 100 pounds of lead, 40 pounds of powder, and all the ginger beer. To cement the good bargain, Coke raced his little gray horse against the major's. To everyone's mutual satisfaction, they raced a deat heat.

It was a different expedition that turned westwards across the Missouri for the second stage of the journey on July 20. Since nearly all the men that Coke and his two friends (Fred and the parson) had engaged, turned out to be useless on the trek north to Council Bluffs, their expenses were paid and they were given ten dollars each. In their places, they got a half breed guide from Major

Barrow who was to take them as far as Fort Laramie, over 500 miles westwards. His name was Jim. Jacob, the auctioneer, remained as did Louis and Nelson, two of the former hired men. Jacob was a thorn in the flesh to Coke, who confessed: "his utter uselessness is a source of provocation to me." Nevertheless, the fact that they now relied entirely upon mules and horses, and had sent back to St. Joseph all their heavy luggage, made for lighter, swifter travelling.

To avoid "being pestered with emigrants," the party crossed the Missouri, and struck westwards along the north bank of the Platte River. The regular Oregon Trail started from Leavenworth or Independence through Fort Kearney to Fort Laramie, across the Rocky Mountains, and up the Snake River. The mules continued awkward; a grey one bit Fred in the leg, and Coke trod on a nest of skunks. But there was good hunting. Antelopes, snakes, and buffalo, were the usual targets and, in hunting one of the last named, Coke himself was charged, his little grey horse gored, and himself unseated. Sometimes they would see Mormon wagons on the other side of the Platte. Mosquitoes tormented his horse, chiefly because of its conspicuous colour. Tempers grew short: while adjusting some packs two of the men quarrelled, and one drew a knife, and Coke only calmed them by threatening to leave behind any of them who behaved disgracefully. So, for over four weeks, they jogged along in the saddle, doing an average of from twenty to thirty miles a day, till on July 16 they came to Ash Point. This settlement was on the south side of the river, so Coke and Jim, the half breed obtained at Council Bluffs, swam across to visit it. It consisted of several lodges and a mud building, outside which two or three old traders were smoking. One of them bore such a strong resemblance to Chatillion, a celebrated hunter whom Coke had met in St. Louis, that he commented on the resemblance. It turned out that the old man was a brother, and welcomed Coke and the half-breed with a bowl of milk and some dried meat.

Cheered by this welcome, Coke borrowed a canoe, went back to the other side, and brought over the remainder of the party. They were shown the lodges "large enough to contain ten or fourteen people," whose floors were covered with buffalo robes, with tight spread skins forming the tent covers. The following day they travelled in four hours to Fort Laramie, a quarter of the distance which they had to traverse, according to Coke's reckoning.

Fort Laramie's commanding officer at first gave them a cold reception, despite the letter of introduction which Coke had brought.

Eventually he gave them permission to camp inside the reserve. When dining (in their mess) of young elk and green peas, Coke observed in his dairy, July 21: "they seem to want the cordiality that exists among brother officers in our army, and I believe would 'give out' if forbidden the use of the word 'sir'." At the fort, Coke managed to exchange his little grey for a big chestnut horse, and to buy eight Spanish mules for seventy five dollars each. Another man was engaged called William, to go with them; Jim the half breed was paid off. It took them nearly a fortnight to get the horses shod, to buy new lariats, and to lay in a fresh stock of provisions. Old Chatillion was engaged to manage their marching order, and at the last moment the half breed was taken on again. Coke commented: "the price of provisions and stores at the settlers' shop here is quite absurd; they know the emigrants are obliged to buy, there is no opposition, and they put fancy prices upon everything." He also noted that a number of soldiers had deserted from the fort and taken the best horses in the troop. "A Party left today to retake them," he noted on July 26," but the odds are greatly in favour of the deserters, especially if the capturing party take it into their heads to shoot the officer, and join the fugitives in the attempt to make their fortunes in California." But the enforced idleness was no balm to Coke either: "I do not remember to have spent a more tedious week than this last, 'tis beastly, 'tis perfect piggism." When he did make a start, it was a bad one. The mules bolted, ruining all they carried. So Coke discharged Chatillion, and engaged Abraham Morris in his place.

The third stage in the journey, from Fort Laramie to Fort Hall, took them from August 3 to September 5. This time the mules were all tied in a string to prevent them scampering and throwing their loads. Then they split into two trains, Fred in charge of one, and Coke in charge of the other. At the crossing of the Platte, they encountered two ferrymen, who charged half a dollar, and who, during the emigration, were earning as much as 300 dollars a day. To this they added a small trade in worn out horses. At Independence Rock, Coke and Fred digressed by themselves for two days unsuccessful hunting. When they returned to the main party, they found that quarrels were spoiling the harmony of the group. So, on Coke's suggestion, they split up into smaller parties travelling in twos and threes. The reason for the quarrels was probably, as Coke himself wrote: "our manners as Englishmen are perhaps more authoritative and imperious than our Yankee servants have been used to, and I have more than once overheard complaints that might

have been intended to be interpreted as threats." So, on August 15, they split into three: the parson and Coke himself forming the third party. The rations were equally divided, as was the money.

On August 16, a party much more interesting than the numerous trains of Mormons passed them, travelling eastwards. They were nine in number and came from California, guided by the famous Kit Carson. Coke noted: "I put some questions to them, but received very curt answers. They were a rough looking set, and were as rude in manners as in appearance. All I could learn was, that they had five mules laden with gold, packed in small square leather cases. They were heavily armed, mounted on good animals, travelled at the rate of four or five miles an hour, and were ready to show fight to any impediment they might meet with."

The ensuing sixteen days were not pleasant. It was so cold, that the lariat ropes were "like bars of ice." It took three hours to pack the poor numb mules on August 19, so that the following day they decided to jettison all but the very essentials of their baggage. "What with lead, bullets, powder, geological specimens, and old clothes", Coke commented, "we diminished our load so as to make one pack out of two, and left the ground strewed with warnings for future emigrants. Perhaps some of those who come after us will have strange stories to tell of wolves and bears seen prowling about in red flannel shirts and corduroy inexpressibles. I hope someone, at least, may profit by our loss. The two leather bags, emptied of rubbish, were adapted for carrying the hams."

Coke himself became ill with chills and fever. Travelling as they were through nothing but sand, the horses got little to eat, and they passed more than fifty dead oxen—a testimony of what might happen to their cattle if pasture was not forthcoming. By August 25 Coke was obliged to keep to his blanket all day, dosed with Brandreth's Pills. It was a Sunday, and Julius read prayers. Coke recovered by the time they reached Green River, however, and, with fishing rod improvised from a willow and thread, he was soon happily comparing the district to the family estate at Longford in Derbyshire. By August 28 they reached a mountaineers camp, where Julius traded his mare, plus all the whisky they had and twenty dollars, for another. The uphill road made the travel become tiresome. It was hot by day, and cold by night, with the ground scorched and pasture scarce.

On September 2, they gave up the idea of going to California for the present, and decided to make for Oregon. The decision was forced upon them by the bifurcation of tracks they reached on that

day. They rested at the Soda Springs, and, when they had moved on, discovered that they had left their last remaining spoon and fork there. The only knife now left to them was one of Coke's, a foot long. Coke and the parson had been rejoined by William, and though they had passed others who had been in the party from Fort Laramie, they did not rejoin forces. Three days later, on approaching Fort Hall, they met Fred and his little party, and though they had a long and friendly chat, decided to stay divided till they reached their journey's end.

Fort Hall, "a very ordinary mud edifice, walled in with adobes," enabled them to obtain two more horses, for which Julius gave the commander, Mr. Grant, a cheque for 300 dollars. When Coke first met him he "was basking on the shafts of a wagon in front of his portals." His grey head and beard, portly form, and jovial dignity were a ready-made representation of Falstaff, and would have done justice to the character on the boards of any theatre, without the additional bolsters and bass voices generally considered requisite to support it. A more satisfactory specimen of "the old country could not be wished for."

The fourth leg of his journey was miserable. Leaving Fort Hall on September 7, he and the parson, accompanied by William, made for Fort Boisée. The journey took them nearly three weeks. The valley of the Snake River was not fertile, and food for the horses was so difficult to find that they purposely did not light their camp fire till very late one night lest some other traveller might visit them and deplete their slender stock. They hit upon an emigrant band, whom they had met just before Fort Hall, purchasing from them 15 pounds of bacon, 15 pounds of bread, and three hard loaves. Riding in the loose dust, Coke lost his journal, which William had to recover for him. More serious was the loss of William himself, while they were crossing the Snake River.

The parson had managed to get over by fording, and Coke himself was almost over, when he was called to William's assistance. William, with the fear that every non-swimmer is prone to in a rushing stream, was drowned in spite of all Coke's efforts, and Coke himself only managed to reach the bank by the mercy of God. He was on one side of the river, while the parson was on the other. To cross was courting suicide in view of what had just happened. So Coke went further down the river looking for a likely place to cross, where he came upon an Indian, who, seeing by signs what was needed, led him to an Indian village. They forded him over and accompanied him to his friend's camp, where

Coke rewarded them with such items as had already been marked down by another band of Indians who had appeared.

From September 22 onward the going was easier as they entered the valley of the Boisée. Willow, aspen, alder, cherry, and cottonwood, grew among thick grass—a great relief for the horses and mules. On the following day, they halted close to some Indian huts where they got some broiled salmon for a few copper percussion caps. The following day they reached Fort Boisée. There they met Fred, who had also met with misfortune while crossing the Snake. He had lost his man Nelson.

Fort Boisée had only one white man, a Scot named Craigie. His wife was a Panack Squaw, who cooked the ham and flour of the travellers, and gave them milk and salmon. Coke pitied his condition:

> The house he lives in was built by his own hands, and the river which runs by his door supplies him with salmon, the only food he subsists on. Flour he seldom procures, and all attempts to raise vegetables have been frustrated by the mischief of the red men. How a human being can continue to exist in this voluntary state of exile I know not. Give me Botany Bay and a grey coated companion in my miseries, and I would not change places with Mr. Craigie.

But Coke had to admit that Craigie was a real Good Samaritan. "Many are the instances of his charitable deeds, and many are the travellers on these plains who survive to pray for blessings on this disinterested and generous being to whom they owe their preservation." Coke gave the case of a poor Swiss whose shoulder was shot away while cleaning his rifle, and who remained alive, tended as nurse and surgeon by Craigie, who had no possible hopes of repayment.

The last leg of their land journey was to The Dalles. Leaving Fort Boisée and its kindly host on September 25, after obtaining a large black mare in exchange for two other horses. Coke, the parson soon overtook some Indians. These helped them to keep the pack mules in order, and, on one occasion, even repacked the baggage when the mules had kicked it off. The Indians "were very pleasant travelling companions," he noted. On September 30 they began ascending the Blue Mountains. The nights began to get colder, and the sores on the mules began to get more troublesome. By October 2, they reached the Grand Rond, which he thought was "better capable of supporting a small settlement than almost any tract of country between the Blue and the Rocky Mountains." After they had reached the summit, they came upon a change in

the vegetation. The sight and smell of firs was a welcome change after the sage bushes through which they had passed in Snake territory. On October 3, they set a whole tree alight to warm themselves at night, and Coke broke his pipe so badly that in the future he had to share the parson's. Another welcome change which their eyes encountered was the sight of thousands of horses that fed upon the rolling prairies opening out as they descended into the valleys. On October 5, he passed an emigrant train which looked "half starved" and which begged him, if he reached Dalles before them, to send out a party with food. Three days later, after more chasings of mules and further pilgrimages across sage bush country, they came to the River Columbia. Finding a fifteen year old boy, Henry Clarke, making the trip from Walla-Walla alone, for his father had died at Fort Boisée, Coke adopted him and took him along with them. On October 10 when they camped, they were visited by Wenan Pisnote, chief of the Kayul Tribes, who was on his way to see the commander of The Dalles. Coke gave him the right to two mules which he had recently lost, and the Indian chief asked him to write the gift out on a piece of paper. Two days later he gave an Indian squaw all the pots and pans that were his share in the expedition, for which she packed the mule and gave him breakfast in the Indian village.

On reaching The Dalles, they found that Fred had arrived two days before them, and had prepared the officers for their arrival. Major Tucker allotted them a tent, soap, water, and clean shirts, and within an hour of their arrival they were seated in the officers' mess eating roast beef and drinking wine. So ravenously did they eat that they were ill for two or three days. He noted "we were treated by the officers with the greatest kindness. The post has only lately been established, so that the officers, all of whom live in tents, had it not in their power to entertain us as they might have wished."

On October 20, Fred, Coke, and the parson, reunited once more, hired a canoe capable of holding seven or eight persons, and embarked in it with their baggage for Fort Vancouver. Two Chinook Indians rowed the boat, and the parson stretched himself in his blankets along the bottom of the boat, vowing that such a method of travelling was greatly superior to pack mules. At the Cascades they took the settlers' boat to another spot a mile down the river, and there took a larger boat for Vancouver. In this larger boat the captain was an ex-American army soldier, helped by a Maltese sailor. Both of them proved so incompetent to handle the boat

when a storm arose that Coke, as an old sailor, himself took the till. The results of such action were unfortunate. The boat narrowly missed shipwreck, and it was only with great difficulty that it was hauled up on dry land in a narrow bay. Coke continued: "The Yankee skipper, who had got drunk upon our whisky, maintained that, soldier though he was, he knew as much about boat sailing as any midshipman, aye, or post captain either, in the British Navy, and be darned if he'd be taught by any of them. He concluded with the stereotyped Yankee assertion that his nation could whip all creation." After a night on shore, they set off on October 22, to Vancouver, which they reached just in time to find the "gentlemen of Hudson's Bay Company" sitting down to dinner. Coke writes, "We were kindly received by Mr. Ogden, and took up our quarters once more under the glorious protection of the British flag."

Four days later he crossed the river and in five hours rode to Oregon City. On the Willamette River he passed through "two flourishing little towns"—Falmouth and Millwankie, whose whole population was busy in clearing the timber, building log huts, or attending the saw mills. Thanks to the letters of introduction furnished by Mr. Ogden of the Hudson's Bay Company, Coke was able to meet Dr. McGloughlin, formerly chief factor in the Hudson Bay service, and founder of Oregon City, with whom he stayed for a couple of days.

His description of Oregon is worth quoting for its sanguine optimism:

> When Oregon becomes thickly populated, as soon it will, this must be one of the largest manufacturing towns in America. At the present time, Oregon City contains about 500 inhabitants. Buildings are springing up in all directions, and lots of land yet uncleared are being bought up at high prices. Small wooden houses with no more than two or three rooms, rent at 150 dollars to 200 dollars a month. A lot of 160 feet by 100 feet cannot be bought near the town for less than 200 dollars. Plans are actually being made for public promenades and other ornamental improvements, and while these energetic people have hardly made their own roofs weatherproof, they are exercising their ingenuity to raise a capital, which for its advantages will summon consumers from the remotest corners of the country . . . I cannot help contrasting the prospects of an American settler in Oregon, with those of the emigrant in our neighboring colony at Vancouver's Island. Here, if a man be a farmer he may have the best of land to work upon—if a manufacturer or mechanic, the widest field for advancement. In Vancouver's Island there is scarcely sufficient arable land to supply a small colony with food. It is in the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company; and the most fertile districts are not to be purchased but at a price more than double the government charge.

So, on the Sunday, he and Dr. McGloughlin went to the Roman Catholic Cathedral where they were "edified by the sight of an Archbishop in purple and fine linen, and heard a very good sermon in French upon the subject of confession." The next day he returned to Vancouver, and on November 14, embarked for the Sandwich Islands in the *Mary Dare,* belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company.

Though he went to California in March the following year his account of his sojourn there reads as an anti-climax to what is essentially his dramatic adventure on the Oregon Trail. Nor, on returning to England, was his record allowed to steal upon the world, for it was published by Richard Bentley, the publisher who had started "Bentley's Miscellany" with Dickens as editor. For a young man of twenty-two it was quite an adventure to experience, to log, and to recall.

W. H. G. ARMYTAGE

University of Sheffield, England

Book Reviews

The Patterns of Anti-Democratic Thought. By David Spitz. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1949. Pp. x, 304.

Doctor David Spitz, of the Political Science Department of Ohio State University, has given us a keen and scholarly criticism, from Plato to the present, but especially of recent American political philosophers. He breaks down the anti-democratic cause into two parts: the argument that democracy is impossible and the argument that it is undesireable. Those who hold it undesireable are persuaded that a ruling class, bound together by identical influences, or bound by a common greed for power, will inevitably use the masses for their own ends. Subsequently the forms of democracy may persist, but they will merely be a facade behind which the elite pursues its self-aggrandizement. Treated as typical of this group are: Burnham's organizational theory and Dennis's power theory.

Those who hold democracy to be undesireable are certain that the average man is incompetent and that some form of aristocracy—racial, biological, or natural—must establish the right order. In this category are considered: Cram's concept of the "best", Grant's Nordic superiority (racial), E. M. Sait's biological aristocracy, the natural aristocracy of Santayana, and the restrictive authoritarianism of Irving Babbit. As a matter of fact even Walter Lippmann and Frank Kent are called in as devil's advocates. Even in spite of the establishment of categories which sometimes overlap, and which might be disputed, Doctor Spitz is conscious of the limitations of his techniques, pointing out that he is dealing with concepts, not with men. We must realize that concepts, whatever their source, have a way of taking wing, to lead an independent existence of their own.

In his definition of democracy the writer rightly confines himself to the political concept. An absolute monarchy, a dictatorship, and even a paternalistic bureaucracy can create and maintain a welfare state, and thus take good care of the social and economic needs of the masses of people. These symptoms are not democratic, even though the majority of the people may accept and support them. What constitutes democracy in the western sense of the word—a sense which had its origin in the seventeenth century England and provides a common backbone of Anglo-American tradition—is the presence of opposition as a basic and constructive element of gov-

ernment, and thereby of the spirit of discussion and compromise, of give and take, of live and let live, which is the essence of representative government.

In each chapter, after expounding a variation of anti-democratic theory, the author sets out to test it and appraise it. His defense of democracy does not rest on the idea that people can manage everything, but that, through the free play of opinion, errors and abuses can be removed and the state kept responsive to the needs of the people. So moderately stated, the case for democracy is unassailable. In conclusion it can be stated that the analysis is too profound and painstaking for the ordinary reader, but it is an outstanding contribution to the students of political theory.

ANTHONY LEE MILNAR

Loyola University, Chicago

* * * *

Francis the Good: The Education of an Emperor, 1768–1792. By Walter Consuelo Langsam. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1949. Pp. x-205.

There is something far more valuable in this short volume than is indicated by the title. Dr. Langsam approaches his task of describing the education of the young Hapsburg Archduke Francis with a view of finding in the training of the prince some real explanation of his character, since frequently the verdict has been passed upon the Emperor Francis that he was either lazy or indifferent in his duties of kingcraft. In the revolutionary years mentioned education was still considered a training in character and not credit hours of information. In such a process, therefore, the author could justly expect to discover some key to the character of the matured ruler.

The program outlined for the education of the Archduke is comprehensive and quite worthy of a sovereign. The first surprise, however, comes from the discovery that it was Emperor Joseph II who outlined and prescribed the general lines of the program. Ultimately he was dissatisfied with the results of the course of training. All through Dr. Langsam's description of the progress of this education it is evident that the natural disposition of Archduke Francis was a most difficult obstacle to overcome. He was much more a recluse than hero in the struggle. Uppermost in our thoughts, as we read along, is a fear for the calibre of the emerging man whose training

was soon to be pitted against that of the arch-opportunist of all times, Napoleon. Throughout this formative period of the prince his predominant trait seems to be following the line of least resistance, in spite of repeated self-assertions under pressure of his tutors and his emperor-uncle.

There is much to admire in the program laid out for the future emperor of the Hapsburg possessions—religious and moral obligations, magnanimity, thoughtfulness for others. Much of it is typical of the ideals of the so-called enlightened despots. The author's detailed research has discovered enough to place the character of Francis in a much better light than hitherto it has enjoyed, but the verdict of older historians will be repeated, because Francis lacked srength to rule vigorously. Napoleon brought out his weaknesses, which may have been due to Francis's fear of military might and genius, but Metternich, his own minister, did so even more by his political domination. Dr. Langsam scatters many instructive sidelights through his pages on Maria Theresa, Joseph II, Leopold, and on the Austria of the French Revolution period. The story covers only twenty-four years, but they were the eve of a long, ideological struggle in which a strong arm was needed, and Francis was found wanting.

JOSEPH ROUBIK

Loyola University, Chicago.

* * * *

The Military and Political Career of José Joaquín de Herrera, 1792–1854. By Thomas Ewing Cotner. The University of Texas Institute of Latin-American Studies, Latin American Studies VII. The University of Texas Press, Austin, 1949. Pp. ix, 336, paper cover.

Surely it required great courage to tackle the task of composing a biography of a president of Mexico who held office during any of the fifty years after independence, when that country was averaging well over one executive a year. It required still more courage to trace the life of a military man through the messy times of the revolt from Spain and the First Empire. Mr. Cotner not only had the courage to propose such a task for himself but he had the ability to carry it out to a very happy conclusion. His was one of the very much needed works.

In the career of José Joaquín d e Herrera we see the development of the son of a Spanish *hidalgo,* born in Mexico, becoming a Roy-

alist officer, then a druggist, then an officer in the army of Americans fighting for the liberation of Mexico. Imprisoned by the Emperor Agustín de Iturbide for his republican sentiments he later voted for the exile but not the death of the unfortunate Agustín. While the new Republic of Mexico was going through its measles and tantrum age, Herrera held an uncountable number of military and political posts. His life as recounted for the ten years after 1824 is a practical illustration of the sad confusion existing in the republics of Latin America after their freedom had been gained.

For the decade from 1834 to 1844 Herrera lived in relative political obscurity, while Santa Anna and the other autocratic politicians were losing Texas and ousting one another. Herrera's character as a Christian gentleman is summarized in a sentence (p. 94): "His home life, as well as his public life, was above reproach." Widows and orphans of veterans and the poor were constantly benefitted by his kindnesses. The people finally revolted against the stupidities of the Santa Anna regime and chose Herrera interim president, through the restored National Congress. A year later because of his plan for peace with the United States, Herrera was forced to resign on December 31, 1845. The war followed and as soon as peace broke out Herrera was again chosen president. He became during the next four years the first constitutionally elected president to complete the four year term of office. And for the upset conditions besetting Mexico he ruled well. After turning over his office to his duly elected successor, an unheard of procedure, he retired in ill health and died in 1854.

Mr. Cotner has made excellent use of the primary and secondary materials in carving out this exceptional biography. He has told his story in a way that will interest college students and will receive praise from scholars. His sympathetic interpretation of his own subject and of the great events recorded reveal a mature understanding of the people and politics of our next-door neighbor.

Jerome V. Jacobsen

Loyola University, Chicago.

Notes and Comments

One of the very few books that lives up to the glowing words written by the publicity man for the jacket is *The Bismarck Episode,* by Captain Russell Grenfell, R. N., (The Macmillan Company, 1949). It is the story of the six days in May, 1941, during which the British fleet chased the *Bismarck* with thirty-eight ships and six submarines until it was sunk. The book can be read for the drama which it unfolds. Written by a veteran of the Royal Navy, at times in technical terms, it will stand as a first-rate, objective account of a great episode in naval annals. The diagrams of ship movements and the illustrations are essential records. But what is most impressive are the very factual statements indicating the unpreparedness of the Royal Navy and the orders and counter-orders which the captains and commanders aboard got from the various headquarters ashore. It will be profitable to read this book, at least once.

* * * *

Church and State in Guatemala, by Mary P. Holleran, Ph.D., is a 1949 publication of the Columbia University Press. The authoress states her purpose in the Preface: "This work is not intended to be definitive. Its purpose is to set forth as clearly as possible, on a documentary basis, the main patterns and themes of church-state relationships in one specific Latin American area." By reason of this general coverage no reviewer can accuse Miss Holleran of stubbing her toe in a rocky field of research.

The contents of the book reveal several purposes, or, perhaps a wavering of purpose on the part of the writer when the magnitude of her task was realized. In all the book has 359 pages numbered and 24 pages of tipped in illustrations. Of these 254 pages are text; this is followed by 51 pages of appendices containing documents, a six page chronological survey of church-state relations, 27 pages of outline illustrating the evolution of the *patronato real,* and the remainder in bibliography and index. The text is divided into three Parts, the first of two chapters, the second of three, and the third of one. The first chapter goes over the *patronato real* for thirty

pages as basic to the book, but in a general way. In Chapter II, of twenty-eight pages, on "The Church on the Eve of The Revolution," more than half the space is wasted on what Thomas Gage said in 1629 and on affairs long after the eve of the revolution.

There is practically nothing said in the book about conditions in Guatemala from 1808 to 1823. Part II contains in 145 pages a running account of the disputes between churchmen and the petty dictators from 1823 to 1946. In part it is based on secondary writings, but the contribution is the publication of the documents from the National Archives of Guatemala. It is difficult to see any progress whatever during these six score years of muddlement. In the chapter of Part III we find a sympathetic account of "Today's Picture" of Guatemala as the authoress sees it. She reviews the many religious problems and arrives at the conclusion that the Church "has never been, and is *not* now *free.*"

* * * *

Old Cahokia, A Narrative and Documents Illustrating the First Century of Its History, Edited by John Francis McDermott, and published by The St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation, St. Louis, 1949, is Publication No. 1 of the Joseph Desloge Fund. The contents of the 355 pages of the book are eight chapters and eleven illustrations. The general editor, John Francis McDermott, gives a survey of Cahokia's history in Chapter I. Father Joseph P. Donnelly, S.J., edits the letters and documents pertaining to missionary affairs in Chapters II, VI and VII. Rose J. Boylan has the block of documents in Chapter III, whose title is self-explanatory: "Life in Cahokia as Illustrated by Legal Documents, 1772–1821." In Chapter IV Brenda R. Gieseker presents thirty-three letters of Gratiot, written in 1778–1779 from Cahokia, to illustrate a business venture. Charles van Ravenswaay edits the block of letters and accounts of Fort Bowman and George Rogers Clark for 1778-1780, in Chapter V, and Irving Dilliard presents "Two Interesting Law Cases," in the last Chapter. Thus, the sum total is a worthwhile contribution of documentary materials. The work is somewhat marred by the format and printing. The green paper cover is not attractive; some pages of the copy at hand resemble samples of early American typography, where footnotes are not accurately boxed, cracked type is used, ink is unevenly spread, and fonts seem to be mixed.

* * * *

Two volumes have been added to the series portraying the history of The Catholic University. These are *The Catholic University of America—1887–1896,* (The Rectorship of John J. Keane), by Patrick H. Ahern, and *The Catholic University of America—1896–1903,* (The Rectorship of Thomas J. Conaty), by Peter E. Hogan, S.S.J. The volumes of 220 and 212 pages respectively are published by the Catholic University Press, Washington. They were submitted in manuscript in 1948 as dissertations for the Master of Arts degree at The Catholic University.

Following the pattern set by the director of their work, John Tracy Ellis, the authors express a keen desire to publish the truth in their narrative of the difficulties encountered by the two rectors in the faculty family. They have been commendably objective and have used the manuscript source materials available in various archives. Father Hogan publishes some of these pertaining to the Schroeder case in an appendix, while throughout the volumes other correspondence is printed. Nearly all of the important ecclesiastics of the Church and many vital questions of the day as viewed by the churchmen and professors come into the pages. Father Ahern has done well in bringing out the ability of Keane as a lively controversialist in a trying period of the University's history, and Father Hogan attributes the academic stability of the University to Conaty.

* * * *

A handy reference work was published in 1948 under the title *The Episcopal Lineage of the Hierarchy in the United States 1790–1948,* by Rev. Jesse W. Lonsway of Norwood, Ohio. This stems from an article published in 1941, based on Joseph B. Code's *Dictionary of American Hierarchy.* Father Lonsway's work brings us almost up to date. It consists of twelve by fourteen inch plates graphing the lineage of 675 Catholic bishops who have occupied sees in the United States from John Carroll to the present hierarchy. Two lists are given covering the dates of consecration of the living bishops. A folded chart of the lineage of the episcopacy, large and suitable for posting, is in a cover pocket. The index, including both plates and chart, is very helpful. The distributor is the Frederick Pustet Company of New York and Cincinnati.

INDEX

MID-AMERICA

VOLUME XXXI

INDEXER'S NOTE

Names of the contributors are in small capitals; titles of articles in this volume are in quotation marks; titles of books and periodicals reviewed or mentioned are in italics. Book reviews are entered under author and title of book, and under the name of the reviewer; no entries are made for subject of the book except in the case of biographies. The following abbreviations are used: tr., translator; ed., editor; revs., reviews; revd., reviewed.