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COLLECTIONS
NEBRASKA STATE HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

VOLUME XVI



ASTORIAN MONUMENT, BELLEVUE, NEBRASKA

Mrs. Eliza L. Chaffee, a pioneer of Bellevue, stands at the left of the monument

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

Nebraska State Historical Society

Edited by

ALBERT WATKINS

Historian of the Society

LINCOLN, NEBRASKA

The Nebraska State Historical Society

1911

VOLUME XVI

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

This volume is a departure from the plan of former publications of the Society in two important respects. Heretofore the minutes of the business transactions have been incorporated with papers upon historical subjects in the same book, while here the policy of printing the two classes of matter in separate volumes has been inaugurated. The second departure appears in the greatly improved mechanical quality of the publication which is equal to the best of its class. The presentation of the program of the Astorian Centennial Celebration at Bellevue is a slight deviation from the new plan, but the addresses printed here are in the main of a historical character. The less formal matter and the business proceedings of the Society will be published separately.

Much of the data of the contributed articles in this volume is based upon recollections of personal experiences of the writers. While a large part of the most valuable historical material comes from such sources, yet, obviously, it needs careful checking by reliable standards, such as public records and other accepted data. Accordingly the editor has aimed to supply this need in frequent foot notes, supplementary as well as critical. Some of these articles have required radical re-formation. Our earliest history is still subject to correction and amplification through data which doubtless await discovery, when financial means are afforded, in libraries at Washington, St. Louis, and other only less promising places.

ALBERT WATKINS.

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THE ASTORIAN MONUMENT AT BELLEVUE

On the 23d of June, 1910, the Historical Society dedicated a monument which had been erected under its auspices on Elk Hill at Bellevue, to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of the organization of the Pacific Fur Company. The monument is of Wisconsin mahogany granite, six feet and four inches in height; the shaft rises five feet above the base, is three feet wide and ten inches thick and bears the following inscription:

Commemorative of the Astorian Expedition organized June 23, 1810, by John Jacob Astor's American Fur Company. This Expedition discovered the Oregon Trail which spread knowledge of the Nebraska country leading to its occupancy by white people. The Fur Company was instrumental in establishing the first permanent white settlement in Nebraska at Bellevue.

Erected June 23, 1910, by the Nebraska State Historical Society.

The cost of the monument — \$275 — was defrayed by private subscriptions, chiefly from citizens of Omaha, South Omaha and Bellevue. The dedicatory exercises were conducted at Bellevue in the afternoon and at Omaha in the evening. Mrs. Oreal S. Ward, representing the Daughters of the American Revolution, unveiled the monument; John Lee Webster, president of the Historical Society, then formally presented it to the state which was represented in the ceremony by Governor Ashton C. Shallenberger. The addresses at Bellevue follow.

ADDRESS OF MRS. OREAL S. WARD

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Two weeks ago today, in the city of Kearney, I had the honor of unveiling the first monument to mark the Oregon Trail in Nebraska, erected by the Fort Kearney Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution. Mr. Webster, President of the Nebraska State Historical Society, was one of the honored guests and gave a most interesting and eloquent address. On that occasion Mr. Webster asked me why the Daughters of the American Revolution were undertaking this work. Perhaps the same question is in the minds of many of you here today, and I will gladly avail myself of this opportunity to answer it briefly.

Twenty years ago a small number of patriotic women, realizing that historic landmarks and valuable relics and documents relating to the early life and struggles of our country were rapidly disappearing from view, organized the National Society Daughters of the American Revolution with the avowed object, expressed in its constitution: "To perpetuate the memory of the spirit of the men and women who achieved American independence by the acquisition and protection of historical spots and the erection of monuments; by the encouragement of historical research . . .; and by the promotion of celebrations of all patriotic anniversaries. . . . To cherish, maintain, and extend the institutions of American freedom, to foster true patriotism and love of country, and to aid in securing for mankind all the blessings of liberty." This is the object that is being carried forward today by 75,000 patriotic

American women, the Daughters of the American Revolution.

The perpetuation of history and patriotism go hand in hand, closely allied indeed. The mere desire to learn more of your country's past, its heroes and statesmen, its great battle fields, the victories on land and sea, springs from a patriotic impulse. The interest with which we read or listen to historical tales, the thrill of exultation over victories and heroic deeds, are a manifestation of the patriotic pride that lies deep in every American heart, whether we are conscious of it or not. To be a patriot one does not necessarily have to be a soldier or sailor and engage in actual warfare. The brave hearted men whom we are commemorating here today fought their way foot by foot against wild beasts and merciless savage foes; they endured hunger, thirst, sickness; they faced death in many terrible forms; they left the great trail lined on either side by countless, nameless graves. These men were patriots and heroes; they overcame the great western wilderness and the trackless prairie; they left us this heritage: "Nebraska, the beautiful garden spot of the West." And so, in erecting these enduring monuments in loving memory and tribute, we are performing a patriotic duty, not only to them and to ourselves, but to future generations.

"I pledge allegiance to my flag and the republic for which it stands: one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

ADDRESS OF JOHN LEE WEBSTER, PRESENTING THE MONUMENT TO THE STATE

Governor Shallenberger: The Nebraska State Historical Society, assisted by the generous contributions of friends, has caused this monument, which has been unveiled in your presence, to be erected in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the Astorian expedition as appropriately marking the beginning of Nebraska history.

It has been the instinctive thought of all people and of all countries to erect monuments to designate the places where important events have occurred and in commemoration of historic movements. It was in the vicinity of where the little city of Bellevue now stands that John Jacob Astor's expedition, which came up the Missouri river, stopped for a time to make explorations and there the naturalists of the party went in pursuit of discoveries. They were pleased with the beautiful landscape view, with the high bluffs on either side of the river and with the wide, spreading valleys beneath.

The State Historical Society has deemed it appropriate to erect this monument at this spot not only in memory of the John Jacob Astor expedition, but as the inception of a civil movement by which pioneers and emigrants of American blood and of American kindred moved westward across the Missouri and took possession of this land, as Moses sent his pioneers to explore the land of Canaan that the Israelites might take possession of it.

From this historical beginning and within a period of a century the state of Nebraska has been brought into being and grown to her present immense proportions,

peopled with the best of America's noble men and women. Without these historic beginnings the state of Nebraska would not have a place in the Union and her cities would never have been built; the Bellevue college, with its hundreds of students coming from all parts of the state, would never have been erected, and the high pinnacle of ground upon which it stands would have remained as the sentinel ground for the uncivilized aborigines of the prairies.

As our forefathers all along the Atlantic coast venerate the memories of their earliest settlers, may we likewise venerate those who in deed and spirit furnished the material for the beginning of our state history. It will not be strange if those who come a hundred years after our day shall look back through the pages of history to ascertain what we who are now here are doing on this occasion. It is fitting that such lasting memorials of human struggle and progress as this be cared for by the people; and so in this spirit and hope the Historical Society turns this monument over to the keeping of the state which is representative of the people's will.

GOVERNOR SHALLENBERGER ACCEPTS THE MONUMENT

Governor Shallenberger then accepted the monument on behalf of the state in appropriate words, and he also made an extended address at the exercises in the tent; but these addresses are not published here because both were extemporaneous and the stenographer who reported them has inexplicably neglected to transcribe his notes.

THE HISTORICAL ADDRESSES

The exercises were continued under a great canvas in the city park where Mr. Webster made an introductory speech and addresses were delivered by Gurdon W. Wattles, of Omaha; Albert Watkins, of Lincoln; and Governor Ashton C. Shallenberger.

ADDRESS OF GURDON W. WATTLES

It is eminently fitting that this centennial celebration should be held on these historic grounds. Bellevue may be properly designated as the cradle of the settlement of Nebraska. The tradition is that Manuel Lisa, viewing the beautiful scene from these hills, gave it the name of Bellevue and established a post here in 1805. It was here that Major Pilcher, Andrew Drips, Lucien Fontenelle and Peter A. Sarpy maintained from 1805 to 1840¹ an outpost of civilization which was at once the seat of commerce between the Indians who inhabited this section and a refuge for the few adventurous whites who had come to trade or establish homes on the banks of the Missouri river. This early trading post was the first welcome sign of civilization to those returning from the wilderness that lay beyond. It was here that Burt, the first territorial governor, came; and but for his untimely death this would undoubtedly have been the first capital of the territory. It was here that the first Presbyterian mission established in

¹ There was no permanent post at Bellevue until about 1820. For remarks on this subject see foot note 3 of "Early Days In and About Bellevue", this volume.—Ed.

the territory was established in 1841.² The first court of record was opened here by Judge Fenner Ferguson in March, 1855.³ The first Republican convention met at Bellevue in August, 1859.

It has been truly said that "God made the country, but men make cities". It cannot be denied that Bellevue, with its beautiful plateau, was designated by nature to be the site of a great city; and but for the activity of the early settlers in Omaha, this today would be the commercial center of Nebraska, while Omaha would be a struggling village. The future of Bellevue would no doubt have been settled but for the death of Governor Burt. Again, its future would have been fixed but for the change of plans at the last moment in the building of the Union Pacific bridge across the Missouri river. Bellevue may be poor in other respects, but it is rich in historic importance in the annals of our state.

We celebrate today the centennial of the organization of the first commercial enterprise which had for its purpose the establishment of trade relations between the Indian tribes of the territory of the Louisiana Purchase and citizens of the United States.⁴ On June 23, 1810, John Jacob Astor, of New York city, signed the articles of incorporation of the Pacific Fur Company, and immediately

² Mr. Wattles doubtless intended to say 1846; for September 2, of that year, Rev. Edward McKinney, representing the Presbyterian board of missions, arrived at Bellevue and soon after selected the site for the permanent mission house which was constructed during the two following years. Samuel Allis and John Dunbar began mission work at Bellevue, among the Pawnee Indians, in 1834. See *Illustrated History of Nebraska*, v. 1, p. 222; v. 2, pp. 253, 555, and foot notes.

³ It is shown in the *Illustrated History of Nebraska*, v. 1, p. 252, that Mr. Poppleton's statement that the first session of a district court in Nebraska, which began at Bellevue, March 12, 1855, was the first session of a court of record in the territory, is incorrect, inasmuch as the supreme court had a session at Omaha, beginning February 19, 1855.—Ed.

⁴ As appears in the text just below, Astor's single, or at least prime object, was to get a footing in the then debatable Oregon country which

thereafter began active preparations to build trading posts in the then unknown region west of the Missouri river. Mr. Astor was a German by birth, who had accumulated a large fortune as a merchant in the fur trade of the Great Lakes of the North. He conceived the idea of building at the mouth of the Columbia river a central trading post with many branches in the rich fur producing parts of the great Northwest. To accomplish this purpose two expeditions were started from New York in 1810, one by land and one by sea.

It has been said that, "Truth is stranger than fiction". The history of these expeditions is a recital of adventures that surpass the wildest imagination of the novelist. The ship sent around Cape Horn finally reached the mouth of the Columbia river after a tempestuous voyage of nearly a year. A part of the crew were drowned in attempting to cross the bar at the mouth of this river, a part were left to establish a fort at Astoria, and the remainder were massacred by the Indians while anchored near the place where the city of Victoria now stands. One of the partners, seriously wounded, was able to reach the hold of the ship and set fire to the powder magazine. Scores of savages on board were killed by the terrific explosion which followed. Thus ended in disaster the well laid plans for loading this ship with furs in exchange for the merchandise it carried.

The expedition by land went by way of Montreal and the Great Lakes and down the Mississippi river to St. Louis, thence up the Missouri, passing in the spring of 1811 the place where we now stand. Hunting parties, sent out onto the great stretches of prairie lands in this vicinity, returned laden with deer, buffalo and antelope, which then

lay entirely beyond the Louisiana Purchase. Astor's Company did not establish itself in the Missouri valley — that is, within the Purchase — until the spring of 1822. See Chittenden's discussion of this topic, *History of the American Fur Trade*, v. 1, pp. 311-320.—Ed.

roamed over these prairies unmolested save by the Indians, who were the only inhabitants of this vast region. Seven years earlier, Lewis and Clark, under commission of President Thomas Jefferson, had journeyed up the Missouri river, apprising the various tribes of Indians which they met of the transfer from France to the United States of the Louisiana Territory. Their journals record the fact that they had found rich lands suitable for cultivation along the western bottoms of the Missouri, where the Indians were cultivating corn. The Astor explorers visited the camps of the Pawnee and Omaha Indians and were well received by these, the only inhabitants of the territory which now constitutes Nebraska.⁵ They found the Omaha suffering from the results of a scourge of smallpox which a few years before had ravaged their tribe of two-thirds its number, including their able and famous chief, Blackbird. They were shown the spot, on a high bluff overlooking the Missouri, where this great chief had been buried astride his favorite horse. Leaving the Missouri river at the Arikari Indian village near the present northern line of South Dakota, this expedition traveled by land across the deserts of Wyoming, Idaho, Montana and Oregon, finally reaching the Columbia river, which they descended in boats, arriving at Astoria eleven months after leaving St. Louis. The hardships they endured can hardly be conceived by those who now ride across this country in four days, surrounded by the comforts of home life.

Time will not permit a detailed account of the results of the great plans that were laid by Mr. Astor for the establishment of trading posts on the Pacific coast. Suffice

⁵ The Oto and Missouri and the Ponca were also permanent settlers at this time, the former on the Platte river, near the place where the bridge of the Union Pacific railroad is now situated in Saunders county, and the Ponca on the Niobrara river, near its mouth. See *Illustrated History of Nebraska*, v. 1, pp. 33, 36; v. 2, pp. 192, 225.—Ed.

it to say that this enterprise was a succession of disasters which finally resulted in its abandonment and the loss of a million dollars to its promoter. Its only final practical result was to lay the foundation for the claim by our government to the great Oregon territory, which otherwise might never have been a part of the United States. It is interesting to note the comments and speculations of writers who made a careful study at the time of the diaries of these travelers. Washington Irving speaks of the vast plains west of the Missouri river as follows: "Such is the nature of this immense wilderness of the far West, which apparently defies cultivation and the habitation of civilized life. Some portions of it along the rivers may partially be subdued by agriculture; others may form vast pastoral tracts, like those of the East, but it is to be feared that a great part of it will form a lawless interval between the abodes of civilized men like the wastes of the ocean or the deserts of Arabia." In 1858 the *North American Review* said of this region: "The people of the United States have reached their inland western frontier, and the banks of the Missouri river are the shores at the termination of a vast ocean desert over one thousand miles in width, which it is proposed to travel, if at all, with caravans of camels, and which interposes a final barrier to the establishment of large communities, agricultural, commercial or even pastoral."

With such opinions of the trans-Missouri country, which for many years were freely expressed by eastern writers, it is not to be wondered that settlement of the territory now comprising Nebraska was retarded. For fifty years after the Louisiana Purchase but little progress was made, so that in 1854, when Nebraska was admitted as a territory, although its boundaries included the present state and all of the Dakotas⁶ and part of Montana, Wyoming

⁶ Only that part — about a half — west of the Missouri river.—Ed.

and Colorado, its white population was less than 1,000. A few adventurers had settled along the western banks of the river, and the landing places of steamboats had taken the names of towns.

Among the first settlers were many speculators, politicians and professional men, but few farmers. Territorial warrants at thirty cents on the dollar, land scrip at forty cents per acre, and town lots, were the early mediums of exchange. Many state banks were chartered with almost unlimited power of issue, but the panic of 1856 and 1857 destroyed these banks and made worthless the city lots, so that these pioneers early learned the important lesson that the real value of this new country was in the products of the soil rather than in legislation or speculation. From that time forward the land came into active demand, and to this day it has been the source of all our growth and progress.

To recite the history of the early settlements in Nebraska would deal with all the passions, the disappointments and the hopes of the human heart. Time will only permit the mention of a single experience, which has its counterpart in many other sections of the state. In the summer of 1854 there came from Quincy, Illinois, a party of twelve men seeking homes in the new territory of Nebraska. They settled at Fontenelle and later organized and named Dodge county. Desiring to establish peaceable relations with the Omaha Indians they waited on Logan Fontenelle, chief of the tribe, and negotiated with him for the purchase of twenty miles square of the rich lands which surrounded the site which they had selected for their settlement. Fontenelle asked them the "enormous" price of \$100 for this tract of land; but on being told that they proposed to name the town Fontenelle and the nearby stream Logan Creek, his heart was touched, and the price was reduced to \$10, which was paid by J. W. Richardson,

the secretary of the settlers' club, and they then proceeded to establish their colony.

In July, 1855, a band of wandering Sioux Indians killed two of their number. The wife of one of the murdered men escaped, seriously wounded, and carried the information of the attack to the settlement. The call to arms was responded to by every member of the community, and while the Sioux warriors immediately retreated, the fear was imminent that they would return and again attack the settlement. It was necessary that one of the colony should be sent to Omaha for aid. The danger of this ride across the prairies was great. It might at any moment be terminated by hostile Indians concealed along the way. A volunteer was called for. A. N. Yost, entryman of the land where the city of Arlington now stands, then a young man, stepped forward and mounting his father's best horse started in the middle of the night on his perilous ride. We have read in history and story of the ride of Paul Revere, but it was accomplished with less danger than was to be anticipated on this ride of Mr. Yost through the uninhabited prairies that in 1855 lay for thirty miles between Omaha and Fontenelle. The distance was traveled that night with the speed of the wind, and the news of the Indian massacre was brought to General John M. Thayer, who immediately organized a company and marched forth to protect the lives of the settlers and, if possible, punish the Indians.

In the contests for the future life of Bellevue I hear the voice of one man above all others, urging its cause; and ever since that cause was lost the struggling interests of this town have been nearest his heart. But for his influence the college that stands on yonder hill would never have been established nor maintained, notwithstanding the fact that no more fitting place could be found on Nebraska soil than this, the birthplace of the Protestant church in

Nebraska. Even in the closing years of his life Henry T. Clarke, the pioneer, proudly maintains the title of "The Father of Bellevue".

Other names of these early settlers, many of them having passed to their future reward, come to me, and as I close my eyes and think for a moment of the part they played in the drama of life, I would that I could recall them all and give only a word of praise to each so justly due. Time will only permit the mention of a very few: J. Sterling Morton, than whom no country new or old could ever boast a more able, earnest, honest advocate; Governor Thomas B. Cuming, that brilliant master of men and affairs; George L. Miller, the "Father of Omaha" and its most earnest and consistent advocate; General John M. Thayer; Alexander Majors; Governor William A. Richardson; Governor Alvin Saunders; Judge Eleazer Wakeley; Edward Creighton; William A. Paxton; Robert W. Furnas; Augustus Kountze; each and all, with hundreds of others, who came in an early day to this new land to wrest it from savage life and turn it to the uses of civilization, played their part in one of the greatest transformations that has ever been accomplished in any country in all history, a transformation which has changed a barren, uninhabited desert into a rich garden; that has increased the wealth of this state in a period of fifty years to the incomprehensible sum of \$3,000,000,000; that has established business enterprises here with an annual income of \$500,000,000. Great cities have grown as by magic; the pastures of the elk and buffalo have been transformed into productive farms.

The wresting from savage life of this great state and the building and maintenance of standards of civilization within its borders have done more to add to the sum total of human happiness than all the great military conquests of Napoleon, and though the officers and privates who

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assisted in upbuilding a civilization here have given the best years of their lives and have died unknown and with their deeds unrecorded, yet fortunate indeed is he who has lived his life amid the stirring scenes of the building of a state surrounded by the inspiring influences of progress and life which cannot be found in the older countries of the world.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CELEBRATION

BY ALBERT WATKINS

You and I, my friends, are now confronted with the most difficult task of the day's ceremonies. It is my part to deliver some fifty minutes of facts in less than half that time and yours to receive them. In so far as "it is better to give than to receive", I have the better of you. Not that the story of the beginnings of Nebraska is inherently dull; on the contrary it fairly throbs with dramatic interest. No other field of exploration and early settlement, I think, can match ours of the Nebraska country, in respect to obstacles and hardships of the pioneers and the general capacity, the dauntless courage, the pathetic fortitude with which they conquered and endured them. Here is an exceeding rich and as yet unworked field for the great fictionist. Of the touching pathos of the Indian life, the relations of the invading white people to it and their own heroic failures and tragic triumphs there are

"Poems unwritten and songs unsung
Sweeter than any that ever were heard,
Poems that wait for an angel's tongue,
Songs that but long for a paradise bird".

When these deeds, far finer and more daring than Othello's, are thus fitly told, Desdemona-like you'll love the doers, "for the dangers they had passed".

My task is not alone positive, but in large part negative. A high authority has but just remarked that, "One of the most important functions of the historian is to correct the errors of previous historians. It is an endless

task." The historical traditions and literature of Nebraska are naturally, still, plethoric of errors, partly because time enough for their correction has not yet elapsed, and partly through the extraordinary neglect of our earlier citizens to obtain and preserve authentic records and oral accounts which were within their easy reach. But the great Balzac has found a consolation excuse which places us in a privileged class. "To those who thoroughly examine the history of modern times it is evident that historians are privileged liars who lend their pen to popular beliefs exactly as most of the newspapers of the day express nothing but the opinions of their readers."

Why do we celebrate such an occasion at all? This great and deeply concerned assemblage in itself answers the question. In view of this wide and lively interest in a purely historical ceremony animadversion upon the question why we are here would lag superfluous. And yet some brief reflections in that behalf will, I think, be both interesting and useful. All peoples, alike in childhood and maturity, are instinct with interest in the past. Not only some of the greatest nations, but the greatest men in them have from immemorial time formally revered their ancestry. In his recent address at Oxford University, Mr. Roosevelt observed that more than ever before in the world's history we of today seek to penetrate the cause of the mysteries that surround, not only mankind, but all life,—both the present and the past. "We study the tremendous procession of the ages from the immemorial past." Before the invention of writing or printing as we know them the oriental ancients illustrated important historical events upon bronze, their most practicable method of permanently preserving them. More aptly: the childlike instinct of the savages whom we dispossessed when we acquired this Nebraska Canaan had an extensive literature of history in pictorial form which, if less minute, was more

powerfully suggestive than our own printed pages. The Sarcee Indians — a Canadian tribe —, for example, not only have a comprehensive oral history, consisting of stories of the most salient incidents of individual or social experience repeated to one another and so transmitted from generation to generation; but as occasion demands the people are assembled to receive as a legacy from the oldest chiefs the most important of these stories. At these formal history harvests a stenographer is always present, and with colors made from various herbs he paints the recitals in symbolic characters on a smoothly tanned deer hide. All the history of the tribe deemed worthy of formal preservation is recorded in this rude chirography. I suppose that this history by natural selection is the best because it is what the people want the most; and though, compiled in this way, it is necessarily often very divergent from fact — as much so, perhaps, as the generally accepted history of earliest Bellevue —; yet, for the same reason, it is the truer to instinct and to typical or rounded-up life.

The history makers — or fakers — of this particular tribe expatiate mainly upon three topics — the battles they have fought, the scalps they have taken, and the horses they have stolen; and they esteem the several branches of this trinitarian career as about equally glorious. While the impulses and manifestations of civilized history differ little from those of savage annals, yet the contemporaneous records of a civilized society furnish full, and fairly reliable, source material; and, carefully read between lines, the daily entries and commentaries of the press are safe indices and correctives. The main difference between savage and civilized classification is that the latter substitutes the exploits of notorious politicians for those of notorious horse-stealers — a distinction in manifestation more than of kind or character. All the leading nations are today maintain-

ing schools at Athens to study with the inspiration of closest communion, the most informing and fascinating, perhaps, of all lessons in human history.

In his remarkable discourse on history Emerson said: "There is one common mind to all individual men. Every man is an inlet to the same and to all of the same. He that is once admitted to the right of reason is made a freeman of the whole estate. What Plato has thought, he may think; what a saint has felt, he may feel. . . Who hath access to this universal mind, is a party to all that is or can be done. . . Of the works of this mind history is the record. . . The world exists for the education of each man. . . There is no age or state of society or mode of action in history to which there is not somewhat corresponding in his life." And then the universal generalization: "Time dissipates to shining ether the solid angularity of facts. No anchor, no cable, no fences avail to keep a fact a fact. Babylon and Troy and Tyre and even early Rome are passing already into fiction. 'What is history,' said Napoleon, 'but a fable agreed upon?' . . . We are always coming up with the facts that have moved us in our private experience and verifying them here. All history becomes subjective; in other words, there is properly no history; only biography." And Carlyle: "Biography is the only true history."

And another well-known writer, pleading for better support of the American school at Athens and for its excavating enterprise — literally delving into the past — observed: "All progressive peoples are interested today as never before in origins of all sorts." And then he makes this peculiarly pertinent and practical point: "And since the law of evolution has become the law of life, we realize as never before that the past is not only the best prophet of the future; it is the only prophet." This is scientific verification of Patrick Henry's passionate plea for American

independence: "I know of no way of judging the future but by the past."

Seventy-five per cent of the books taken from our public libraries are works of fiction. Why this overweening interest in fiction? Because it is the history of typical human life and therefore truer than history proper. It is because human experience is generalized and illuminated in the Iliad, the Odyssey and the Aeneid (the only love story in Latin poetry); in Aeschylus, and Sophocles, and Shakespeare, that they are already immortalized; and for the same reason all great prose fiction is destined to become alike immortal. Even more pointed, perhaps, in sentiment and pathos, and certainly in aptitude, is the peroration of a speech made to the president of the United States by one of our Pawnee chiefs in 1820: "I know that the robes, leggins, moccasins, bear's claws, etc. (presents to the president) are of little value to you, but we wish you to have them deposited and preserved in some conspicuous part of your lodge, so that when we are gone, and the sod turned over our bones, if our children should visit this place, as we do now, they may see and recognize with pleasure the deposits of their fathers, and reflect on the times that are past."

For reasons already suggested, students of early Nebraska history, in the present stage, know more, perhaps, that they don't know than that they do know. As early as the sixteenth century, probably, Frenchmen coming over from the Canadian country learned something of the upper Missouri valley. La Salle, passing down the Mississippi in 1682, under the reign of "the grand monarch", Louis XIV, claimed Louisiana for France "by right of discovery". This right consisted of might — the power of strong nations or peoples to appropriate without consideration the country of weaker ones. We may not complacently say that this piracy was peculiar to uncivilized

times; for our own eyes have witnessed its climax in the partition of Africa by and among the strongest of European nations.

We know that in the eighteenth century Frenchmen were familiar with and established, at least temporarily, trapping and trading posts along the Missouri river border. Before the middle of that century they had traversed the Nebraska country from east to west. As early as the sixteenth century Spaniards coming up from the Southwest had ventured into the plains country east of the Rocky mountains. That the Latin race preceded other peoples in the exploration and at least attempted colonization of the vast interior of the North American continent may perhaps be attributed to their superior imagination and religious missionary zeal. It has been strongly contended that the French had a much more comprehensive plan of colonization than the English, that while the latter were content with hanging on to the mere fringe along the Atlantic coast, the former occupied a greater part of the Mississippi valley with broad and practicable plans for its colonization; and that the fact that this vast country, once within their grasp, was lost to English speaking people is due, not to lack of foresight or misjudgment but to the accident of adverse European wars. "America", it is said, "was lost in Europe." This seems very far-fetched. It is juster and more truthful, I think, to say that it became the particular care of the more steadfast Teutonic or English race to see to it that Latin holdings in America should be lost in Europe. To "bite off more than one can chew" may not be counted great or wise in a nation more than in an individual.

Boundaries in America were very indefinite when France laid claim to Louisiana, and its limits were not well defined until the next century. The Louisiana that America bought from France in 1803, briefly and roughly speaking,

comprised the territory between the Mississippi river and the Rocky mountains, east and west, and the British possessions and the Gulf of Mexico north and south. Thomas Jefferson, at this time president of the United States, was perhaps the most alert and perspicacious of American statesmen. He at least is entitled to be called the greatest American expansionist. January 18, 1803, some six months before there was any particular thought or prospect in America of our acquisition of Louisiana, Jefferson sent a secret message to congress recommending that an exploring party — afterward known as the Lewis and Clark expedition — should be sent out for the purpose of promoting trade in the Missouri river country. Though the Purchase had been secretly receded to France on the demand of Napoleon in 1800, it remained in the actual possession of the Spaniards until it was transferred to the United States; and Jefferson expressed the hope that Spain would take the proposed exploration in good part and regard it, as he blandly said, "as a literary pursuit".

The expedition comprised forty-five men in all with three boats; one of them a keel boat, fifty-five feet long, drawing three feet of water, with twenty-two oars and a deck of ten feet in the bow, while the stern formed a fore-castle and cabin. The other two were perogues, large, canoe-like boats. Keel boats were the principal vessels for navigation of the rivers before steamboats came in. They ranged in length from fifty feet to seventy feet and were propelled by wind; by oars; by poling; by grappling hooks attached at the ends of small saplings, by means of which trees or other stationary objects were grasped, enabling the men holding the other ends of the poles to shove the boat forward; and by the cordelle which was a long rope attached to a perpendicular mast placed in the bow of the boat. Whenever it was convenient or necessary, a large part of the crew would traverse sandbanks or the open

shore, dragging the boat after them by the cordelle. The expedition followed the Missouri river to its headwaters and immediately passed over the mountains and followed affluents of the Columbia to that river, down which it passed to its mouth. The party camped at "Whitefish camp" on the Iowa side which, according to the latitude, 41 degrees, 3 minutes, 19 seconds, was nearly opposite the present mouth of the Papillion about five miles above the mouth of the Platte. They remained there for rest and laying in a stock of oars, cut from ash saplings, from July 22 to July 28. From July 30 to August 3 they camped at Council Bluff, which, according to the latitude taken — 41 degrees, 18 minutes, 1 second, was from ten to twelve miles below the reputed site now occupied by the hamlet of Fort Calhoun.

The return of the expedition in 1806 incited general exploration of the Missouri valley and led to the formation of companies with considerable capital for the purpose of trapping and trading with the Indians. The two principal organizations were John Jacob Astor's American Fur Company, organized in New York, and the Missouri Fur Company, organized the same year — 1808 — in St. Louis. In less than twenty years the eastern company had driven the western one out of business, just as eastern capital continued to dominate and rule the west, at least until comparatively recent years. June 23, 1810, John Jacob Astor, promulgator of the American Fur Company, embodied his great idea of invading the Oregon country, in the organization of the Pacific Fur Company, the north-western arm of the American Fur Company. It should be noted here that occupation of the lower Missouri was subordinate or incidental to Astor's main and only definite purpose of establishing himself and American control in the already disputed Oregon country. This is shown in the sequel fact that his fur company did not establish

itself on the Missouri until about twelve years after the founding of Astoria on the Columbia river.¹ In this view, however, the land expedition in 1811-12-13 was the forerunner of the Oregon trail and, incidentally at least, it led directly to the continuous occupation of the Nebraska section of the Missouri shore which projected into permanent settlement. In the fall of 1810 this company sent out an expedition under the leadership of Wilson Price Hunt, which wintered near the mouth of the Nodaway river, now in Missouri, and started on its way up the river in April, 1811. The expedition comprised about sixty men with four boats, one a very large keel boat. All of the boats were furnished with masts and sails. On the 28th day of April, the expedition camped on the eastern side of the river about three miles above the mouth of Papillion creek, also for the purpose of laying in a stock of oars and poles from the ash trees which Bradbury, the journalist of the expedition, observes did not grow above this place.

This camp must have been near that of the Lewis and

¹ Washington Irving, a protégé of Astor's — with more than a smack of toadyism — was no doubt as fully apprised of his patron's intentions as anyone but himself, and he undertook to disclose them in *Astoria*, his romantic history of the enterprise. "The main feature of his scheme was to establish a line of trading posts along the Missouri and the Columbia, to the mouth of the latter, where was to be founded the chief trading house or mart. Inferior posts would be established in the interior, and on all the tributary streams of the Columbia, to trade with the Indians; these posts would draw their supplies from the main establishment, and bring to it the peltries they collected." Accordingly two expeditions were sent out, one by sea and the other by land. "The former was to carry out the people, stores, ammunition, and merchandise, requisite for establishing a fortified trading post at the mouth of Columbia river. The latter, conducted by Mr. Hunt, was to proceed up the Missouri, and across the Rocky mountains, to the same point; exploring a line of communication across the continent, and noting the places where interior trading posts might be established." Thus Hunt's main, and perhaps only important, objective was to open a line of land communication with Astoria which was to be founded at once with tributary posts; whereas, posts along the route this side of the mountain divide "might" be established.

Clark expedition — perhaps on the same spot. On the morning of the 29th Bradbury was sent across to the west side, landing at or near the site of the subsequent Bellevue. He walked northward along the high ground until the boats overtook him in the afternoon. The party camped that night fourteen miles below the post or “wintering house” of Crooks and McClellan, which must have been situated somewhat below the Council Bluff of Lewis and Clark. Ramsey Crooks and Robert McClellan, two of the most intrepid and celebrated of the early trappers and explorers, had established this post in 1807. They were picked up by the Astorian expedition at another post about thirty miles below the fortieth parallel of latitude — now the Kansas-Nebraska line — and continued with the expedition through to the Columbia river. It is practically certain that there was no post at Bellevue at this time. The Astorian expedition did not follow the route of Lewis and Clark to the headwaters of the Missouri river, but outfitted for an overland trip at the village of the Arikari Indians at the mouth of the Grand river, now in South Dakota, and a mile below the new bridge of the Pacific extension of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul railroad. The expedition took a somewhat southwesterly course, reaching, and following, the Wind river to the mountains of that name, crossing over them to the Snake river and following with some deviations the subsequent route of the Oregon trail to the Columbia river and down that river, founding Astoria at its mouth. They reached the mouth of the Columbia in two parties early in January, and in February, 1812. June 28, 1812, six of the members of the expedition, under the lead of Robert Stuart, and including Crooks and McClellan, left Astoria with dispatches for New York. They followed substantially the line of the Oregon trail, wintering on the North Platte river, just west of Scott’s Bluff. On March 8, 1813, they pursued their

course down the Platte, stopping at the Oto village, then situated a short distance from the present site of Yutan, where they entered a canoe, passing in that down the Platte and Missouri rivers to St. Louis. This expedition therefore traversed the Oregon trail with the exception of the great cut-off from Grand Island to its eastern terminal at Independence, Missouri.

On the 2d of April, 1811, Lisa, head of the Missouri Fur Company, moved in the main, perhaps, by fear that this new arrival, the American Fur Company, might encroach upon their trapping and trading fields, and partly perhaps by the ostensible desire to unite the two forces the better to meet the hostile Sioux and Arikari, started up the river in a keel boat with twenty oarsmen and "a good mast and main and top sail"; according to Brackenridge, journalist of the expedition, "the best boat that ever ascended the river". There were twenty-five men in all on board; there was a swivel mounted on the bow and two brass blunderbusses besides. The boat was laden with merchandise of all kinds. It was some twenty days behind the Astorians, and Lisa put his well selected and very skilful voyageurs to their utmost limit of endurance, bribing them at intervals with the favorite drafts of whisky and promises of more. Hunt's slower party, even with its great lead, could not escape the vigilant Lisa, who not infrequently kept on his way along the snaggy river even in the night, making sometimes as much as seventy-five miles in twenty-four hours. The Astorians were overtaken just beyond the big bend, about fifty miles this side of Ft. Pierre. The mediatory offices of the two journalists were called on to their limit to keep the two parties from hostile combat. Lisa's party passed this place on the 11th of May. On the morning of the 13th, Brackenridge significantly says, they passed "the river *a Boyer* and the houses of M'Clelland, who formerly wintered here"; additional evi-

dence that Crooks and McClellan had no post any nearer Bellevue than this and that it was from ten to fifteen miles above Omaha.

“Evolution is that process whereby organic forms are changed during descent.” Let us follow the descent. The Missouri Fur Company sent an expedition of 150 men to the upper waters of the Missouri in 1809. The powerful and ferocious Black Feet Indians, who were the providence of the Oregon trail, discouraged the attempts of these men to gain permanent foothold there. Part of them retreated and another part, headed by the intrepid Henry, crossed the mountain divide in the fall of 1810 and established Fort Henry on Henry’s fork of the Snake river. This was the beginning of the southern movement. In 1821 Pilcher, who succeeded Lisa as head of the Missouri Fur Company, made another attempt at a foothold in the Black Feet country, but was forced back. Ashley, leader of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, organized in 1822, was also beaten back in 1823. By this time Henry was discouraged about holding on to the upper Missouri and turned his attention to permanent exploitation of the Green river valley. In that year Provost made the important discovery of South Pass. In 1824, Ashley conducted an expedition to the lower fields along the regular trail except that he went to Council Bluff and from there west up the Platte valley. In 1830, his great lieutenants, Smith, Jackson and Sublette, went west with a train of fourteen wagons — the first to go to the mountains over the cut-off; that is, up the Little Blue valley to its head, across to the Platte, following the river to the mountains. In 1832 Bonneville also went over the cut-off and took a wagon train over the South Pass, the first wagons to cross the mountains. In 1832 Nathaniel Wyeth went over the cut-off through to Oregon, but did not take wagons over the mountainous part of the course. In 1836 Marcus Whitman, one of the intrepid winners and founders

of Oregon, went almost through to the Columbia with a wagon, thus demonstrating and illustrating the practicability of a transcontinental road for all purposes. The Oregon trail was now clearly outlined. It was thoroughly established in 1842 by the aggressive Oregon emigration.

The Platte now becomes the thread and theater of Nebraska existence. In 1844 William Wilkins, secretary of war, recommended in his report that the Nebraska country should be organized as a territory and that it should be called Nebraska on account of the great river which bisected it. Stephen A. Douglas immediately followed up this first step by a second, in the introduction of a bill for the organization of Nebraska. The passage of the Nebraska bill, May 30, 1854, and of the Pacific railroad bill in 1862, was the culmination of this evolution.

When Nebraska was first invaded by white people, Indian occupancy was arranged with reference to the Platte river. The Omaha were on the north side, extending from the Missouri river west to Shell creek, now in Colfax county. The Oto and Missouri were on the south side, their country extending from the Missouri west as far as the east line of the west tier of townships of the present counties of Jefferson, Saline, Seward and Butler. The Pawnee held the great central tract beyond the domain of the Omaha and the Oto and Missouri as far west as the forks of the Platte. The Cheyenne and Arapaho of the upper Arkansas held from the Pawnee west. They were bounded on the north and west by the North Platte down to its source in Colorado and wholly embraced the south fork in Nebraska and Colorado. The Shoshone and Bannock backed the North Platte on the west throughout its northerly course in Nebraska and Wyoming, meeting the western boundary of the Sioux at the mouth of the Sweet Water. The territory of this great nation bordered the North Platte from the western limits of the Pawnee. By a succession of

treaties these Indian holdings in Nebraska were given up to the United States, the last in 1876. This completed the Indian evolution.

The settlement and politics of the territory and state were fashioned about the Platte as a central thread. This river, which at first was the base of organization, soon became a positive repellent political force — between the North Platte and South Platte sections. The division took special form at first in the capital controversy which lasted a dozen years and culminated in a South Platte victory when the capital was removed to Lincoln in 1867. This political and, in general, social division has been recognized in some sort ever since but is gradually dying out. At the present time it is little more than a reminiscence or a nominal convenience.

Both Bellevue and the Oregon trail were institutions and therefore were not created but grew. To assign the beginning of these institutions to any particular date, man, or influence would be like cataloging the milky way, or fixing a birthday for the universe. "The doctrine of special creations does not stand." We celebrate at Bellevue because here, as our monument recites, it may fairly be said, was started the first permanent settlement in Nebraska. We know, rather indefinitely, that trappers and Indian traders squatted along the Nebraska shore of the Missouri in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The Missouri Fur Company was here some years before the American Fur Company which did not establish itself in this region before 1822. Not far this side, or the other side, of 1830 the American Fur Company became firmly established at Bellevue, and about the same time the Indian agency was moved here from Fort Atkinson, which was abandoned as a military post in 1827.² These were the two great factors

² For a more extended discussion of this topic see foot note 3 of "Early Days In and About Bellevue", this volume.—Ed.

that established Bellevue, and Peter A. Sarpy who came up from St. Louis, perhaps as early as 1823, as a representative of the American Fur Company, was the connecting link between the squatter period of the commonwealth and its settled and more civilized development. The loss of the same factors which gave Bellevue life, commercially destroyed it. Soon after the organization of the territory in 1854, the Oto and Missouri and the Omaha Indian tribes were removed to their reservations. The agency followed over to the Oto and Missouri reservation on the Blue river in 1856, and to the present Omaha reservation in 1857. The capture of the capital by Omaha in 1855 gave that place strength and courage to gain the eastern terminus of the Union Pacific railroad. Bellevue had hopes until the choice of the site for the bridge across the Missouri river was decided in favor of Omaha and against the vicinity of Bellevue in 1868. The growth of South Omaha immediately in its rear has left to Bellevue little more than the distinction of being the most beautifully situated hamlet within the state.

The poets have anticipated our every sentiment and fancy; so I now speak out of the mouths of two of the greatest of these prophets.

“While the ploughman, near at hand,
Whistles o’er the furrowed land,
And the milkmaid singeth blithe,
And the mower whets his scythe,
And every shepherd tells his tale
Under the hawthorne in the dale.
Straight mine eye hath caught new pleasures
Whilst the landskip round it measures:
Russet lawns and fallows grey
Where the nibbling flocks do stray;
Meadows trim with daisies pied;
Shallow brooks and meadows wide;
Towers and battlements it sees,
Bosomed high in tufted trees.”

(Here the speaker waved toward the distant eastward range of wooded hills, described in Bradbury's journal).

"Sweet smiling village, loveliest of the lawn,
No (Thy) sports are fled nor are (and all) thy charms with-
drawn;

Amidst thy bowers no (the) tyrant's hand is seen
Nor (And) desolation saddens all thy green."

This was the dread alternative: If Bellevue had not remained Bellevue it must have become Omaha—the evolutionized trading post; or, perhaps, more specifically, South Omaha, the modern mammoth charnel house. Look on this picture and then on that, O ye of little faith in the eternal truth of compensation, in 'he ultimate triumph of poetic justice—though the grosser or material right be continually denied,—and doubt no longer that behind a frowning providence God indeed hides a smiling face. I am sure that, encompassed by this prodigality of Nature's charms, traditional South Platte feud quite forgets its humor, so that we of that section anticipatively rejoice with the increasing thousands who, sensible of the enchantment which the greatest practicable distance from our commercial capital—of necessity their business-hour camping—lends to real living, will establish homes at this veritable "belle vue" reserved by a merciful but misapprehended providence,—a calm, a sure retreat from Omaha.

THE EVENING ADDRESSES

Following are the addresses delivered at the evening exercises in the Brandeis theater, Omaha, by Chancellor Avery, President MacLean and Mr. John L. Webster.

ADDRESS OF CHANCELLOR SAMUEL AVERY

However historians may differ in regard to the exact date of the first permanent settlement in our state, the anniversary exercises today may be regarded as commemorative of the one hundredth anniversary of a distinct landmark in the settlement of the West. The organization on June 23, 1810, of the expedition by the Astor Company, resulted, as the inscription on the monument so well states, in a spread of the knowledge regarding the region comprising our state among the people farther east. Therefore, without quibbling over the exact historical facts as to early settlements, we may by common consent consider this the birthday of the civilization which now exists in the state, and we may regard our present achievements as the result of a hundred years of development, slow for the first half century, exceedingly rapid in the latter.

Those who indulge in the pleasure of tracing out the remote history of states and institutions generally find that from the earliest beginning there is usually a period of very slow development; later when development has fairly started it often proceeds with almost meteoric swiftness. Thus Harvard University has made more visible advancement in the last twenty-two years than in the previous 250 years of its existence. So Nebraska history may be divided into the following sections: The period of exceed-

ingly slow and obscure settlement from 1810 to the organization of the territory in 1854; the continued, more rapid settlement and the founding of the institutions of the commonwealth from this time to its admission as a state in 1867. Next, the period of rapid settlement and the occupation of the best agricultural lands, the building of railroads and the founding of cities, from the early 70's to the end of the 80's, when this development was checked by the general hard times of the country; and, finally, from the end of the 80's to the present time — a period which represents the systematic, orderly growth of the state as a whole, the consolidation of business and industrial enterprises, the accumulation of wealth and, perhaps, of importance to the future, the development of a state pride and a state consciousness.

It would be inappropriate and unfair to the eloquent and learned gentlemen whom I shall have the pleasure of introducing, if I, as the presiding officer of this meeting, were to encroach to any great extent upon their time. But appreciating most highly the honor which has been conferred upon me by the committee in asking me to preside on this anniversary occasion, I cannot allow the opportunity to pass without presenting to you one of the thoughts which is almost always with me: what will the coming years mean to our state — what will be its future development? Will the state mean to us and those who come after us simply so much territory in the center of the Union? Will it mean to us simply a political organization, or will the word Nebraska convey to us the thought of certain ideals? In other words, are we continuing to develop a state consciousness, a state patriotism, and a state pride? Mr. Roosevelt has, I think, made it popular throughout the civilized world to preach a little on occasions like this; and so it is perhaps not unfitting that I follow, as best I may, his illustrious example. It seems to me that if we as citizens

are to work out the destiny of this glorious state in a manner best conducive to her interests, "Nebraska" must signify to us certain high ideals; and if we, as citizens, do not cause her to attain to these ideals, Nebraska, with her wealth of soil and sunshine, will miss her greatest opportunity. The first thing, it seems to me, that we should stand for in Nebraska is a spirit of good will, a spirit of helpfulness, and a spirit of cooperation throughout all parts of the state. I have seen in the Pacific Northwest communities of wide extent without, in my judgment, more than a fraction of the natural wealth and resources which we have, lifted into national prominence and into regal prosperity through the spirit of cooperation, mutual helpfulness, and confidence which the inhabitants maintain for one another. In that country, too, we have seen an example of a city standing unselfishly for ideals. When the state university of Oregon was assailed by the uninformed, the selfish, the narrow-minded and the bigoted and an attempt was made to nullify the legislative appropriation through a referendum called by these various forces, the university was saved to the state and to the country through the noble generosity of the queenly city of Portland. I believe that if occasion should ever occur in Nebraska, as I hope it never may, it would call forth a similar act of devotion on the part of the metropolis, that the same splendid altruistic spirit would be shown towards any or all of the established enterprises that are working for the advancement of the state.

Every right-minded citizen of the state of Nebraska should honor the memory of those early settlers who, with their farsighted view into the future, laid the foundations of this splendid commercial city. It is right and proper for us to idealize business; and we ought, for state patriotic reasons, to foster, so far as we can, the growth and development of this city, and of every city, and of every legitimate

enterprise within our borders. We ought especially to be on our guard that there is no spirit of discord or bickering, or of strife, or enmity between the various parts of our commonwealth.

In concluding, then, as to the future of our state, permit me to indulge in the prediction that long before the two hundredth anniversary of the event we celebrate today shall be observed, Nebraska, even more than it does at present, will present a spirit of unity and cooperation throughout the state, from Falls City to Crawford; from Dakota City to Benkelman; from Omaha to Scott's Bluff. The name Nebraska will suggest to all who may hear it thoughts of the stability of our commercial houses, the integrity of our business men, the soundness of our educational institutions, the excellence of the products of our soil, the technical skill of our manufacturers. It will be synonymous with permanency, honor, and peace. These are the ideals of things which I think we may hope to attain more completely in the next century of our progress, and in so far as we have already attained them, can we especially felicitate ourselves on the results of the century which closes tonight.

THE NEW WORLD MOVEMENT

BY PRESIDENT GEORGE E. MACLEAN

Mr. Chancellor, Mr. President, Your Excellency, and Nebraska Neighbors:

I was interested in a statement in the advertisement of this meeting that there would be cold air here — not hot air. (Laughter) I was immediately reminded of the little boy who was asked after coming from church what the text was. It was, as you know, the familiar, “Many are called, but few are chosen”; but the boy, perhaps with a premonition of meteorological conditions here tonight, answered, “Many are cold but few are frozen.” The warmth of the welcome here makes me feel that it is well to advertise cold, and not hot air, and that few will be frozen.

The cordial words of the chancellor remind me that indeed he and I were “freshmen” together; he as an instructor and I as an executive, and I learned then that “A” stood not only for Avery, but it stood for an “A No. 1” trustworthy man. (Applause) Chancellor Andrews succeeded me, and there was another man whose name began with A, and he also was “A No. 1”. But dearest to us, surely, is this first chancellor, as far as I know, in the trans-Mississippi region who came up out of the state institution over which he presides. Generally we have been imported from the far East, as Regent Whitmore and I, for example, were imported from Massachusetts to this Mississippi valley. It was thought that you fast people needed something to moderate you, hence these importations from Massachusetts. But I congratulate you that the time has arrived when you

can supply your own leaders, and I see in it a sign of a new and prosperous era.

It is recorded that the gentlemen of the committee invited to this celebration certain residents of Iowa as well as the people of Nebraska. They invited in particular people from Pottawattamie and Mills counties; and I noticed that they invited from Glenwood as well as from Iowa City. In short, they invited from the two towns in Iowa related to peculiar educational institutions — the one at Iowa City for higher learning and the one at Glenwood for the feeble-minded; or perhaps I have it mixed, as you may think before I conclude. This query is a sign of a new era, because we have learned today that nothing must be lost, and that even the feeble-minded have possibilities in them and that they are to be cared for under the aegis of these imperial states of ours. Then again, at the time you are celebrating there were frequent forays from Nebraska upon the part of the Osages into the land of the Iowas; and just about one hundred years ago from this date the Osages returned from a successful foray into Iowa and brought back seven scalps. I hope there are at least seven of us here tonight from Iowa, and you know the pride of all of us in these magnificent middle western states.

It has been my privilege now for twenty-six years to be in Minnesota, Nebraska and Iowa. Magnificent, mastodonic Minnesota; new, enchanting Nebraska; idyllic, idealistic Iowa — three beautiful sisters in the sisterhood of states at the heart of the continent promising leadership for the country.

And so I am brought to the subject which I have chosen, "The New World Movement in this Middle West". Very properly President Roosevelt in one of his great addresses in Europe, celebrating the oncoming anniversary of the one hundredth year of the University of Berlin, took for his subject the "World Movement"; but we have

something newer, and, if it be possible, something fresher in the "New World Movement" in this new or middle West.

The phrase "world movement" meant something in the English people's language when the great Chatham framed the policies for England in 1763, after the British troops and our forefathers had overcome the French and made it to be true that this continent should be dominated not by the French but by the English. Chatham laid out the glorious world policy for England that finally brings it about that he who is to be crowned King of England takes his oath not only as King of England and of Great Britain, but as an emperor with dominions over the seas. So our Teutonic blood has been prepared among English speaking peoples for a world movement, a new movement to federate under the great idea of Teutonic civilization of "freedom, equality and enlightenment", in the phrase of the immortal Jefferson, the various nations of the world.

In 1763-4 Captain Jonathan Carver of the British army, seeing that now the English and not the French were to rule this continent, proposed an expedition to the Pacific coast, and in 1774 aided secretly by the British government, such an expedition was organized to go to the Pacific coast to make the empire of Britain under Chatham's world policy continental in the new hemisphere. But the revolution, brought on in part by the foolish King George the Third, for a time shattered the progressive policies of the great Chatham and the common people of England, and so the expedition to the Pacific coast of Jonathan Carver never went through.

But in 1787 the thirteen colonies, now independent states, the war of 1776 having concluded in 1783, found it necessary to provide for the great Northwest Territory that belonged to Virginia and in which several of the new states, even like Connecticut, had claims. But Washington, who had gone to Pittsburg through the wilderness, and the

other fathers of the republic became conscious that there was a back land, a hinterland, more mighty than the Atlantic brim, that the original states controlled. And so in 1787 they adopted the great ordinance for the government of the Northwest Territory, and with wonderful foresight made it possible, without any statehood jealousy, that imperial states should be carved out of that territory having the same sovereignty and privileges as those states that had fought for the great cause of freedom.

Jefferson, as early as 1790, was already planning for something beyond the Mississippi. He then had in view something upon the Pacific coast. He was secretly negotiating with Spain in order that the new republic should not be hedged in upon its western border, and in order that there might be freedom of access to the great mouth of the Father of Waters. Already the merchants of Boston, those shrewd New Englanders, had an eye on the Pacific coast, gathering in the furs, trading with China and in the course of two or three years returning with their goods again to old New England. In 1792 there were not less than twenty-one American ships upon the Pacific coast doing business; and in that year Captain Gray of Boston discovered the great river Columbia and gave it its happy name. What wonder then that secretly a statesman like Jefferson, prompted by the progress of commerce, began to think of the Pacific coast. To be sure Jefferson had not as yet risen to the full vision. He spoke of the possibilities of an Atlantic confederacy and of a Pacific confederacy "bound to us", he said, "by ties of blood and of common interest, and of one family". Not yet was the thought that there should be one grand republic, but a Pacific republic and an Atlantic republic, with this great Mesopotamia as the dividing country.

In 1792 Washington was interested in this movement towards the Pacific. In 1798 old John Adams of Massa-

chusetts was again looking for the government to do something to help break through to the Pacific, as the British government had planned in 1774. And in 1802, Jefferson, then president, despite his conservative idea that the best government was that which governed the least, started to negotiate secretly — as Gallatin advised him that it should not be a public message — with Congress for an expedition to the Pacific. As you all know, in 1803 the great Napoleon was approached by the ambassador from this country to buy up this land that we know as the Louisiana Purchase. It was sold for a song, partly because the party of the first part was in need of ready cash, but more because that all-wise Napoleon was playing a game to down England. He said to himself, "If the United States, so recently in opposition to England, and which I want to stay for all time in opposition to England — if the United States can have that country it will make a balance of power inimical to England by which we of Europe may hold her in subjection." So diplomacy began with this mighty country here, as yet a wilderness, so full of possibilities for the ultimate story of the nations.

We all know about the Lewis and Clark expedition of 1804,— that Jefferson sent as soon as we owned the country, and that he had planned to send earlier. With wonderful heroism they followed up the Missouri and on through to Oregon. They made it possible for later expeditions like the Astorian in 1810, and finally in 1835 and 1836 for Marcus Whitman, the missionary of his country as well as of the cross, to claim Oregon for the United States.¹ Thus,

¹ The Pacific Fur Company was organized for this northwestern undertaking in 1810, but the expedition started from its winter camp, near the mouth of the Nodaway river, about twelve miles above the site now occupied by the city of St. Joseph, Missouri, on the 21st of April, 1811. Marcus Whitman first went to Oregon in 1836 as a missionary to Indians, and again with the great colony of 1843. His part in securing Oregon for the United States has been exaggerated.—Ed.

ultimately, it was brought about that Great Britain, which had been conniving through her great fur traders, should not come south of what we now know as the north line of Washington.

The "New World Movement", then, began in 1763, and it was a continental movement that, pivoted upon this Mississippi and Missouri valley, swung to the Pacific. It is a movement as full of romance as the original new world movement of 1492 in which there was a woman at the center, the glorious Queen Isabella; just as in this latest world movement there was an Indian woman, that guide of Lewis and Clark's, Sacajawea, to whom we have erected at last a monument. She led the white people through the land of her fathers to the Golden Gate. The glory of this new world movement appears in that it was not a movement of pirates, or of men going simply to get furs, or jewels, or gold; but it was a movement of families. That grand old German thrift by which the man took the *hausfrau* with him, and wandered through the forests of Europe and conquered it, made this new world movement also a movement of families.

Today it exhilarated me to meet one of your first settlers, who came up from Kentucky,—from that land where the English had broken over the mountains under the lead of brave men like Boone—and is still on the same farm where his father settled with him in 1854. He told me how they came with the prairie schooner, with three pairs of oxen and the whole family of seven; and I said, "Were you not afraid?" "Oh, no," he replied, "the Indians were reasonably friendly, and there were little places all along beginning from Keokuk as we went across Iowa until we came to our settlement on the Missouri river."

In our Iowa state house we have a magnificent painting. It is not like the classical paintings of old, with some half draped goddess in the center, some idealization of

humanity, but in the center there is a prairie schooner with the oxen in the foreground, and the pioneer with his whipstock raised, and the little children trotting along, the cattle following, and the prairie all blooming with the beautiful flowers of our western prairie. (Applause)

This new world movement has then a high significance. First it meant freedom for all the land, true to the legend on the old Liberty Bell: "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof." As the people of Iowa in 1844, though the act had passed congress, would not accept admission to the Union, because their border did not go from the Mississippi to the Missouri, because they would be an imperial state; so in Nebraska, in 1867, you as a territory, having everything from the 40th parallel away to the Canadian border, and to the summits of the Rockies, a space out of which five states have been carved, would not stay your hand until you swept well on to the Rockies, while you let go of the frozen northlands. It was that spacious spirit of freedom that was abroad in 1776. That spirit of freedom was, however, "constitutional", that is with clipped wings. The constitution of the United States was a compromise, purposely indefinite because of the slaves in the South. But the great Jefferson was for early emancipation of the slaves, and wanted not only a land of freedom from the Atlantic to the Pacific, but freedom from slavery in the southland.

This new world movement was different from all the great national movements of the old world where there was ever slavery at the beginning, until England, rather late and foremost of all, passed an act which read, "No slavery upon British soil." And so we had freedom in this world movement but without equality; the black man not upon an equality with the white man. This new world movement therefore had to go forward through conflict with the great John Marshall interpreting the constitution for a

strong central government that looked towards ultimate equality and absolute freedom. And finally, as you all know, in 1854 when you were admitted as a territory there was a culmination in the Kansas-Nebraska bill of the conflict that had gone on since 1820, the time of the Missouri compromise with reference to slavery. That bill made it possible for popular sovereignty, as the great Stephen A. Douglas called it, to decide whether a state should be slave or free. Then it was that this new world movement had a fresh impetus from dear old New England, when in Boston the free state men went to work.

In the museum of the State Historical Society of the university at Iowa City is John Brown's cannon. That cannon he left when he went on to Harper's Ferry because it was too inconvenient to take it. But that cannon was cast in Boston and sent out by the free soil men of Boston to John Brown with which to fight that Kansas might be settled by lovers of free men and that Kansas and Nebraska should not be slave states.

In this crisis in the new world movement Nebraska had her part. And old Iowa, then relatively old, for decades count like centuries in these western states, old Iowa stood forth as the first free state in the Louisiana Purchase, committed to no slavery within her borders, helping Kansas and Nebraska to be settled by free men. And that great struggle in Illinois, the great debate between Douglas and Abraham Lincoln, was precipitated as we all know by this focusing of the interest. Douglas, grand man, had ever since 1844 annually introduced into congress a bill for the admission of Nebraska, and that Nebraska was to go away to the Pacific coast, for he too saw the vision of the whole land, settled for America. But he had to compromise, and offered popular or squatter sovereignty, and he prevailed, as we know, in 1854. But it worked the

beginning of the going down of his sun, and the rising of that of Abraham Lincoln.

And so, in 1854 and 1855, things worked rapidly. In the old capitol, the administration building today of the state university of Iowa, in 1856 the free soil party, known as the republican party, was organized, and in this state in the next year you organized this party that was to be against slavery.²

The new world movement marches on. We come to see that not by votes, nor by diplomacy, nor by compromise — because God's righteousness in the end is exact — but by the arbitrament of fratricidal war must the settlement come. And this world movement in 1861 revealed to all the earth a new factor in civilization. The South and old England expected that the South would prevail. They had counted up carefully the population of the older states, but they failed to realize that Iowa, then a state young and little thought of, would send seventy-eight thousand men to fight for the freedom of the slave and the preservation of the Union. They failed to see that territorial Nebraska with only thirty thousand inhabitants would send in 1861 and the years right after 3,307 men to fight against the South. And these new middle western states held the balance of power in the field of battle. And out of the great West came the leaders like Grant; and the world's history turned upon a new pivot; and for the first time the Middle West in this new world movement had its significance to all the world. (Applause)

And so equality was established in 1865, or with the emancipation proclamation in 1863, as liberty or freedom had been established in 1776 to 1783.

² The first meeting or convention for organizing the republican party in Nebraska was held in Omaha, January 18, 1858.—Ed.

What of this new world movement today? Is it of history past? Are we now to be commonplace? Are we now simply to make our millions? The Spanish-American war in 1898 brought about a coalescence of the old ideal of continental freedom with that of equality beyond domains pertaining to us, and for which in no way we were responsible. And we could not bear that there should be atrocities under the old empire of Spain in Cuba; so a new thing was soon among the nations; namely war, not to exploit, not for conquest, not for addition to the country, but for humanity. War, simply on the basis of fraternity of humanity. (Applause)

And then we withdrew from Cuba and proved to the prophets of evil that we were sincere as a nation. Today the American eagle spreads his wings from Porto Rico to the Philippines, and we know that it is not for imperial exploitation of weaker nations. In fact the missionaries had taught us that nations thrive by unselfishness in bearing the burdens of the weak, even as individuals thrive when they rise into a spirit of fraternity with their brother men. International fraternity is the culmination of the new world movement, but the end is not yet.

I remember that this dream was in all of us in a state of half consciousness in our great use of the word "America". Many years ago when I matriculated in a German university the registrar asked me what my nationality was, and I answered proudly as a youngster, "America". With the politeness that can never be equaled by a Frenchman, and that a German sometimes has, he said, "From North, South, or Central America?" (Applause) I thought I would answer him and I said, "North America" with a tone of finality. He said with exceeding politeness, "From British North America, or from the United States of America?" At last I had learned the name of my country, and I said with humbled pride, "From the United States

of America." (Applause) We had appropriated the whole hemisphere as Americans years ago. It was in our blood and in the veins of Jefferson and Washington, and so on down the line. And now we are realizing that there is the Pan-American Congress, not for the subjection of the peoples of the republics of Central or South America, but for the federation of them. That is the Monroe Doctrine which has been carried out on this hemisphere for republics, for freedom, for equality, for fraternity.

And the very culmination of this new world movement that had its first scene in this magnificent valley, and that we by our representatives are doing so much to carry upward I got some vision of last month at the Lake Mohonk sixteenth annual peace conference. It has been thought that the people who went there were sentimental dreamers, that they could hardly exist peaceably under the vigorous regime of the "big stick". But I discovered that that conference was made up of people of such common sense that the old Quaker who presided said: "The millenium is not. It seems that there are people of violence, and they are liable to be about us for a long time, and we must have a navy, and an army, and we want them to shoot straight when we have to do up those bad men." I think that was pretty good peace doctrine.

But what was the vision?: because this is an old and singular view of the peace movement. The vision sprang from this: Mr. Scott, by direction of Mr. Knox, the secretary of state, made the first official announcement to the conference at Lake Mohonk, that the secretary had sent an identical note to all the great powers proposing that there should be a permanent arbitral court of justice, into which all nations should go with all cases. Mr. Taft had advanced beyond Mr. Roosevelt in proposing that we shall not exempt questions of honor. Citizens take their cases that have to do with honor into courts, and nations are simply

great aggregations of citizens. The proposition that justice shall be administered through an international permanent court has been considered favorably by most of the leading nations of the world. It is likely that the next Hague conference will prepare the way for the establishment of this supreme court of all nations for all international causes, and war in civilization will be no more. (Applause)

This would be the final outcome of this new world movement that we in this Middle West have furthered as no other people. We have these great states with differing interests, but the mother states on the Atlantic seaboard had the unselfish policy. They and we have learned, despite our occasional blustering about the East and the West, that there is no longer any genuine sectionalism, that our larger interests are common, though they may vary about some items in the tariff. And it is not as it was in this state as late as 1896, in those terrible times of drought succeeding the panic, that we are bitter against the East.

Today the East joins with the West in the admission of the last two continental states, there was no quarrel as to what would be the balance of the power in the United States senate. And he who wrote the "Winning of the West"; — he who had the rough riders at the wedding ceremony of his daughter and waived to them in the gallery; he has brought home to the East a sense that the West is contributing many leaders to the Atlantic seaboard today. And the men of the East come west and soon drop the New England lingo and are as good westerners as those born here. This is the new Americanism with a new internationalism that takes up the isles of the sea, as little drops in the bucket, in the interest of ultimate federated republics the world 'round and universal peace.

We cross the prairies, as of old
 The Pilgrims crossed the sea;
 To make the West, as they the East,
 The homestead of the free.



DEDICATION OF ASTORIAN MONUMENT, BELLEVUE, NEBRASKA, JUNE 23, 1910
Standing at the left of the monument from left to right are: John Lee Webster, Governor Ashton C. Shallenberger
Mrs. Oreal S. Ward, Mrs. Ashton C. Shallenberger, Henry T. Clarke, Dr. George E. MacLean

ADDRESS OF JOHN LEE WEBSTER

Nebraska is a part of that vast plain between the Missouri river and the Rocky mountains, which, in an ancient geological period, was the bottom of an ocean. This inland sea extended from the Gulf of Mexico on the south, to the lake region on the north. In the strange climatic changes which took place, this plain had its tropical period, when vegetable forms flourished and animals lived which are now only found in Africa and South America, and some of which are extinct, belonging to the medieval world. In revolving time, other changes occurred and the regions of Arctic cold came where the tropical zone had been. The glaciers came down from the north and spread their deposits all over the vast plain from the mountains to the river. Following these geological and climatic changes there afterward came the great American desert when little sand dunes were seen everywhere, and the parching sun dried up the vegetation.

A century ago the nation stretched out its hand into this desert, and created a fertile soil, and peopled it with America's noble men and women, who have erected homes, and school houses, and churches, and built towns and cities, and established marts, and created commercial arteries, until it has become a granary of the world and a garden of beauty. It is this Nebraska which today celebrates the one hundredth anniversary of the Astorian expedition, which appropriately marks the beginning of its history.

The changes of conditions, from the time when this land rose up from the bottom of the sea, to become again buried under the glacial deposits, are no less wonderful

than the transition from the American desert to this paradise of states that has come within the one hundred years since the event which we are assembled to commemorate.

The reaching out of the hand of the nation into this desert brings to our minds reflections upon the awakening of the great West from its primeval sleep of countless ages to welcome and receive the pioneer and the emigrant, when the great spirit of the Indian tribes, their God Manitou, was to give way to the persuasive influence of the missionary priest with the cross in his hand, and the Christian religion, and the white man's God.

On the 23d day of June, 1810, in the city of New York, John Jacob Astor and his associates signed the articles of agreement creating the Pacific Fur Company, and which provided that an exploration party, which starting from St. Louis, should ascend the Missouri river, explore its regions and afterwards cross the mountains and uplands to the Pacific coast.

The purpose of John Jacob Astor and of his exploring party was not one of conquest. It was not one of idle adventure. It was not one of discovery. It was not one of geographical exploration like that of Lewis and Clark. It was one prompted by business and commercial principles. It was to open up trade with the roving inhabitants of the country. It contemplated the establishment of fur trading stations, with the expectation that with these would come emigrants, the building of homes and the peopling of the country. It was within the contemplation of John Jacob Astor that what he planned would be the beginning of the establishment of civil society, and the physical development of the country.

To appreciate the fulness of the purpose in the mind of John Jacob Astor we should have a reasonably fair understanding of the environments of the times and of the political and social and commercial conditions that prevailed in 1810.

The United States, all told, then had less than seven and one-half millions of people. They were clustered along the Atlantic seaboard. Their western settlements were but a fringe on the borders of the Mississippi. The mental vision of Astor spanned the continent.

Henry Clay was just beginning his appeals to the American people for the vindication of American right to free ships upon the seas, and which were followed by the war of 1812. But Clay had no conception of the possibilities of the lands west of the Missouri river, and the war with England was the death blow to Astoria.

It then took longer to go from Boston to New York than it now takes to go from Boston to San Francisco. The Missouri river was then farther from these eastern cities than the Atlantic coast is from China today.

Abraham Lincoln was then a poorly clad toddling babe on the soil of Kentucky, and it was fifty years before he developed to an appreciation of the necessity of a trans-continental railroad.

James Madison was president of the United States, but he and his associates who framed the constitution, which in this later age spreads like a canopy across the American continent, did not know as much of the country west of the Missouri river as our school children of today know of the regions surrounding the north pole.

Thomas Jefferson was living in retirement at Monticello. While he gave encouragement to the enterprise of John Jacob Astor, which would establish settlements upon the Pacific coast, it was with the thought that they should be of our people, of our blood, of our kindred, and who should establish for themselves the right of self-government but they were otherwise to be wholly unconnected with the United States of America.

Irving said of Astor: "He considered his projected establishment at the mouth of the Columbia as the em-

porium to an immense commerce; as a colony that would form the germ of a white civilization; that would, in fact, carry the American population across the Rocky mountains and spread it along the shores of the Pacific, as it already animated the shores of the Atlantic." What John Jacob Astor began has made it possible for the present and all future generations living in the West to realize and enjoy the political, social, religious, educational and commercial advantages which flow from the very highest order of our modern civilization, and all a part of the American republic.

It was in 1810 that Simon Bolivar, the George Washington of South America, began that long period of revolutionary war which ultimately resulted in the overthrow of Spanish and Portugese rule in our southern hemisphere and in the establishment of numerous independent republics. In 1810 Napoleon was still carrying his warfare over the face of Europe; and it was two years thereafter before he began his fateful retreat from Russia after the burning of Moscow. But in our country, and west of the Missouri river, a different kind of warfare was to be begun and carried on for a century. It was to wage a war against the deserts on the plains, the forests on the mountains, and to settle there a better civilization than there was in Europe or South America.

We, here today, may contemplate what millions of men have been employed in this warfare of settlement and of migration; what billions of money have been employed by way of improvements, and in rewarding the process of development; what farming districts, and what workshops, and what railroads have been created in the wilderness; what cities, with their busy thousands of inhabitants, have been built in what was once the solitude of these primeval lands; what states have been carved out of the prairies and mountains extending from the Missouri to the Pacific;

what undreamed of commerce is transported by land, and then sent forth in the holds of ocean-going steamships that whiten what was at that time the unexplored Pacific ocean.

Let us go back and glance at the desert and the arid regions as they existed at the time of John Jacob Astor's enterprise. Lieutenant Pike, who commanded two government explorations into these western regions, in his report to the war office said that these immense prairies "were incapable of cultivation" and would have to be left to the "wandering and uncivilized aborigines of the country". Major Long in his report to the United States of his explorations into these regions, said of the prairies that they bear a manifest "resemblance to the desert of Siberia".

Washington Irving, the historian of Astor's western enterprise and who tells us that he had the fullest opportunity for the examination of letters and reports of Astor's agents and correspondents, in speaking of the great American desert, said: "It spreads forth into undulating and treeless plains, and desolate sandy wastes, wearisome to the eye from their extent and monotony, and which are supposed by geologists to have formed the ancient floor of the ocean, countless ages since, when its primeval waves beat against the granite bases of the Rocky mountains. . . . Occasionally the monotony of this vast wilderness is interrupted. . . . with precipitous cliffs and yawning ravines, looking like the ruins of a world; or is traversed by lofty and barren ridges of rock, almost impassable, like those denominated the Black Hills. Beyond these rise the stern barriers of the Rocky mountains, the limits, as it were, of the Atlantic world. . . . Such is the nature of this immense wilderness of the far West; which apparently defies cultivation and the habitation of civilized life."

Washington Irving, like a prophet of evil, feared that this arid desert region might become the harbinger of a

mongrel race of barbarians and land pirates who would forever separate the civilization of the east from the peoples that were to inhabit the Pacific coast. He said: "But it is to be feared that a great part of it will form a lawless interval between the abodes of civilized man, like the wastes of the ocean or the deserts of Arabia; and, like them, be subject to the depredations of the marauder. Here may spring up new and mongrel races, like new formations in geology, the amalgamation of the 'debris' and 'abrasions' of former races, civilized and savage; the remains of broken and almost extinguished tribes; the descendants of wandering hunters and trappers; of fugitives from the Spanish and American frontiers; of adventurers and desperadoes of every class and country, yearly ejected from the bosom of society into the wilderness."

But we, the white men, are repeating in our age the same old story. Historians tell us that the glories of antiquity were highest in the lands of the desert. It was so in old Egypt and Palestine. It was so in Arabia, Persia and northern India. It was so in the lands of the Carthaginians and of the Moors. As these desert lands were once the heart of the world, we are making the West the heart of the best grazing and the best producing harvest lands of the American continent. The old worlds lost, not because of their lands, but because of want of mental and physical energy in their people. Our experiment will permanently endure because it is the home of the golden period of our manhood.

But again. We have had statesmen who did not want the West to become a part of our common country. We have had some who wished the top of the Rocky mountains might be the western barrier and border line of the United States. Senator Benton, in 1825, in a speech in the United States senate, said: "The ridge of the Rocky mountains may be named as a convenient, natural, and everlasting

boundary. Along this ridge the western limits of the republic should be drawn, and the statue of the fabled god 'Terminus' should be erected on its highest peak, never to be thrown down."

In 1846 Senator Winthrop, of Massachusetts, quoted what Senator Benton had said, and added the following comment: "This country will not be straightened for elbow room in the West for a thousand years, and neither the West nor the country at large has any real interest in retaining Oregon." In 1843 Senator McDuffie, of South Carolina, said: "The whole region beyond the Rocky mountains, and a vast tract between that chain and the Mississippi, is a desert, without value for agricultural purposes, and which no American citizen should be compelled to inhabit unless as a punishment for crime. Why, sir, of what use will this territory be for agricultural purposes? I would not for that purpose give a pinch of snuff for the whole territory. I wish to God we did not own it."

Mr. William Sturgis, in speaking for the New England commerce before the Mercantile Library Association of Boston, said: "It would be a less evil for the Pacific ocean to flow eastward to the Rocky mountains than to convert that territory into new states for the Union."

Mr. Tracy, a member of congress from New York, said: "Nature has fixed limits for our nation; she has kindly introduced as our western barrier, mountains almost inaccessible, whose base she has skirted with irreclaimable deserts of sand."

These statesmen may have lived long enough to change their opinions, and we may condone what they then said because at that time a transcontinental railroad was considered a chimera, and the electric telegraph had not become a means of communication. Thomas Benton, in a later part of his life had a brighter vision of the importance of the West, and pointed to it as the great commercial highway to the old worlds of the far East.

Charles Sumner redeemed Massachusetts from the narrow views of Winthrop when he drew that beautiful contrast between the West and the East. "Our brethren and our children have done in the West what our fathers did in the East. Under new conditions, in a later age, on the shores of a more pacific sea, in a more genial clime, they are to repeat in the near future, the old and wondrous story. The world shall see in that far clime the streets of a wealthier New York; the homes of a more cultured Boston; the halls of a more learned Harvard; the workshops of a busier Worcester."

But we have Americans who can see in these arid and desert regions beauty and color and fascination and who would retain them for their mystery and charm. Van Dyke looked upon these scenes and wrote in that classic, "The Desert": "In sublimity — the superlative degree of beauty — what land can equal the desert with its wide plains, its grim mountains, and its expanding canopy of sky! You shall never see elsewhere as here the dome, the pinnacle, the minaret fretted with golden fire at sunrise and sunset; you shall never see elsewhere as here the sunset valleys swimming in a pink and lilac haze, the great mesas and plateaus fading into blue distance, the gorges and canyons banked full of purple shadow. Never again shall you see such light and air and color; never such opaline mirage, such rosy dawn, such fiery twilight. . . . Look out from the mountain's edge once more. A dusk is gathering on the desert's face, and over the eastern horizon the purple shadow of the world is reaching up to the sky. The light is fading out. Plain and mesa are blurring into unknown distances, and mountain-ranges are looming dimly into unknown heights. Warm drifts of lilac-blue are drawn like mists across the valleys; the yellow sands have shifted into a pallid gray. The glory of the wilderness has gone down with the sun. Mystery — that haunting sense of the unknown — is all that remains."

The nation again is stretching out its hand into these arid plains described by Van Dyke, and irrigation is changing these vast plains into farms, orchards, and gardens. Again we see, as the sea receded, as the glaciers melted, the desert passes, and verdure and trees come to cover the land as the conquering heroes of old were adorned with chaplets of flowers. Water! Water! has become the master king of the desert.

Virginia had her cavaliers; New England her pilgrim Puritans; the West has had her pioneers:

“They came as the winds come
When forests are rendered.
They came as the waves come
When vessels are stranded.”

These pioneers were daring and intrepid men; men in whose life currents there flowed in modified and enlightened form the elements of that spirit of old that led the Macedonian chieftain in his conquering career in Asia and won him the title of Alexander the Great; that dwelt in Rome and marched with Caesar's armies through the forests of Germany and the valleys of Gaul; that went with the Black Prince of Normandy when he crossed the North sea and vanquished the armies of Harold, and gave him the realm of England for a throne, and the name in history's page of William the Conquerer; that spirit of old that led Columbus across the trackless ocean to find a new continent that the world might move onward, and without which America would have remained unknown.

These were the men who laid the solid foundations of the West; that West, where, in our day, evidences of refinement are seen everywhere; that West, which is moving the center of the country's social, commercial and political gravity farther westward every year, and presents untold possibilities for the future.

For more than a hundred years the planters of Virginia and the Puritans of New England were European sentinels,

standing guard over the Atlantic seaboard for old England. Our pioneers began as empire builders and in less than a hundred years have brought nineteen new states into the Union. They were as the Star of Bethlehem, leading and lighting the way for the twenty millions of people who are the citizens of these new states, and all under the American flag.

These pioneers have made the desert an epitaph on the tombstone of time. Steam and electric forces are now ruling the West as they rule the East. With us the present is living history. The United States in this, the twentieth century, is flashing sunlight over the world.

When the Union Pacific and Central Pacific railroads were chartered it was believed that they would open up to communication the lands on either side of them for a distance of two hundred miles. This meant an area of territory four hundred miles in width and extending from the Missouri river to the Pacific ocean, a distance of eighteen hundred miles. This immense virgin territory which would thus be brought in touch with the outer world and opened to settlement was larger than England, and Scotland, and Ireland, and Spain, and Portugal, and Belgium, and the Netherlands combined. If the continent of Europe were a vast dial of a clock and the city of Omaha were in its center as the pivot point and this line of railroad were the minute hand, its sweep would reach across Russia and into the Arctic ocean on the north, across the Caspian sea into Asia on the east, reach across the Mediterranean and touch the shores of Africa on the south, and penetrate the waves of the Atlantic on the west.

We have here at home the material for another contrast. In 1864 the little town of Julesburg, now a station on the Union Pacific railroad, was an important stopping point of Holladay's Overland Express. In that year there arrived at this shanty town 3,574 wagons of freight, guarded

by 4,258 men, and hauled by 28,592 horses, mules and oxen. In 1864 that same Overland Express Company employed between the Missouri river and the mountains 15,000 men, and 20,000 wagons, and 150,000 animals. In that same year it transported to the West 100,000,000 pounds of freight. Freight charges were seventeen cents a pound for every hundred miles, and passenger fares varied from thirty to fifty cents a mile.

Today the Union Pacific hauls through the same station of Julesburg every year about 500,000 passenger and freight cars, and 5,000,000 tons of freight, and its passengers are carried in palaces of luxury at two cents a mile. Transition from Holladay's Overland Express of 1864 to the Union Pacific of 1910 surpasses in existing reality anything in fancy word painting or in dream life found in any Arabian story. "Truth is stranger than fiction."

It has been said that it is the happiest of all fates to be born in Massachusetts and to live in Nebraska. Yet it is true that we have only "crossed the threshold of our new epoch". The men who plow and plant and cultivate are writing Nebraska history on her imperishable earth.

The prosperity of Nebraska springs from the soil and the seasons and the industry and the intelligence of her citizens. Her farmers plant in faith; they cultivate in hope; they reap in grace. They are the uncrowned kings of the day. Nebraska is wealthier than was any state in the Union at the time of the adoption of the federal constitution. Last year her products from the farms and factories exceeded six hundred millions of dollars. It was a sum of money exceeding two-thirds of all the trade which either Italy or Russia had with the outside world. It exceeded by nearly one-half the entire world trade of Switzerland. It was nearly twice as large as the entire world trade of Spain. Such is the Nebraska which has been

carved out of the desert of Lieutenant Pike, and Major Long, and Washington Irving, and all of it since the signing of that contract in New York by John Jacob Astor.

This state of Nebraska is also striking in the extent and measurement of her territory. She is equal in area to eight Vermonts; to ten Massachusetts; to fifteen Connecticut; to thirty-eight Delawares; to seventy Rhode Islands. If our United States senators were representatives of square miles of territory, Nebraska should have eight times as many senators as Vermont; ten times as many as Massachusetts; fifteen times as many as Delaware, and seventy times as many as Rhode Island. Our western states have been too anxious and over hasty to get into statehood. If the territory west of the Missouri river should attain a population exceeding by one-half the entire population east of the Missouri valley, nevertheless, the eastern states would maintain the balance of power in the United States senate. We have no remedy for this ultimate situation except to change the constitution, or by consent to create a larger number of smaller states out of those, which, in territory, are empires in themselves.

The magnitude of the West is not appreciated by her own people and is not understood by our eastern friends. We speak of individual states by name, with but little comprehension of their extent of territory or of their possibilities in either the near or the distant future.

The Dakotas are known to thousands of our people simply by the name they bear. Yet acre per acre, England, Scotland, Ireland, Belgium and the Netherlands could be put within the boundaries of the Dakotas. We could put all these European countries within the states of Oregon, Washington and Idaho, and have enough land left to make a few more New England states.

If Texas were a great inland sea and the republic of France were an island within it, the island would be so far

from the shore at every point as not to be visible. The concession after the Mexican war and the Gadsden purchase added territory enough to the West to make one hundred states as large as Massachusetts.

It has been said of Washington and Idaho and Oregon and parts of Montana and Wyoming that they have the productive capacity and the possibilities of an empire vast enough to furnish homes and sustenance for fifty millions of people. It is safe to say that there are other portions of the fertile West which have the soil and the climate to support one hundred and fifty millions more.

What is this great West doing for the world today? There are illustrations which beggar description. It has been said that American energy sweeps the decks of the world's commerce. That energy comes from the West. It has been said that the cradle of today is rocking elements that will startle the world of tomorrow. Their discoveries are being made in the West. It has been said that "Electric words from the land shores jump into wireless aerial chariots and, in the twinkling of an eye, dance upon the decks of ships one hundred miles out at sea."

It is from the West that there come the products of the soil and of the mines and of the ranges and the forests, the material that ladens these ships, that makes wireless telegraphy a useful instrumentality in the world's commerce.

There are millions of people in the East who, by reason of misstatements which have engendered misconceptions, entertain the belief that the West is uninteresting and unimportant. The sublime old Atlantic ocean and the quaint and interesting scenes of Europe have fascinations that lure our eastern friends in travel to the older countries of the East. Their course of reading and line of education have had closer affiliation with the ancient, than with the modern. They know more of the ruins of Greece and Italy than of

the rich productive lands west of the Missouri river. They know more of the history of olden cities which are fast going into decay than of the new cities of the West, such as Omaha, Denver, Portland or San Francisco. They know more of the history of the departed races of the Incas and of the Aztecs, brilliantly told by Prescott, than of the Indian races of our own country not yet extinct but fast disappearing, or than they know of the pioneers who have opened up the way to the occupation of one-half of the American continent.

To these, our eastern friends, we would suggest that in many particulars the West is superior to the East. Our Atlantic seaboard travelers who luxuriate in the Alps during the summer may find grander and more majestic scenery in the Rocky mountains. Neither Europe, nor Asia, nor Africa can present anything in beauty of coloring or imposing grandeur equal to the Yellowstone park or the Grand Cañon of the Colorado. The sweep of our broad plains and prairies is beyond comparison with the landscapes of France, and is only excelled by the restless majestic sweep of the waters of the ocean.

Our eastern fellow citizens, by reason of the damp, chilling colds of winter, the blasts that come from the ocean, and the air which at times is overburdened with moisture, seek more favorable climates for the preservation or restoration of health. Yet it is true that the arid regions of the higher altitudes of the West, all the way from Colorado to California, where the dry atmosphere does not carry germs of disease, and whose cold does not chill the marrow of the bones, is becoming known as a vast sanitarium. "Its pure, sweet air and sunny skies are instinct with the breath of life."

If New England should awaken some morning and see that her barren waste lands had vanished from the vision and her rugged climate had taken its flight north-

ward, and instead of these there had come to that same New England the climate and diversified resources of states like Nebraska, Colorado, Washington or Oregon, they would grow dizzy in their rejoicings at the surrounding pleasures of climate and the vast possibilities of economic resources.

There is more water power in the rivers that flow from the slopes of the Rocky and Sierra mountains than there is in all New England. These rushing mountain streams of the west are awaiting the coming of the mill owners to make the capital of the investors profitable.

The forests in Maine and Michigan for more than a century furnished the lumber to supply the necessities of the eastern and middle states. But the new states of Washington and Oregon have larger trees and more extensive forests than had the states of Maine and Michigan.

There is more coal in Wyoming and Colorado than there is in Pennsylvania. There are out-croppings of more beds of iron on the slopes of the Rocky mountains than there are in all the states east of the Mississippi. England goes to South Africa with enormous outlay of capital and with great expense to maintain a protective army to acquire lands from which she can get her supply of gold to maintain her standard of money. The United States for a century has been taking from the mountains of the West gold and silver which for ages had lain sleeping there awaiting the coming of the pioneer and the gold-digger, with the improved machinery and appliances of these modern times.

But richer than all these are the vast productive resources of the soil. The cattle ranges, the products of the farms, the wealth that comes up out of the ground, repeating itself every year; these are exhaustless resources of wealth equaled nowhere else in the United States and surpassed nowhere in all the known lands of the earth.

During the last half century we have built up a commerce that has been pouring out its surplus in the mercan-

tile channels of the East and, overflowing there, has spread itself out over the seas. New York and her Atlantic coast sisters may speak proudly of their harbors for great ocean vessels carrying the tonnage and the traffic of the world; but on the Pacific the West has a longer range of seacoast and better harbors,—from San Diego to the Golden Gate and from thence northward to Seattle.

Now is the time for us citizens of the West to welcome our fellow citizens of the East with outstretched arms and tell them something of the opportunities and possibilities of the lands west of the Missouri river. We might remind them of a statement many times made that if the Mayflower had landed on the Pacific coast instead of at Plymouth, San Francisco would have been the New York of America. We might remind them of what the British ambassador, Mr. Bryce, said in the American Commonwealth: "The West is the most American part of America. . . . What Europe is to Asia, what England is to the rest of Europe, what America is to England, that the western states and territories are to the Atlantic states."

The West is to the East what the vigorous atmosphere is to the lungs of man, furnishing nourishment to the physical system and stimulus to the healthful circulation of the blood which invigorates the body and brain. The eighty thousand miles of railroad traversing and penetrating all the regions of these nineteen western states, which are largely capitalized and financed in the city of New York and in return annually pour into the coffers of banks and trust companies of that great city their revenues and profits, are absolutely essential to the maintaining of that moneyed center. If this great West should be suddenly blotted out and that vast capitalization should disappear, and the revenues coming from these railroads should be stopped, havoc, bankruptcy and ruin would fall upon those moneyed houses. If the breadstuffs that come from

the great West were suddenly cut off and the Atlantic coast states were required to go to Europe or South America and bring to them by the slow process of ocean-going transportation the necessary foodstuffs to sustain life, the burden and strain would be beyond anything I may venture in the way of description. If the annually produced and accumulated wealth of these western states, whose surplus products go into the marts of the world through the channels of commerce centering in New York, were at once terminated, New York, as a city, would go into a panic.

Cut off the resources, the commerce, and the wealth that comes from the territory west of the Missouri river and the Atlantic coast cities would begin a rapid depopulation. Had it not been for the possibilities of the West and what is actually being produced in the West, New York and her associate sister cities on the Atlantic coast might never have reached a population exceeding that which they had when the development of the West began a hundred years ago. Without the West, New York, Philadelphia and Boston might not have grown larger than the present cities of Omaha, Denver and San Francisco. So we say to the millions of New York, to the one and a half million of Philadelphia and to the million of Boston, "Wake up to the fact that you are beholden to the lands west of the Missouri river for your wealth and population."

But it is to be remembered that the West is yet in its infancy. When we shall have had as much time for improvement and development as the Atlantic coast states have had, we will become peopled as they are. We will have larger cities than they have. We will have all the refinements and advantages they enjoy. Within that period we may realize the prophecy of Andrew Carnegie that the United States will have a population of five hundred millions of people, every one an American, and all boasting a common citizenship. But when we do, two

hundred millions of them will live west of the Missouri river. Another writer has said that if this country keeps on increasing in population at the same ratio as it has in the past, within one century in the future we will have a population of one thousand millions of people. Should that calculation be realized there will be found west of the Missouri river a population of four hundred millions of people; a population equal to that of all China; a population nearly double that of the Indian empire.

I know that such speculations impress us now as dreams of the imagination or as hopes of the fancy, but their realization will be no more strange to the people of a century hence than the things which we witness around us every day would have been startling to the people of a century ago. From the American desert until now, and from now to a century hence is the march of progress under the hand of God. It is the American republic coming into her own, the ruling power, the mistress of the world.

Before that ultimate day comes all of Asia will have adopted our systems of government and accepted the benefits and advantages of our higher civilization.

Her lands will be cultivated as our lands, her people educated as our people. The products of her soil, the output of her mines and factories will come pouring into our western harbors. As this land came up from the bottom of the sea, and then passed into a tropical climate, and then into a glacial period, and then into the American desert, and then, when the hand of the nation had been stretched out into it, became a luxuriant garden of wealth and prosperity; so in time the United States of America will transfer its East to the West, and the chief trade of the country and her great cities will be found on its western coast. The state of Nebraska with its seventy-seven thousand square miles of territory and its successful, happy and prosperous population will be near the center

of a more magnificent and overwhelming republic; the gateway of the vast trade from the East to the West; the source of internal wealth and power, and Omaha will be the gateway of all this immense commerce.

EARLY DAYS IN AND ABOUT BELLEVUE

BY EDWARD L. SAYRE

A portion of what follows has at different times been published in some form but not in a connected story, so far as the writer is aware.

The intention is to give bits of history gathered from the files in the office of the secretary of state, journals of the territorial council and house of representatives, session laws of the legislature, records of Douglas county, of which up to June, 1857, the country around Bellevue was a part, and from records found in possession of individuals; so that all the data herein can be substantiated and the history as made by the "old timers" be preserved without any attempt to make history, as was done last year when the "Centennial of the Settlement of Bellevue" was held, a centennial without foundation so far as written history has been found.

It is proper to very briefly bring down the first knowledge we have of the inhabitants of the country at and after the time Manuel Lisa cried "Bellevue!" as he stood on the bluffs where the college is now located. That one French word certainly expressed a truth that all who have been there can heartily endorse.¹

¹ The tradition that Lisa expressed this sentiment rests only upon unauthenticated tradition, precisely like the constantly repeated story that Bellevue was settled by white people in 1810, here criticized by Mr. Sayre, and which we know to be without foundation. The truth about this exclamation attributed to Lisa, so far as anybody knows, lies wholly in the fact that he might well have uttered it,—precisely the quality which makes all truly good fiction truer than a compilation of bare facts though never so well authenticated.—Ed.

The records of the Lewis and Clark expedition of 1803 furnish our first information of inhabitants north of the Platte river in Nebraska, the travelers having held a council with the "Maha" tribe, now known as the Omaha. Just why or when the name was changed will not be considered here. That the two names were applied to the same people is shown by the fact that treaties were made between the United States government and the "Mahas", July 20, 1815, and October 6, 1825, and with the "Omaha", July 15, 1830, all of which were signed by Chief Opa-ton-ga or Big Elk, whose grave is on College Hill at Bellevue.²

The Omaha were recognized as owners and occupants of the land about Bellevue, and March 16, 1854, a treaty was made with them — approved by President Pierce on June 21, 1854 — whereby they ceded to the United States all interest therein. Article 13 of the treaty provided as follows:

"The board of foreign missions of the Presbyterian church, have on the lands of the Omahas a manual labor boarding school, for the education of the Omaha, Ottoo and other Indian youth, which is now in successful operation, and as it will be some time before the necessary buildings can be erected on the reservation, and (it is) desirable that the school should not be suspended, it is agreed that the said board shall have four adjoining quarter sections of land, so as to include as near as may be all the improvements heretofore made by them; and the President is authorized to issue to the proper authority of said board a patent in fee simple for such four quarter sections."

² The treaty of July 20, 1815, was one of "peace and friendship" made at Portage des Sioux by William Clark, Ninian Edwards and Auguste Choteau, commissioners. Manuel Lisa was one of the witnesses. The treaty of 1825 was executed at Ft. Atkinson, on the part of the government by General Henry Atkinson and Benjamin O'Fallon. The treaty of 1830 was executed at Prairie du Chien by William Clark, superintendent of Indian Affairs, and Col. Willoughby Morgan for the government. These treaties are printed in volume 7 of the United States statutes at large, pp. 129, 282, 328. By the treaty of 1854 the Omaha ceded all the territory

The four quarter sections were selected, and when the government surveys of 1855-6 were completed, the "Mission Reserve", as it was called, occupied portions of four sections, as shown by the plat on page 69.

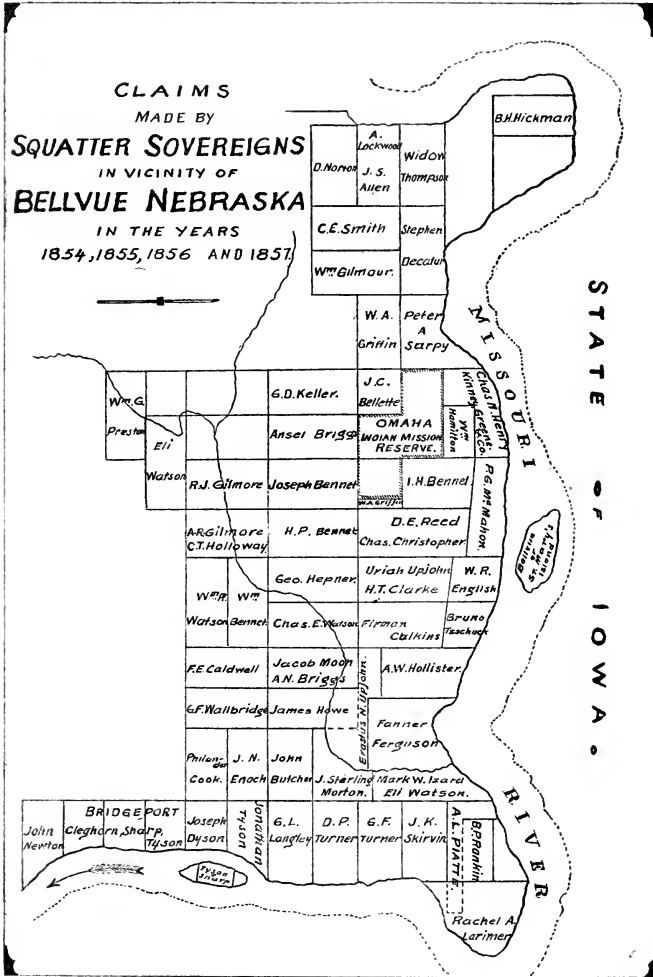
The reserve was used to fix the boundaries of the adjacent "squatter" claims, and these were used in turn to establish the lines of claims used by those next adjoining them. In this way the locations of all squatter claims of which a description has been found were placed on the blue print map very accurately.

While the Indians were still on the ground the fur traders came among them and established their trading posts, many of them taking Indian wives. Just when the trading post was established at Bellevue is not known. A thorough examination of the records kept by the fur companies might yield this interesting information. We do know that a post was there and for many years in charge of Peter A. Sarpy, up to and after the time that the city of Bellevue was platted.³

they claimed west of the Missouri river and south of the Aoway. The Platte river was its southern boundary, and it extended west as far as Shell creek, the eastern boundary of the Pawnee country. The Omaha afterward exchanged the remnant of their territory north of the Aoway for a reservation in the neighborhood of their old village which they still occupy. This treaty was executed in the city of Washington by George W. Manypenny, commissioner, and Logan Fontenelle, Joseph Le Flesche, and other chiefs of the tribe. [10 Stat., 1043.]—Ed.

³ The Missouri Fur Company established the first important post at Bellevue, probably soon after 1820. Andrew Drips and Lucien Fontenelle, representing — at least in part — the American Fur Company, superseded the pioneer company in 1830. There were only squatter traders there before this. According to the earliest records so far available, license running to traders at Bellevue — by that name — was first issued in 1825. Joshua Pilcher might have been at Bellevue for a few years after Lisa's death in 1820. There is sufficient evidence that there was no trader's, or other establishment on the site of the subsequent Bellevue when the Astorians passed it in 1811; and Astor's company did not establish or have a post along the Missouri river until eleven years, at least, after that time.

The first post of any note in what is now Nebraska was the "wintering house" of Crooks and McClellan, established by them in 1807, and



Part of plat of Bellevue and vicinity compiled by Edward L. Sayre, showing Mission Reserve and earliest Bellevue claims.

After the fur traders came the missionaries, with the purpose of civilizing the Indians and teaching them the white man's way, and from the present prosperous condition of the Omaha it is evident the work they began was not thrown away.⁴ Then came the squatters with their

occupied or used until they went with the Astorian expedition in the spring of 1811. This post was important chiefly on account of the importance of its founders. The first post, having regard both to permanency and prominence, was Lisa's, established for the Missouri Fur Company soon after 1812, five miles and a half below the original Council Bluff. It was probably transferred to Bellevue by Joshua Pilcher, Lisa's successor in the Missouri Fur Company, soon after the latter's death in 1820. About the same time John Cabanné established Cabanné's post for the American Fur Company eighteen miles above Bellevue and near Lisa's — perhaps three miles below. According to Bradbury's rather indefinite account of the situation of the Crooks and McClellan post, Cabanné's post might have occupied the same site. Pilcher succeeded Cabanné as custodian of the post in May, 1833, and not many years after transferred it to Bellevue, probably consolidating it with the former Missouri Fur Company's post which through Fontenelle and Drips had come into the possession of the American Fur Company.

The *Nebraska Palladium*, July 15, 1854, in the course of a historical sketch of Bellevue, says that the American Fur Company established a post there about the year 1810, and put it in charge of Joseph Roubidoux (founder of St. Joseph, Missouri), and that he was succeeded by John P. Cabanné at the end of six years. Now we have reliable information that Cabanné established the post named for him about 1822, which, according to the best available authority, was the year of the first occupation of that part of the Missouri river valley by the American Fur Company; and, as already pointed out, Cabanné remained in charge of his post until 1833. In the same sketch the *Palladium* says that Peter A. Sarpy succeeded Cabanné as custodian of the Bellevue post in 1824. Since Sarpy was right at hand it might be inferred that the editor of the *Palladium* obtained his information directly from him and that it is reliable. Still, since other material statements in the sketch are incorrect, according to our present knowledge, and since newspaper sketches of this sort are most noted for their errors, we cannot rely on the statement about Sarpy. It may be, however, that Cabanné was at Bellevue in 1824, that Sarpy relieved him and that he then established the post known by his name eighteen miles above. All we can safely say about the beginning of Bellevue is that it was the place of the first permanent white settlement in Nebraska — emphasizing permanent — and that this regular occupation began not long after 1820.—Ed.

⁴ It is doubtless true that such improvement as the Omaha have made is mainly due to general intelligence acquired in schools, public and special, and their constant contact with white civilization.—Ed.

claims and claim clubs. Upon the Indian title to the land being extinguished by the treaty of March 16, 1854, Col. Peter A. Sarpy, Stephen Decatur, Rev. William Hamilton, and other residents at the old trading post or Presbyterian mission, and some of the residents at Omaha, at Council Bluffs, St. Mary's, and Traders Point, on the Iowa side of the Missouri river, conceived the idea that they were entitled to three hundred and twenty acres of public land. This pretension was presumably based on the donation claim laws of Oregon, passed in 1850; at any rate claims were located by many, as hereinafter shown, and on October 28, 1854, arrangements were made to organize a claim club for the protection of its members in holding claims. The rules for governing the club and its members, if any were adopted at that date, cannot now be found, but the following revision thereof is of record in volume H, page 101, of deeds, in Douglas county.

REGULATIONS OF THE BELLEVIEW CLAIM ASSOCIATION

At a regular meeting of the Belleview Settlers Club, held at Belleview, February 10, 1855, Messrs. Gow, Cook, and Decatur, a committee appointed at the last meeting to revise the by-laws of the club, reported a series of articles which, when amended, were adopted as follows:

ARTICLE I. This association shall be known and designated by the name and style of the Bellevue Settlers Club.

II. The officers of this association shall be one president, one register, one marshal, and one treasurer.

III. The duty of the president shall be to try and decide all disputes between members of the club in reference to claims or otherwise, and upon the demands of either party shall summon a jury of six persons to try all disputes in relation to claims, the jury to be selected as follows: viz., the president shall write down the names of eighteen persons (members of the association) and each party shall mark off alternately until six names are left, the defendant marking first (but the parties themselves may agree upon any less number) and in case said persons are not present,

the president shall issue his order requiring said persons to appear before him to form a jury for the trial of said cause. Members of this club whose claims have been jumped or their rights interfered with subsequently to their becoming such members, shall be protected by the club in the same manner and to the same extent as in cases where the disputants are both members of the club. It shall be the duty of the president to preside at all meetings of the association, and in his absence, a president pro tem shall be appointed.

IV. The duty of the register shall be to record all claims and other necessary matter, to act as secretary at all meetings of the association, and to act as president in the trial of claim disputes in the absence of the president or when he is a party interested.

The marshal shall execute all orders and decisions of the president and juries, shall see that the laws of the association are observed, and shall have power if necessary to call upon members of this association to assist in executing the same.

The treasurer shall receive and disburse all moneys belonging to the association and shall be authorized to pay all drafts for the expenses of the association when presented to him, drawn by the register and countersigned by the president, and shall render an account of all moneys received and disbursed by him whenever required so to do by the vote of the association.

V. We will recognize no claim made before the ratification of the late treaty with the Omaha, Otoe and Missouri Indians.

VI. We recognize the right of every resident of the United States of lawful age or who may be the head of a family, or who may be by a vote of the club admitted a member, to select, mark and claim three hundred and twenty acres of land, and who shall, within four months from this date or from the time of making his claim, proceed to erect thereon a cabin or such other improvements as he may deem best and shall within four months thereafter move upon and make his home on said claim. Single persons shall be allowed to hold claims by making improvements thereon of the value of fifty dollars and by

becoming a resident of the territory within the said eight months, whether living upon their claims or not, providing they continue to improve their said claims.

VII. All claims must be well staked on the prairie and blazed in the timber, so that lines can be readily traced, and it shall be the duty of each claimant to register his claim with the description thereof, as near as may be, and he shall pay the register the sum of one dollar for recording the same.

VIII. All persons failing to commence improving or entering upon their claims within the time specified in Article 6 shall forfeit their said claims, and it shall be lawful for any other person to enter them.

IX. This association will not recognize the right of any person to hold more than one claim in Nebraska territory, nor the right to hold by companies.

X. Any person to receive the benefit and protection of this association, must subscribe his name to the articles of this association, except excused by the association for some good reason, and is in honor bound when called upon to assist the marshal in the performance of his duties, and shall pay to the treasurer such sum or sums as may be voted by the association for contingent expenses.

XI. Any member having a claim dispute shall be entitled to a trial by making a complaint to the president in writing, containing a brief statement of his grievances. The president shall thereupon issue a summons requiring the defendant to appear before him at a certain time and place therein named, which time shall not be more than ten, nor less than three days from the time of serving the same, to answer to said complaint.

XII. The regular meetings of this association shall be the last Saturday of each month, unless otherwise ordered by a vote of the association, and the president is authorized to call special meetings whenever he may think necessary.

XIII. Each claimant shall at all reasonable times hold himself in readiness to point out the extent of his claim to any person who may wish to ascertain the fact.

XIV. We agree upon the survey of the territory to mutually deed and re-deed to each other, so as to leave the land as near as possible as claimed.

XV. The officers of this association shall receive a suitable compensation for their service, which sum shall be decided by the association.

On motion, resolved that all rules adopted by this club at former meetings, not conflicting with the above, are retained.

WM. GILMOUR, President.

WM. A. GRIFFIN, Register.

S. M. BRECKENRIDGE, Marshal.

JAMES C. DELLETTE, Treasurer.

On motion, resolved that the thanks of the club be tendered the president, Wm. Gilmour, for the dignity and impartiality with which he has exercised the duties of his office.

On motion, resolved that the marshal be allowed three dollars per day for any and every day he shall be in active service for the club, a part of a day being considered as the whole, the fee to be paid by the party obtaining redress.

On motion, resolved that the president when engaged in judicial duties shall receive the same compensation as the marshal.

On motion, resolved that the treasurer may retain 5% of all moneys belonging to the club in his hands.

On motion, resolved, that Wm. Bennett, a minor, be and is hereby declared a member of this club, and shall receive the protection of the same.

On motion, resolved, that no person shall become a member of this society except at a regular meeting of the same and by a vote of the majority of the same admitting him.

Resolved, that all persons who intend to record claims shall file descriptions of the lands intended to be claimed with the recorder, attaching their signatures to the same, and, provided different individuals file descriptions of the same land, then the one first on file shall have precedence on the record.

Resolved, that all claims must be recorded at the regular meetings of the club and at no other time, and that the record shall be read to the entire club.

On motion, resolved, that the limits of this society extend to the Platte river on the south, the Missouri river

on the east, north to the south limits of the society of the Omaha City district, as declared by themselves, and running west fifteen miles from the Missouri river, then south to the Platte river.

Stephen Decatur, Samuel Allis and Wm. Gilmour were appointed a committee to establish the northern limits of the society.

Designated October 28, 1854.

On motion the club adjourned to Saturday, the 24th of February, 1855.

WM. A. GRIFFIN, Secretary.

WM. GILMOUR, President.

Received for record and recorded the 28th day of April, 1855, at 8 o'clock a. m.

A true record. Attest,

L. RICHARDSON, Register of Deeds

Evidently some members of the Settlers Club were not satisfied with its conditions and another meeting was held which, presumably, adopted a new set of rules which were recorded in volume A, page 116, of deed records of Douglas county. (James C. Dellette, treasurer of the Settlers Club, signs as secretary of this one).

RULES OF THE PLATTE VALLEY ACTUAL SETTLERS CLUB

At a regular meeting of the Platte Valley Actual Settlers Club, held at Belleview on Saturday, May 5, '55, a large majority of actual settlers being present, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, 1st. That the laws, regulations, etc., heretofore adopted by this society and herewith attached, be recorded in the registers office at Omaha City.

Resolved, 2d. That we earnestly protest against the laws there recorded, purporting to be from settlers here, while they were actually made by and with the help of residents from foreign states for mercenary purposes.

BY-LAWS, ETC., OF THE SETTLERS CLUB

ARTICLE 1st. This society shall be known as the Platte Valley Actual Settlers Club. Its territorial limits shall be from the mouth of the Platte river north along the

Missouri river to a point opposite "Indian Graves" about half way between Bellevue and Omaha City, thence west fifteen miles, thence south to the Platte river and down such river to its mouth, the place of beginning.

ARTICLE 2d. The officers shall be one president, one vice president, one marshal, and one secretary who shall act as recorder.

ARTICLE 3d. The duty of the president shall be to preside at all regular and adjourned meetings, and all claim trials, etc. He is also authorized to call special meetings of the club to transact business.

The vice president shall perform the duties of the president in cases of the absence or inability of the presiding officer.

ARTICLE 4th. It shall be the duty of the marshal to enforce the decisions of the club and to keep order at its meetings.

ARTICLE 5th. It shall be the duty of the secretary to keep the minutes of the club, to record all claims presented by members of the club, for which he shall receive fifty cents for each claim, except the claims heretofore recorded by the old club, which shall be here inserted gratis.

ARTICLE 6th. A claim shall not be more than 320 acres, but may be held in two parcels, with not more than eighty acres of timber, but no one will be allowed to hold more than one claim, nor to hold claims by proxy.

ARTICLE 7th. Residents of the territory of lawful age may hold claims.

ARTICLE 8th. Claims shall be marked by blazing the lines in the timber and stakes on the prairie, sufficiently plain to be readily traced by those accustomed to trace lines. The corner stakes shall have claimant's name, number of acres, time of making, etc., well marked. Within thirty days after making claims claimant shall begin his or her house or cabin thereon, and within thirty days more shall reside on his or her claim unless excused by a special vote of the club, and after residing thereon shall not leave it more than sixty days at any one time, but shall continue to make such improvements as will indicate his or her intention of making a permanent home.

ARTICLE 9th. Members having claims to record shall present them to the recorder, who shall file them and record the same at the first meeting thereafter. Those presented first have the precedence.

ARTICLE 10th. Claimants having difficulties shall hand in a statement of their aggrievances to the president, who shall summon the parties before him in not less than three nor more than ten days.

ARTICLE 11th. The president may try all disputes between settlers, but if required by either party, shall call a jury of six by writing the names of 18 members of this club, and the disputants shall mark off a name alternately until but six remain, defendant marking first. Disputants may agree on a less number.

ARTICLE 12th. New members shall be elected by a vote of the club.

ARTICLE 13th. The regular meetings of the club shall be the first Saturday of each month.

PHILANDER COOK, Pres.

JAS. C. DELLETTE, Sec.

Received for record and recorded the 10th day of May, 1855, at 11 o'clock a. m.

A true record. Attest,

L. RICHARDSON, Register.⁵

The settlers at Iron Bluffs, then a small village on the Elkhorn river, on sections 34 and 35, township 15 north, of range 10, east, in Douglas county (but which ceased to exist many years ago), organized a claim club, the record thereof being in volume A, page 196, deed records of Douglas county, the boundaries taking in all that part of Sarpy county west of the Bellevue Claim Club's territory.⁶

IRON BLUFFS ACTUAL SETTLERS CLAIM CLUB

At a mass meeting of the resident claim holders, held at Iron Bluffs Ferry on the Elkhorn river in Nebraska

⁵ See Illustrated History of Nebraska for further accounts of claim clubs and additional light upon this one of the Bellevue propinquity.—Ed.

⁶ See A, 332. In all references "A" means the volume of the Douglas county records, and figures refer to the page.—Ed.

territory, July 19, 1855, called for the purpose of organizing a settlers club, A. R. Drake was called to the chair, and H. N. Cornell was appointed secretary.

On motion a committee of three was appointed by the president to draft preamble and resolutions to be adopted at this meeting. Committee reported as follows, to-wit:

Whereas, the territory of Nebraska is and has been declared open for settlement by our legally constituted and accredited representatives, and that we believe in squatter sovereignty, that the people have the right to make their own laws, and that for our mutual protection it becomes necessary for us to establish a code of laws, democratic and equitable in themselves for the purpose of protecting actual settlers in the equitable possession of their claims.

Therefore, resolved, that this society shall be known as the Iron Bluffs Actual Settlers Club.

2d. *Resolved*, that the territorial boundaries shall be as follows, to-wit: Commencing at a point where the west line of the Platte Valley, Bellview and Indian Village Club strikes the Platte river, thence north on the west line of said society to a point east of Spoon Lake, thence west to the Platte river, thence down the Platte river to the place of beginning.

3d. *Resolved*, that we recognize the right of all residents of the territory of lawful age, or the heads of families, to hold claims. That claims shall be made by blazing exterior lines in the timber and staking on the prairie, and by erecting mounds at convenient distances, so as to be readily traced by one accustomed to tracing lines. Corners shall be marked with claimant's name, time of making and No. of acres. Claims shall not contain more than 320 acres, but may be held in two parcels, and shall not contain more than eighty acres of timber.

4th. *Resolved*, that any person making a claim shall within sixty days after making build a good comfortable dwelling house thereon and within four months shall be living on his or her claim, or have some good citizen thereon in his stead, unless excused by vote of the club.

5th. Resolved, that [the] officers of this society shall be one president, one vice president, one marshal and one secretary who shall act as treasurer and recorder.

6th. *Resolved*, that any person wishing to become a member of this club shall present his or her name at a regular meeting of the society, and may become a member by a vote of the meeting by subscribing his or her name to the rules and by-laws of the society.

7th. The duty of the president shall be to preside at all regular and adjourned meetings, claim trials etc. He is also authorized to call special meetings of the club when he may see fit.

8th. It shall be the duty of the marshal to enforce the decisions of the club and keep order at its meetings.

9th. It shall be the duty of the secretary to keep the minutes of the club, to record all claims presented by members, for which he shall receive one dollar for each claim recorded, and shall act as treasurer.

10th. All claims filed for record shall be acted upon at the next regular meeting of the society and upon a majority vote shall be received for record.

11th. Claimants having difficulty shall hand in a statement of their grievances to the president, who shall summon the parties to appear before him in not less than three nor more than ten days. The president may try said disputes, but if required by either party he shall call a jury of six by writing down the names of eighteen members of this club. Disputants shall mark off a name alternately until six remain, the defendant marking first, disputants may agree on any less number, and the decision of the jury must be unanimous to constitute a decision, and if said jury cannot agree, a new jury shall be chosen until a decision is made.

12th. The regular meetings of the club shall be the last Saturday of each month.

13th. *Resolved*, that the foregoing by-laws and resolutions can be altered and amended at a regular meeting by a two-thirds vote of all of the members.

14th. *Resolved*, that the proceedings be signed by the officers and recorded in the recorder's office in Omaha City as the laws of this club.

A. P. DRAKE, President.
H. N. CORNELL, Secretary.

It is unfortunate that none of the records showing action of the above named clubs at their meetings can now be found. Diligent inquiry among "old timers" of Sarpy county failed to discover any trace of them, but the search should be kept up by every member of this society and results filed with its collections. Very many claims were recorded in the county records at Omaha, some of which show a former record by the club recorders; but many of the claims cannot be shown upon a map without those original claim club records. There is no record of the D. E. Reed claim, but it is the boundary of so many others that it is easily located. Part of this claim and part of the I. H. Bennet claim were evidently jumped by Charles Christopher, for his description (Claims, 14) seems to cover portions of each of those; but the records of Sarpy county show that Daniel E. Reed received a patent for the southeast quarter of section 1, township 13, range 13, which would be approximately the east half of his original claim.

All descriptions of claims in the Bellevue district, of which any record was discovered follow, and a blue print map, showing their location, has been deposited with the State Historical Society. The first record was that of Dr. Charles A. Henry, which, according to some evidence at hand, originally belonged to Kinney, Greene & Co., and was jumped by Dr. Henry.

A-5. Charles A. Henry Claim. Recorded March 3, 1855.

Commencing at an oak tree 75 rods north of the northeast corner of the southeast quarter of Mission Reserve; thence north 135 rods to northeast corner of Mission Reserve thence to low water mark of Missouri river; thence down the Missouri river 320 rods; thence west 180 rods to the southeast corner of William Hamilton's claim; thence north 185 rods to the northeast corner of William Hamilton's claim; thence west 140 rods to beginning, containing 320 acres, more or less.

Strangely enough the next claim recorded is that of George W. Hollister, who was killed by Dr. Charles A. Henry, April 20, 1855, accidentally he contended. Upon the trial Dr. Henry was acquitted and discharged.

A-8. *George W. Hollister Claim.* *March 5, 1855.*

Bounded on the north by Geo. A. Izard's claim, on east by Missouri river and lands unknown, on south by Flavius Izard's claim, and on west by lands unknown, containing 320 acres.

(See A-18)

A-10. *G. F. Turner Claim.* *March 5, 1855.*

Commencing at a tree on the River Platte, running one mile north, thence east half mile to a stake marked, thence south one mile, thence half mile west to place of beginning. It is bounded on the west by Daniel P. Turner, on east by J. K. Skirvin, on the north by Mr. George Izard, and on the south by the River Platte, containing 320 acres.

A-10. *J. K. Skirvin Claim.* *March 5, 1855.*

Commencing at a tree on the River Platte, running north one mile and from thence half a mile east to a stake marked, and from thence one mile south to a tree marked on the bank of the River Platte. It is bounded on the west by G. F. Turner, on north by M. W. Izard, on the east by Francis M. Privit, and on the south by the River Platte. Containing 320 acres.

A-11. *Wm. A. Griffin Claim.* *March 5, 1855.*

I hereby give notice that I will claim and offer for record at the next regular meeting of the Bellevue Settlers Club, 280 acres of land lying in Nebraska, and bounded as follows: Beginning at the northwest corner of Bellevue Mission Reservation, running north nearly one mile, thence west half mile, thence south nearly one mile, thence half mile to beginning. It is bounded on south by Dellette's claim, on the north by Wm. Gilmour's claim, pledging myself not to run onto his claim as already surveyed.

(Recorded Feby. 14, 1855, in Bellevue Settlers Club.)

WM. A. GRIFFIN, Recorder.

A-11. *Daniel P. Turner Claim.* March 5, 1855.

Commencing at the River Platte, running one mile north to a stake, thence east half a mile, thence one mile south to the River Platte, there marked on a tree, and from thence half a mile west to place of starting. It is bounded on the west by J. S. Morton and P. Cook, on the north end by J. Enoch, and unknown, on the east side by G. F. Turner, and on south by Platte river. Containing 320 acres.

A-12. *P. A. Sarpy Claim.* March 6, 1855.

Bounded on the south by the Mission Reserve, on the west by lands unknown, on the north by Stephen Decatur, and on the east by the Missouri river. Containing 320 acres.

A-12. *S. M. Breckenridge Claim.* March 6, 1855.

(As recorded, page 29, Bellevue Settlers Club).

Bounded on the east by the Missouri river, on south by Wales Sanford, on west and north unknown. Containing 320 acres. Said claim is one mile long east and west, and one half mile wide north and south. Made February 21, 1854, and recorded November 25, 1854.

A-17. *Joseph Bennet Claim.* March 5, 1855.

Bounded on the north by Ansel Briggs, on west by R. J. Gilmore, on the south by H. P. Bennet and on the east by Bellevue Mission. Containing 320 acres.

A-17. *H. P. Bennet Claim.* March 5, 1855.

Bounded on the north by Joseph Bennet, on the west by A. R. Gilmore, on the south by George Hepner, and on the east by D. E. Reed. Containing 320 acres.

A-18. *George Hepner Claim.* March 5, 1855.

Bounded on the north by H. P. Bennet, on the east by E. Butterfield, and Wm. Bennet, on the south by Chas. F. Watson, and on the east by U. Upjohn. Containing 320 acres.

A-18. *A. W. Hollister Claim.* March 5, 1855.

Assigned from Geo. W. Hollister, the north fractional

half of section 27 and the east half of the northeast quarter of section 28, both in township 73, range 45.

NOTE.—The sections, township, and range, above mentioned, were intended to continue the surveys in Iowa, across the Missouri river.

A-16. Stephen Decatur Claim. March 5, 1855.

As recorded on page 14 of the records of the Bellevue Settlers Club. Bounded on the north by Widow Thompson, on the east by lands unknown and Missouri river. On south by P. A. Sarpy and on west by Wm. Gilmour and C. E. Smith. Containing 320 acres. Claim being one mile long north and south and half a mile east and west.

A-17. I. H. Bennet Claim. March 5, 1855.

Bounded on the north by Bellevue Mission, on the east by P. J. McMahan, on the south by D. E. Reed, and on the west by Bellevue Mission. Containing 300 acres.

A-17. P. J. McMahan Claim. March 5, 1855.

Now assigned to Messrs. Brown and Knipper.

Bounded on the north by Jno. F. Kinney's claim, on the west by I. H. Bennet and D. E. Reed, on the south by Wm. R. English, and on east by Missouri river. Containing 320 acres.

A-17. W. R. English Claim. March 5, 1855.

Bounded on the north by P. J. McMahan, on the east by Missouri river, on the west by U. Upjohn and on the south by B. Tzschuck's claim. Containing 160 acres.

A-19. Tyson and Sharp Claim. March 13, 1855.

Bounded on the north by Joseph Dyson and Jonathan Tyson claims, on the west by John W. Winters, south by Platte river. Commencing on a large island at the southeast corner of Winter's claim, thence easterly along north shore of said river 80 chains, thence north 30 chains, thence westerly along north line of timber, thence southwest to beginning, being on the upper part of an island in Platte river. Surveyed by me October 11, 1854.

O. N. TYSON, Surveyor.

A-23. Fenner Ferguson Claim. March 14, 1855.

Beginning at a stake near a cottonwood tree 32 inches through, standing on west bank of the Missouri river, on the south line of A. W. Hollister's claim, thence west 69 chains, thence south 67 chains and 16 links to the Pappillion Creek, thence down said creek as it winds and turns to the Missouri river, thence up the Missouri river to beginning. Containing 320 acres.

A-23. Erastus N. Upjohn Claim. March 14, 1855.

Beginning at the southwest corner of lands claimed by Fenner Ferguson at a point on north side of Pappillion creek, running thence north 67 chains and 16 links, thence east 40 rods, thence north 40 chains, thence west 20 chains, thence south 40 chains, thence west 25 chains to the east bank of the Pappillion creek, thence down the said Pappillion creek as it winds and turns to the place of beginning. Containing 320 acres.

A-24. Uriah Upjohn Claim. March 14, 1855.

Beginning at the northeast corner of the land claimed by George Hepner, thence east along the south line of D. E. Reed's claim one mile, thence south half mile, thence west one mile, thence north along the east line of said Hepner half mile to the place of beginning. Containing 320 acres.

NOTE.— See A-195 and comments thereon.

A-62. Bridgeport Town Claim. March 30, 1855.

A plat of Bridgeport Town Claim, situated 18 miles south of Omaha City and about 8 miles southwest of Bellevue, and about 8 miles northwest from Plattsmouth. Articles of association made and entered into by Isaac Tyson, Jonathan R. Tyson, Emery L. Sharp, and Benjamin A. Cleghorn, this day for the purpose of laying out and building a town on the north bank of the Platte river about 8 miles from its mouth in the county of Douglas, territory of Nebraska, to be called Bridgeport. It is mutually agreed by the parties to this agreement that the expense and labor of the association are to be equally borne, and the profits and losses equally shared by them respectively.

That the town claim shall consist of nine hundred and sixty acres (960) bounded east by Joseph Dyson, south by the Platte river, west by John Newton, and 160 acres of timber land lying south of Dyson's, on the island in the Platte river. Said claim having been surveyed and recorded.

A-80. James Howe Claim. April 17, 1855.

In Bellevue district, commencing one and one-half mile south and 80 rods west of the lower ford of the Pappillion creek, at southwest corner of a little hardwood grove, thence north 160 rods, thence east 320 rods, thence south 320 rods, thence west 80 rods, thence north 160 rods, thence west 240 rods to place of beginning. Containing 320 acres, and bounded on the south by J. S. Morton, east by U. Upjohn, north by John Moon, and west unknown.

A-82. B. P. Rankin Claim. April 16, 1855.

Lying between the Papeo and Platte rivers, commencing at a small tree on the Missouri river, the northeast corner, which tree is also the southeast corner of the Watson or Izard claim, running thence west one half mile, thence south, parallel with ridge which borders the marsh land on the Missouri river one mile, thence east one-half mile to said ridge.

A-82. J. S. Morton Claim. April 16, 1855.

Commencing on the Pappillion at the northwest corner of the Watson or Izard claim, thence up the Pappillion to Jimmy Howe's line on the Pappillion, thence west along Howe's line to the northeast corner of John Butcher's claim, thence south to Turner's southwest corner, or to a point on Turner's line, agreed upon, thence east along Turner's line to Kentuck's northeast corner, thence north to beginning.

NOTE.—The two claims last above were apparently a partnership affair for on April 20, 1855, J. Sterling Morton made a quit claim deed to B. P. Rankin for "All my right, title and interest in the two claims near Bellevue, known as the Rankin and Morton claims. (Sevastapol & Inkerman)."

A-83. *S. A. Strickland Claim.* April 17, 1855.

Bounded on the north by James Tozier and on the west by P. Myers and on south and east by unknown. Commencing at a point on east and west line between Tozier and Strickland, as agreed upon by them. and running south one mile, thence east half mile, thence north one mile, thence west one-half mile. Containing 320 acres and known as the east part of the Hull & Bevens claim.

A-90. *Jonas Mitchell's Claim.* April 19, 1855.

Lies 4 miles southwest of the Omaha village on the north side of the Platte river, commencing at the southeast corner of McLaughlin's grove at a marked tree, running thence half mile west, thence one mile north, thence half mile east, thence one mile south to the place of beginning. Containing 320 acres. This claim was made on or about the 1st day of March, A. D. 1855.

A-123. *H. H. Smith's Claim.* May 12, 1855.

Bounded on the north by Farer, east by J. Tyson, south by Platte river, west by Old Missouri claim. Containing 160 acres.

NOTE.—No record is found of original claim on the two following, but quit claim deeds for their conveyance appear.

A-123. *C. R. Lloyd to Simeon Alson.* May 12, 1855.

Land bounded on the north by P. Riley, east by Wm. S. Howe, south by Platte river, and west unclaimed, running north and south one mile, and east and west one-half mile. Containing 320 acres. Said claim known as Old Missouri Claim, about 7 miles southwest from Bellevue City.

A-124. *Wm. L. Lloyd to Hyrum N. Smith.* May 12, 1855.

Land bounded on the west by Mr. D. Meier (?), north by Jos. Dyson, east by Isaac Tyson, and south by Platte river. Containing 80 acres. About 8 miles southwest from Bellevue City.

A-132. Thomas McMaster's Claim. May 26, 1855.

I have marked a claim to Grape Island, bounded by the Missouri and Platte rivers and a sand bar, 320 acres, which covers the whole island, except 80 acres claimed by Geo. F. Walbridge on west end of said island.

A-133. Wm. A. Griffin. May 26, 1855.

Beginning at the southwest corner of the Mission Reserve in Bellevue, thence south 40 rods, thence east one-half mile, thence north 40 rods, thence west one-half mile to beginning. Containing 40 acres.

A-143. Claim of George L. Langley. June 14, 1855.

This is to certify that I claim a piece of land in Nebraska territory on the Platte river, some three miles from its mouth and bounded as follows, on the east by claim of Daniel Turner, on the north by claim of Cook and Tinkel, on the west by the claim of Jonathan Tyson, and on the south by the Platte river. Said claim is well staked and blazed and contains near 250 acres, more or less. Said claim was made originally by J. Sterling Morton and transferred to me by him March 8, 1855.

NOTE.—The "claim" on the south side of the Papillion at its mouth is not recorded in the Douglas county records, but is referred to as bounding other claims. It seems to have been owned jointly by Governor Mark W. Izard and Eli Watson, as shown by the following quit claim deeds.

A-160. Mark W. Izard to Roswell G. Pierce. June 19, 1855.

Beginning on the west bank of the Missouri river, at the mouth of the Papillion Creek, running with the main channel of said creek up to the corner of the Morton claim, thence due south 27 chains and 60 links to a stake, thence due east to the Missouri river, 95 chains and 35 links, thence up said river to beginning.

A-161. Eli Watson to Roswell G. Pierce. June 19, 1855.

The undivided half of the following claim and premises in Douglas county, consisting of 320 acres, bounded as follows: (Same description as last above).

A-176. William G. Preston's Claim. July 6, 1855.

William G. Preston's claim in Nebraska, lying on both sides of the Papillion creek and bounded on the north by the claim of C. D. Robinson, on the east by E. P. Watson and Mr. Finney, the same being one mile north and south, by one-half mile east and west. Containing 320 acres of land.

A-177. William R. Watson's Claim. July 6, 1855.

Claim of William R. Watson in Nebraska, described as follows: The east half of section 19 in township being a continuation of township 73 north of range 44 west for the state of Iowa.

A-177. James M. Pike's Claim. July 6, 1855.

Beginning at stake and mound in valley on prairie southwest from the point where the Papillion first touches the bluff on south side west of Sailings Grove, and runs east 80 chains, to a stake and mound, thence north 40 chains to stake on north side of creek, thence west, crossing the creek four times, 80 chains, thence south 40 chains to beginning. Containing 320 acres. Situate in Bellevue district.

A-177. Eli P. Watson's Claim. July 6, 1855.

The N. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of section 18 and the S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of section 17 in township being a continuation of township 73 north of range 44 west of Iowa.

A-178. S. M. Pike's Claim. July 6, 1855.

Commencing at a stake in prairie, southeast from the south end of what is known as Sailings Grove, 8 chains, and runs thence west 40 chains to stake in valley, thence south 40 chains to stake on side hill, thence east 80 chains, thence north 16 chains to Spring branch, and 40 chains, to John Sailings southeast corner, thence west 40 chains to beginning. Containing 320 acres. Situate in Bellevue district.

A-178. Chas. E. Watson's Claim. July 6, 1855.

Being the S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of section 20 and the S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of section 21, township 73, north, of range 44 west, which

said lines have been continued across the Missouri river, and go to make up fractional township numbered as above in Iowa. It is further bounded on the north by the city of Bellevue, on the east by land claimed by F. Calkins, on the south by Job Moon and on the west by claim of William Bennet.

A-178. *Francis E. Caldwell's Claim.* July 6, 1855.

Being the N. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of section 29, and the N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of section 30, in the township being a continuation of township 73 north, of range 44, west, for the state of Iowa.

A-179. *George F. Wallbridge Claim.* July 6, 1855.

Commencing at F. E. Caldwell's southeast corner, and runs south 26 chains to land claimed by J. Butcher, thence west along the north line of said Butcher and J. Enoch and P. Cook, 80 chains, thence north 27.50 chains to Caldwell's southwest corner, thence east along his south line 80 chains to beginning. Containing 216 acres.

A-189. *James C. Dellette.* July 13, 1855.

Claim bounded on the east and south by the Mission Reserve, west by lands claimed by C. D. Keller, on the north by land claimed by William A. Griffin. Containing 160 acres of land lying in a square form as near as may be.

A-190. *A. N. Briggs Claim.* July 13, 1855.

Commencing at the southwest corner of C. E. Watson's Claim, thence one-half mile south, thence one mile east, thence one-half mile north, thence one mile west to the place of beginning. Bounded on the north by C. E. Watson, on the west by Caldwell, on the south by James Howe, on the east unknown. Containing 320 acres formerly claimed by Joab Moon, a non-resident. This claim made June 15, 1855.

A-195. *Claim of H. T. Clarke.* June 27, 1855.

Beginning at the northeast corner of land claimed by George Hepner, thence east one mile along the south line of D. E. Reed's claim, thence south half a mile bounded by T. G. Shultz, thence west one mile bounded on the

south by Calkins, thence north to the point of beginning. Containing 320 acres.

NOTE.— This description is identical with that of the claim of Uriah Upjohn (A-24) who was a brother of the wife of Chief Justice Fenner Ferguson. Mr. Clarke stated that Upjohn made this filing for the benefit of Mrs. Ferguson who was not entitled to a claim and that upon the advice of J. Sterling Morton he (Clarke) jumped the claim. The records of Sarpy county show that Mr. Clarke received a patent for the northeast quarter of section 12, township 13, north, range 13, east, which very nearly corresponds with the east half of above claim.

A-205. *Almann Lockwood to James S. Allen.*

July 15, 1855.

All title and estate, legal and equitable in the following premises, bounded and described as follows: On the north by the Missouri river, on the east by Widow Thompson (now J. J. Painter), on the south by C. E. Smith, on the west by Daniel Norton. Containing 320 acres. Reserving any stone coal mines that may be found.

A-231. *B. H. Hickman to B. G. Decker. August 7, 1855.*

My claim of 320 acres of land with the body of a house erected upon the same. Said claim lies in the big bend near Bellevue, about three-fourths of a mile from J. A. Painter's claim, in said bottom, the above claim being fully marked and blazed.

A-332. *Claim of L. L. Bowen. August 25, 1855.*

I make the following claim at or near Bellevue, Douglas county, Nebraska Territory, commencing at a point on the Missouri river where the original claim of Greene, Kinney & Company (afterwards jumped by Charles A. Henry, Anderson, Hamilton & Co.) touches said river, thence westerly along said line and the north line of the Mission Reserve as it now is, or may be hereafter established, to a point 188 rods from said starting point, thence north to the line of P. A. Sarpy's claim 82 rods, thence east along the south line of P. A. Sarpy's claim to the

Missouri river, thence southerly and easterly to the place of beginning. Containing 100 acres more or less.

A-437. Claim of Rachel M. Larimer. April 22, 1855.

Commencing at the southwest corner of B. P. Rankin claim, running east along the south line of said Rankin's claim to the Missouri river, thence south along the line of the Missouri river to the mouth of the Platte river, thence up the Platte river along the bank to the southeast corner of Jacob Skirvin's claim, thence north to place of beginning. Said claim contains 320 acres more or less.

B-37. John Butcher to B. F. Jones. Janry. 18, 1856.

Beginning at J. N. Enoch's southeast corner, running due east along line to B. P. Rankin's west line, thence north along said line to a stake about 200 yards north of said Rankin's northwest corner, thence west a half mile, or to J. N. Enoch's northeast corner, thence south to the place of beginning. Containing 320 acres more or less, or what I suppose to be.

Claim Book-14. Chas. Christopher Claim. April 11, 1856.

Bounded on the north by the Bellevue Mission property, east by the McMahan claim, on the south by Reed & Kinney's claim, and on the west by the east line of the claim known as the J. F. Bennet claim. The same containing 320 acres, lying and being in the county of Douglas N. T. and lying in township 13 north of range 13 East and township 13 north of range 14 east of the survey of the United States.

Claims-41. John C. Hileman's Claim. June 10, 1856.

Commencing at a mound on the township line one mile east of the mouth of Elkhorn river, running east from said mound 240 rods to a stake which is the northeast corner, thence commencing at said stake and running south 160 rods to another stake which is the southeast corner, thence commencing at said stake and running west 240 rods to a section corner which the southwest corner, then commencing at said section corner and running north 160 rods to the place of beginning. Containing 240 acres.

Timber claim lies immediately west of the mouth of the Elkhorn river on an island in Platte river, said island runs north and south. Containing about fifty acres, more or less.

Claims-55. Claim of John W. Denton. July 5, 1856.

I hereby declare that I have this day made claim to east half of section twenty-two (22) township fourteen (14) north, range twelve (12) east in Douglas county, and territory of Nebraska.

Claims-55. Claim of Michael Flanigan. July 5, 1856.

I do hereby declare that I have this day made claim to the west half of section twenty-two (22) township fourteen (14) north, range twelve (12) east in the county of Douglas, territory of Nebraska.

Claims 58. Claim of Robt. M. Smith. July 17, 1856.

The following is a description of land this day claimed by Robert M. Smith, viz: The east half of section 21 (twenty-one) town 14 (fourteen) range 12 (twelve) east, Douglas county, N. T. Containing 320 acres be the same more or less.

Claim-59. Claim of Wm. J. Curtice. July 17, 1856.

The following is a description of land this day claimed by Wm. J. Curtice, viz: The west half of section 21 (twenty-one) town 14 (fourteen) range 12 (twelve) east Douglas county N. T. Containing 320 acres, be the same more or less.

Claims-62. Claim of William Herold. August 1, 1856.

I hereby certify that I have this day made claim to the following described tract of land, situated in the county of Douglas, territory of Nebraska, being the south half of section number seventeen (17) in township No. thirteen (13) north, of range No. twelve (12) east of the 6th Principal Meridian, by staking and marking the same according to law. And I do hereby declare my intention of holding the same as a claim on the public lands.

Claims-66. Claim of Richard Kimball. July 28, 1856.

I hereby certify that on or about the first day of August, A. D. 1855, I made claim to the following tract of land, to-wit: The northeast quarter of section eighteen range thirteen east all in township fourteen north by staking the same and causing the same to be surveyed, and making the improvements required by law.

Claims-69. Claim of Wm. H. Watson. August 7, 1856.

E. $\frac{1}{2}$ sec. 14, town 14, N. R. 12 east, being 320 acres, lying on east side of J. T. Taylor's claim.

Claims-69. Claim of Anthony Voll. August 19, 1856.

This is to certify that I Anthony Voll have on the 5th day of August 1856 made claim to the following lands, situated on Five Mile Creek in the county of Douglas, N. T. in Bellevue Club District. T. 14 N. range 11, east, commencing at the southwest corner of J. M. Becker's claim, running (south $\frac{1}{4}$ mile, thence west one mile, thence north across the said creek) $\frac{1}{2}$ mile, thence east one mile, thence south to the place of beginning, $\frac{1}{4}$ mile, running so as to take in the creek all the way up, and a grove of oak timber with my name marked on two of the trees, containing 320 acres, with the required improvements made on it. Supposed to be in sections 19 and 20 in the above said range and township.

Claims-70. Claims of Rickley, Burkley & Breidenbach.

August 19, 1856.

We the undersigned, S. S. Rickley, St. Burkley & John Breidenbach have staked off and ploughed on the same, and claim the following described land situated in Douglas County, N. T. in the Bellevue Club District, and in T. 14, N. R. 11, E. and commencing at the N. E. corner of J. M. Becker's claim of same date, in same township and range, thence running east $\frac{1}{2}$ mile, thence north $\frac{1}{4}$ mile, thence east $\frac{1}{4}$ mile, thence north $\frac{1}{4}$ mile, thence east one mile, thence south $\frac{1}{2}$ mile, thence W. $\frac{1}{2}$ mile thence south $\frac{1}{4}$ mile, thence west $\frac{1}{2}$ mile, thence north $\frac{1}{4}$ mile thence east $\frac{1}{4}$ mile, thence north $\frac{1}{2}$ mile to place of beginning, so as to take in said creek length-

wise in said claim, containing 320 acres each for said Rickley and Burkley and 280 acres for said Breidenbach, and are making the usual improvements thereon. Said lands are supposed to be in sections 10, 11, 14, & 15 of said township.

NOTE.—The above description will not close. Some courses and distances were evidently omitted in recording.

Claims-73. Claim of J. M. Baker. August 19, 1856.

I the undersigned J. M. Baker have staked off and claim the following land in Douglas County, N. T. to-wit; being 320 acres and situated in the Bellevue Club District in T. 14 N. R. 11 E. and commencing at a point S. E. some 30 rods at a stake, of the west furthest large tree in the 5 mile creek on Sec 20, about a half mile east of a grove on said creek, thence running north $\frac{3}{4}$ mile thence E $\frac{3}{4}$ mile, thence S. $\frac{1}{2}$ mile, thence West $\frac{1}{4}$ mile, thence south $\frac{1}{4}$ mile, thence west $\frac{1}{2}$ mile to place of beginning. And am making the usual improvements thereon. Supposed to be in Sections 17 and 20 as above.

Claims-75. John McCoy's Claim. Sept. 6, 1856.

This is to certify that I claim the north west $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 23 and the north east $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 22, T. 14 north of range 11 East.

Claims-76. Nathan S. Whitney's Claim. September 6, 1856.

This is to certify that I, N. S. Whitney, have this 6th day of Sept. 1856 made a claim on the following tract of land, described as follows, viz. south west $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 7, north west $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec 18 in town 14, north, R. 12 East.

Claims-76. Thos. Paulsens Claim. Sept. 6, 1856.

This is to certify that I, Thomas Paulsen have made a claim on the 10th of August on the following tract of land, described as follows: viz. S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec 14 and S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec 15, in town 14 N. R. 11, east. Surveyed by Mr. Dickson [Dickinson].

Claims-77. Preston McCoys Claim. Sept. 10, 1856.

Preston McCoy of Omaha, Nebraska, hereby claims the following described piece of land, viz. The south west

$\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 23. The east $\frac{1}{4}$ of south east $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 22. The N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 27. The north $\frac{1}{2}$ of N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec 26, in township 14, N. range 11 east, County of Douglass, Territory of Nebraska.

Claims-78. John S. Blackburns Claim. Sept. 5, 1856.

I have this day laid claim to the north half of section 21, township 13, north or [of] range 12 east of the 6th principal meridian, the same adjoining Mallet and Vanensens Claims on the south.

NOTE.—The record shows township 13, but it is probable that 15 was meant.

Claims-79. George Johnston's Claim. August 27, 1856.

This is to certify that I have this day made claim of the south east quarter of section twenty nine (29) and north east quarter of section No. thirty-two (32) in all three hundred and twenty acres (320) in T 14 N. R 12 E. in Douglas Co. N. T.

Claims-80. W. H. Collier's Claim. Sept. 6, 1856.

This is to certify that I, W. H. Collier this 25th day of July have made the following described claim on the public lands in Douglas Co. N. T. situated between the 2d and 3d Papillion rivers, as follows. Commencing at the south west corner of Sec 8 T. 13 N. R 12 E and running North 1 mile, east $\frac{1}{2}$ mile, south 1 mile and thence west 1 mile, being the E $\frac{1}{2}$ of said Sec 8.

Claims-81. Wm. W. Dickinson's Claim. Sept. 22, 1856.

This is to certify that I claim and desire to retain possession for settlement the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec 17 and S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec 8 in town 14 north, range 12 east in Douglas County, Nebraska Territory.

Claims-81. Thos. D. Murray's Claim. Sept. 22, 1856.

This is to certify that I claim and desire to retain possession of for settlement of the North $\frac{1}{2}$ of Sec 24 in town 14 north, range 11, east in Douglas County, Nebraska Territory, the same being surveyed and staked for me Sept. 20, 1856 by Wm. W. Dickinson, Surveyor.

Claims-81. Hiram Veith's Claim. Sept. 22, 1856.

This is to certify that I claim and desire to retain possession of the east $\frac{1}{2}$ of Sec 23 in town 14 north, range 11, east, Douglas County, Neb Territory, the same being surveyed and staked out for me by Wm. W. Dickinson, Surveyor, Sept. 20, 1856.

Claims-82. I. F. Collins Claim. Sept. 24, 1856.

West $\frac{1}{2}$ of Section 29 town 14 north range 12 east, County of Douglas, Nebraska Territory.

Claims-85. Parker, Rumbold & Co. Oct. 18, 1856.

Know all men by these presents, that we have this day made claim to the following unimproved lands in the County of Douglas and Terr of Nebraska, namely, the South East quarter of Sec 18, township 14, north or [of] range 12 east and the south west quarter of Sec. eight township fourteen north twelve east.

O. F. PARKER, WM. RUMBOLD & Co.

Claims-86. Noble Chase Claim. Oct. 19, 1856.

This is to certify that I have this day claimed a certain portion of the public lands, being described as follows, viz: The west $\frac{1}{2}$ of Sec 17, in township No. fourteen (14) range No. 12 East of the 6th P. Mer.

Claims-89. J. P. Manning Claim. Nov. 11, 1856.

J. P. Manning claims on the 10th day of November 1856 the east $\frac{1}{2}$ of Section 14, township 14, fourteen, north, range 12 east.

Claims-90. W. R. Thrall Claim. Nov. 11, 1856.

I hereby certify that I have this day laid claim to a certain tract of land lying in Tp. 14 N. R 10 E. commencing at the S E corner of Section 25, thence north $\frac{1}{2}$ mile, and west for quantity, and in the above I claim 280 acres.

Claims-92. Parker, Rumbold & Co. Oct. 22, 1856.

We have this day made claim to the following unimproved land, situated and being in the County of Douglas

and Territory of Nebraska, and described as follows, the South West quarter of Section Seven, Township Fourteen North, of Range Twelve, East, and the North half of the North West quarter of Section Eighteen, Township Fourteen North of Range Twelve East.— Oct. 21.

O. F. PARKER, WM. RUMBOLD & Co.

Claims-94. Hazleton Land Company Claim. Nov. 8, 1856.

The Hazleton Land Company have this day claimed the following described land, the East half of the North West quarter of Section 20, Township 14, North, Range 12 East, 80 acres. The West half of the North West quarter of Section 19, Township 14, North, Range 12, East, 80 acres.

WM. A. GWYER,
Sec. Hazleton Land Co.

Claims-100. J. M. Kuhn & Robertson's Claim.

Dec. 10, 1856.

I, J. M. Kuhn & J. Robertson have claimed Section 1, T 13, N. R 10 E. In connection with some thirty or forty acres of timber land, a part of which is on the east side of the Elkhorn river and opposite the timber of Shields, Stokes and McCune, and some being on island in said river, and joins on the North the timber of Mr. Jones across the river.

Claims-117. Horace S. Hall. May 16, 1857.

I hereby certify that I have this day staked off and laid claim to that portion of the unclaimed public lands of the Territory of Nebraska known as the West half of Section (34) Thirty-four Township (14) Fourteen range Eleven (11) East. Containing 320 acres.

Claims-118. Franklin Smith Claim. May 16, 1857.

Omaha, May 15, 1857.

This is to certify that I have this day staked off and claimed the portion of the public lands of Nebraska, known as the South half ($\frac{1}{2}$) of Section Twenty-eight (28) Township 14, Range 11.

Claims-119. John McQuay Claim. May 21, 1857.

This is to certify that I have this day laid claim to the North half of Sec No. 28, Township 14, Range 11, East.

Claims-120. D. D. Belden Claim. April 27, 1857.

I hereby certify that on or about the 27th day of April A. D. 1857, I made claim to the following tract of Gov Land, to-wit: the E $\frac{1}{2}$ of the South East $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec No Twelve Township 14 North of Range 12 East and the South West $\frac{1}{4}$ and the West half of the South West $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec 7 Township 14, north Range 13, East by staking the same and causing the same to be surveyed etc. All said land situated and lying in Douglas Co. N. Territory, supposed to contain 320 acres of land.

NOTE.—The last description above probably meant for southeast quarter.

Without going very extensively into the history of Sarpy county, the earliest part of it, down to June, 1857, when it was actually organized as a county, is in place here. There is some evidence that Governor Francis Burt, who arrived at the Mission House in Bellevue, Friday, October 6, 1854, and died there on the 18th of the same month, intended to locate the territorial capital at Bellevue.⁷ If he had lived but a short time longer it is quite probable that the early counties would have had other names and positions on the map; but he performed no official act. Under the act creating Nebraska territory, upon the death or disability of the governor, the secretary

⁷ The organic act did not invest the governor with the power to fix upon the location of the capital, but it did authorize him to fix the time and place of the first meeting of the general assembly and to divide the territory into legislative districts and apportion members among them. The power to place the capital was given to the legislature. There is little room for doubt that if Governor Burt had lived about three months after assuming his office he would have designated Bellevue as the place of the first meeting of the legislature and would have apportioned its members fairly, thus giving the South Platte section, which favored Bellevue, complete control of the legislature. See *Illustrated History of Nebraska*, v. 1, pp. 173-222.—Ed.

of the territory assumed the duties of his office. Secretary Thomas B. Cuming arrived at Bellevue Mission Thursday, October 12, and as acting governor on the 18th issued a proclamation announcing the death of Governor Burt. November 23, 1854, acting Governor Cuming issued a proclamation calling an election to be held on December 12, to choose members of the first legislature, defining the boundaries of eight counties, giving their names. Douglas county, which contained the greater portion of the present Sarpy county, was bounded as follows: Commencing at the mouth of the Platte river, thence north along the west bank of the Missouri river to a point one mile north of Omaha City, thence west along the south boundary of Washington county twenty miles, thence south ten miles, more or less, to the Platte river, and thence east to the place of beginning. (Doubtless the last course intended to follow the channel of the Platte river, but if the wording was strictly construed a portion of the territory would be omitted. A map deposited with the State Historical Society shows the county with the theory that the river was the boundary line).

The proclamation divided the county into two districts, the election for the northern district to be at Omaha, and for the southern at the Mission House in Bellevue. Isaiah Bennet, D. E. Reed and Thomas Morton were named as judges, and G. (George W.) Hollister and Silas A. Strickland as clerks for Bellevue precinct. The proclamation ordered that, "Said territorial legislature will convene on the 8th day of January . . . aforesaid." December 20, 1854, the acting governor issued another proclamation, ordering the legislative assembly to meet at Omaha City January 16, 1855 (instead of January 8, as originally intended), and that all proceedings of the assembly for the first session should be held at Omaha City.

Believing they had been deceived and cheated — for under Cuming's scheme all the members from Douglas

county were of course residents of Omaha — the citizens of Bellevue and vicinity immediately began seeking means whereby they could have a voice in political affairs. Accordingly, February 1, 1855, house file No. 22, "An act to define the boundaries and establish the seat of justice of the county of Douglas", was introduced in the legislature. The boundaries were as follows: "Beginning at a point in the middle of the main channel of the Missouri river, opposite the middle of the main channel of the mouth of the Platte river, thence northwardly with the middle of the main channel of the said Missouri river to a point two miles north of the town of Florence, formerly known as Winter Quarters, thence west eighteen miles, thence south to the middle of the main channel of the Platte river, thence eastwardly with the middle of the main channel of said Platte river to the place of beginning in the middle of the main channel of said Missouri river. . ."

February 6, 1855, the following petition was presented to the council and referred to a special committee:

"To the Honorable the Legislature of the Territory of Nebraska:

"Your petitioners, residents of that portion of the territory immediately north of and adjoining the Platte river, being desirous of being included in a county that will be from geographical position best suited to their present and future interests and having the county seat located at a point central and convenient of access, respectfully petition your honorable body for the passage of a bill organizing Sarpy county with the following boundaries, viz.: Commencing at a point on the Missouri river due east of the Indian graves, situated about half way between Omaha City and Bellevue on the main travelled road, thence due west to the Elkhorn river, thence down said river to the Platte river, thence down said Platte river to the Missouri river, thence up the Missouri river to the place of beginning, and establish the county seat of said county at Bellevue, and your petitioners will ever pray."

The petition was signed by Geo. W. Hollister, P. A. Sarpy, C. T. Holloway, F. Ferguson, Thos. Morton, Wm. Hamilton, Stephen Decatur and thirty-five others.

The select committee reported February 7, presenting council file No. 37, "A bill for an act to organize the county of Sarpy and locate the seat of justice thereof", having the same boundaries as requested in the petition, and recommended its passage. This action moved the Omaha members to obtain from the house committee on counties and county boundaries, February 12, a report of a substitute for house file No. 22, which was the original bill, except that the name "Omaha" was substituted for "Douglas". February 23 council file 27 (the Sarpy county bill) was laid on the table by a vote of eight in favor to five against; and house file 22 was amended by striking out "Omaha" and inserting "Douglas" as the name of the county. On the 24th the house concurred in the amendment, March 5 Governor Mark W. Izard approved the act; and the hopes of Bellevue were gone for the time.⁸

⁸ February 10 the house committee on county boundaries and county seats offered as a substitute for house file 22 and for house file 18 which changed the name of Pierce county to Ottoe and defined its boundaries, a consolidation of the two bills in which the name of Douglas county was changed to Omaha. February 12, on motion of Decker, of Pierce county, the consolidation bill was divided into two bills, each resuming its original number [House journal, first general assembly, pp. 48, 50]. February 13 house file 22, to define the boundaries of Omaha county and locate its seat of justice was passed [Ibid., p. 54]; and on the 15th house file 18, defining the boundaries and locating the seat of justice of Ottoe — originally Pierce — county was passed [Ibid., p. 62]. February 23, a motion in the council by Bennet, of Pierce county, — now Otoe — to amend the Omaha county bill by fixing the south line of the county so as to be identical with the north line of the proposed Sarpy county, and the north line three miles north of Florence instead of one mile north of Omaha City, as in Governor Cuming's proclamation, and two miles above Florence, as in the original bill, was lost by a vote of five to eight, namely: Bennet, Bradford and Cowles of Pierce; Nuckolls of Cass; and Sharp of Richardson, aye; Brown of Forney (now Nemaha), Clark of Dodge, Folsom of Burt, Goodwill, Jones, Richardson and Rogers of Douglas, and Mitchell of Washington. After substituting Douglas for Omaha as the name of the county the bill was passed; whereupon council file 37, the Sarpy county bill, was laid on the table by a vote of eight to five, as follows:

At this session an attempt was made to create a new county which would cover a part of the present county of Sarpy, then included in Dodge county. February 1, 1855, Mr. Byers of Omaha introduced house file 24, "An act to define the boundaries and establish the seat of justice of Elk Horn county. Beginning at the southwest corner of Douglas county in the middle of the main channel of the Platte river, thence north with the west boundary of said Douglas county to the northwest corner of the same, thence west to the middle of the main channel of Platte river, thence eastwardly with the middle of the main channel of said Platte river to the place of beginning, is hereby declared to be a separate and distinct county to be known and called by the name of Elk Horn county, the county seat to be at the town of Elk Horn. February 2 the bill was read a second time and referred to the committee on county boundaries and county seats, and March 5, as recommended by the committee, was laid on the table.⁹

The second session of the territorial legislature convened at Omaha City December 18, 1855, Bellevue being represented in the house by L. L. Bowen, who on January 3, 1856, introduced house file No. 17, "An act to define the

Brown, Folsom, Goodwill, Jones, Mitchell, Richardson, Rogers, Sharp, aye; Bennet, Bradford, Clark, Cowles, Nuckolls, nay. It is remarkable that in the fierce sectional conflicts subsequent to the first struggle over the location of the capital, Nemaha county sided with the North Platte. This apparently indefensible action was the cause or occasion of Furnas's political undoing. But the amendment by the council declaring that "nothing herein contained shall have the effect to change or alter the north line of Washington county as now established" was incorporated in the act. [Council journal, first general assembly, pp. 89-90.] A motion by Bradford, to substitute "Bellevue" for Omaha as the name of the county, received only the mover's vote. Bellevue, whose bow of promise was brightest up to the time of the struggle for the capital, was doomed by the loss of that decisive battle to the lot of the deserted village.—Ed.

⁹ The index of the house journal drops this bill with the reference to the recommendation of the committee, March 9, that it be laid upon the table [p. 110], and no further action upon it appears to have been taken.—Ed.

boundaries and locate the seat of justice of the county of Sarpy". A motion to reject the bill was adopted by a vote of 13 to 11; January 4 Boulware's motion to reconsider the rejecting motion was carried by a vote of 17 to 9. The bill was then referred to the committee on county boundaries and county seats, which, January 18, reported as follows: "The standing committee upon county boundaries and county seats, to which was referred the bill entitled, 'An act to define the boundaries and locate the seat of justice of the county of Sarpy,' with sundry papers, etc., have had the same under consideration, and respectfully beg leave to report as a substitute a bill entitled, 'An act to create a new election district in the southern portion of Douglas county,' and unanimously recommends the passage of said substitute.

"WM. CLANCY,
L. L. BOWEN,
JOHN BOULWARE,
L. HARSH,
THOMAS GIBSON,
Committee."

The substitute became house file No. 86, a bill entitled, "An act to create a new election district in the southern portion of Douglas county", as follows:

Be it enacted by the council and house of representatives of the territory of Nebraska:

SECTION 1. All that portion of territory included within the following boundaries, to-wit: Beginning at a point in the middle of the main channel of the Missouri river, due east of a point in the middle of the main channel of the Platte river, where the same disembogues into the said Missouri river, thence up the middle of the main channel of said Platte river to a point where the north boundary line of the second tier of townships north of the third standard parallel crosses said Platte river, thence due east on said north boundary line to a point in the middle of the main channel of the Missouri river, thence down the

middle of the main channel of said Missouri river to the place of beginning, shall be, and the same is hereby, erected into a separate election district for the purpose of electing councilmen and members of the house of representatives.

SEC. 2. In making an apportionment of the representation of the legislative assembly, the territory included within the above described boundaries shall be treated as a separate and distinct district, and said apportionment to the same shall be in the ratio of the qualified voters residing within said limits.

SEC. 3. For all election purposes other than those above specified, the said district shall be and constitute a portion of Douglas county, in like manner as heretofore.

SEC. 4. This act to take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

The bill was read first time, rules suspended, read second and third times by title, passed and title agreed to. It was passed by the council January 22, and approved by the governor January 22.¹⁰

In this way the wishes of the Bellevue people were again set aside, but they did not give up. A county of their own was wanted and finally obtained. The third session of the territorial legislature convened at Omaha, January 5, 1857. Mr. James A. Allen introduced a bill (afterwards known as council file No. 12) in the council, January 8, entitled, "A bill to erect the county of Omaha", which was read the first time and on January 9th read the second time and referred to the committee on county boundaries and county seats.

The bill was as follows:

Be it enacted by the Council and House of Representatives of the Territory of Nebraska:

SECTION 1. That all that portion of territory included within the following boundaries, to-wit: beginning at a point in the middle of the main channel of the Missouri river, due east of a point in the middle of the main channel of the Platte river, where the same disembogues into the

¹⁰ The bill was signed January 22 [House journal, second general assembly, p. 145].—Ed.

said Missouri river, thence up the middle of the main channel of said Platte river to a point where the north boundary line of the second tier of townships north of the third standard parallel crosses said Platte river, thence due east on said boundary line to a point in the middle of the main channel of said Missouri river, thence down the middle of the main channel of said Missouri river to the place of beginning, be and the same is hereby created and erected a new county by the name of Omaha county.

SEC. 2. That Leavitt L. Bowen, Chas. T. Holloway and Silas A. Strickland be and are hereby appointed commissioners to locate the county seat of the county so to be erected.

SEC. 3. That the first election for officers of said county shall be held on the fourth Tuesday of May next, and thereafter as prescribed by law.

SEC. 4. And be it further enacted, that an act entitled, "An act to create a new election district in the southern portion of Douglas county", be and the same is hereby repealed.

SEC. 5. That all acts inconsistent with this act are hereby repealed, and that this act shall be in force from and after its passage.

January 13, the committee on county boundaries and county seats reported as follows:

The committee on county boundaries and county seats, to whom was referred council bill No. 12, entitled, "An act to erect the county of Omaha", report that they have examined the same, and that the bill should pass and become a law for the following reasons:

First. That that portion of the territory proposed by the bill to be erected into a county has been in several instances deprived of a representation in the legislature of the territory; that the interests of said territory are in a manner distinct and separate from other portions, and therefore should have a voice in the territory.

Second. That it is anti-democratic to deprive any portion of the territory of her natural rights.

Third. That it is not convenient for the people to do their public business where they do [not do] their

private business, and that Omaha City is an inconvenient place for the people of said district to do their business.

Motions to adopt the report, to lay on the table, to refer to the judiciary and the agriculture committees were lost, and finally it was referred to a select committee, consisting of Rogers, Allen and Bradford.

January 19, Mr. Rogers, chairman of the select committee, submitted the following minority report:

Your committee to whom was referred council bill No. 12, entitled "A bill for an act to erect the county of Omaha," have had the same under consideration and beg leave to report as follows: That to erect a new county out of the territory of Douglas county, which is already one of the smallest counties of the territory and thereby reduce it in size to six townships, would be grossly unjust, oppressive, tyrannical and anti-democratic. Unjust because if thus severed she would be robbed of one-half of her river front and thereby a very large share of her commercial advantages, which is a material element in the growth, importance, and destiny of any county or district of country.

It would be unjust because no county has heretofore been restricted to so unjust and parsimonious a river front, for it has been heretofore in the history of the territory, as it should be, the constant aim to distribute, with as much justice and equality as possible, the commercial and other natural advantages among the family of counties thus far organized. To make Douglas county an exception to this just precedent of this legislative assembly would be an obvious wrong and a manifest injustice to the mind of any disinterested, unprejudiced party. To sever Douglas county, which does not now contain but twelve townships, when sixteen is the usual size, would not only be unjust to every voter in North Douglas and at least one-half of the voters of South Douglas, but clearly and manifestly oppressive,—oppressive by doubling the taxes of these two exceedingly small counties for the erection of two sets of county buildings and the expense incurred in sustaining two sets of county officers, when it is fully known and clearly understood by this body that a very large

majority of the people of the county are decidedly opposed to any severance of their county, or their legislation, which would impose upon them a grievous and burthensome taxation. The people of North Douglas are not alone in opposition to this uncalled for oppression, but we are clearly of the opinion that a very large minority, if not even an absolute majority of South Douglas are equally decided in their opposition to the severance of this county.

In support of this opinion we would beg leave respectfully to state that, although the census returns show South Douglas to have contained a fraction over four hundred and fifty voters, yet at the last election only a fraction over two hundred votes were cast. The reason for this large disparity between the showing of the census returns and the actual number of votes cast originated from the well understood and manifest reason that voters in the northern and western tier of townships of South Douglas take little or no interest in elections in the election district, from the fact that the place of voting is in some instances equally distant, and in others more remote from their place of habitation than Omaha City, where they are accustomed to trade and transact their county and other business. The citizens of the northern tier of townships who reside in the immediate vicinity of Omaha, their natural place of trade, as well as the citizens of the western tier of townships, who are not in the habit of trading or transacting business at any other point than Omaha, from the fact of its equal, if not greater proximity to their places of habitation than that of any other point where they could possibly procure supplies, would look upon any act of this legislature ostracising them from this county against their consent as tyrannical and abusive of their best interests.

A majority of the committee to whom this bill was referred claim that in order to restore certain rights to South Douglas it is necessary to erect the county of Omaha out of the territory of the county of Douglas; that in order to restore those rights it is necessary to reduce her area to six townships; to rob her of one-half of her river front; to impose upon her voters against their will an unequal and unjust taxation. All this they claim to be necessary in order to restore certain rights which are said to be

distinctive. What are the rights claimed to have been lost? Some time in November, 1854, the then acting governor issued a proclamation forming counties for the purpose of a first election. By that proclamation a county was formed north of Platte river and south of Omaha City for Bellevue. The same power that formed this county, in December, 1854, destroyed it, or it may be stated thus: The acting governor promised Bellevue a county but never gave it. The majority upon the above statement pretend rights existed and are lost, but must be regained. If the acting governor did a wrong act, did that create for them a right of any kind whatever? If this act did them injustice, is it even a reasonable pretext for them (I mean the two hundred odd voters above referred to) to come up to this body and through their representatives attempt to commit a much greater act of injustice against twelve hundred voters? These twelve hundred voters have never conceded to the two hundred voters of South Douglas, who sent a representation, having any distinctive or different right from what they themselves enjoy; neither can it be said that they have deprived the two hundred voters of any such rights. Since they have never acquired any distinctive right at the hands of the acting governor, from the hands of the majority, we reasonably assert that they never had any such rights to lose. We think too that we have clearly and fully shown that these two hundred voters of South Douglas have not in justice any claim now to such distinctive rights, and further for this legislature to confer such rights we have shown would be to do so in direct opposition to the wishes of a very large majority of the voters of the county, and in direct opposition to their best interests. Such an act could not be denominated anything less than flagrant oppression, than tyrannical injustice. No one would deny that it would be tyrannical and anti-democratic for the representatives of North Douglas to vote on this bill contrary to and in direct opposition to the best interests of and known wishes of a very large majority of the people of the whole county. This would be equally true of representatives of other counties who come up to this body and vote against the best interests of the almost unanimous voters of the county.

We say this would be as great an act of tyranny and as contrary to democratic principles as if the immediate representatives of the people had so voted. There can be no exception to this rule unless where the vote is for ferry charters or some other act for the benefit of immediate neighborhoods.

In view of the above statement we recommend the indefinite postponement of council bill No. 12, entitled, A bill for an act to erect Omaha county.

SAM'L E. ROGERS, Chairman.

The majority of the select committee submitted the following:

MAJORITY REPORT

The select committee to whom was referred a bill for an act to create the county of Omaha, beg leave to report that they have had the same under consideration and recommend its passage, without amendment, and for the following reasons, viz.: That the acting governor of Nebraska, prior to the past election, caused proclamation to be printed in the office of the *Nebraska Palladium* at Bellevue, defining the boundaries of Douglas county nearly as provided for in this bill for the county sought to be created hereby, but afterwards refused to issue said proclamation unless the citizens of said district would make to him a humiliating pledge as to their future political action, and therefore issued a proclamation making the north line of Douglas county one mile north of Omaha City, thus uniting those citizens with a community of different interests and succeeding by means not necessary to mention here of depriving them of a representation in the first legislature of this territory.

By reference to the first journals of the council of this territory we perceive that the citizens of this district humbly petitioned the legislature to grant them a county, which was refused, and the county of Douglas made yet a larger part by a proclamation of the governor, while the legislature was in session, extending Douglas county to a line north of the city of Florence, and afterwards by legislative action.

And the majority of your committee further state that the county of Douglas has by its present boundary a much

wider front on the Missouri river than any other county, extending from the Platte river to the fourth standard parallel, a distance of more than twenty-five miles.

And further, the citizens of this district now seeking the passage of this bill under consideration, have and ever will have interests distinct from the remainder of the present Douglas county; that nearly in the center of the river boundary of this district is the flourishing city of Bellevue, the oldest city in the territory, which already has its hotels, mercantile establishments, banks, its attorneys and its churches, making it the center of business for the inhabitants of said district. Consequently your committee readily perceive the necessity of giving to said inhabitants the privilege of transacting their legal business where their private business is done, and your committee are advised and believe the inhabitants of said district are nearly unanimous in favor of the proposed new county, and that the said district is capable of sustaining as great and probably a greater population than any other district of Nebraska.

A. A. BRADFORD.

J. S. ALLEN.¹¹

On the 22d of January the president introduced a petition of Archibald Wright and twenty-five others of the southern district praying for the erection of the county of Omaha out of said district; also petitions of H. T. Clarke and others, and Wm. W. Laughlin and others, to the same effect,—which were referred to the select committee. January 28, after consideration in committee of the whole, the council passed an amendment to strike out “Omaha” and insert “Sarpy”. The boundaries of the original bill would have included all of the present city of South Omaha; so, to save as much territory as possible for Douglas county, Mr. Rogers of Omaha, January 29, offered as an amendment.

Strike out section 1 and insert the following:

¹¹ Council journal, third general assembly, pp. 50-52.—Ed.

Be it enacted by the Council and House of Representatives of the Territory of Nebraska,

That the territory included within the following boundaries, to-wit: Commencing at a point where the Platte river empties into the Missouri river, thence northerly along the main channel of the Missouri river to a point where the center of township number fourteen north intersects the Missouri river, thence west along the center of township number fourteen north to the Platte river, thence along down the main channel of the Platte river to the place of beginning.

The amendment was lost by a vote of six ayes to seven nays. The bill as amended to read "Sarpy county" was then, by a vote of seven ayes to six nays, passed by the council.¹²

In the house, January 29 and 30, many motions to reject, to adjourn, etc. (Mr. Downs of Otoe making a motion to adjourn *sine die*), were voted upon and lost. February 2, Mr. Armstrong, of Omaha, moved to amend the bill by striking out all after the enacting clause and inserting:

SECTION 1. That the question of dividing the county of Douglas by erecting a new county out of the southern portion thereof shall be determined by the people of said county at the next election for members of the legislative assembly.

¹² Ibid., p. 73. It is worth while to note that Robert W. Furnas, of Nemaha county, voted against the bill which was a South Platte measure, showing that for North Platte favors in hand and in the bush he was sealed to that section. This vote is closely related to his opposition to the passage over the governor's veto of the bill to remove the capital to Douglas City on Salt Creek. The aggressive allegation of the Omaha *Herald* that citizens of Omaha subscribed and paid \$3,000 in gold to Furnas for his friendly aid in the capital removal struggle forced Furnas to enter a libel suit against the *Herald* when he was a candidate for the office of governor in 1872. See History of Nebraska, v. 3. It is alike significant that W. A. Finney, member of the house from Nemaha county, took the same attitude toward the capital removal bill that Furnas did and also persistently opposed the Sarpy county bill from first to last, while his colleagues, Chambers and Lawrence, in harmony with their section of the territory, supported both bills.—Ed.

SEC. 2. At said election the legal voters in said county who are in favor of said division of the county shall place on their ballots the words "for a division of the county", and those legal voters who are opposed to said division of the county shall place on their ballots the words, "Against a division of the county."

SEC. 3. When the election returns are canvassed in accordance with the ninth chapter of the first part of the code of Nebraska, if it shall appear that a majority of the votes have been polled for a division of the county, the fact shall be certified by the county clerk to the county commissioners who shall thereupon proceed to erect a new county to be named "Sarpy" out of that portion of Douglas county now embraced in the southern election district of said county.

SEC. 4. If at the election as provided for in the second section of this act a majority of the legal voters shall vote against the division of the county, the said new county shall not be erected.

The amendment was rejected by a vote of twenty-two ayes to ten nays. February 5, Mr. Strickland, as chairman of the committee on county boundaries and county seats, reported council file 12, "A bill for an act to erect the county of Sarpy", with the following amendments, recommending its passage.

First. To the title add after the word "Sarpy", the words "and for other purposes".

Second. In lieu of section 1 insert the following:

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the Council and House of Representatives of the Territory of Nebraska,*

That all that portion of the territory included within the following boundaries, to-wit: Beginning at a point in the middle of the main channel of the Missouri river due east of a point in the middle of the main channel of the Platte river where the same disembogues into the Missouri river; thence up the middle of the main channel of the Missouri river to a point two miles due south of the north line of township number fourteen, north; thence due west on section lines to the middle of the main channel of the Platte river; thence down the middle of the main channel

of said Platte river to the place of beginning; be and the same is hereby created and erected a new county by the name of Sarpy.

SEC. 3. Add section 2 after the word "erected", and that said commissioners shall make said location on or before the first day of July next, and shall make a report of their acts and doings in the premises and file the same in the office of the register of said county.

SEC. 4. That section four (4) be changed to section 5 in the bill, and that the following be inserted as section four (4): And be it further enacted that all that portion of the territory lying south of the fourth (4) standard parallel and east of the main channel of the Platte river and not included in the boundaries of this act of Sarpy county, be and the same are hereby declared to be a part and portion of the county of Douglas.

Mr. Armstrong moved to amend the amendments of the committee by adding after the words "Douglas county" in the fifth section the words "Approved January 22, 1856, be and the same is hereby repealed, and the said county of Sarpy shall have a representation in the legislative assembly under the last census in the same ratio as provided in the act hereby repealed."

At this point Mr. S. E. Seely of Dodge county awoke to the fact that his county would lose some of its territory if the bill should pass and moved to amend by inserting after the word "line" in the twelfth line of the first section, the following words: "To the eastern boundary of Dodge county, thence south on said eastern boundary of Dodge county to the main channel of the Platte river, thence down said main channel to the place of beginning," and further by striking out all that portion which attaches a part of Dodge county to Douglas county. This amendment was rejected. February 6, the house passed the bill, as amended by the committee and Mr. Armstrong, by a vote of nineteen ayes to eleven nays.

The printed journal does not contain anything about the return of this bill to the council nor its action concurring, but it was evidently done, because on February 9 the governor sent formal notice of his approval.

It was thus that Sarpy county came into existence, and on May 25, 1857, an election was held for county officers which resulted in the choice of S. D. Bangs, county clerk; W. F. Wiley, county treasurer; John N. Enoch, sheriff; Wm. H. Cook, probate judge; C. D. Keller, register of deeds; H. A. Longsdorf, superintendent of public instruction; W. H. Harvey, surveyor; and J. B. Glover, Robert McCarthy and Philander Cook, county commissioners.

The organization of the county was completed June 10, 1857, by the first session of the board of county commissioners and the assumption of their duties by the other officers. A map accompanying this paper, and filed with the State Historical Society, shows the boundaries of Douglas and Sarpy counties, created by the last act. The board of county commissioners on January 14, 1857, gave the Bellevue people a commissioner's district, as follows: It was ordered by the board that the county of Douglas be districted and organized according to section 2 of an act entitled, "County Commissioners", as follows: "District No. 1. Bounded south by Platte river and north by section line parallel with and two miles north of the township line between townships thirteen and fourteen, and east and west by the county boundaries." [Commissioner's Record A, 4.]

As Sarpy county was soon after created, no election was held. Consequently "District No. 1" was not represented by any one from the Bellevue end of the county.

KANSAS-NEBRASKA BOUNDARY LINE

BY GEORGE W. MARTIN¹

Before any reference to boundary lines, permit me to congratulate you on the start you have made toward a home for your historical collection. There is no duty more important than that of preserving public archives or general records showing the advancement of your people in all lines of activity, there can be no interest of more value and pleasure than the use of such when needed, and there is nothing more exasperating than the need of something you do not have. The extent and variety of a public collection, such as the state assumes to keep, is to meet the needs of the citizen who in the nature of things can not have everything at his home or place of business. I have experience every day with individuals who are amazed at the extent of the "trash", as they call it, that is stored, and I have enjoyed the discomfiture, if not the profanity, of the same people, who call for the most insignificant and unheard of thing which we do not have. I maintain that the best thing a state has is its historical collection. Here all men and all interests end. Old records and papers with us have a commercial value to the individual, to say nothing of the instructive feature demanded by every patriotic citizen.

Everybody concedes this. The only advice in order, therefore, is to go to the limit of liberality in providing a home and necessary conveniences for proper care. These twin states should keep abreast of each other. True, one

¹ Paper read at the annual meeting of the Nebraska State Historical Society, January, 1910.

has been a trifle wild and reckless, but fifty years of statehood has brought some dignity, sobriety and a steady step. Each state has started on the erection of a historical building. The legislature gave the Kansas Society \$200,000 for this purpose. This, it is estimated, will only enclose the building, which will be four stories and a basement. The plan with us is to place steel stacks upon the completion of the building sufficient to give us double the shelf room we now occupy. The building is to be partly occupied temporarily by other state interests; but ultimately there will be space for the Historical Society for thirty or forty years, and it is to be absolutely fireproof. We shall have foundation and walls sufficient to carry two or three additional stories.

Barring ten years of hell we had on the border, from 1855 to 1865, the history of Kansas is the history of Nebraska. Four-fifths of our territory came into use and prominence after the close of the war between the states. We had the same task of opening up a new country. The noble red man caused us about the same anxiety. The development of these plains from the barrenness of fifty years ago to the service of mankind we see today will always far exceed battles and blood, raids and robbery. We have been slowly, but with increasing rapidity each year, reclaiming the most fertile and beautiful country on the face of the globe. Wonderful history has been made in these two states by men who established our schools and churches, built our railroads, opened our farms, improved our cattle and hogs, and who established large and small industrial plants. Such history is worth preserving with the utmost care. The individual without interest in history, while he may not so understand it, is without pride of ancestry. We start very enthusiastically with our building in Kansas, and I hope we will end up correspondingly. But, however rich, handsome and perfect we may do our

task, I sincerely hope Nebraska may beat us. The story of your state deserves it. May this be the rivalry between us!

The fortieth parallel of north latitude was made the boundary line between the territories of Nebraska and Kansas by congress in the act of May 30, 1854. It seems that in the beginning the Missourians wanted the Platte river, but Hadley D. Johnson, representing more northerly interests, insisted upon the fortieth parallel. There were no surveys then, and there was no controversy about any portion of the lines. Neither was there any hundred-dollar-an-acre land; and so congress acted like the fellow who sold a quarter section and while the buyer was not looking slipped in the deed another quarter to get rid of it. Nebraska extended north to the British line, and westward took in a part of Colorado, the two Dakotas, and Montana and Wyoming.² Kansas extended to the summit of the Rocky mountains, a few miles beyond the present city of Leadville. Immediately upon the passage of the Nebraska-Kansas act John Calhoun was made surveyor general of Nebraska and Kansas. A contract was made with John P. Johnson to establish this boundary line. It was concluded to make it the principal base line, whereupon to start the survey, both on the north in Nebraska and on the south in Kansas. The fortieth parallel was astronomically established in 1854 by Captain T. J. Lee, topographical engineer, U. S. A. The survey was started on the 18th of November, 1854. The party were eighteen

² Approximately only half of the territory afterward called Dakota — that part lying west of the Missouri river — was included in Nebraska. [See "Nebraska and Minnesota Territorial Boundary", this volume; and the Illustrated History of Nebraska, v. 1, p. 141.] Nearly one-fourth of Wyoming and that strip of Montana lying west of the Rocky mountains were not included in Nebraska. About one-third of Colorado was so included.—Ed.

days running west 118 miles.³ When the Missouri river was closed to northern immigration in 1856 Nebraska City was a port of entry for Kansas.

There is an incident relating to the north boundary line of the state of Kansas scarcely known in her history, but in the history of the twin state of Nebraska it constitutes a very important chapter. January 17, 1856, J. Sterling Morton introduced in the lower house of the territorial legislature of Nebraska a resolution memorializing congress to annex to Kansas all that portion of Nebraska south of the Platte river because it would be "to the interests of this territory and to the general good of the entire Union". It was stated that the Platte river was a natural boundary mark — that it was impossible to either ford, ferry or bridge it; it was further thought that such a move would effectually prevent the establishment of slavery in either of the territories. This was postponed by a vote of 20 to 5.⁴ The project slumbered until 1858. There was great bitterness between north and south Nebraska at that time, and the annexation sentiment seemed to grow.

In those days Nebraska had other troubles than the unreliability of the Platte river. Kansas was torn to pieces by a great national issue, and our republican-populist war of 1893 had a precedent for ridiculousness in the controversy which divided the pioneers of Nebraska from 1855 to 1858. Florence, Omaha, Plattsmouth, Bellevue and Nebraska City were contestants for the territorial capital. The story reads like a southwest Kansas countyseat fight. The first legislature was called at Omaha, January 16, 1855. Omaha was full of people interested in rival towns, who

³ The contract for running the first 108 miles of the base line was let to Johnson November 2, 1854, but he executed it in such a bungling way that it was necessary to employ Charles A. Manners to do the work all over again. [See History of Nebraska, v. 1, p. 383, foot note, for full account.]—Ed.

⁴ Ibid., p. 396.

made threats that the session should not be held. In January, 1857, the antagonism to Omaha assumed an aggressive character. A bill passed both houses of the legislature moving the session to a place called Douglas in Lancaster county.⁵ This bill was vetoed by the governor. In 1858 a portion of the legislature seceded in a small riot but no bloodshed, and attempted to do business at a town called Florence. September 21, 1858, the fifth session met in peace at Omaha, and began to talk about bridging the Platte. Restlessness was common then, for the Kansas territorial legislature was also hard to please. The pro-slavery people left Pawnee to sit in Shawnee Mission, and the free-soilers would not remain at Leocompton, but in 1858, 1859, 1860 and 1861 moved to Lawrence.

About the beginning of the year 1859 several mass meetings were held, and congress was memorialized to incorporate the South Platte country in the proposed state of Kansas. There was some dissent, of course, but the annexationists seem to have been quite lively. On the 2d of May a mass meeting was held at Nebraska City, which invited the people to participate in the formation of a constitution at Wyandotte July 5, reciting "that the pestiferous Platte should be the northern boundary of a great agricultural and commercial state". They ordained that an election should be held in the several South Platte counties June 7. There are no results of the election given, but the History of Nebraska, page 401, volume 1, says that in the county of Otoe of 1,078 ballots cast at a previous election 900 electors signed a petition for annexation, and that this sentiment was representative of the whole South Platte district. Governor Medary's son and private secretary, on the 16th of May, 1859, had written a letter to the Nebraska people, urging them to elect delegates to the

⁵ This bill undertook to remove the capital itself to Douglas City.

Wyandotte convention, and to proceed quietly, "as it would only create an unnecessary issue in southern Kansas at the time, were it freely talked of".⁶

On the 12th day of July, 1859, the following Nebraska men were admitted to seats on the floor of the Wyandotte constitutional convention, then in session, as honorary members, with the privilege of participating in the discussion of the northern boundary of the state of Kansas, but not to vote: Stephen F. Nuckolls, Mills S. Reeves, Robert W. Furnas, Obadiah B. Hewett, William W. Keeling, Samuel A. Chambers, Wm. H. Taylor, Stephen B. Miles, John H. Croxton, John H. Cheever, John B. Bennet and Jacob Dawson. In the archives of the State Historical Society we find the original application of the Nebraska people signed by Mills S. Reeves, John B. Bennet, Wm. H. Taylor, Samuel A. Chambers and Stephen B. Miles.

On the 15th the Nebraska delegates were heard, and on the 16th during the consideration of the west boundary line of the state of Kansas, William C. McDowell of Leavenworth, a democratic member, moved the following amendment:

"Provided however, that if the people of southern Nebraska embraced between the Platte river and the northern boundary of Kansas, as established by congress, agree to the same, a vote is to be taken by them both upon the question of boundary and upon this constitution, at the time this constitution is submitted to the people of Kansas, and provided congress agree to the same, the boundaries of the state of Kansas shall be as follows: 'Beginning at a point on the western boundary of the state of Missouri where the thirty-seventh parallel of north latitude crosses the same; thence west with said parallel

⁶ The writer of the article evidently supposed that J. Sterling Morton was the author of the account in the History of Nebraska of the annexation movement which he quotes from: whereas, as stated in the preface of the volume quoted from, Albert Watkins is the sole author of the history; that is, of the text and related foot notes.—Ed.

to the twenty-fourth meridian of longitude west from Washington; thence north with said meridian to the middle of the south fork of the Platte river; thence following the main channel of said river to the middle of the Missouri river; thence with the middle of the Missouri river to the mouth of the Kansas river; thence south on the western boundary line of the state of Missouri to the place of beginning'."

After a short parliamentary wrangle about separating the north and west lines the convention voted that the northern boundary remain unchanged.

The *Nebraska City News*, the organ of South Platte sentiment, was furious over the result. I quote: "The curious may wish to know why this rich boon was refused by the Black Republican constitutional convention of Kansas. It was for this reason: its acquisition, it was believed by those worthies, would operate against their party. They said South Platte Nebraska was democratic, and that being added to northern Kansas, which is largely democratic, would make Kansas a democratic state; would deprive the Black Republican party of two United States senators, a congressman and other officers. They were dragooned into this position too by the Republican party outside of Kansas. Kansas, they are determined at all hazards, shall be an abolition state."⁷

It was a great deal amid the sentiment and passion of that hour to ask the free-soilers in the Wyandotte convention following the struggles of the border as far south as Fort Scott from 1855 to 1860, to go back on the people south of the Kaw for an unknown quantity in southern Nebraska. The delegates from Nebraska offered great things in a material way, but politics cropped out everywhere, principally from outside of Kansas. There was no politics then but the slavery issue. Solon O. Thacher said:

⁷ Quoted in v. 1, p. 403, *History of Nebraska*, from the *Nebraska City News*, August 6, 1859.—Ed.

“Chief among their arguments was one meeting an objection which they supposed would be raised in consequence of the political character of the country proposed to be annexed; and we have been invoked by all the powers of logic and rhetoric to ignore the political aspect of the case — to lay aside whatever feelings might arise politically, and look at the question dispassionately. Now, sir, I say they urge an impossibility. Had these gentlemen from southern Nebraska seen the sky lurid with flames of their burning homes, the soil of their beautiful prairies crimson with the blood of their brothers and fathers, or their wives and children flying over the land for a place of refuge from crime and outrage . . . they would not think of making such an appeal to us. . . . Gentlemen must remember that this is the first time in the history of Kansas that southern Kansas has been represented in any deliberative body. Think you, sir, that the people who have just escaped from the prison house that has kept them so long can desire to re-enter the clammy dungeon.”

I have carefully looked through the files of several of the Kansas newspapers of that period and I find a singular indifference to the question of annexation. The *Topeka Tribune* and the *Leavenworth Herald* very freely supported it. The *Lawrence Republican*, T. Dwight Thacher's paper, was strongly opposed to it. There was little else considered then aside from slavery. The *Le-compton Democrat* favored the dismemberment of both Kansas and Nebraska and the formation of a new state lying between Kansas and the Platte rivers. The *Republican* said this was hatched in Washington and nursed in the Blue Lodges of Missouri. Annexation would make southern Kansas a mere appendage to the north and completely at its mercy. The editor of the *Republican* made a visit to southeastern Kansas and reported unanimous opposition to the movement, that the people there neither

cares about nor knew the politics of the Nebraska men. A portion of the Nebraska movement was to make another state south of Kansas river to be called Neosho. In a speech before the convention Solon O. Thacher said that three-fifths of the population of Kansas was south of the Kansas river. The Platte gave no river frontage, and would need an appropriation every year to make it navigable by catfish and polliwogs, and the movement would give Kansas four additional Missouri river counties north of the Kansas river which would not be desirable. A singular feature is that the free-soil legislature of 1859 petitioned for annexation, while free-soilers in the constitutional convention bitterly opposed it. The *Lawrence Republican* is the only paper that handled the subject with vigor. I quote as follows:

“The proposed measure, if accomplished, would destroy the community of interest which now exists between the various portions of Kansas. Our people are bound together as the people of no other new state ever were. Together they have gone through one of the darkest and bloodiest struggles for freedom that any people ever encountered; together they have achieved the most significant and far-reaching victory since the revolution; together they have suffered — together triumphed! At this late day, after the battle has been fought and won, and we are about to enter upon the enjoyment of the fruits of our perilous labors, we do not care to have introduced into our household a set of strangers who have had no community or interest with us in the past, who have hardly granted us the poor boon of their sympathy, and who even now speak of the thrice honored and loved name of Kansas as a ‘name which is but the synonym of crime and blood!’ (Extract from a Nebraska City paper).”

On the 23d of July McDowell renewed the subject in the Wyandotte convention by the following resolution:

“*Resolved*, that congress be memorialized to include within the limits of the state of Kansas that part of southern

Nebraska lying between the northern boundary of the territory of Kansas and the Platte river."

This was defeated on the same day by a vote of 19 for and 29 against. The democrats refused to sign the constitution, and of those who did sign, four, S. D. Houston, J. A. Middleton, L. R. Palmer and R. J. Porter, voted to annex the South Platte country.

Senator Green of Missouri, in opposing the admission of Kansas under the Wyandotte constitution, said that not over two-sevenths of Kansas could be cultivated, that "without this addition (south Nebraska) Kansas must be weak, puerile, sickly, in debt and at no time capable of sustaining herself."

In the United States senate on January 18, 1861, he moved to strike out the proposed boundaries of Kansas and insert the following:

"Beginning in the main channel of the north Fork of the Platte river at a point where the twenty-fifth meridian of longitude west from Washington crosses the same; thence down and along said channel to its junction with the main stream of the Platte; thence down and along the main channel of the Platte to the Missouri river; thence south along said river and the western boundary of the state of Missouri to the northern boundary of the Cherokee neutral land; thence west along said northern boundary the northern [southern] boundary of the Osage lands, and the prolongation of the same, to the twenty-fifth meridian of longitude west of Washington; thence north on said meridian to the place of beginning."

This was defeated by a vote of 23 yeas to 31 nays, a greater number of the yeas being those who opposed the admission of Kansas under any circumstances. In support of this proposition Senator Green said:

"It will be observed by an examination of the constitution adopted at Wyandotte, now pending before the senate, that about one-third of the territory of Kansas is cut off on the west. That includes the Pike's Peak region,

where the first gold discovery was made, including the Gregory mines, and so on, cutting off that space of territory, which none of the other constitutions ever did. Owing to the character of the country that reduces it to too small a compass to constitute a good state. The gross area is about eighty thousand square miles; but the portion susceptible of settlement and habitation will not exceed forty thousand; and the best authority I have reduces it to thirty thousand out of eighty thousand square miles. After we pass west of the Missouri river, except upon a few streams, there is no territory fit for settlement or habitation. It is unproductive. It is like a barren waste. It will not even support cattle or sheep, or anything pertaining to the grazing business. There are no mineral resources in the state to supply any want of agricultural resources. Hence I propose to enlarge the boundary, not upon the west, but to take the present western boundary and prolong it northerly up to the Platte river; and then follow the line of the river to its junction with the Missouri line, and follow the Missouri line down. It will add to the territory about thirty thousand square miles, about two-thirds of which will be susceptible of settlement. It will then make a good, strong, substantial state. I have the privilege to state, in this connection, that nine-tenths of the people south of the Platte, in what is now called Nebraska, desire this annexation to Kansas."

In the further discussion of the bill for admission, Stephen A. Douglas, January 19, 1861, summed up the trouble as follows:

"There is no necessity for delaying this bill as it would be delayed by the adoption of the amendment. The senator from Missouri well knows that this Kansas question has been here for years, and no consideration on earth could suffice to stop it in this body three years ago, when it came under the Lecompton constitution. It was not stopped then to be amended for the want of judiciary or any other clauses; but it was forced through. We are told first, that Kansas must be kept out because her northern boundary is not right, when it is the same now as it was then; next, that she must be kept out because the

southern boundary is not right, though it is the same now as it was then; again, she must be kept out because of the Indian treaties, though the same objection existed then as now; again, she must be kept out because she has not population enough, though she has three times as many people as were there then; and, finally, this bill must be delayed now because it does not contain a judiciary clause. I do not understand why these constant objections are being interposed to the admission of Kansas now, when none of them were presented in regard to the Lecompton constitution, three years ago, nor in regard to the admission of Oregon, which has since taken place. It seems to me that the fate of Kansas is a hard one; and it is necessary for these senators to explain why they make the distinction in their action between Kansas and Oregon, instead of my explaining why I do not make distinction between them."

July 22, 1882, a reunion of the members of the constitutional convention was held at Wyandotte. Benjamin F. Simpson and John A. Martin made speeches. Martin was secretary of the convention, and afterwards served as colonel of the Eighth Kansas, and two times as governor. He said in his address that two influences induced the decision against the South Platte, one political and the other local and material. Many republicans feared that the South Platte country was, or would be likely to become, democratic. Lawrence and Topeka both aspired to be the state capital, and their influence was against annexation, because they feared it would throw the center of population far north of the Kaw. I quote:

"Each party, I think, was guilty of one blunder it afterwards seriously regretted—the Republicans in refusing to include the South Platte country, within the boundaries of Kansas; the Democrats in refusing to sign the constitution they had labored diligently to perfect. I speak of what I consider the great mistake of the Republicans with all the more frankness because I was, at the time, in hearty sympathy with their action; but I feel confident that no

Republican member is living today who does not deplore that decision. And I am equally confident that within a brief time after the convention adjourned, there were few Democratic members who did not seriously regret refusal to sign the constitution."

I think the judgment of the people today would be that the convention did very well, that for homogeneousness of people and interests the boundary lines of Kansas encompass, encircle, surround and hold more contentment and happiness than any other equal extent of territory. Imagine a northern boundary line as crooked as the Platte river, and a southern boundary as crooked as the Kansas and Smoky Hill. Imagine what an unwieldy and incongruous lot of people and territory there would be from the Platte to the south line of Kansas, and from the Missouri river to the summit of the Rocky mountains. Fifty years of development and history show that the convention made the state just right. Furthermore we have never heard of any unsatisfactory results from the shape of Nebraska, nor of any failure on the part of Nebraska people to manage the Platte river. I think that the Wyandotte convention, after fifty years, is entitled to the plaudit, "Well done, good and faithful servants".

When we recall that Kansas is one of but twelve states in the Union that have lived under one constitution fifty years, the Wyandotte convention surely has this approbation. The following states have had their present constitutions in use for fifty years or more, barring amendments from time to time submitted to the people: Connecticut since 1818, Delaware since 1831, Indiana since 1851, Iowa, 1857, Kansas, 1859, Maine, 1819, Massachusetts, 1820, Minnesota, 1857, Ohio, 1851, Oregon, 1857, Rhode Island, 1842, Wisconsin, 1848. In all of these, practically, there has been agitation looking toward constitutional revision, and in some instances constitutional conventions have met and revised the constitutions, but

the revision has been rejected by the people. For nearly two hundred years Rhode Island did business under her charter, obtained from Charles II, in 1663; and it was not until September, 1842, that a constitutional convention met and framed a constitution which was ratified by the people of that state.

Of the members of the Wyandotte convention there still remain with us: John T. Burriss of Olathe, aged 81 years; Benjamin F. Simpson of Paola, aged 73 years; C. B. McClellan of Oskaloosa, aged 87 years; S. D. Houston of Salina, aged 91 years; Samuel E. Hoffman, 4450 Westminster Place, St. Louis, Missouri, aged 75 years; and Robert Cole Foster of Denison, Texas, aged 74 years. Their work was adopted by the people of the territory October 4, 1859, by a vote of 10,421 for to 5,530 against.

In 1855 the territorial legislature of Kansas was in session at Shawnee Mission, only six miles from the now center of Kansas City, Missouri, and the Missouri legislature was in session at Jefferson City. In a sketch of Kansas City, Missouri, published in 1898, Judge H. C. McDougall says:

“As one of the many evidences of the fatherly interest which the citizens of Missouri then had in the young territory of Kansas, it may be noted in passing that Hon. Mobillion W. McGee, a citizen of this state, who then resided where Dr. J. Feld now lives, out at Westport, was a distinguished, and no doubt useful, member of the territorial legislature at Shawnee Mission. It would have been greatly to the interest of the pro-slavery party in Kansas to get Kansas City into that territory. The Missouri statesmen were then anxious to further the ends of their pro-slavery brethren in Kansas, and Col. Robert T. Van Horn and a then distinguished citizen of the territory of Kansas (whose name I cannot mention because for thirty years he and his family have been warm personal friends of mine) agreed that it would be a good thing all around to detach Kansas City from

Missouri and attach it to Kansas territory. Hence, after visiting and conferring with the legislatures of Missouri and Kansas territory, and being thoroughly satisfied that the Kansas territorial legislature would ask, and the Missouri legislature grant a cession upon the part of the latter to the former of all that territory lying west and north of the Big Blue river from the point at which it crosses the Kansas line out near Old Santa Fe to its mouth, Colonel Van Horn was left to look after the legislatures and my other venerable friend was posted off to Washington to get the consent of congress to the cession. Congress was also at that time intensely proslavery and through Senator David R. Atchison, General B. F. Stringfellow and others congressional consent to the desired change could easily have been obtained. While agreeing upon everything else as to the rise and fall of this scheme, yet Colonel Van Horn says that upon arriving at Washington our Kansas friend met and fell in love with a lady with whom he took a trip to Europe, and was not heard from in these parts for over two years."

Our Kansas friend was the first associate judge for the territory. And that is how Kansas missed having one of the greatest cities to be on the continent. We have reformed so often in Kansas and are working so vigorously at it now, oratorically and vociferously, with scare heads top of column on the first page, that such a thing as a Kansas man abandoning a public job today and running off with a woman is most improbable. But fifty-three years ago I walked across Kansas City from the river to Westport, four miles, and I would not judge the man too harshly — there was then no ten thousand dollar front foot land in those hills.

In March, 1879, there was again great interest in a movement on the part of Kansas City, Missouri, for annexation. The legislature passed a concurrent resolution declaring that the citizens of Kansas were not opposed to such a movement and authorized the appointment of a

committee of eight, three from the senate and five from the house, to investigate the subject. A memorial was presented to the legislature, signed by George M. Shelley, mayor, and three councilmen and a committee of five citizens, in which it was said: "We assure your honorable body that our people are earnest and sincere in their desire for annexation, and should the question be submitted to the electors of the territory proposed to be annexed, it would be ratified by a virtually unanimous vote. Already a memorial to the Missouri legislature for such a submission of the question has been circulated and largely signed by our people and will be duly presented by our representatives for the action of that honorable body." The legislature authorized the appointment of a committee of three to confer with the citizens of Kansas City, Missouri. On the 7th of March a delegation of 125 representatives of the business and commercial interests of Kansas City visited Topeka. A great reception was held, and speeches were made by Governor St. John, Speaker Sidney Clarke, Lieut. Governor L. U. Humphrey, and Col. D. S. Twitchell. The Kansas City guests further resolved: "That we are more than ever convinced of the great and mutual advantages that would accrue to Kansas City and Kansas from a more intimate union with the young empire state." The Kansas City *Times* of March 7 published a map showing the change in the line desired by the people of that city. The proposed line followed the course of the Blue from a point on the state line near the southeast corner of Johnson county, running slightly east of north to the Missouri river, at this last point being a move six miles east, comprising about sixty square miles of territory. It is highly probable that the movement never reached Jefferson City.

Verily, "There's a divinity that shapes our ends, rough hew them how we will", as Mr. Shakespeare said.

Charles Sumner thus described our situation: "The middle spot of North America — calculated to nurture a powerful and generous people, worthy to be a central pivot of American institutions." William H. Seward said: "Kansas is the Cinderella of the American family." Surely we were cuffed about like a household drudge, and now we are feeding and leading the world. Again Seward said in Lawrence, September 26, 1860: "Men will come up to Kansas as they go up to Jerusalem. This shall be a sacred city." Henry Ward Beecher, whose bibles and rifles are a part of our history, said: "There is no monument under heaven on which I would rather have my name inscribed than on this goodly state of Kansas." Abraham Lincoln at Springfield, Illinois, in 1857, said: "Look, Douglas, and see yonder people fleeing — see the full columns of brave men stopped — see the press and the type flying into the river, and tell me what does this! It is your squatter sovereignty! Let slavery spread over the territories and God will sweep us with a brush of fire from this solid globe." At our quarter centennial celebration held in 1879, John W. Forney said: "If I had been commanded to choose one spot on the globe upon which to illustrate human development under the influence of absolute liberty, I could have chosen no part of God's footstool so interesting as Kansas. Yesterday an infant, today a giant, tomorrow — who can tell!"

These excerpts will show the inspiration under which Kansas was born. The character of the proposed state, her institutions, a high ideal of public policy and morality, gave tone to all discussion, marred only by a suspicion on the part of some whether she could in a material sense maintain it at all.

And so the only trouble we have ever had about the boundary lines of Kansas has been from the people on the outside endeavoring to get in.

NEBRASKA AND MINNESOTA TERRITORIAL BOUNDARY

BY ALBERT WATKINS

Indiana territory was organized by act of congress May 7, 1800, effective July 4, 1800, out of the Northwest Territory, comprising all of it down to the Ohio river and west of a line which ran north from the mouth of the Kentucky river to Ft. Recovery, passing through the strait of Mackinac; the western line was the western boundary of the original U. S. territory, that is, the Mississippi river, etc. (Mercer's Maps No. 21; U. S. Stat. at Large, v. 2, p. 58). Indiana became a state through the enabling act of April 19, 1816, and the joint resolution of congress, December 11, 1816. Its lower eastern boundary was extended to the Ohio line; its north boundary was pushed ten miles farther north; otherwise it retained its last territorial form. (Mercer's Maps Nos. 20 and 31; Stat. 3, p. 289, Ibid., p. 399). The part of the Northwest Territory east of Indiana became the state of Ohio in 1803 (Mercer's Maps, 23; enabling act, April 30, 1802, Stat. 2, p. 173; supplementary act, February 19, 1803, Stat. 2, p. 201). The state was bounded on the north by Lake Erie and a line drawn due east from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan to an intersection with Lake Erie; on the east by Pennsylvania; on the south by the Ohio river; on the west by a line drawn due north from the mouth of the Great Miami river to the north boundary line.

Michigan territory was organized by act of January 11, 1805; effective June 30 (2 Stat., p. 309), comprising

the southern peninsula — its southern boundary being a line drawn from the extreme south bend of Lake Michigan east to intersect with Lake Erie — and a point cut off the northern peninsula by a line drawn from the northern extremity of Lake Michigan north to the Canadian line (Mercer's Maps No. 27). April 18, 1818 (3 Stat., 428-431), all the territory of Illinois north of the state and that strip lying between Lake Michigan and Lake Superior "which was included in the former Indiana territory" was added to Michigan (Mercer's Maps No. 34). June 28, 1834 (4 Stat., 701), all territory north of the state of Missouri and of a line extended to the Missouri river, and east of the Missouri and White Earth rivers was added to Michigan for temporary government (Mercer's Maps No. 45). Michigan became a state by act of congress, January 26, 1837 (Stat. 5, p. 144; Mercer's Maps, 48).

Illinois territory was organized out of Indiana, February 3, 1809 — effective March 1 — (2 Stat., 514). The eastern boundary extended north along the Wabash river from its mouth to Post Vincennes, and from that post due north till the line left the Wabash and proceeded to the Canadian boundary. The new territory comprised all of the original Northwest Territory west of this line. A narrow strip on the northeast was left to Indiana (Mercer's Maps Nos. 28 and 36). Illinois became a state December 3, 1818, by joint resolution of congress (3 Stat., 536; enabling act, April 18, 1818, *Ibid.*, p. 428; Mercer's Maps, 36).

Wisconsin territory was organized by act of congress April 20 — effective July 3 — 1836 (5 Stat., p. 10). The eastern border of the territory, up to the northwest point of Lake Superior was the same as that of the state now; it comprised all of Michigan westward, including the territory northeast of the Missouri river. It became a state May 29, 1848 (Mercer's Maps Nos. 47 and 57; Stat. 9, p. 233).

Iowa territory was organized by act of congress June 12 — effective July 3 — 1838 (5 Stat., 235), comprising all of Wisconsin west of the Mississippi river. It became a state by act of congress, December 28, 1846 (Stat. 9, pp. 56 and 117; Mercer's Maps, 50 and 55).

Minnesota territory was organized by act of March 3, 1849 (Stat. 9, 403), comprising all of Iowa territory not in the state of Iowa and all territory of Wisconsin not included in that state. These two tracts had been left over without organization since Iowa was admitted as a state in 1846, and Wisconsin in 1848 (Mercer's Maps, 58). This west boundary of Minnesota became the northeast boundary of Nebraska territory when it was organized May 30, 1854 (Mercer's Maps, 63). By act of congress, May 11, 1858, Minnesota became a state, leaving its western half nameless until it was included in Dakota territory March 2, 1861 (Stat. 11, p. 285; Mercer's Maps, 65 and 69).

TERRITORIAL EVOLUTION OF NEBRASKA

BY ALBERT WATKINS

All of the Louisiana Purchase south of Mississippi territory and of an east and west line on the thirty-third parallel of latitude — the northern boundary of the present state of Louisiana — was called the Territory of Orleans; all above that line was called the District of Louisiana. The Sabine river was fixed upon as the west boundary of the Territory of Orleans (Mercer's Maps, No. 24 and description, p. 18). The executive power of the territory of Indiana was extended over the District of Louisiana and the judges and governor of Indiana were authorized to make all laws for the district and establish inferior courts; the judges of Indiana, or any two of them, to hold courts in the district. This first arrangement for the government of the Purchase was made by act of congress, March 26, 1804. (2 Stat., p. 287). March 3, 1805 (2 Stat., p. 331), the name District of Louisiana was changed to Territory of Louisiana. An independent governor was provided for the territory who with three judges was empowered to make all laws. April 30, 1812, Louisiana became a state with its present boundary (2 Stat., pp. 641, 701-704, 708; Mercer's maps, 29). June 4, 1812 (2 Stat., p. 743), the name of the Territory of Louisiana was changed to Missouri, the act to take effect the first Monday in December of that year.

By the treaty of February 22, 1819, between Spain and the United States, the boundary was run due north along the 23d meridian from the Red river to the Arkansas river, thence along the Arkansas to its source and thence

north to the forty-second parallel of latitude. Spain thus gained a considerable tract east of the original mountain boundary (Stat. 8, p. 252; Mercer's maps, 37). October 20, 1818, the present northern boundary — the 49th parallel — between the British possessions and the United States from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky mountains was fixed (Stat. 8, p. 249; Mercer's maps, 35). June 15, 1846, the line was extended west to the Pacific ocean (9 Stat., p. 869; Mercer's maps, 54). By treaty of February 2, 1848, proclaimed July 4, same year, the Mexican — formerly Spanish — territory of Upper California and New Mexico was annexed to the United States and boundary lines defined. The 42d parallel was the northern boundary (Stat. 9, p. 922; Mercer's maps, 56). This treaty recognized the right of the United States to Texas which had been annexed by resolution of congress, December 29, 1845 (9 Stat., 108; Mercer's Maps, 53). By authority of an act of congress of September 9, 1850, the United States acquired, by purchase, all that part of Texas lying north of latitude $36^{\circ} 30'$ and that part west of longitude 103° and north of latitude 32° . By the same act New Mexico was organized as a territory. Its east and north boundary ran from the intersection of the 32d parallel of latitude with the 103d meridian north to the 38th parallel; thence west to the mountains; thence south along the crest of the mountains to the 37th parallel; thence west along that parallel to the boundary line of California. (Stat. 9, p. 446; Mercer's Maps, 60). Utah, organized by an act of the same date, comprised all the territory north of New Mexico — up to the 42d parallel — and between the mountains on the east and California on the west. (Stat. 9, p. 453; Mercer's Maps, 60). A strip of the territory purchased from Texas, about three-fourths of a degree in width on either side of the 30th meridian, extended north to latitude 42° . Since the original territory of Ne-

braska ran west to the summit of the mountains, it embraced the uppermost part of this strip, which Texas had wrested from Mexico, and also the small northeastern corner of original Spanish — subsequently Mexican — territory east of the mountains and just below the 42d parallel. The part of original New Spain or Mexico, and Texas formerly comprised in Nebraska, now lies in Colorado and Wyoming. That part of this projection lying west of the mountains went to Utah. The "Public Land Strip" lying between the 100th meridian on the east, the 103d meridian — the east boundary of New Mexico — on the west, Colorado and Kansas — 37th parallel of latitude — on the north and the present line of Texas on the south — as fixed by act of congress, September 9, 1850 (9 Stat., p. 446), was included in the territory of Oklahoma by its organic act of May 2, 1890 (26 Stat., p. 82).

March 2, 1819,—effective July 4 — (3 Stat., p. 493) the territory of Arkansas was organized. It included all of the territory of Missouri south of 36° 30' (except the northeast corner between the Saint Francois river and the Mississippi river down to 36°) running to the west boundary of the Purchase according to the treaty of 1819 (Mercer's Maps, No. 38). March 6, 1820, congress passed an act enabling Missouri to become a state (3 Stat., p. 545), and, on complying with an additional condition of congress made March 2, 1821 (3 Stat., p. 645), the territory was admitted as a state, by proclamation of President Monroe, August 10, 1821 (3 Stat., p. 797, App. 2; Mercer's Maps, 41). May 26, 1824, the western part of Arkansas territory was cut off leaving the western boundary forty miles west of Missouri; and May 28, 1828, the western cut-off was given to the Cherokee Indians with a strip added on the east, carrying their east line as far east as that of Missouri (4 Stat., p. 40, and 7 Stat., p. 311; Mercer's Maps, 43 and 44), and it was also carried north to the thirty-seventh

parallel. An act of congress of June 30, 1834 (4 Stat., p. 729), provided, "that all that part of the United States west of the Mississippi and not within the states of Missouri and Louisiana or the territory of Arkansas . . . be taken and deemed to be the Indian country." This comprised all of the Purchase not specifically excepted.

By act of congress, June 7, 1836 (5 Stat., p. 34), and a proclamation by the president, March 28, 1837 (*Ibid.*, App. 1, p. 802), the "Platte Purchase" was added to the state of Missouri, extending its northwest boundary to the Missouri river (*Mercer's Maps*, 49). June 28, 1834, all the territory bounded on the east by the Mississippi river; south by the state of Missouri and a line drawn due west from the northwest corner of that state to the Missouri river; southwest and west by the Missouri river and the White Earth river; and north by the northern boundary of the United States was added to the territory of Michigan (Stat. 4, p. 701; *Mercer's Maps*, 45). Arkansas became a state with its territorial form June 15, 1836 (Stat. 5, pp. 50 and 58; *Mercer's Maps*, 46).

The Oregon treaty of June 15, 1846, definitely delimited from the British possessions all that territory south of the forty-ninth parallel and the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver Island and Juan de Fuca strait down to the forty-second parallel — the northern line of the acquisition from Mexico — and west of the Rocky mountains, the western line of the Purchase (9 Stat., p. 869; *Mercer's Maps*, 54). By act of congress, August 14, 1848, this area was organized into a territory (Stat. 9, p. 323; *Mercer's Maps*, 58).

By act of March 2, 1853, all of the territory of Oregon north of the Columbia river and the forty-sixth parallel — all west of the Purchase and north of the Columbia river — and the extension of that parallel from the point of its intersection with the river east to the Rocky mountains

became the territory of Washington (Stat. 10, p. 172; Mercer's Maps, 61).

Oregon became a state February 14, 1859, comprising its territorial area west of a line running due north to the mouth of the Owyhee river, continuing north along the Snake river to the mouth of the Clearwater river, thence due north to the British boundary line. The part east of its eastern boundary was added to Washington territory (Stat. 11, p. 383; Mercer's Maps, 66).

May 30, 1854, the territories of Nebraska and Kansas were formed, comprising all of the Purchase west of the Missouri and White Earth rivers and north of the thirty-seventh parallel of latitude. Kansas included also that part of the former Spanish — later Mexican — territory west of the Purchase, lying between the 23d and 26th meridians and the 37th parallel of latitude and the Arkansas river and the narrow strip between the 26th meridian and the crest of the mountains, east and west, and the 38th parallel and the Arkansas river, south and north. That is, Kansas extended on the south — 37th parallel of latitude — to the east line of New Mexico, three degrees of longitude beyond the Spanish line, as fixed by the treaty of 1819; and then, running north to the 38th parallel, proceeded west along that to the crest of the mountains — the original line of the Purchase. This had all belonged to Texas since 1845. That part west of the 25th meridian now belongs to Colorado (Stat. 10, pp. 277, 283; Mercer's Maps, 63). Kansas was admitted as a state January 29, 1861, its area comprising all the territory between the fortieth and thirty-seventh parallels of latitude, the west boundary of the state of Missouri on the east and the twenty-fifth meridian west from Washington on the west (Stat. 12, p. 126; Mercer's Maps, 67). Nebraska was admitted to statehood by proclamation of the president March 1, 1867, in its territorial form (Stat. 14, App. 9, p. 820).

The territory of Colorado was formed by the act of February 28, 1861. Its northern boundary was the forty-first parallel; its southern, the thirty-seventh parallel; its eastern, the twenty-fifth meridian; and its western, the thirty-second meridian (Stat. 12, p. 172; Mercer's Maps, 68). It became a state August 1, 1876 (Stat. 19, p. 665; enabling act, March 3, 1875, Stat. 18, pt. 3, p. 474; Mercer's Maps, 81).

Dakota territory was organized by act of March 2, 1861. It comprised all the territory west of Iowa and Minnesota and north of the forty-third parallel — except the strip between the parallel and the Keya Paha and Niobrara rivers — to the Rocky mountains on the west (Stat. 12, p. 239; Mercer's Maps, 69). The same act extended the boundary of Nebraska to take in the parts of Utah and Washington east of the thirty-third meridian and between the forty-first and forty-third parallels of latitude (same map). Thus, for a time, Nebraska territory extended outside the Purchase. Washington territory ran down on the east of the Oregon territory to the forty-second parallel, the north boundary of Utah.

By act of March 3, 1863, the territory of Idaho was formed (Stat. 12, p. 808; Mercer's Maps, 72). It extended between the Canadian boundary on the north; the twenty-seventh meridian on the east; the forty-first parallel — the Colorado boundary — west to the thirty-third meridian, north on that meridian to the 42d parallel, thence west to the southeast corner of Oregon. It ran west to the Oregon boundary, and the 40th meridian separated it from Washington. It left Washington in its present form (Illustrated History of Nebraska, v. 1, p. 573).

Montana territory was formed out of Idaho by the act of May 26, 1864. It was bounded on the east by the twenty-seventh meridian — the west side of Dakota — south by the forty-fifth parallel to the thirty-fourth merid-

ian, then down to $44^{\circ} 30'$, then west to the crest of the Rocky mountains; north along the crest of the Rocky mountains to the Bitter Root mountains, then, instead of following the crest of the Rocky mountains — the Purchase line — it followed the crest of the Bitter Root mountains to the thirty-ninth meridian and along that meridian to the British line (Stat. 13, p. 85; Mercer's Maps, 74). Also all of Idaho west of Dakota and Nebraska — the twenty-seventh meridian — between the forty-first and forty-fifth parallels, to the thirty-third meridian, with a northwest projection from the point where the thirty-third meridian intersects the crest of the Rocky mountains, along that crest to its intersection with $44^{\circ} 30'$, thence east to the thirty-fourth meridian, then north to the forty-fifth parallel, was added to Dakota (Mercer's Maps, 74).

July 25, 1868, the territory of Wyoming was formed out of this part of Dakota, except that a straight line on the thirty-fourth meridian made the west boundary, leaving Idaho in its present form (Stat. 15, p. 178; Mercer's Maps, 80). By act of March 28, 1882, that part of the territory of Dakota south of the forty-third parallel, east of its contact with the Keya Paha river was added to Nebraska (Stat. 22, p. 35; Mercer's Maps, 82).

August 1, 1876, Colorado became a state in its territorial form (Stat. 19, p. 665; Mercer's Maps, 81).

North Dakota and South Dakota became states November 2, 1889, taking in the full territorial area (Stat. 25, p. 676; Procs. 5 and 6, Stat. 26, pp. 1548 and 1549; Mercer's Maps, 83).

Washington became a state November 11,, 1889, with the same boundaries as the territory, the eastern boundary being the fortieth meridian (Stat. 25, p. 676; Proc. 8, Stat. 26, p. 1552; Mercer's Maps, 85).

Montana became a state November 8, 1889, with its territorial area (Stat. 25, p. 676; Proc. 7, Stat. 26, p. 1551; Mercer's Maps, 84).

By act of May 2, 1890, Oklahoma territory was organized out of the Indian Territory (Stat. 26, p. 81; Mercer's Maps, 86).

Idaho became a state July 3, 1890, with its territorial form (Stat. 26, p. 215; Mercer's Maps, 87).

Wyoming became a state July 10, 1890, with its territorial form (Stat. 26, p. 222; Mercer's Maps, 88).

The Cherokee outlet was opened to settlement September 16, 1893, by proclamation of the president (Stat. 28, p. 1222; Mercer's Maps, 89). It contained 8,144,682.91 acres now in the state of Oklahoma. It was bought of the Cherokee Indians by authority of an executive order dated December 19, 1891 (Ex. Doc. 56, 1st Sess. 52d Cong.), and an act of congress March 3, 1893 (Stat. 27, p. 640), and lay between the 96th and 100th degrees of west longitude, the state of Kansas on the north and the territory of Oklahoma, the Creek nation and the Cheyenne and Arapaho reservations on the south. All of the Purchase, except the Indian Territory, had now become regularly organized under state or territorial government. Its organization under state government was completed by the admission of Oklahoma and Indian Territory as a state through the enabling act of June 16, 1906 (Stat. 34, pt. 1, p. 267), and the proclamation of the president November 16, 1907 (Stat. 35, pt. 2, p. 2160).

NOTE.— Mercer's Maps are in the library of the University of Nebraska.



GENERAL RICHARD C. DRUM

Died October 15, 1909

REMINISCENCES OF THE INDIAN FIGHT AT ASH HOLLOW, 1855

BY GENERAL RICHARD C. DRUM

[General Richard C. Drum took part as a first lieutenant in Company G, Fourth U. S. artillery; he remained with that company until appointed captain and assistant adjutant general March 16, 1861—retired as adjutant general, U. S. A., 1889, May 28. Written at the request of Mr. Robert Harvey of Lincoln, Nebraska.]

The campaign against the Sioux in 1855 was laid out on a rather large scale for the time. The garrisons at Forts Kearny and Laramie were largely increased, and Fort Pierre was acquired and garrisoned by a regiment of infantry, with the view of operating against the Sioux from the north. General Harney, in July of that year, having waited at Fort Leavenworth until the infantry of the expedition had got into position and the grazing was sufficient for the mounted forces, left that post with the Second dragoons, under Lieutenant Colonel Cooke, and Light Company G, Fourth artillery, mounted and equipped as riflemen.

The occasion of the expedition was the depredations by the Sioux on the Overland mail route between Fort Laramie and the South Fork of the Platte river, and the subsequent attack on a detachment under Lieutenant Grattan, in which the troops were defeated and the officer killed.

Some time after the battle which occurred between Harney's forces and the Sioux, at a talk which he had with Little Thunder and his principal men, one of the chiefs said that the reason the Indians dared to risk incurring the displeasure of the Whites was that for some years they had seen so many people pass from the East to the West that

they thought they could whip all that were left in the East. This, of course, had reference to the great immigration from 1849 to 1853 and 1854. After this statement General Harney called back for a private talk one of the chiefs who wore the medal of the president, only given to those chiefs who had visited Washington to see the "Great Father." He said to him that he who had seen how many people there were in the United States could have corrected this impression, etc., to which the chief replied in substance that had any one told of all that he had seen while in the East he would have been disbelieved and consequently would have lost all power and authority among his people.

General Harney's active force, consisting of the dragoons and artillery and the six regiments of infantry under Lieutenant Colonel Cooke, united at Fort Kearny and moved up the Platte. From rumors set afloat by the scouts everyone expected that we would meet the Indians at a place between the North and South Forks of the Platte, known as "Ash Hollow"—and as the command approached that point its movements and disposition had reference to the expected attack.

We crossed the South Fork, but when we reached Ash Hollow the Indians, apparently, had left a day or two before. We continued the march to the North Fork and went into camp on that stream, a short distance above where the Hollow debouched on it. There was a stream entering the North Fork of the river from the northwest of which, at that time, we had no knowledge, its mouth being some miles above where we camped. That evening the scouts reported the Indians in camp about — miles up this stream. Arrangements were at once made to attack the Indians at daylight. At ten o'clock that night we forded the North Fork; and this, I may be permitted to say, was the most disagreeable night duty I ever performed, for we had to recross the stream on the

night of the battle, bringing with us the captives taken in the fight. At the point of crossing the river is very wide, interspersed with little islands and full of quicksands — while recrossing that night, it was in the midst of one of the severest thunder storms, and intensely dark — and there was no landmark to guide the force composing the rear guard — the mounted part of which I had the command — with the Indian prisoners.

Any one familiar with this stream can appreciate the difficulty. Along the stream on which, we were informed, the Indians were camped, there was a high ridge of hills, running parallel with the general course of the river. The command of mounted men, the company of light artillery leading, moved up south of this range for several miles until we reached a depression, when we turned to the left and struck the stream a short distance above the Indian camp, where the force was dismounted and the men hidden as well as possible in the high grass. The Indians were still asleep and had no knowledge of our near proximity. The general plan of attack was for the mounted force to take position on the river above the Indian camp before daylight, at which time the infantry command would commence its march directly up the stream — called by us the “Blue river” or in Indian, “Minne-to-wauk-pala” — and when it came within striking distance the mounted force would make the attack from above and try to hem the Indians between the two forces.

The first knowledge the Indians had of our nearness, or of the contemplated attack, was the movement of the infantry up the Blue, and at once they commenced to strike their lodges. An Indian woman with two children who was making her escape up the stream saw us when she reached the high ground opposite where the mounted force was concealed and at once retraced her steps and alarmed her people. At once the chiefs donned their

“war bonnets” and rode down to a point on the stream — opposite — and commenced to utter challenges, etc.

Being discovered, Lieutenant Colonel Cooke at once mounted his force and advanced on the Indians. The hostiles had taken a position on a hill immediately in the rear of their camp; the top of which was level and covered by a dense undergrowth. Lieutenant Colonel Cooke disposed of his forces in such a manner that if the Indians retreated in the direction of the North Fork part of his force of dragoons would be at once on their heels; if, instead, they retreated to the north another force of cavalry would be in close pursuit.

The light artillery company under the command of Captain Howe was dismounted and engaged the Indians on foot; this advanced with remarkable coolness and steadiness, and after a short struggle drove the Indians from their position; they fell back to the foot of the hill where their horses were concealed, mounted and rode to the north, pursued by all the mounted force except a detachment of sixty-five men and a lieutenant — which was left to fight the Indians who had secreted themselves in the slopes of the hill. The Indians retreated through a gap in the range of hills bordering the river on the south and fell back about three miles to a range of hills in which they took up a strong position, the mounted force being in close pursuit and at once engaged them under Captain Steele. In the meantime General Harney — accompanied by the infantry — (who was too late to engage in the battle in the first position and too exhausted to join in the pursuit of the Indians to their second position) took up a stand on the highest of the hills where he could overlook the operations taking place under Steele and in [on] the hill where we first attacked the Indians.

The officer left in command of the detachment in the first position soon found that the hill immediately facing

the river was a rotten limestone formation and filled with little caves, overgrown by a dense undergrowth which entirely hid the mouths of the caves, and that the shots heard — and felt — came from Indians hidden in them. The force was at once disposed at long intervals so as to cover the entire north face of the hill, and in this position, without cover of any kind, continued to engage the Indians, until in passing round his line giving directions and encouraging his men in their exposed position he heard the piercing cry of a child, and at once sounded the signal to cease firing, and the men immediately brought their pieces to an order. This was the first indication that the women and children were concealed in the caves and under our fire. All the male Indians had, by this time, been killed except two, who, seeing the men bring their pieces to an order, jumped, raced, and thus got away. As it was, we killed twelve bucks and captured all the women and children in the caves, some of them being terribly wounded.

Having completed the work assigned me I proceeded with my detachment and reported to General Harney who again detached me to report to and to reinforce Captain Steele. When I reported the day had far advanced, and Captain Steele, finding it impossible to dislodge the Indians, decided to withdraw and ordered me to cover his rear and follow over the ground pursued by the enemy in their retreat. When I moved out from Harney's headquarters down the steep slope, I said to the junior officer, Lieutenant Mendenhall, that there were evidently Indians in the deep grass just ahead of us, and as a small hill intervened, if he would move rapidly to the left I would make a dash toward the object, indicating Indians. He did so, and I rushed at the object and there found only a little child naked, save for a scarf around its waist in which a little puppy was wrapped. I directed a sergeant to pick up

the child, which he attempted to do, but it bit and scratched him until he had to put it down. I then gave him my canteen in which I had a lemonade with a fair amount of whiskey in it, and as soon as the little thing tasted it she was appeased and allowed the sergeant to lift her in front of him on the saddle; and so we rode into the place where the first fight took place and thence to our camp on the North Platte; then later continued to the opposite shore near the mouth of the Blue. Here we remained during the construction of Fort Grattan situated at the mouth of Ash Hollow, and I got the company tailor to make her some garments out of my "hickory shirts", and a skillful man in the company made her a medallion from the tin foil in which I kept my tobacco, which delighted her as much as the food given her, especially the stewed dried fruit, which she ate ravenously. In a short time she suffered distressingly from what seemed to me like earache, and by the advice of the surgeon I sent her to the camp of the prisoners. To complete this part of my story, at the request of my and your friend, Mr. Harvey, I will add that the next spring, when I returned to my station after a leave of absence, I met the chief of guides, and he told me the five hostages given by the Sioux after their treaty were in confinement at Fort Leavenworth and asked if I would not like to see them. Of course, I said I would, and went with him to their quarters. It is a difficult, and to me a very tiresome thing to converse with Indians through an interpreter, but I said the usual "How!" and among many questions inquired about the little girl, telling them how she fell into my hands, etc., and of my interest in her. These Indian hostages were the sons of five chiefs, and there was one woman with them who spoke aside to one of the young chiefs, who at once said, "Why does he ask?" I replied that it was because I had captured the child and had become quite attached

to her. He immediately advanced and placing his hand on my shoulder said that she had died. This demonstration, so unusual in an Indian, made me ask the guide who he was. He told me that he was Spotted Tail, the son of Little Thunder who commanded at the battle on the Blue Water. I have been told that Spotted Tail who succeeded his father, Little Thunder, as chief of the Brulé band of Sioux, never after engaged in hostilities against the whites, though it is believed by many that he had just cause to do so.

When I returned to the scene where I had fought the Indians in their caves in the hills I commenced to remove the women and children and to take such care of them as circumstances permitted. Some of them were dreadfully wounded — even after all these years I could not go into the distressing details. There was one case in which those of us on the rear guard became much interested. It was that of a young woman with her first child who was badly wounded in both legs. She had evidently been holding her baby between her knees and the bullet had passed through her legs and through the child's knees. It was, no doubt, the shrill cry of this child, when hurt, that caused me to cease firing and, as I mentioned before, gave me the first intimation of there being women and children among the Indians.

In all my life I have never seen such grief as that of this poor woman. We did what we could with the means at our disposal (for the doctors were all with the troops who were returning to camp, so knew nothing of the distressing condition of the wounded women and children). I had awnings put up on the slope to the stream so as to give them what shelter was possible and got water for them to drink and to bathe their wounds; but the woman who had been wounded, with her child, was aside from her companions and seemed helpless from intense grief. One

of the soldiers kindly went to her assistance and when the water he used on her removed the dirt, I found that she was undoubtedly a white woman. I at once went to the commander of the rear guard, Major Samuel Woods, an old campaigner, and reported the fact. He gave me what directions he thought necessary and further developments convinced him, as well as myself, that the woman had evidently been captured in her childhood and grown up among the Indians; for in every respect she was a thorough hostile, except in the display of her grief at the loss of her child—for it is well known that the Indian is rarely demonstrative in sorrow.

When General Harney concluded to build a temporary defensive work on the North Fork, opposite the mouth of Ash Hollow, he moved the mounted troops to the north side of the river, where they remained in camp until the work was completed, when the whole command moved on to Fort Laramie, sending the Indian prisoners back to Fort Kearny.

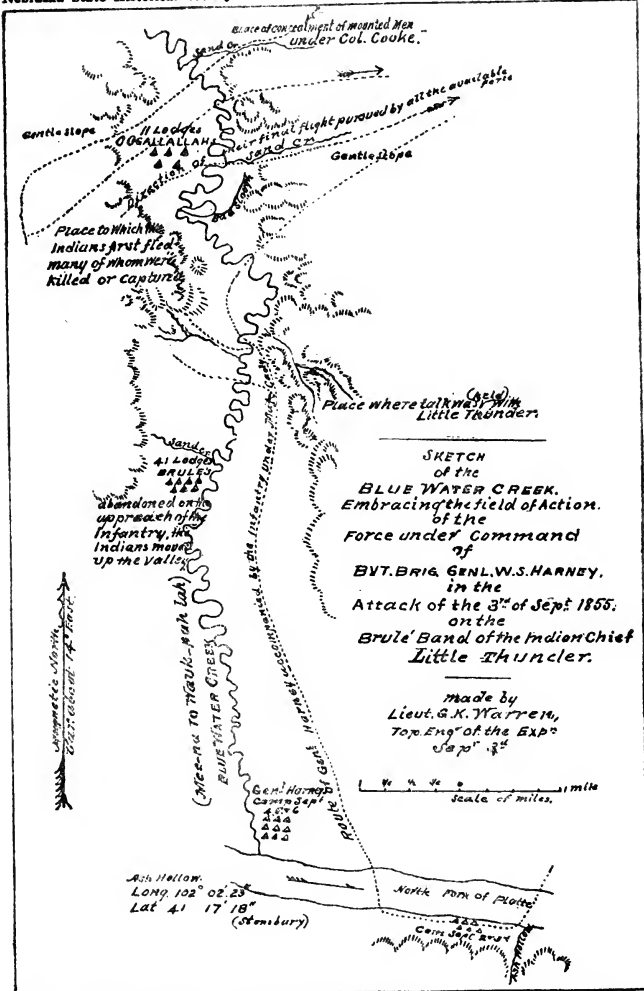
The Indians engaged in the Blue Water battle were the Brulé, the Ogalala and Minneconjou Sioux and a party of Northern Cheyenne, under Little Butte, who was killed in the action, the whole under command of Little Thunder, the chief of the Brulé.

[Copied from the manuscript of General R. C. Drum, adjutant general, U. S. A., retired. Langdrum Farm, 1908].

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Map of Ash Hollow battle field, made by Lieut. G. K. Warren, and retraced by Robert Harvey.

THE BATTLE GROUND OF ASH HOLLOW

BY ROBERT HARVEY

The battle of Ash Hollow was fought September 3, 1855, between United States forces under General W. S. Harney, consisting of Companies E and K of the Second dragoons, Light Company G, Fourth artillery (mounted), Company E, Tenth infantry, under Lieutenant Colonel P. St. George Cooke, Companies A, E, H, I and K, Sixth infantry, commanded by Major A. Cady — nine companies in all — and the Brulé Sioux under Little Thunder and a band of Ogalala, Minneconjou and Northern Cheyenne under Little Butte, all estimated at 700 warriors.

During the half century and more since the battle it has been generally supposed, on account of its name that it took place in Ash Hollow, while in fact it occurred more than six miles to the northwest on the opposite side of the Platte river.¹ Ash Hollow begins about four miles

¹ The battle naturally and properly acquired the name of Ash Hollow because that was the familiar name of a famous point on the great California and Oregon road and it was the place nearest the battle ground that possessed a name, the actual vicinity of the struggle being unknown to white people. Colonel Steptoe's report of his expedition of 1854 says that Harney's recent conflict with the Brulé Sioux was at Ash Hollow on the south bank of the north fork of the Platte and upon the emigrant road. Though Colonel Steptoe ought to have been more explicit yet, since Ash Hollow was really the base of the battle, and considering the relative unimportance of the affair which was not above a skirmish, the inaccuracy is not surprising. It appears that General Harney threw up earthworks a few rods east of the site of his Ash Hollow camp — as Warren's sketch places it — where he remained until October 1, when he resumed his march to Ft. Pierre. In 1904 the editor discovered the ridges and depressions which were the only remains or evidences of the fortification. The temporary post was very appropriately called Ft. Grattan in memory of the massacre which General Harney's expedition avenged. See *Illustrated History of Nebraska*, v. 2, pp. 167, 168.— Ed.

south of the North Platte river, and the main cañon is formed by the confluence of several branches which drop quite abruptly from the table-land, at an elevation of about five hundred feet, forming a broad flat ravine which runs almost north and debouches into the river valley. Its mouth is probably two hundred yards wide.² The river valley at this point is about a quarter of a mile wide. About half a mile up the cañon from its mouth there was a little round grove of ash timber, surrounded by gravel washed from the hills. In this beautiful oasis was a splendid spring of water and nearby a log house built by trappers in 1846.

In his report of the battle to the war department, dated September 5, 1855, General Harney says that he arrived at Ash Hollow on the evening of the 2d, and ascertained that the Brulé Sioux under Chief Little Thunder were encamped on Blue Water creek (Mee-na-to-wah-pah) about six miles northwest and four miles from the left bank of the North Platte. He at once made his dispositions for attacking them. The cavalry, under St. George Cooke, was ordered to make a detour over the table-land of Blue Water creek to intercept and attack the Indians from the north, while the infantry, under Major Cady, accompanied by General Harney, moved later and proceeded up the valley to attack from below, thus placing the Indians between two forces. The cavalry moved at three o'clock on the morning of the 3d, proceeded up the valley, ascended the bluffs and marched along the table-land, taking a favorable position to cut off the Indians from retreat to the Sand Buttes, the reputed stronghold of the Sioux.

² The altitude of the plain at the head of the main branch of Ash Hollow, which the road follows, is 3,763 feet and that of the river bottom below, 3,314 feet. It is four miles from the point at which the hollow or cañon begins to descend from the plain to the river.—Ed.

The infantry moved out of camp later and proceeded up the valley of the Blue Water; but before it reached the principal village the lodges were struck, and the Indians retreated rapidly up the valley in the direction of the mounted troops. Before collision of the hostile forces a parley was held between General Harney and Chief Little Thunder, in which the general explained the government's grievance, and in closing the interview told the chief that his people had depredated upon and insulted the whites, while quietly passing through the country; that they had wantonly, and in the most aggravated manner, massacred our soldiers, and now the day of retribution had come; that since Little Thunder had professed friendship for the whites he did not wish to harm him personally, but he must either deliver up the young men, whom he acknowledged he could not control, or they must suffer the consequences of their wrong doing in battle. "The chief, not being able to deliver up all the butchers of our people, however willing he might have been, returned to his band to warn and prepare them for the contest which must follow." Immediately after his departure the leading company, Captain Todd's, as skirmishers, supported by Company H, advanced and engaged the enemy in their last position on the bluffs on the right bank of the creek and drove them into the snare laid by the cavalry, which in turn charged them. They then retreated across the creek and assumed a strong position in the rugged bluffs beyond from which they could not be driven without heavy loss, whereupon the troops were withdrawn and returned to camp.

The Indian loss in the engagement, as reported by General Harney, was eighty-six killed, including one chief, five wounded and about seventy women and children captured. The casualties of the troops were four killed, four severely wounded, three slightly wounded and one missing. A large amount of provisions and camp equipage,

nearly all the enemy possessed, was captured and hauled to camp for the use of the troops. Lieutenant Drum, of the light artillery company, was detailed to care for the wounded of both combatants who were conveyed to improvised hospital quarters on the banks of the Platte, where all received medical treatment by Assistant Surgeon Ridgely.

The general included in his report a sketch of the ground on which the battle was fought, drawn by Lieutenant Warren, topographical engineer; he also forwarded a number of papers found in the baggage of the Indians taken, as shown by the marks and dates, at the time of the massacre and plundering of the mail in November, 1854. There were also in possession of the officers and men the scalps of the two white women and remnants of clothing, etc., carried away by the Indians engaged in the massacre of the detachment of twenty-six men under Lieutenant John L. Grattan.³

³ General Harney's report of the battle of Ash Hollow is published in full in the History of Nebraska, v. 2, p. 150, and in the report of the secretary of war — Jefferson Davis — for 1855, messages and documents 1855-6, part 2, p. 49. General Harney's report was addressed to Lieutenant Colonel L. Thomas, Assistant Adjutant General, who endorsed it thus: "Respectfully forwarded to the adjutant general by direction of the general-in-chief (Winfield Scott) who highly approves of the conduct of Brevet Brigadier General Harney and his command." General Harney's victory was freely denounced as an unwarranted butchery, especially by agents of the Indian bureau. Dr. Geo. L. Miller also denounced Harney for the massacre in his newspaper, the *Omaha Herald*, and in a paper published in the proceedings of the Historical Society, v. 3, p. 120, he marveled that General Harney could "shoot down not less than sixty Indians at Ash Hollow, including more than one woman, as a punishment for offenses which, in my belief, they never committed, without any compunction of conscience or emotion of sympathy with human suffering". While Dr. Miller was partly right yet a more critical and general view of the incident shows that even if these Indians were not guilty of the Grattan massacre yet they were a bloodthirsty and murderous lot and it was necessary to punish them or else discontinue the westerly progress of white settlement. In the very nature of the case this drastic treatment of the unfortunate Sioux was inevitable.—Ed.

So great had been my faith in the current report of the tragedy of Ash Hollow that on a hot July afternoon in 1869, in company with three others, I walked several miles through an Indian infested country to see the battle ground; and again, in 1874, with four others, camped a whole day on the ground and searched all over the field for evidences of the conflict, such as arrowheads, bullets, human bones, etc; and all we could find was a few bullets. After reading Harney's report, I learned that Lieutenant Drum, who commanded Company G of light artillery in the battle and was afterward adjutant general of the regular army, lived in the vicinity of Washington, D. C., and in March, 1907, I visited him with the purpose of getting further particulars of the battle. When I informed him of the object of my visit he replied with much animation, "Part of my military life was spent in Nebraska, I loved its broad, fertile prairies and pure air, and I am always glad to welcome Nebraska people, among whom I have some warm personal friends."

He then narrated his recollections of the battle, how the cavalry, to which his company was temporarily attached as mounted infantry, moved out in the night, crossing the river among a lot of small islands, or "towheads", marched over the table-land and descended into Blue creek valley through a hollow with a little brook, and concealed themselves in the grass just above the upper camp of Indians, as day was beginning to dawn. The plan of battle was for the cavalry to gain possession of the creek above the Indian camp before daylight and wait the attack of the infantry from below, the mounted force to attack from above and try to hem the Indians between the two forces. The first information of the approach of the soldiers received by the Indians was given by a squaw and two children who were leading a pony toward their camp before daylight, and hearing the noise of the march, gave

the alarm. Both parties were taken by surprise, and not daring to wait for the infantry to attack, Colonel Cooke made such a disposition of his force as to fight the Indians in front with the dismounted light artillery company, while the mounted dragoons could pursue, should they attempt to escape by either flank. The Indians took possession of a hill with a level summit immediately in the rear of their camp, when the light artillery company dismounted, engaged them on foot and after a short struggle drove them from their position.

In the disposition of the attacking forces Captain Heth disobeyed orders, which enabled the enemy to throw a heavy volley of bullets and arrows into the artillery company, killing and wounding several men and affording the Indians opportunity to escape across the river to the left bank and into the bluffs. They were pursued by the mounted force to a strong position in the hills about three miles distant, from which they could not be dislodged. Lieutenant Drum was left in command of his company to finish the fight in the first position. When General Harney arrived he took a position on the highest hill, where he could overlook the operations of the cavalry under Captain Steele and the hill where Drum was trying to drive the enemy from the caves.

When the fight along the front of the limestone bluff had progressed for some time the cry of a child was heard, the first intimation that women and children were concealed in the caves and behind the rocks. Orders were given to cease firing, which gave two Indians a chance to escape, but twelve warriors were killed and all the women and children were captured. On their return to camp Lieutenant Drum had charge of the wounded and captives. The first great battle in Nebraska Territory between the Sioux and the United States came to an end late in the afternoon with results already indicated.

General Drum called my attention to several prominent topographical features of the country which might assist in identifying the battle field. His memory of the battle, though it had occurred fifty-two years before, was so vivid that I begged him to write out with his own hand a brief account of it for filing among the papers of the Historical Society. Though it was difficult for the aged veteran to write, on account of the crippled condition of his right hand, he generously complied with my request and his valuable contributions are a part of the records of the society, together with Lieutenant Warren's sketch obtained from the war department.

On the fourth of July, 1908, I visited the valley of Blue Water creek, having with me Lieutenant Warren's sketch and Drum's narrative. The creek is a beautiful stream of clear, cold water, about two rods wide and two feet deep. The wagon road up the Blue leaves the Platte valley and ascends a long, easy slope to the summit of the ridge, forming the point or headland between the valleys of the two rivers. Looking northward from this summit there is a magnificent view of the Blue creek valley. About a mile northwesterly, on the right bank of the creek, stands the sentinel of the valley, a towering butte or sharply defined, flat-topped hill, separated by a few hundred feet from the main bluff. It forms the north end of a ridge which descends southeasterly to the valley, around which the creek flows, turning westward for a quarter of a mile, then south, washing the western base of a rocky point of the bluff on the east bank. This point is directly on the fourth standard parallel, between townships 16 and 17, north, range 42 west.

A sandy draw descends from the western bluffs, crosses the valley and enters the creek south of the point. Lieutenant Warren's map shows the trail of the infantry column crossing to the west bank of the creek at the mouth

of a ravine, then swinging around to the east and recrossing to the left bank about a mile north of the rocky point and half a mile east of the butte. It then continues in a northeasterly course across the valley into the bluffs in the direction taken by the fleeing Indians, pursued by the infantry. Little Thunder's band of forty-one lodges is shown on the west side of the creek, two miles south. These Indians struck their lodges and retreated up the valley before their parley with General Harney, after which they took up a position on the high bluffs on the right bank. The conditions lead one to the conclusion that after the parley the troops ascending the valley crossed to the right bank to avoid the abrupt bluff of rotten stone along the west base of which the stream runs; proceeding up the valley they were again forced to swing to the east and recross to the left bank, after having driven the enemy from the bluffs on the right bank, the base of which is also washed by the creek.

From this point, up the stream for five or six miles, the valley is about half a mile in width, without bushes or trees. Projecting rocks line the steep bluffs on either side with scattering small cedars along the slopes and considerable thickets in the gulches. The valley is not flat, but slopes from the bluffs to the first bench. Through the narrow, low bottom the creek turns and bends in sharp curves, which almost touch each other in opposite reaches. The landscape is pleasing and, coupled with the tragedy of more than half a century ago, it is extremely interesting.

About a mile and a half north of the butte a cañon comes down from the eastern table-land, plowing its way through the rock and forming on the north, perpendicular walls and cliffs. In the bottom of the cañon runs a little spring brook on the bank of which, among the trees, is the house of Mr. S. P. Delatour, an intelligent cattleman of more than twenty years' residence in the valley. I lodged

with him, and together we went over the ground covered by the sketch and narrative. Mr. Delatour said that when he settled there cedars filled the pockets and fringed the bluffs. These have all been cut away. The "rotten limestone" had disintegrated and been washed down, the creek in many places had changed its course, and the continual grazing of the cattle had in some cases converted tule marshes into hay land. So when I came away it was with a feeling that little had been accomplished.

In the latter part of October, while waiting for my train at Llewellyn, which ran only semi-weekly, I again visited the valley; and when I stood on the rocky point, crossed by the fourth parallel, and looked over the lower valley and the sand draw from the west, I perceived that the infantry's line of march, with its train of wagons had been directed across the creek to avoid the rocky bluff, and then swung to the right around the bend of the river, recrossing below the next bluff; and the commanding position of the butte — a veritable little round top — and the adjacent ridge, and I was satisfied that I looked upon a part of the battle field. I went up the valley nine miles to the "Big Gusher", a magnificent spring, situated beyond the outcropping rock and abrupt bluffs, compared my data with those Mr. Delatour had gathered since July from repeated examinations of the valley; and the next morning I examined the western bluffs and the river valley between the butte and Cheyenne Pass. Bearing in mind what Mr. Delatour had said about the transformation of shallow marshes into hay flats by the trampling of cattle I could see the opening or retreat of the bluffs where the Ogalala were camped, west of Cheyenne Pass. Between this and the butte there is apparently an old marsh and a slough on the right bank of the creek. About half a mile south of Cheyenne Pass, on the east side of the creek, a sand draw comes out of the bluffs, corresponding to the

sand creek in Warren's map. Below Cheyenne Pass the creek runs tortuously in a southwesterly direction past a plat of low ground on the left bank, apparently at one time a shallow marsh with a short slough entering it, as shown in Warren's map. From this point the creek runs southeasterly past the northeast front of the butte to the point where the infantry is shown to have recrossed the creek, then westerly and southwesterly past the rocky point on the fourth standard parallel. The more the conditions and the topography of the country were studied, the more consistent did they appear; and I became convinced that the battle ground of Ash Hollow extended from the ridge on which the butte stood northward a mile and a half, and possibly two miles.

Nevertheless, all the meager details of the topographical features in the printed reports and accompanying map, together with traditionary stories and the memories of actual participants, dimmed by the lapse of more than half a century, furnish inadequate data from which to locate all the prominent positions occupied by the commanding forces. The point of attack in the morning by the cavalry on the upper camp, and that by the infantry on the Brulé, on the high bluffs, are to my mind the two prominent positions which should be specially located.

I am satisfied that I have located the bluffs occupied by the Brulé when attacked by the infantry and from which they fled across the creek into the rough country. To fix upon the upper position is a more difficult task and will require careful study and perhaps the services of persons experienced in Indian warfare, or of an actual participant in the battle.

I received the impression from General Drum that the Blue Water creek valley was about forty rods wide and bordered by high rugged bluffs and peaks. I found, however, that its width is nearer half a mile and that

the bluffs are not so rocky and precipitous as he thought, there being only one peak or butte that attracts particular attention. Having a kodak with me, I took several views of the west bluffs and two of the rocky and precipitous bluff on the cañon known as Cheyenne Pass, a copy of which I sent to General Drum to ascertain whether he recognized any of the landmarks. As I received no reply I am unable to claim any benefit from this part of my efforts. I have also had two other sets printed, one of which I have filed with my report on historic sites in the secretary's office.

General Drum narrated a number of personal incidents of the battle, one of which, although told in his story of the battle, I will repeat, as told to me.

"On our return from reinforcing Captain Steele", said the general, "riding down the steep hill from General Harney's headquarters, I saw a disturbance in the deep grass just ahead and said to the officer with me that there were Indians hiding and if he would make a rapid movement to the right I would make a dash for the object. He did so and I made a rush but found only a little child, naked, excepting a scarf around its waist, in which was a little puppy dog. I told the sergeant to pick it up, and as he did so it scratched and bit like a wildcat. Having a lemonade in my canteen with a little whiskey, and knowing the mollifying effects of the decoction on Indian temper, I handed it to the sergeant to give the waif a sip, which had a happy effect. He carried the foundling to camp and I had it cared for in my tent. I got the tailor to make a dress for it out of some hickory shirting and had its meals brought to my quarters with my own. The child relished the fruit and other delicacies which I specially ordered and the men gave it trinkets which pleased it very much; so that in a few days it appeared to be reconciled to its new mode of living. But soon the little thing became afflicted with the earache, and I sent for the surgeon who advised, since we could not understand each other's language and I was not prepared to care for such a patient,

that I send it over to the captive Indian women who would know how to care for it.

“The next spring, on my return from my leave of absence, I reported at Ft. Leavenworth, and as I passed down the street an officer hailed me and wanted to know if I did not want to see the hostages given up by the Indians as a guaranty of their future good behavior. I went with him and talked with the young Indians. Before leaving I inquired about the little child I had returned sick to the captives, when a woman placed her hand on the shoulder of a young, handsome and stalwart Indian and whispered to him. The young fellow came across the room, placed his hands on my shoulders and looked down into my face with a long and steady gaze, then dropped them and returned to the woman.”

While telling the story the general rose from his chair, placed his hands on my shoulders and dropping them in imitation of the Indian said: “When I returned the Indian’s gaze, I thought I could see deep in his eyes and the expression of his face, a depth of feeling and emotion veiled in Indian stoicism I could not understand; but on inquiry who he was, I learned that he and the woman were the dead child’s parents.”

When the general stood before me with his hands on my shoulders and looking into my face while telling the story, I thought I could see water springing into his eyes. “I became well acquainted with that Indian in after years”, he continued, “and I often thought I would ask him if my caring for his child had any influence in making him a friend of the whites.” The general then revealed the dramatic fact that the father of the foundling was no less a personage than Spotted Tail, who became the famous chief of the Brulé Sioux and the steadfast friend of the whites. Those of us who were engaged in the surveying in Brulé territory during the Sioux wars, learned that when we were intercepted by Spotted Tail’s men, no great harm would befall us.

Before taking my leave, the general said: "If it is the intention of the state of Nebraska, through its Historical Society, to erect a monument to the valor of the American troops at Ash Hollow, I want to enter my earnest protest in behalf of my comrades. Let the monument commemorate the valor of the American soldiers and the bravery of the Sioux Indians." Should the society erect such a monument I hope that the request of General Drum will be respected.

THE LAST BATTLE OF THE PAWNEE WITH THE SIOUX

BY WILLIAM Z. TAYLOR

During the heavy snow storm of April, 1873, I came to Lincoln from Burlington, Iowa, my former home, and as soon as the road was open we boarded the first train for Lowell, the end of the Burlington & Missouri railroad at that time. The next day we went by stagecoach to Orleans, in the Republican valley. A few days later we organized a party to explore the upper Republican country and to hunt buffaloes. On the 25th of April we went into camp at the mouth of the Frenchman river, in Hitchcock county. My health was poor, but stimulated by the invigorating air and the sight of the thousands of buffaloes scattered over the most beautiful part of Nebraska I had seen, I decided to take my homestead right there; and I incidentally laid the foundation for the future town of Culbertson.

On the 4th of August, 1873, while we were building the first store in the new town of Culbertson, we learned that a band of about four hundred Pawnee, who had come from their reservation to hunt buffaloes, were in camp ten miles south on Driftwood creek. We drove to the camp and, finding that the Indians had gone northwest toward the Republican river, overtook and followed them until we came to the river where we left them. They crossed the river, went up what is now known as Massacre cañon about three miles, and camped at a point between the Republican and Frenchman rivers, about ten miles west of Culbertson. Notwithstanding that the Indians were well loaded with the dried meat and hides from about three

hundred buffaloes, the sight of a herd the next morning in the northeast, toward the Frenchman, tempted their hunters, and many of them went in pursuit, leaving the old men, squaws and children to pack the ponies and follow. No sooner were the hunters out of sight than a band of Sioux, bloodthirsty enemies of the Pawnee, pounced on the helpless remnant in the cañon below.

About noon that day, while we were at work on our building at Culbertson, we saw about thirty Indians dismounted and lined up on the hill about three hundred yards to the northwest of us, and making great effort to attract our attention. Our party, six in number and well armed, formed in line in front of them and laid our guns on the ground, the Indians doing the same. Then one of our party picked up his gun to indicate that only one of them should take his gun. After some time they understood that we wanted them to meet one of us half way, which was done and they proved to be Pawnee. We motioned for them to all come down, and by this time many of the survivors of the battle were in sight and in less than an hour about two hundred of them had gathered around us. There were squaws, many of them with their papooses strapped to their backs, and old men and young, all crying and pleading for protection, making a pitiful sight indeed. Their story was short. The attack was made from the west bank of the cañon, about the center of the camp, separating the occupants, a part of whom retreated northeast to the Frenchman and the rest down the cañon to the Republican. They met again at and below the mouth of the Frenchman. The Sioux followed them until long after dark. The fight or massacre occurred about nine or ten o'clock on the morning of August 5, 1873. The next morning we were on the battleground early, and the sight that greeted us will never be forgotten. The dead were scattered along the narrow cañon, half a mile or more. Seven bodies were piled in a pool of water, six

behind a small knoll on the side of the cañon, where they had taken refuge. Men, women and children lay scattered here and there, all scalped. One child about two years old had been scalped alive. About the 24th of the month a company of soldiers came from Ft. McPherson and buried the victims, sixty-five in number, in one hole in the side of the cañon, caving the bank in on them. The condition of the bodies after lying in the hot sun for twenty days must be imagined. We raised them up with a pitchfork, tied one end of a rope around each body, fastened the other end to the horn of a saddle and then dragged them to the grave. Several bodies were found afterward along the line of retreat, one of the wounded died near Culbertson, another at Indianola, and perhaps many others on the way to their reservation and after their arrival. Notwithstanding that the history fakers of the East would have it that the entire band was massacred, the loss did not exceed one hundred. The most notable of the dead were Sky Chief and Pawnee Mary, a white woman.

It has been said that the loss of the Sioux was never known, but I think we have almost positive proof that only six of them were killed. During the month of September we were hunting on the Frenchman and camped one night in the mouth of a cañon, about three miles west of the place where Palisade is now situated. In this cañon there were many large trees containing a considerable number of Indians, buried according to the Sioux custom of placing their dead on scaffolds in trees. Upon examination we found six that had been dead only a short time, and they had been killed with bullets. All of the Pawnee were killed with arrows, for though the Sioux were well armed with guns they doubtless preferred to use bows and arrows, fearing that the reports of guns might bring back the Pawnee hunters. To make sure that we had found the Sioux that were killed in the fight we followed their trail which led direct to the battle field.

THE INDIAN GHOST DANCE

[Address of Mr. James Mooney of the Bureau of American Ethnology at the annual meeting of the Nebraska State Historical Society, January 18, 1910.]

The boy starting out in life is eager and enthusiastic for every new enterprise. As responsibilities and cares increase he tries to limit his duties, and after a time he begins to count the disappointments and wonder whether it is all worth while. Then, as the years go by, when his wife is gone, his children buried or married away from him and the old friends, who were his partners in the things of life, are dead,—after a while he comes to the place where his dearest joy is to sit down and dream of the days that are past. This is a natural thing and universal in its human application. If it has not come to each one of us, it surely will come. This is the whole meaning of the Indian ghost dance. It is the dwelling upon the days that have gone before, with the hope that if the past itself cannot return we may find something of it on the other side. We have parallels in earlier periods of our own history in the shape of religious revivals or spiritual ecstasies which spread over great areas or among several nations at once. There have been several similar revivals of Indian thought and fervor in different parts of America in aboriginal times. One notable instance occurs in the history of Peru where, in 1781, a descendant of the ancient Inca kings arose among the Indians, preaching the doctrine that the old native empire was soon to be restored and that the hated Spanish conquerers and the whole white race would disappear from the earth. The result was a terrible war ending at last in the capture and death of the Inca and his chief supporters.

When France surrendered Canada to England the native tribes continued the struggle on their own account for some years, owing largely to the influence of a prophet who had arisen among them preaching a return to the old Indian customs and warning them that they had lost their lands and dominion because they had abandoned their native customs for those of the white man. He taught that the only way to recover their lost heritage was to throw away the tools and customs of the white man and return to the Indian dress and life, even discarding guns for the old-time bow and arrow. It was a very hard thing for them to do, but in a large measure they did it. That doctrine was taken up by nearly every tribe from the Alleghenies — then the Indian frontier — to the headwaters of the Mississippi river. The result was Pontiac's war. The same doctrine of return to the old Indian life was revived by the Shawnee prophet forty years later, leading up to the battle of Tippecanoe and the general Indian alliance against the Americans in the war of 1812.

About the year 1888 we began to hear of an Indian prophet in Nevada who was preaching to the Indians some new revelation that was not clearly understood among the whites, but believed to be an incitement to a general uprising along the western frontier. The agents and interpreters, not knowing what it meant, as nobody did except the Indians themselves, magnified the matter in such a way that the western people became alarmed. The government was worried about it, and the Indian office made some inquiry, but with no great result. The war department sent an officer to the Kiowa and Cheyenne of Oklahoma to learn what it meant, and, altogether, it looked as though there might be trouble.

Just at this crisis, in 1889, a treaty was negotiated with the Sioux, by which they sold one-half of their great reservation, the remainder being cut up into five smaller

reservations, and the ceded lands sold off to white settlers. The terms of this treaty had not been yet carried out, although the whites were already in possession of the lands thrown open. In addition to this cause of dissatisfaction, the rations were reduced without warning by about twenty per cent, so that when news of the new revelation reached the Sioux the ferment took on a critical aspect. As I was about to go to Oklahoma on ethnologic work, I asked to be allowed to look into the trouble. Permission was granted, and I left Washington in December, 1890, the month in which the unrest among the Sioux culminated in the killing of Sitting Bull and the massacre of Wounded Knee. I went first to the Cheyenne and Arapaho. The papers were saying that those tribes were in such a threatening attitude on account of the news from the north that it would be necessary to disarm them, and that if it could not be done peaceably a great many things were going to happen. It did not seem, however, that there was occasion for so much alarm because we all know how easy it is to exaggerate if you do not know. The danger is always greater before you encounter it.

At the Cheyenne agency I found things going on in the ordinary routine, except that the Indians were engaged in the ghost dance day and night. There was hardly a day when they did not dance, except that just at this particular period they had stopped for a while on account of a deep snow which compelled them to stay in their tipis. I began my inquiry in those two tribes because they were particularly interested in the new religion, and also because they had a large number of educated young men who could act as interpreters. Education seems to have stuck to the young men of the Cheyenne and Arapaho. They are more intelligent and reliable than those of some other tribes. The Arapaho are a particularly friendly people. Those of you who are acquainted with the history

of that tribe remember that it was generally on the friendly side in the pioneer times; and as a tribe the Arapaho never made war against the government, notwithstanding that there are many brave men among them. They have no hostile record, but they have been able to see that civilization is superior to savagery and that it had come to stay, and they have honestly tried to meet it half way and adopt it. They are naturally accommodating, kindly, and of friendly disposition. The Cheyenne, living with them upon the same reservation, are a people of good intellectual power, but of very different temperament. They are a pugnacious people, stand upon their dignity, and always want to know what you want to do it for. It is hard to convince them and get their consent to a proposition.

I found the two tribes thoroughly devoted to this new Indian religion. All the older ones, all the middle-aged, down to the boys and girls, even little children who were not much more than able to stand upon their feet, were in the dance day and night. They knew reports had gone abroad to the effect that they were contemplating mischief, but they knew the stories were untrue, so when they found that I had come out from Washington to investigate and to report the real truth, they were very anxious to explain conditions to me, so that Washington might know why they were dancing and that they were not going to hurt anybody.

There was a camp of Indian policemen over near the agency; and as the Arapaho police considered themselves a part of Washington, several of them invited me to come to their tipis at night where they would explain the religion and give me the songs. So with the help of these young men as interpreters and a half dozen of my police friends — and they are my friends today after all these years — I got the story and the songs. Among the interpreters I may name Robert Burns, a Cheyenne, clerk at the agency,

and one of the best specimens of an educated Indian I ever knew. His father had been killed at the Chivington massacre. Among others were Jesse Bent, an Arapaho, with a strain of white blood from the Bent family; Grant Left Hand, son of the old head chief of the Arapaho; Paul Boynton, half Cheyenne and half Arapaho; and Clever Warden, nephew of the noted Arapaho chief, Powder Face. Altogether, about half a dozen of these young men volunteered to help me. I did not have to ask them. They said, "We will help you. We are glad you are interested and we want the white people to understand." So we went out to the camp and they told me about the doctrine and the visions, sang the songs and explained them. They would give me one of the songs of the dance, reciting it word by word, while I wrote it down in the special alphabet which we have for recording Indian words, and repeating it patiently until I had it right. After we had been at work for a week or two I began to think about the business end of it and asked the police what I owed them. They said they did not want anything, that they were glad Washington had sent somebody out there to go back and tell the truth about their dance. So not one of them received a dollar or would take a dollar for his services. As a rule, of course, my Indian workers are paid for all they do, and never refuse money. Black Coyote, the head man of the Arapaho police, was one of those who had made a pilgrimage to the messiah in Nevada and received a message to teach the new religion to his people. The Arapaho are people of a spiritual tendency; and they were so much interested by the new religion that they took it upon themselves to be missionaries among the other tribes. As the Arapaho language is particularly suited to singing, the tribal songs were being sung by all the tribes in that section, whatever their language might be, including the Cheyenne, Arapaho, Caddo, Wichita, Kiowa, Comanche and one or two smaller tribes.

After being some time with the Cheyenne and Arapaho I went down to the Kiowa and found there one of the head men who had recently been to see the messiah in Nevada. He was not so favorably impressed and came back and reported adversely, so the Kiowa had temporarily lost confidence in the revelation, but later they took it up again. Their neighbors, the Caddo and Wichita, were heart and soul in the movement, but the Comanche never took much interest in it. The Cheyenne were not much interested because in the first place, as I have said, they are particularly proud and indisposed to take suggestions or advice from anybody else. Again, they have a very sacred medicine of their own, a bundle of "medicine arrows" around which all the ceremonial of the tribe centers. The Arapaho "medicine" is a sacred pipe which is kept by the band in Wyoming. The Comanche are skeptics by nature with very little ceremonial organization or ritual and no sun dance. They are a sort of Indian democrats, every man for himself. The Kiowa are strongly centralized, with their own tribal medicine and sun dance. They are open to suggestion and they took up this religion, dropped it when their delegate reported against it, and afterwards they lost confidence in him and his report and went back again to the ghost dance. The smaller tribes, having nearly lost their own old forms, were glad to take up the new ritual.

I am speaking of the dance as a religion because it is the ritual part of the religion itself. It should be understood also that this ghost dance religion was not an old institution among these people, but was an entirely new Indian religion. The older people doubted; but afterward some accepted while others continued to regret it, causing a good deal of feeling between the two parties. Later it was accepted by nearly all the tribes of the plains from the Saskatchewan river on the north down to Texas, and from the

Missouri river on the east to the Sierra Nevada and California on the west. It never made much headway in California, Arizona or New Mexico. Neither did the Omaha or Winnebago take much stock in it. In pursuing the investigation I visited most of the western tribes, so that I was able to map out the area of the dance.

While talking in the Arapaho tipis when the snow was too deep for dancing, the Indians told me many strange things which I could not understand, about trances and visions, until one of the educated young men related his own experience in the dance, which at once convinced me that hypnotism was its basis and stimulus. When the Indians began dancing again I went out with them, day after day and night after night. I saw the dance among the Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa, Caddo and Wichita, and in order to know and understand it more thoroughly I made myself a part of it.

At that time these tribes were very strict in the ceremonial. They were taught that they must return as nearly as possible to the old Indian dress and customs; so they discarded hats in the dance. The Kiowa and Comanche at that time did not wear hats, but the Cheyenne and Arapaho did, excepting in the dance. Those who were recognized as masters of the ceremony and particularly those who had been to see the messiah, the originator of the doctrine, wore crow feathers instead of hats; and some of the older women who were recognized as leaders in the same way were also privileged to wear the feathers. The fact that women were permitted to enter the circle and perform in the same way as the medicine men themselves showed that the ghost dance religion was a new departure among Indians. The dancers wore full suits of buckskin, but did not wear hats. In those days every man, woman and child had a buckskin suit. Their faces were painted in various colors and patterns. The women wore shawls

ornamented with ribbons and trimmed with little bells which jingled as they danced, broad belts studded with metal disks, and straps covered with German silver hanging at the side like sabers. They would begin the dance,—perhaps five hundred in one great circle — in the afternoon and keep it up until sundown; and after supper they would get together again and dance until about midnight and then disperse. In the dance they would sing songs that expressed the ideas of the new religion. They circled slowly around at first, but intermittently standing still with hands hanging by their sides. Then one of the leaders would start the song which all would repeat in a low tone and standing still. Then they would join hands and begin slowly circling around, singing as they went, the chorus gradually becoming louder until it could be heard several miles away. The performance had a weird aspect. The effect of the rythmic movement in a great circle, enhanced by strikingly picturesque apparel and loud, piercing song and all in the glamor of the boundless moonlit prairie can only be feebly imagined. Inside the circle the leaders were going through their part of the performance.

I shall now explain the meaning of it all as preached by the messiah, a young Piute, who lived in Nevada. He taught that the whole human race was of one kindred, and particularly that the Indians of the several tribes were all brothers and must give up tribal warfare and all thought of warfare with the whites. You can imagine what it meant to tell an Indian that he must quit thinking about war. It is all right for missionaries to tell him that, but when an Indian preached to Indians that they must quit fighting, that they must not kill one another, that they must not touch a white man, you can imagine what an entire change of the point of view of life that involved. It meant that they must forego the war dance and

the carrying of weapons in the ghost dance and, instead, cultivate a peaceful attitude of mind. The prophet taught that if they did these things, if they returned to the Indian dress and manner of life, if they wore the sacred feathers and danced this dance and sang these songs, and performed all the other requirements, after a while this old world would be done away with and instead of it there would be a new world which was being prepared for them, with their dead children, their fathers, mothers, and companions who had gone before, with the buffalo and other game, and the old Indian life in its entirety. The new world was already advancing from the west, and when it came it would push the white people before it to their own proper country across the ocean, and leave this country to the Indians, the original owners. When it arrived the feathers that the dancers wore on their heads would turn into wings by which they would mount up to the new earth. All this was to come without fighting, or any effort upon their part; they should only watch and pray in anticipation of it; and by doing as instructed, dancing and singing the songs, they would be enabled to see visions of what was to come, and to meet in advance and talk with their friends who had gone before. Consequently, they were all anxious to see the visions which appeared through the medium of hypnotism.

The self-appointed leaders, generally men but sometimes women, stood inside the circle as the dancers went round and round. All the songs were adapted to produce a sort of spiritual exaltation. They were sung with a certain formal step and measure,—rising and falling, and finally leading up to the highest pitch of excitement. As the dancers went round and round, first one and then another of the more sensitive subjects, perhaps those most anxiously praying to see some dead friends, would begin to lose control of themselves. As soon as this became

noticeable one of the men inside the circle would come over to the subject, holding in his hand a black scarf, suggestive of a crow, the crow being regarded as a messenger from the spirit world. He would wave this scarf before the eyes of the subject until the latter would break away from his partners and stagger into the ring. Then standing in front of the subject the hypnotizer would shake the black scarf in his face, crying, Huh! Huh! Huh! until it would have required a good deal of an effort even for a white man to keep his senses.

On two occasions my partner in the dance, a woman in each case, was seized in that way so that I was able to mark the phenomenon. The first indication would be a slight tremor of the hand, soon becoming more pronounced until it was evident that the subject was under very strong excitement. In a little while she would loose her hold, break away and stagger into the circle. Then the leader, or, perhaps, two or three together, would come over to her and work for the purpose of bringing her into a trance condition so that she might have one of the visions and be able to tell her experience at the next dance. The last stage was usually a strong shaking of the whole body, particularly the arms, increasing in violence until finally rigidity followed. I saw subjects standing rigid for ten minutes with one arm uplifted and eyes closed, while some five hundred people were circling around, until at last they fell unconscious. That condition might last for half an hour. I have seen young men and women in all stages of the trance,—sometimes as many as twenty scattered about, some trembling, some rigid, and some stretched out unconscious on the ground. Those in the trance were left undisturbed so that there should be no interference with the vision. There was no fear that they would not come out of it safely. The exhibition was very weird and uncanny, but there was nothing dangerous in the excitement.

As the unconsciousness passed off, usually the subject would groan a few times, then gradually sit up, and after a while be able to get up and stagger away through the circle and probably go home. It was then assumed that the subject or victim had experienced a vision; and under the circumstances, doubtless, there generally was a vision of what was believed to be coming in the near future. The successful subject would incorporate his fancies into a song which he would sing at the next dance. It is very easy for an Indian to make up a song — all he needs is rhythm; he does not require rhyme. The new song would be taken up and sung for some weeks, perhaps until it was superseded, after a while, by a new one. There were specific opening and closing songs, but all the others varied according to the fancies of the dancer.

I studied the dance in some twenty tribes in several different states and territories, — among them, the northern Arapaho. In this inquiry I visited Pine Ridge, South Dakota, shortly after the outbreak; and while the soldiers were still in camp there I went out to the Wounded Knee battle ground and talked with survivors on both sides of the fight, including Indians and interpreters. I am very glad to say as evidence of the closeness of my investigation that the war department corrected its list of killed from mine, which included both soldiers and civilians, and those who died later of wounds. In the same way I tried to get at the number of Indians killed in the fight which some placed as low as two hundred. For several reasons there was an effort to keep down the number, but I think three hundred Indians were killed at the Wounded Knee massacre. The fight was precipitated by a young Indian who lost his head and fired into the troops while the Indians were drawn up in a body to be disarmed. The troops fired back, and then indiscriminate firing began. When the Indians broke and ran for cover

the machine guns opened up and killed everything in sight. That was on December 30, 1890. With the exception of this trouble in the Sioux country the dance led to no serious result. One very important reason for the outbreak was the fact that the agent at Pine Ridge was a rank coward. If there had been such a man as McGillycuddy, or McLaughlin, in charge, there would not have been any trouble.

Later, in the middle of winter, I went out to the Piute in Nevada to see the messiah who had started the ghost dance. I first stopped about two weeks with his uncle, an old Piute, at Walker River reservation. After this man thought he knew me pretty well he was willing to go with me out to Mason Valley, where his nephew lived, and get him to tell me the whole story. He said his nephew was a very great wonder-worker; that he had a repertoire of songs by which he could make it rain or snow or stop raining or snowing. There was a young white man up that way who knew a good deal of the Piute language and Jack Wilson, the messiah, and he volunteered to go as interpreter. The old man could not speak English at all. We had considerable difficulty in getting out to the camp, which was close to the base of the Sierras. Not to go into details, it was one of the coldest nights I ever experienced, New Year's Eve, with a deep snow on the ground and clumps of sage brush scattered about as high as a small house. The old Indian's eyes were bad. He lost his way in the dark, and it looked for a while as if he had lost the rest of us, but after floundering around in the sage brush and snow for several hours we at last struck the camp, and by good luck found the messiah himself. After some explanation from his uncle, because he was very suspicious, he said if I would come around the next day he would talk with me.

I went out the next morning and talked with him about the dance and the religion, and then made his picture,

the only one ever made. From what he told me I decided that he was about forty years of age. He said his father had been a prophet before him, that a few years before the sun had died in the daytime (meaning that there had been an eclipse), that he had gone to sleep and in his sleep went up to heaven and saw the father and all the dead Indians. He talked with God and God told him all those things that he was now telling to the other Indians. He told him to get all the Indians together and teach them this dance and that after a while the new Indian world would come and they would be put upon it. He believed that he had a direct revelation from God and had been able to convince a large part of his tribe and delegates from other tribes who had come hundreds of miles across the mountains during the past summer and winter to sit at his feet and learn about the dance and then take the story of it back to their own people.

The ghost dance excitement lasted two years or more but finally wore itself out and is now entirely out of vogue. It lived longest among the Arapaho, Caddo, and Wichita. The dance has gone, but the doctrine or the hope that it held out made a lasting impression and has brought about a permanently peaceful feeling among the Indians. The pictures which I made of this dance were the first of their kind, and we shall have an opportunity to see them tomorrow night. The songs frequently dwelt upon the old-time camp amusements. After a while they began making the old-time gaming instruments and would carry them in the dance as they sang. The dancers wore buckskin shirts painted with symbolic designs and carried black handkerchiefs to use in the hypnotic work and magpie feathers brought back from the Sierra Nevada by those who went to see the messiah. Later the Indians originated what they called the crow dance, something of a mixture of the ghost dance and the spectacular Omaha dance.

The dance step was the same and the songs were very much of the same character in all the tribes. I shall give you a few specimens of the songs, which will close the evening's exercises.

As I have said, the favorite songs were those of the Arapaho. I made most of my study in that tribe and know those songs best. I collected, also, a large number of songs among the Sioux and Caddo and among the Piute who originated the dance. The Comanche had very few songs because they did not keep up the dance long. The Kiowa and Cheyenne languages are not well adapted to singing; but the Caddo, the Sioux and the Arapaho languages are very good for songs.

I have today been asked to give my opinion of a certain collection of Indian songs by Miss Natalie Curtis. It is the very best collection I know of thus far. Miss Curtis went among these same tribes and took down the music from their own singing, without harmonizing or other artificial change. Her transcription of the Indian words is according to scientific methods and her translations are literal renderings by the best interpreters.

The opening song when I first went among the Arapaho was sung by all the other tribes also. It was superseded by another song. It begins and ends with certain unmeaning syllables to fill in the meter. The words mean: "My children, my children, here is another pipe. Thus I shouted when I made the world." "Pipe", with an Indian, means a pledge or revelation, as "Here is another revelation."

Among all the songs of the various tribes you learn soon to recognize the ghost songs by the meter. It is intended to fit a certain slow, constant dance step as the dancers go round in the circle. At first they sing low, and then, after a while, louder, and with a somewhat quicker movement, raising their voices as they go round. (Song).

Then another one, which I have heard them sing with tears rolling down their cheeks. It means: "My Father, have pity on me, I am hungry; everything is gone; I am thirsty and there is nothing." (Song). Another one with just a little bit quicker movement, which means: "My children, I am the one who flies around with the morning star upon my forehead." Thus says the Father. In Indian pictography, the morning star is usually painted as a Maltese cross. (Song).

I might mention that the name "ghost dance" is a translation of the common name in the various Indian languages — Sioux, Arapaho, Cheyenne, and others. The Kiowa call it the "hand-clasping dance".

The Caddo songs are very musical. I shall give you one illustration. It means: "The eagle is coming back again; he is coming from on high, from the home of the Caddo." (Song).

To the Indian that means a great deal that the language does not exactly express. Among a number of tribes in the South the eagle is a very sacred bird and can only be killed for its feathers, by those who have certain "medicine" or a certain ceremonial by which to propitiate the eagle spirits and turn aside their vengeance. For a long time the Caddo had lost their old customs so that they had no eagle killer, but now they had learned the old ritual in a vision. So they sing, "The eagle is coming again, is coming from the home of the Caddo."

The closing song of the Arapaho dance, the one which is always sung at the end, means: "The crow has made the signal. When the crow makes me dance he tells me when to stop." After singing this four times as they circle around they take off their robes and shawls, shake them in the air and disperse. (Song).

MR. MOONEY'S SECOND ADDRESS

Mr. Mooney spoke again as follows on the evening of January 19, after an address by General Eugene F. Ware on the Indian War of 1864 in which he described a conference between representatives of the Sioux Indians on one side and Brigadier General Robert B. Mitchell and other army officers on the other. This council was held at Post of Cottonwood, afterward Fort McPherson, April 17, 1864.—Ed.

The talk which General Ware has given us this evening was very interesting to me because it suggested several things within my personal knowledge, and I may speak of one or two. He mentioned the fact that the Indians in that conference seemed to be physically inferior to our men. That is a point which might easily be emphasized. One of the prevalent ideas about the Indian is that he lives to be very old and that he is almost a giant in physical strength. According to my observation that is not true. I have had occasion to study the life history of a number of Indians and I find as a rule that one who is considered one hundred years old is about sixty-five; and one who is called one hundred and twenty is probably about sixty-eight. If he is actually over sixty he is usually out of the race entirely. I made some study of Indian war customs, as embodied in their shield system, and found that the average age at which the Indian warrior retires from active life is about fifty years. We have more well preserved old men here tonight than there are in all the five tribes in western Oklahoma. The oldest man I have known in the Kiowa tribes who could give information as to his age, was the man with whom I lived. He was, as near as I can say, about eighty-two years old; and when he died he was ten years ahead of any man who came near him.

General Ware said something about the Indian being a bluffer. So he is. I have always found that the civilized white man is superior to the Indian. I do not know that the average white man is really stronger by pounds of

physical strength, if you could measure it that way, but measured by determination and will power to carry out what he started to do the white man is superior. General Ware also said something about the Indian sign language. I think there are probably some men here who know something about that. Almost every Indian tribe speaks a distinct language. On the plains, being constantly in motion, they were continually meeting strangers, and having no common language they devised a sign language which was common to all the tribes of the plains, from the Saskatchewan on the north down into Texas. It still exists where different tribes are gathered near to each other upon reservations. On one occasion I was going with the son of the Arapaho chief to see an Arapaho dance. The young man had been educated in the East and spoke very good English. We were driving up along the south Canadian river, and after we got into the neighborhood of the camp we began looking around to find it, but without success. In the open country you can see a long way; and after some time we saw an Indian on horseback at a distance of a mile or more, too far away to speak. At close quarters the Indians use both hands, but for long distance talking you can use one hand. So my Indian friend stood up in the wagon and used one hand. An Indian driving on the plains is always looking around, and so the other man saw us about the same time that we saw him. Then my Indian did this (making a series of motions in the air). The other man replied with signs like this (another series of motions). Well, he told us that the Arapaho were having a dance on the north side of the river, and the Cheyenne another on the opposite side. We went and saw the dance.

I shall explain a little further in regard to this sign language. There is a sign for every tribe on the plains. The sign made for the Cheyenne is this, (drawing one fore-

finger across another). It is sometimes interpreted to mean "striped arrows", because the Cheyenne were said to use turkey feathers for their arrows. I have no theory myself, but the sign means Cheyenne. The sign for the southern Arapaho is this, (rubbing the side of the nose with the index finger). There are various theories for the reason, but I do not believe any one of them can be proven, but it means southern Arapaho. For the northern Arapaho, in Wyoming, the sign is this, (tapping the left breast with bunched fingers). They all know the meaning of that as "mother tribe". The sign for the dance is this, (perpendicular hand raised and lowered several times to imitate Indian dance step). All these signs can be made with both hands, but it is easier to use one hand. For river there are several different signs, sometimes the water sign. For side, of course, you indicate whichever side you please. The nearby or near in time, that is right away sign, is this, (thumb and forefinger of both hands brought together and quickly drawn apart). The long time or far off sign is this, (same sign more slowly with hands drawn farther apart). The sign for the Sioux is this, (sweeping motion of hand across throat); and to show that it means the Indian tribe, the sign for man is made after it this way, (index finger thrown up, back out). This sign, (chopping movement of hand at right side of head, means hair cut short on right side), or Kiowa; this sign, (rubbing back of left hand with fingers of right), means "man of color of our own skin", or Indian. This sign, (index finger drawn across forehead) means a hat wearer; therefore a white man. This sign, (sweeping movement of open fingers downward at side of head), long flowing hair; therefore, woman. I have seen a great deal of the sign language in different tribes, and on one particular occasion saw a council carried on by five tribes entirely in the sign language.

For a long time I had as interpreter an Indian who as a young man had been one of the hostiles and had spent several years in military confinement, and was afterward released and taken care of by a wealthy lady who started to educate him and send him to school. Six years afterward he came back to his own tribe. Having lived in the East he knew the white man's civilization and was also quite a philosopher in his way. He would surprise me sometimes by the questions he asked. For instance, at one time he asked me what I thought of Josephus? The good lady who had taken him into her family had read to him Bible stories and the history of the Jews, and the history of Josephus was quite interesting to him.

On one occasion as we were riding together, with nothing in particular to do except to talk, he said to me, "Mr. Mooney, tell me about Shylock and the pound of flesh". Another time he said, "Mr. Mooney, what is the reason that white men are always talking about money and business, Indians don't talk that way?" He was then owing the nearest trader three hundred dollars or more, and depending upon the next government payment to square up.



SITTING BULL (*Tatanka Iyotanka*)

From an unpublished oil painting by C. S. Stobie (Montana Charlie) 1891. The original in the D. Charles Bristol collection, Nebraska State Historical Society museum.

SOME SIDELIGHTS ON THE CHARACTER OF SITTING BULL

BY DOANE ROBINSON

Perhaps no other American who has achieved great fame is more misapprehended than Sitting Bull, the high priest of the Huñkpapa band of the Teton Sioux. Few names are more familiar than his to the people of America and indeed of the civilized world, yet very few know what he really did to acquire fame; very few indeed have a just understanding of his real character.

Sitting Bull was born of a low caste family, in June, 1838, at the mouth of Medicine Creek, a dozen miles below the place which afterward became the site of Pierre, Hughes county, South Dakota. His parents resided on Grand river, situated in what is now the northern part of the state; but at the time of his birth they were fishing in Medicine Knoll Creek on the east side of the Missouri, while on a trading expedition to Fort George. He grew up at the family home on Grand river, a few miles above the subsequent site of the village of Little Eagle. He first attracted the attention of white men at the time of the Harney treaty council at Old Fort Pierre in March, 1856, having come there as "horseherd" to Chief Swan. He was a blustering, overgrown boy of eighteen, with a cunning, effeminate face, not at all in keeping with his sturdy body; and at that time possessed no social standing in the band. Swan would not permit him to associate with his family and his meals were passed out to him under the flap of the tipi.

When the council broke up and the people were ready to return to their homes, Sitting Bull borrowed a horse

from Swan and struck off to the south and soon after returned with several horses which he had stolen from the Pawnee. This stroke of enterprise was his first passport to the consideration of his neighbors and the recital of his experiences on the trip his first attempt at public oratory. He was not slow to discover that he possessed natural gifts both as horse thief and orator. He accumulated horses and astonished his elders with the fervor of his impassioned addresses at the dances; but he was sternly denied a seat in the council. With a steady persistence which characterized him throughout his life he determined to overcome the prejudice of the upper caste men. To accomplish this he must acquire fame either as a brave or as a medicine man. He engaged in some forays against enemies but with indifferent success; for he had no stomach for real warfare. His native cunning turned him more and more to the tricks of the conjurer and the medicine man. From the first he was successful in this role. He persistently exercised his subtle talents and soon began to acquire fame as a prophet. Astuteness, luck and some advance information assisted him to prognosticate certain coming events with a precision which astonished and delighted his friends, and confounded the big chiefs who had superciliously ignored him. They were now compelled to recognize him as "big medicine". His oratory also increased in fervor and impressiveness and, aided by his legerdemain, he acquired almost supreme influence over his people. He hated the white man and loved the ways of his ancestors. Half patriot and half demagogue, he harangued the Sioux upon their duty to drive the white invaders from the prairies until he had fomented a feeling of great hostility among them. He accompanied the war parties, incited them to valor, but invariably withdrew to make medicine when the fighting began. The old chiefs hated and sneered at him but were compelled to admit him to the council;

and he became the ruling mind of the nation. As he grew older he became more and more imbued with the heathen religion of his people and openly avowed himself the prophet of the God of the Dakotas, frequently proclaiming divine revelations. For his native religion he seemed to have real veneration. When he returned to his people in 1881, after his captivity at Fort Randall, he was well convinced that further open rebellion against the whites would prove futile, but he found that during his absence his people had fallen a good deal under white missionary influence; so he settled down among them at the old home on Grand river and set about to reestablish them in the religion of his fathers.

In his diatribes against the whites and when he desired to drive his people into any revolutionary action, he was fierce and terrible in mein and with withering irony or dreadful invective forced them to his support; but in his home life, with his wives and children and his intimate neighbors, he was gentle as a refined woman. He set up an orphan asylum and adopted and reared as his own children eleven orphans, and every one of those still living would lay down his life today in defense of his memory.

About the time of his return to Grand river and a life of peace, Miss Mary C. Collins, a missionary of the Congregational church, established a mission at Little Eagle, about ten miles from his camp. This Christian enterprise was very displeasing to him, and he harangued his people to avoid the influence of the missionary; nevertheless she made some converts and soon drew a band of faithful friends around her. Though Sitting Bull had frequently seen Miss Collins he had never spoken to her, until one day he appeared upon his horse in front of her house bearing an infant in his arms; and he peremptorily demanded that she come out to him. Though she distinctly heard his call she paid no attention to it. After repeating

it three times without effect, he dismounted and came in, angrily demanding to know why she had not obeyed his summons. Miss Collins patiently explained to him that he had been guilty of a grave breach of good usage; that gentlemen did not call ladies out, but came in to them. Sitting Bull replied that he was not aware of that regulation of polite society but that he would not forget it; and he never did. "Wenona", he said, addressing her by her Sioux name, "I am a great medicine man, but my child here is dying. I have exhausted my powers and can do nothing for it. If you can save my child I will admit that your medicine is superior to mine." Miss Collins, who is an accomplished physician, took the child from his arms, when it instantly went into a spasm. She discovered that its gums were swollen and black and catching up a lance scored them. She then placed the infant in a warm bath and it almost instantly fell into a quiet, refreshing sleep and was practically well from that moment. The incident made a strong impression upon Sitting Bull, and he could not do enough to show his gratitude. Shortly after he sent for the missionary and ceremoniously adopted her into the tribe as his sister and ever after addressed her by that title.

For ten years they resided and labored side by side as the best of friends and yet the most inveterate rivals. Nothing of course afforded Miss Collins so much joy as to convert one of his followers to Christianity; and nothing else gave Sitting Bull such satisfaction as he felt when he could induce one of these converts to backslide. Thus conditions continued until 1890 when the messiah craze possessed the Sioux. Sitting Bull early obtained information of it and seemed to feel that his opportunity had come. It does not appear that he contemplated armed hostility to the whites, though his hatred had in no degree abated. His hope and ambition was to regain his old-time influence

over the Sioux and win them back to the heathen religion of which he deemed himself the high priest anointed of God. Early in the autumn of 1890 Sitting Bull began to proclaim that heavenly visions had been vouchsafed to him. He had been conveyed to the Rocky mountains, and there he had seen his deceased friends and neighbors restored to life and had been assured that within a brief period they would return to their homes and families. These alleged revelations naturally created a tremendous sensation among the Sioux. The heathen accepted them without question and the Christians were greatly disturbed, and most of them also, in a short time, were convinced. Sitting Bull set up a prayer tree, organized a dance, erected a large medicine tent for his own accommodation, and daily delivered new revelations to the people, who flocked in from every part of the reservation. The excitement was hourly augmented until Sunday, December 8, when Miss Collins went to Sitting Bull's camp as usual to hold Christian services in the little church which the faithful had provided. Of her ordinary congregation of more than one hundred, only three persons appeared; and the noise of the nearby dance drowned their hymns of devotion. The people were possessed by a religious fervor bordering upon insanity.

Leaving the church Miss Collins went to Sitting Bull's tent and demanded admission. He sent back word to her that he was engaged in his prayers and could not be disturbed. She was insistent and he came out to her and with much ceremony conducted her into the tent before he gave her permission to speak. When leave was granted she said: "Brother, you are deceiving and ruining your people. They have left their homes; their stock is neglected and dying; many are in a starving condition; the soldiers are coming; blood will be shed and you will be held responsible for it. You must stop this nonsense and send the people home at once." He listened gravely and

replied: "Sister, I have gone too far; I cannot give it up; the people will laugh at me." "It makes no difference how much they laugh", retorted the missionary. "This thing must be stopped at once. Go out to them and tell them to stop dancing and go home." "Sister, I cannot", replied the old priest. "You must do it; you must do it right now; the soldiers are coming," she exclaimed. "I cannot, sister, I cannot, but you do it. Go to the people, sister, and tell them to go home; tell them that I, Sitting Bull, said it." Miss Collins went out to the dance, where men and women had danced for hours without rest. Many were falling from sheer exhaustion and others in feigned trances, among the latter was Louis Sitting Bull, a relative of the priest's. Observing that he was feigning, she rushed at him, grasped him by the shoulder and accused him of playing a part. Her action had interrupted the dance and many were watching him. He smiled sheepishly in reply to her accusation, and the people seeing it, laughed derisively. That was the end. She commanded him to get up and assist in sending the people away; she declared the soldiers were coming, as she thought they were. That evening seventy-five wagonloads of people were sent out of Sitting Bull's camp. Only those living in the immediate neighborhood remained. Sitting Bull left the medicine tent and returned to his substantial house to sleep. There was no more dancing, though there was great excitement throughout the ensuing week, and Sitting Bull several times reasserted his revelation of the near approach of the departed friends. The story spread that Sitting Bull was about to go to Pine Ridge to join the dancers there. This was probably not true; but the Indian police, who kept the camp under surveillance, believed it; and the military authorities believed the time had come to place the old man under arrest. The plan to do so was carried out at four o'clock on Monday morning, December 15. The fatal result is familiar history.

THE EARLY SETTLEMENTS OF THE PLATTE VALLEY

BY DAVID ANDERSON

[Paper read before the annual meeting of the Nebraska State Historical Society January 18, 1910.]

In the fall of 1859, after spending an exciting and adventurous summer in the newborn city of Denver, and the Rocky mountains, in company with some old Pennsylvania friends with whom I had crossed the plains from Leavenworth City over the Smoky Hill route in the early spring, our party started from Denver with a mule team bound for Omaha.

We followed the Pike's Peak trail, south of the south fork of the Platte river, to Julesburg, thence down the old California trail to Fort Kearny. Great herds of buffaloes, deer, elk and antelopes were constantly in view. The Cheyenne Indians, who roamed over the plains between Fort Kearny and Denver, were furiously engaged in attacking emigrant trains, burning ranches, and murdering the occupants. We had several skirmishes with the red devils who followed our trail for many days.

Ten miles west of Dobytown was the famous Keeler ranch. Here we met the notorious Tom Keeler, the terror of the plains and especially of the Cheyenne Indians. With all his native rudeness and roughness, however, Mr. Keeler was one of the most hospitable and generous men that I ever met. His buildings were all of sod, and the dwelling house was tidy and inviting. Mr. Keeler was loyally and lovingly attached to his wife and children.

One day during the war period a cavalcade of rebels who were fleeing from the draft in Missouri stopped at his wells to obtain water for themselves and animals.

Their mules were decorated with the flags of the Confederacy, and the men were lustily hurraing for Jeff Davis. This exhibition aroused Tom Keeler's union feelings so intensely that he stood before the well with a gun in each hand, demanding that the rebel bunting should be removed before any union Nebraska water should be drawn. His wife also stood at the door, armed with a double-barreled shotgun. After very acrimonious discussion the demand was complied with, and the boisterous fugitives cordially congratulated Keeler and his wife upon their courage and loyalty.

A few weeks after we passed this ranch, Mr. Keeler's stables, containing forty head of horses together with 200 tons of hay, were wantonly set on fire by the Cheyenne Indians and totally destroyed. In later years Mr. Keeler removed to eastern Nebraska and settled on the Elkhorn river, near Elkhorn City. In 1878 he met his death in a shotgun duel with Daniel Parmalee, a prominent citizen of Omaha.

Dobytown, two miles west of Fort Kearny, contained about 300 people. The houses were built of adobe or sod, one story high. It was on the extreme western verge of civilization and was a great rendezvous for outlaws and gamblers, who practiced their nefarious arts on the unsophisticated pilgrims.¹

¹ A nickname of Kearney City. The place was a sort of station and "resort" on the famous highway which was successively, according to the relative importance of its travel, the Oregon trail, the road to California and the road to Denver and Salt Lake City. These uses were more or less blended from about the time Fort Kearny was established — 1848. Kearney City was situated just outside the west boundary of the military reservation, two miles due west of the fort. Valley City, or Dog Town, the less important companion piece of Kearney City, was situated just outside the eastern reservation line. Civilian settlement within the reservation was of course interdicted, and obviously these places for sport and business would creep up as near the fort as possible. According to an unauthenticated statement in the Andreas history of Nebraska (page 1019) an adventurous company from St. Joseph, including Dr. Charles A. Henry

At a point opposite the fort the Platte river was three miles wide, containing numerous small islands and many deep and treacherous channels; yet this was the only real safe fording place between Julesburg and the Missouri river.

On arrival at the old Boyd ranch, eleven miles east of the fort, our team was so fatigued that we were compelled to rest for three days. Here James E. Boyd operated a small trading post and ranch, carrying on a large traffic with the officers and soldiers of the fort, making profitable contracts for supplying wood from the margin of the river and from islands which had been reserved by the government for military purposes, also for hay that grew abundantly on the Platte bottoms. While we tarried here the territorial election was held for choosing a delegate to

and Benjamin P. Rankin, well known Nebraska territorial pioneers, founded Central City, near the subsequent site of Kearney City, in 1858. The act of the territorial legislature of January 10, 1860, which authorized the organization of Kearney county, "fixed and permanently located" its "seat of justice" at Kearney City, "as surveyed, platted and lithographed by the Kearney City company in the spring of 1859". It appears that some of the promoters of Central City abandoned its prospects, which, so far as we know, were all there was of it, and joined the Kearney City enterprise, in which Lorin Miller — Dr. George L. Miller's father — Dr. Charles A. Henry, James E. Boyd, and others were interested. The governor, Samuel W. Black, formally organized the county, in the year in which the act was passed by the appointment of county officers. The county commissioners were J. Tracy, Amos O. Hook, Moses Sydenham; clerk, Charles A. Henry; treasurer, John Holland; sheriff, Thomas Collins; probate judge, John Talbot. This Talbot is probably the man who was a sutler at the fort and whose widow now owns and lives upon the farm which includes the old site of Kearney City. The inhabitants were obliged to scatter in 1866 when the advent of the Union Pacific railroad drew business to points along its line on the north side of the river. Thus, in the year of the organization of the county, its population — by the United States census — was 474; in 1870, 58. In 1860, 111 votes were cast in the county — three for Samuel G. Daily and 108 for J. Sterling Morton, rival candidates for the office of delegate to congress. In 1864, 61 votes were cast, three for Phineas W. Hitchcock and 58 for Dr. George L. Miller, also candidates for the office above named. In 1865 only 16 votes were cast; in 1866, 28. There were no more election returns from the county after 1866 until 1872, when, under reorganization, 58 votes

congress. This was the only polling place between Grand Island and Fort Kearny, a distance of thirty miles. The democratic candidate was Experience Estabrook of Omaha, and the republican candidate was Samuel G. Daily. There were twenty-two votes cast at the Boyd ranch, eleven of them by officers and soldiers from the fort. Great interest was manifested in the contest.

I speak with emphasis and pleasure of the strenuous and useful career of Mr. Boyd. He assisted in the construction of the Union Pacific roadbed; projected the first railway from Omaha to the north; established the first large pork packing plant at Omaha; and erected the first large theatre in the city.

were cast. The new town had a boom in 1860; for, according to the *Hunstman's Echo* of November 2, of that year, "the adobe town of five hovels last spring has grown to forty or fifty buildings", about a dozen of them stores. The same paper, April 25, 1861, says there were then two hundred residents and half a dozen stores in the place. The original Kearney county — of 1860 — included the territory now comprised in the counties of Franklin, Harlan, Kearney, and Phelps. Franklin was formed by the act of the territorial legislature of 1867; Harlan by the act of 1871, and Phelps by the act of 1873.

John K. Lamb, writing from Fort Kearny, April 11, 1860, to the *Omaha Republican* of April 18, 1860, remarked that Kearney City "is better known as 'Adobe Town'"; and he observed that Dr. Henry was doing a large business there. Testimony taken by Samuel G. Daily in his contest against Experience Estabrook for a seat in Congress tended to show that at the time of the election of October 11, 1859, there were at Kearney City "not over eight houses, not over fifteen residents, and not one acre of cultivated land or a farm house in the neighborhood of Kearny City". It also showed that at Nebraska Center, "the place named as the county seat (of Buffalo county), there was but one dwelling house, one store house, and one warehouse". [Statement by Representative Campbell of Pennsylvania on behalf of Daily, *Congressional Globe*, 1st session, 36th Congress, part 3, p. 2180.] The returns of the election showed that 238 of the 292 votes of Buffalo county were cast at Kearney City. These were rejected because Kearney City, being situated south of the Platte river, was not within Buffalo county.

By proclamation dated May 2, 1872, acting Governor William H. James ordered an election of county officers to be held "at the town of Lowell", June 17, 1872.—Messages and Proclamations, p. 93, in the governor's office.—Ed.

The Wood River plain, which we followed a distance of twenty miles, presented a magnificent view; but there were only half a dozen settlers in that long stretch. At Wood River Crossing "Pap" Lamb, well known along the Platte valley, was operating a ranch and stage station. About this time, the Western Stage Company, which was operating lines in Iowa, Wisconsin and other border states, established a route between Omaha and Pike's Peak — the name by which the Denver region was then generally known — and stations were established from ten to fifteen miles apart. Mr. Lamb's ranch was one of them, and he drove to the next station west.

At Grand Island we found a small settlement, mostly of Germans. Koenig and Weibe, from Omaha, had established a general outfitting post and store. There was also a blacksmith shop, a cobbler shop, and a small home bakery, all prepared to care for the travelers. Mr. Fred Hedde, who in after years was so well and favorably known throughout Nebraska as a successful farmer, politician and newspaper man, was located on a homestead contiguous to this small village. During fifty years Mr. Hedde was closely identified with the upbuilding of Grand Island and Hall county. He lived almost to the present time, and died at the ripe age of eighty-five.

Christian Menck was a homestead neighbor of Mr. Hedde's, both having come to Nebraska in 1857. In 1858 Mr. Menck was married in Omaha, and he brought the first bride to Hall county. In 1908 Mr. and Mrs. Menck celebrated their golden wedding. Mr. Menck died November 9, 1909. He always took a lively interest in the welfare of Hall county.

Lone Tree Ranch was so called on account of a large solitary cottonwood tree which stood upon the bank of the river near the subsequent site of Central City. Jason Parker, one of the best known ranchmen between Omaha

and Fort Kearny, was proprietor of this hostelry. As the country settled and developed, Mr. Parker became a forward and active citizen. In 1864 he was elected one of the first three commissioners of Merrick county.

Columbus, ninety miles west of Omaha, near the junction of the Platte and Loup rivers, was the first real live town we had seen in the Platte valley. It was laid out on a grand scale in 1857, and the population was now about 200. Some ten or twelve sod and adobe houses, a large frame hotel — the American House —, and a portable sawmill attracted attention and gave some dignity to the town. The hotel was owned and conducted by Mrs. Baker who in after years did much toward the upbuilding of the town. The sawmill was brought from Columbus, Ohio, by John Rickley, who came with the colony in 1851.² Mr. Rickley informed me that when the Pawnee Indians first saw the mill in operation they thought it was some monster, possessed by an evil spirit. Mr. Rickley was a leader among the few white settlers and was a man of energy, ability and some capital. These advantages made him the most conspicuous citizen of the central part of the territory at that time and for many years thereafter.

Fifteen miles north of Columbus a large colony of Mormons settled on the banks of the Loup Fork river, near where Genoa now stands. Those Mormons were enroute to Utah in the summer of 1858³ when they received orders from Brigham Young to halt and locate temporarily wherever they chanced to be and to remain until the United States government and the Mormon hierarchy had adjusted the troubles which arose in 1857.

² Columbus was laid out in 1857 and Mr. Rickley went there with a colony in that year.—Ed.

³ This should be 1857. See *Illustrated History of Nebraska*, v. 2, p. 153, and the *History of Platte County* (Taylor), p. 6.—Ed.

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Henry J. Hudson, a leader in the colony, decided to remain in Nebraska, and he became a prominent citizen of Platte county and an important figure in the early history of central Nebraska. Mr. and Mrs. Hudson reared a family of fourteen children and lived to celebrate their golden wedding in 1905.

Eight miles east of Columbus was situated the first frame residence we saw on our long journey. The house was a story and a half high with a porch in front and was built of cottonwood lumber. It was occupied by William Fales, aged thirty years, and his wife of sixty years. They were Mormons of the Monroe colony. Their farm was afterward owned and occupied for sixteen years by David Anderson, the writer of this sketch, and his wife. It was known as the Pennsylvania Ranch. The best known ranch between Fort Kearny and the Missouri river was situated seven miles east of this old homestead. Joseph Russell, the proprietor, was an eccentric old Englishman, who had lived most of his life on the frontier and had become so infatuated with its quiet solitude that when the Union Pacific railroad came within three miles, and in sight of his home, he sold out and moved to a quieter place in a remote part of Missouri where, a few years after, he died.

Three miles south of the Russell ranch was the well known Shinn's ferry which provided the only means of crossing the Platte river, except by fording, between Omaha and Denver. The boat was operated by David R. Gardner, the first settler of Butler county.⁴ Mr. Gardner founded the town of Savannah on the south bank of the Platte river in Butler county. He and his wife died in

⁴ It is seldom safe to designate any particular person as the first settler — as in this case. There were settlers in the north part of Butler county as early at least as 1857, though probably they did not remain permanently. Still others came and to stay in the same year as Mr. Gardner arrived, and it is not known which was technically the first. See the Centennial History of Butler County, by George L. Brown.—Ed.

David City sometime in the decade of 1880-1890. The ferry boat was owned by Moses Shinn, a pioneer of Omaha and a prominent character and local preacher. It was said that he frequently conducted religious services in emigrant camps in western Iowa and in his exhortations admonished his hearers that to obtain a safe passport to heaven it would be necessary to cross the river at Shinn's ferry — at only \$2.00 a team.

Ten miles east of Russell's ranch was the cozy home and farm of Isaac Albertson. Mr. Albertson platted the town of Buchanan, named after James Buchanan, president of the United States,⁵ and was appointed the first postmaster of the city. Judge Albertson was held in high esteem by his fellow men and died in Fremont in the year 1898. Mr. and Mrs. Jacob King lived on a farm one mile east of Buchanan.

At North Bend we pitched our tent beside the Mormon trail, near the north bend of the Platte river, close to the

⁵ Buchanan was platted April 27, 1856, by a company of Omaha men, among whom, besides Albertson, were Experience Estabrook and Lorin Miller. It was situated on the east bank of Shell Creek where the Union Pacific railroad crosses the stream. It never contained more than a very few inhabitants, though it kept the postoffice for about two years after the advent of the Union Pacific railroad — the mail bags being caught by the moving trains — when it was removed to the budding town of Schuyler. [See "County of Colfax" and Taylor's History of Platte County]. Names of prominent democrats of the ante-war period which had been applied to counties and towns in Nebraska were not infrequently superseded by names of prominent republicans, and so the new town bearing the Christian name of the then popular speaker of the house of representatives would be quite likely to draw what was left of the life of the old one with its then uninviting and, to many, repulsive name. When Buchanan was foolishly so named the unfortunate president had not earned ill repute. Likewise, when Schuyler was unwisely so named, though Schuyler Colfax had already been guilty of the bribe taking by virtue of which Time, whose judgments are seldom unjust, has indelibly stained that name with disgrace, it had not been exposed by the startling proofs of the credit mobilier investigation in congress. The moral of all this illuminates the folly of crowding the names of politicians upon towns and counties in Nebraska to the exclusion of beautiful and appropriate local names.—Ed.

little three-room frame house of Mr. and Mrs. Matthew Cottrell, who moved from Cleveland, Ohio, to Nebraska in 1857. They were a genial and staid couple of pioneers. Mr. and Mrs. Cottrell became very much attached to many of the Pawnee Indians who could be seen at all times of the year living in tipis near their home. Those Indians performed all of the manual labor for the Cottrells for several years and during the civil war. In 1863 Mr. Cottrell sold to the Union Pacific railway company forty acres of his homestead which is the site of the town of North Bend. Mr. Cottrell established the first eating house on the Union Pacific railroad.⁶ He died many years ago, but Mrs. Cottrell still survives at the advanced age of ninety-one years, residing in her modest little home at North Bend.

In Fremont we found a typical western border town. It contained ten or twelve log dwellings, among which was a small store or "shebang" kept by Smith Brothers, who came from Pennsylvania in 1856. The Turner tavern was a long, one-story log building, resembling an old-time country tavern. The interior was a combination of kitchen and dining room, with an old-fashioned fireplace. Another apartment was used as a parlor and sitting room, and it contained a large heating stove. Around this comfortable heater would circle the emigrants, traders, freighters and mountaineers to relate their adventures and exploits. The Smith Brothers, besides selling liquors, molasses, tobacco, etc., to emigrants, had a very lucrative trade with the Pawnee Indians, who, up to 1860,⁷ had been camped 4,000 strong on the high bluffs three miles east on the south side of the Platte river. The Smith Brothers, together with Robert Kittle, Nye, Colson, and others, were the greatest factors in the early advancement and upbuilding of the present

⁶ It would be difficult to properly authenticate this assertion.—Ed.

⁷ The Pawnee were removed from this village in 1859.—Ed.

beautiful and important city of Fremont. Judge J. B. Smith is still engaged in active business. He has always been a leading character in local affairs, pertaining to Fremont and Dodge county.

Three miles east of Fremont, in a long, rude log house, lived the widow Keeler, mother of Tom Keeler. West of the highway, one mile, lived the Lee family, the pioneer farmers of Dodge county. About thirteen miles east of Fremont, on the Elkhorn bottom, we crossed the noted Rawhide Creek. Many stories are told of the origin of its name. One is that a fellow with a train of emigrants from Wisconsin to California threatened before leaving home to kill the first Indian he saw. When his train was crossing the bluffs east of the Elkhorn river, he deliberately, and without provocation, shot a Pawnee squaw whom he met on her way from the Pawnee camp to visit the Omaha tribe on the Missouri river. On hearing of the diabolical deed the Pawnee were so enraged that they surrounded the train in camp at the stream, threatening to kill the whole company unless the guilty party was surrendered to them. After a parley the criminal was finally given over to the Indians who skinned him alive in the presence of his traveling companions. Louis LaFlesche — a half-breed —, Spotted Tail, Crooked Hand and other members of the Pawnee tribe told me that the fur traders, on their annual trips from the mountains to dispose of their goods to Peter Sarpy and other traders on the Missouri river, often found this stream difficult to ford and were compelled to make ferry boats of buffalo and elk hides and that the troublesome creek took its name from this custom.

At the crossing of the Elkhorn river — at Elkhorn City — there was a ranch kept by Major Hartwell and a trading post kept by one Dennis, who was also postmaster. Here we met Sylvanus Dodge, father of General Grenville M. Dodge. Mr. Dodge was living on a homestead about a mile from the town.

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After a journey of more than 500 miles over a level plain, we now began to travel over a bluffy country which continued to Omaha, a distance of twenty-two miles. We had the first square meal in four weeks at the Taylor ranch on Papillion Creek. Mrs. Taylor was noted for setting a good table. After supper our party voted it the best meal that they ever ate. It was about this time that the Taylors were robbed at midnight of several hundred dollars by a couple of footpads who stopped with them the night before, entertaining them delightfully by singing and a violin performance. A few days later Mrs. Taylor identified the culprits in Omaha, and after a speedy trial they paid the usual penalty of lynch law.

Sixteen miles out of Omaha was Ranch No. 1, kept by Captain Peter Reed who came from the Blue Juanita in Pennsylvania in 1857. When the war began, in 1861, he raised Company A of the Second Nebraska volunteers. After the war was over he entered the service of the Union Pacific railroad company and managed a section seven miles east of Columbus. He was transferred to Golden City, Colorado, where he superintended the construction of the mountain division of the railroad from Golden City up the Clear Creek valley to Idaho Springs and Georgetown. Mr. Reed died in Golden City in 1883. Mrs. Reed survives him, but she is now entirely blind and deaf. She lives with her granddaughter in Denver.

Arriving in Omaha December 1, we stopped at the Fremont House, on Douglas street, conducted by William M. Sweezy. Almost opposite the hotel was a carriage and wagon shop, operated by Andrew J. Simpson. Mr. Simpson worked industriously at his trade and employed two assistants. On the southeast corner of Douglas and 14th streets J. J. Brown and Brother were running a general outfitting store. On Farnam, between 13th and 14th, was the Commercial House, kept by Lacy & McCormick. It was also

a general outfitting establishment. On the south side of that street was the grocery and dry goods store of the Megeath Brothers. On the northwest corner of 11th and Farnam, in a one-story frame building, the Kountze Brothers had established a general banking business. They bought from me \$500.00 worth of gold dust which I brought from Denver in a small vial.

The population of Omaha was then about 1,500. It was the principal outfitting place on the Missouri river for the western mines, and there was great activity every day in the week. The few streets in the small business center were often congested by prairie schooners with mule and ox teams and a conglomeration of long-haired and heavy-bearded mountaineers, miners, emigrants, traders, Mexicans, Indians and half-breeds.

THE FIRST CATHOLIC BISHOP IN NEBRASKA

BY REV. MICHAEL A. SHINE

[Paper read before the annual meeting of the Nebraska State Historical Society January 17, 1910.]

The present state of Nebraska was theoretically included in the jurisdiction given to the first vicar apostolic in the New World, namely to Rt. Rev. Bernard Boil, Vicar of the Friar Minims of the Order of St. Francis de Paul, in Spain, who received his appointment from Pope Alexander VI, by a bull dated June 25, 1493, when he erected into a vicariate apostolic "Those lands and islands which have been recently discovered in the western regions and the Oceanic Sea, as well as those that may yet be discovered". This vicar apostolic, with twelve companion priests, sailed with Columbus on his second voyage to the New World in 1493.

In the course of time this region passed successively under the jurisdictions of the bishops of Quebec; Havana, Cuba; New Orleans; and St. Louis, Missouri, until the year 1851.

However, the first catholic bishop to personally step on and exercise jurisdiction over Nebraska soil was the Rt. Rev. John Baptist Miede, a Jesuit, native of France and the subject of this sketch.

John B. Miede was born September 18, 1815, at La Foret, Upper Savoy, and was educated at Moutiers, Milan and Rome. He was received into the Society of Jesus on October 23, 1836, by Rev. Father Puty, S. J., at the novitiate in Milan, and he made his first vows on October 15, 1838.

He was ordained a priest in Rome on September 7, 1847, by Venerable Joseph Canali, the Patriarch of Constantinople.

The revolution of 1848 closed the Jesuit houses in Italy, and Father Miege returned to France. His appeal to be sent on the Indian missions in America was granted and he arrived in St. Louis, Missouri, in the fall of 1849. His first charge was the Parish of St. Charles, Missouri, with Portage des Sioux as a mission; then he was transferred to Florissant, Missouri, where he taught moral theology, and later he was sent to St. Louis university to fill the offices of professor and prefect of discipline.

In May, 1849, the seventh provincial council of Baltimore convened and petitioned Pope Pius IX to establish the "Vicariate of the Indian Territory east of the Rocky Mountains". The Pope, acceding to this request, appointed Father John B. Miege, S. J., as the first vicar apostolic. When the appointment papers were placed on his desk Father Miege paid no attention to them, thinking that some kind of a joke was about to be played upon him by his associates. However, he was induced to open and read the documents, and when he learned how serious and important they were, he declined to receive the honor, as he wished to remain a Jesuit, and he promptly returned the papers to Archbishop Kenrick. Nevertheless he was ordered by Rome to submit and accept the office, being assured that he would not be forced to sever his connection with the Jesuit order. He was consecrated as titular bishop of Messenia and vicar apostolic of the Indian territory east of the Rocky mountains on March 25, 1851, in St. Xaviers Church, St. Louis, by Archbishop Kenrick, assisted by Bishop Van de Velde of Chicago and Bishop St. Palais of Vincennes, Indiana, the sermon being preached by Rev. John Higginbotham of St. Louis, Missouri.

On May 11, 1851, he left St. Louis by boat with Father Paul Ponziglione, S. J., for his new vicariate, and arrived at St. Marys Indian mission in Kansas on May 24, 1851, where he was given a rousing welcome and a hearty recep-

tion by the Indians and Jesuit fathers. Here he began his Episcopal labors and built a large church of hewn logs for a cathedral. Father DeSmet, with Major Fitzpatrick of the United States army and thirteen Indian chiefs as delegates from the Cheyenne, Arapaho, Oto and Sioux Indian tribes, on their way to Washington, D. C., from the great council held in Nebraska, arrived on October 11, 1851, at St. Marys mission.

Father DeSmet tells us that "Bishop Miege and the other fathers of the mission received us with great cordiality and kindness. We found the mission in a flourishing state; Every Sunday the fathers have the consolation of contemplating a beautiful congregation of Indians assembled in the wood-built cathedral, and on an average 120 piously approaching the holy communion. We spent two days visiting the mission. The Indian chiefs quitted the establishment with hearts overflowing with delight and in the consoling expectation of having similar happiness in their own tribes at no very distant future." In 1852 we find the bishop hastening to the Missouri river with a physician for the relief of the cholera stricken Potawatomi pagan Indians, who were on their way from Michigan to Kansas, and bestowing on them such physical and spiritual aid as they required. For the first few years his labors were confined principally to the Indians in the present state of Kansas.

In his report for the catholic directory of the year 1853 he says: "The catholic population scattered over the vast extent of the upper country, in the Indian villages, forts and trading posts may not fall short of 3,000. It is our earnest wish to visit them as soon as possible." The above figures include trappers, traders, soldiers, Indians and half-breeds, as there were no permanent white settlements in the territory in those days.

On May 19, 1853, the bishop, with Father DeSmet, sailed for Europe on the steamer Fulton, which crossed the Atlantic in a record breaking trip of eleven days. The bishop proceeded to Rome for his "ad limina visit" to the Pope and also to act as procurator for the Jesuit vice-province of Missouri, in the twenty-second general congregation of the Jesuit order. He assisted in the election of Rev. F. Beckx, S. J., as father general of the society, and having fulfilled the duties of his mission he returned by way of Paris to Havre, France. Here he met Father DeSmet with two scholastics, seven novices and four brothers of the Jesuit order, and all embarked November 20, 1853, on the steamer Humboldt for New York city.

The voyage was a very stormy one, and they were finally shipwrecked December 6, 1853, on the Three Sisters rocks, near Devils Island, off the coast of Nova Scotia. The steamer caught fire, "and for some time it was doubtful", as one of the party later remarked, "whether they should reach heaven by water or by fire". However, all escaped unhurt to some fishermen's boats, and a few hours after they were rescued by a steamboat from Halifax. Two days later they sailed for Boston, Massachusetts, thence by rail to Cincinnati and again by boat down the Ohio river and up the Mississippi river. The latter river was filled with floating ice, and in spite of the steamboat's efforts they were compelled to spend Christmas day, 1853, on a sandbar a few miles below St. Louis, Missouri. Rev. Father Jos. Zealand, S. J., president of Creighton college in 1883-4, and Father Charles Coppens, S. J., formerly professor of philosophy in the same institution, were among the thirteen companions on that eventful voyage. The only one now living is Father Chas. Coppens in Chicago, Illinois. In the early part of March, 1854, the bishop again arrived at St. Marys mission, Kansas.

While in Belgium, Father DeSmet wrote on June 30, 1853, to the Brussels *Journal* about his travels among the Indians west of the upper Missouri river; and among other things he said: "I hope to return next spring with Bishop Miege, the vicar apostolic. We will be able to found missions for those nomadic tribes on a soil fertile enough to support them and thus removing occasion of war let civilization with the light of the faith dawn on these wastes." However, the throwing open of both Kansas and Nebraska for settlement and the rush of emigration prevented the proposed visit.

In 1855 the Bishop transferred his episcopal see from St. Marys mission to Leavenworth, Kansas, and erected there a cathedral 24x40 feet. This year he made his long intended visit to Nebraska. In a letter written on December 16, 1878, from Woodstock, Maryland, to Rev. R. A. Shaffel, S. J., president of Creighton college, he writes:

"With regard to information on the first beginnings of the Church in Nebraska, my will is good enough but my memory is tricky and rebellious. I visited Nebraska three times; the first visit was, I believe, in 1855, when Omaha and Nebraska City were first started and beginning to look up. An encouraging letter from Governor Cuming had confirmed me in the plan I had already made of visiting the principal places in the territory that year. From St. Marys I went to Weston and through Missouri and Iowa. After many days camping and traveling, I arrived at the Missouri river opposite Omaha. The wind was so strong that the little steam ferry refused to move. A man took me across in a canoe, but not without many tribulations and an abundance of fresco work on my coat and pants from the muddy Missouri. At the Douglas House I found Mrs. Murphy and Mrs. Cuming who told me where to find Mr. Cuming. I found him, and he told me that two lots had been reserved for a Catholic church and that more could be secured if necessary. Being well pleased with the site of Omaha, I promised to send a priest there as soon as possible; and meanwhile I requested

Father Tracey [Trecy] of St. Johns, opposite Sioux City, on the Nebraska side, to do what he could for Omaha. In the spring of 1857 I went up again, found a little brick church built, but not plastered, and made the acquaintance of the excellent Creighton family and promised to obtain for Nebraska a resident vicar apostolic, which was done the following year through the provincial council of St. Louis. Of my third visit I have no distinct recollection as to dates. All I know is, that I visited Bellevue and could not go to Omaha; but I do not remember the reason or cause. Colonel Sarpy was willing to give me a big block in Bellevue, on condition that I would immediately put up a church. Not, of course, for the benefit of Catholics — there were none in the place — but to give a fair start to his speculation, which I firmly declined to do."

The exact day and month of the bishop's first visit to Omaha have not yet been ascertained; however, a quit claim deed for lots 5 and 6 in block 154, in Omaha City, dated May 30, 1855, was given to the bishop for church purposes by the Council Bluffs and Nebraska Ferry Co., and two years later it was supplemented by a warranty deed.

We know that Father William Emonds was stationed at Council Bluffs, Iowa, as early as May 6, 1855, and that on May 8, 1855, he recorded the baptism of "Honorius Kenry, from St. Patrieks church, Omaha City".

Father Emonds in a letter dated November 25, 1878, in regard to his first mass in Omaha, says:

"April or May was the month when the first Mass was said in Omaha, rather think May, 1855, It was in the court room of the old state house built of brick. Governor Cuming assigned us lots, a part of a so called park. We commenced digging the foundations, etc."

Another person, a lady who was present at the first mass, says:

"It was a bright warm workday, the 14 or 15 of May, 1855."

The Rev. Jeremiah Treacy, who was requested by the bishop to look after Omaha, began the mission of St. Johns, near the present city of Jackson, on June 24, 1855, St. Johns day; and he says in a letter written on August 4, 1859:

“The Second Mission in point of time is Omaha City. In July (1855) I visited this place. Father Emonds had visited this place a day or two before. I left it to him during his stay at Council Bluffs. The number of Catholics here then was about one hundred.”

The above statements present a chronological problem that no doubt further investigations will satisfactorily solve.

It seems the foundations of this first proposed church (presumably St. Patricks) were never laid, and the project was abandoned for a time. In 1856 St. Marys church was erected on this same property and was dedicated in August by Rev. Thomas Scanlan of St. Joseph, Missouri. This was the first church erected within the present limits of Nebraska, under the jurisdiction of Bishop Miede, and the one he saw in the spring of 1857.

Bishop Miede visited Omaha in June, 1858, and conferred the sacrament of confirmation on twenty-two persons, eleven males and eleven females. The record of this event, written in Latin, is preserved in the Omaha baptism register in St. Philomenas church. The handwriting is that of Rev. James Power who was then the pastor, and the record is translated as follows:

“Most Rev. John B. Miede, Bishop in infidel regions, and Vicar Apostolic of the aborigines in the Territory of Kansas and Nebraska and of all the Faithful dwelling in these places, for the first time (*primo*) visited the Church of St. Mary, Omaha, and administered the Sacrament of Confirmation to those whose names are written below. In the month of June, 1858.

JAMES POWER, Pastor.”

Whether this was the second visit, referred to by the bishop, or another that escaped his memory, at the present writing I am unable to state. The jurisdiction of Bishop Miede in Nebraska extended from March 25, 1851, to May 8, 1859. During that period the following Catholic clergymen exercised the functions of the priesthood in this region:

1 — Rev. P. J. DeSmet, S. J., celebrated the first mass in Nebraska on Sunday, September 14, 1851, on the Council plain at the junction of Horse Creek and the Platte river in Scotts Bluff county, in the presence of ten thousand Indians and the United States army officers. During the council he baptized over twelve hundred Indian children. Again in June and August, 1858, near Fort Kearny, he baptized 208 children of the Pawnee Loup, and a number of the Ogalala Sioux.

2 — Rev. William Emonds, of the Diocese of Dubuque, attended Omaha from Council Bluffs, Iowa, from May to August, 1855, and among other baptisms he records the baptism of the "First White Child Born In Omaha", namely Margaret Ferry, born December 16, 1854, and baptized May 29, 1855.

3 — Rev. Jeremiah F. Treacy, of the diocese of Dubuque, the founder and pastor of St. Johns, near Jackson. He labored in Nebraska from June 24, 1855, to 1860. In March, 1857, he lectured in New York City, to induce Irish settlers to come to Nebraska. At the end of his lecture he was severely denounced by Archbishop Hughes who disapproved of his plans. During the civil war Father Treacy was a chaplain on General Rosecrans' staff.

4 — Rev. Thomas Scanlan, from St. Joseph, Missouri, the St. Louis diocese. He is said to have celebrated the second mass in Omaha and to have dedicated St. Marys church in 1856.

5 — Rev. John Cavanagh, from the Chicago diocese, was the first resident pastor in Omaha, from October, 1856,

to April, 1857. He also attended Nebraska City. He left for New Orleans where he died in 1858.

6 — Rev. Augustine Wirth, O. S. B., from the Benedictine monastery at Doniphan, Kansas, visited the Nebraska missions in August, 1857, and again in February and March, 1858.

7 — Rev. George H. Plathe, of the diocese of Dubuque, administered some baptisms in Omaha in September, 1857.

8 — Rev. James Power, from St. Joseph, Missouri, the St. Louis diocese, was the second resident pastor, from March to June, 1858. During his pastorate Bishop Miede conferred the sacrament of confirmation for the first time in Nebraska.

9 — Rev. Hugh P. Kenny was sent by Bishop Miede as the first resident pastor of Nebraska City in August, 1858. He remained only a few months.

10 — Rev. Edmund Langenfelder, O. S. B., from Doniphan, Kansas, visited Nebraska City and Brownville in March, 1859, and administered some baptisms.

11 — Rev. Francis B. Cannon, O. S. B., from Doniphan, Kansas, was the third and last resident pastor in Omaha under the jurisdiction of Bishop Miede. He remained as pastor from August, 1858, to June, 1859.

Father Cannon in Omaha and Father Treacy at St. Johns, Dakota county, were the only priests in Nebraska when Bishop O'Gorman took charge in May, 1859. The material prosperity of the church during the administration of Bishop Miede was very slow, owing to the many hardships, privations and lack of money among the pioneers. Consequently, in 1859, there was only a brick church, with an addition for a priest's residence, and a sixty acre cemetery in Omaha, and a frame church at St. Johns, in Dakota county. However, missions or stations had been established at Rulo, Brownville, Nebraska City, Plattsmouth, Elkhorn, and other places.

Bishop Miede, as stated in his letter, asked for a division of his vast vicariate, and his wish was granted in January, 1857; but his jurisdiction did not cease until the arrival of Bishop O'Gorman in May, 1859.

The territory now forming the states of Nebraska, Wyoming, the Dakotas, and Montana was erected into the vicariate of Nebraska and taken from Bishop Miede; he retaining only the state of Kansas and a part of Colorado. In 1860 he made a trip across the plains to Denver, in his own conveyance, with a lay brother and administered baptism there for the first time on June 3, 1860.

He completed the Leavenworth cathedral in 1868; and shortly afterwards, in order to help pay off the indebtedness, he made a successful collection tour through South America.

He resigned his see on December 14, 1874, and retired to the Jesuit house of studies at Woodstock, Maryland, where he became spiritual adviser to the Jesuit scholastics.

In June, 1877, he was sent to Detroit, Michigan, to open and conduct the Jesuit college there until 1880, when he again retired to Woodstock, Maryland.

In the spring of 1883 he was prostrated by a stroke of paralysis, and later he suffered from a frightful burn, the result of an accident that deprived him of the full use of his hands.

In appearance the bishop was tall and of commanding presence, being well proportioned and of handsome countenance. As to his character, I quote the words of a distinguished layman who knew him personally: "His noble qualities were numerous, as a religious, a priest, and a bishop. His virtue and genial disposition caused him to be regarded with confidence and affection by the young and with deepest veneration by the old. With the highest endowments of mind and character he combined the most imperturbable modesty and humility. He had the rare

gift of being able to adjust himself to humors and characters. But one of his finest characteristics was the depth of his sympathy springing from a broad warm human heart."

Bishop Miede died on July 20, 1884, and the remains of the first and pioneer Catholic bishop in Nebraska rest among his brethren in the Jesuit cemetery in Woodstock, Maryland.

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BIRTH OF LINCOLN, NEBRASKA

BY CHARLES WAKE

[Paper read before the annual meeting of the Nebraska State Historical Society January 14, 1908.]

Mr. President, Pioneers of Nebraska, Ladies and Gentlemen:

When I returned to your city a few weeks ago after an absence of nearly forty years, I missed the once familiar faces of Elder Young, Dr. McKesson, John Cadman, Peter Schamp, Luke Lavender, and others of the pioneers who located the town of Lancaster, the county seat of Lancaster county.

I have been able to find but three of these pioneers as yet, Judge Pound, and Edward Warnes, who live in the city, and Mr. Hawker, now living at Havelock. These with myself are all of the antediluvians who were here before the flood — of citizens who came in after the location of the capital.

Mr. Warnes still lives on his homestead, a mile south of O street, where he has been the past forty-five years, and enjoys the unique experience of having seen 50,000 people settle around his once lonely cabin.

Right now I would like to ask how many of you who are here present were here with me on that eventful day in July, 1867, when Governor David Butler, Secretary Kennard and Auditor Gillespie came out on the front steps of Captain Donovan's house and announced that Lincoln, the capital of Nebraska, was by their proclamation located right here where we are now assembled. Will those who were here that day please hold up your hands.

Thank you. That is when our baby was born, and a right lusty youth it has become, worthy of the sturdy president whose name it bears. Since I promised Secretary

Paine to give you some recollections of the early days of Lincoln I have carefully read the published history of the city, and I find that the ground has been fairly covered by the historian, but there are a few things omitted which I may be able to supply.

The question has been asked, "How did a few poor homesteaders manage to donate 800 acres of land to the state of Nebraska in order to locate the capital at this point?" We were all poor enough in money, but rich in land, or, perhaps, we were "landpoor". The land we held had but little cash value. We had bought some of the best of it with "college scrip" at about sixty cents an acre, and the rest we had taken under the homestead and preemption laws. We made the donation in this way: Every settler within a few miles of Lancaster subscribed forty acres of land; then Dawson, Lavender and John Giles vacated as much of their farms as was needed to make the town site, and took other land and more of it in lieu of that which they relinquished.

Lavender gave up the eighty acres of his homestead on which the capitol is built and got as a balance an eighty of James Young which joined him on the east and a thousand dollars in cash. His demand for that thousand dollars came near wrecking the whole scheme. He was told that if he did not moderate his demands the capital would be located elsewhere, but he declared that rather than move away from his home and get nothing for his improvements he would let the capital go to the Blue river or elsewhere. After some heated talk about a rope necktie, tar and feathers, etc., we surrendered and in some way managed to satisfy him.

How this princely sum of a thousand dollars and some other hundreds needed to pay the government for its claim on these lands was obtained I have no knowledge. I remember that Elder Miller was deeply interested in the

scheme but did not put in any money of his own. He asked me if I would not rather give \$100 in cash than to give some of my land. I was willing but had not the money, so the Elder took my note and advanced the cash.

If I remember aright, when I came to this place in the fall of 1866, there was but one house that had both a board floor and a shingle roof. Dawson and Lavender lived in log houses with shingle roofs, but earthen floor. Elder Young's house had a board floor, but the roof was of earth. Dr. McKesson lived in a dugout half a mile north of O street. Mr. Hardenburg, who was interested in some salt works and kept a small store, had, I think, a stone house that was fairly comfortable and decently furnished. He was the one aristocrat of the town. He managed to sell out soon after and return to New Jersey. There was some timber in the county at that time and one or two saw mills. A man by the name of Cozad had one of these mills not far from where the Burlington depot now stands. Town lots were so cheap they were offered free to any one who would build a house worth \$100. A friend of mine secured a fifty foot lot on these terms just east of the present *Journal* office. He borrowed a wagon and two yoke of oxen, and I went with him to a sawmill on Oak creek where he loaded on cottonwood boards with which we built a shanty about sixteen by twenty or twenty-four feet. The snow was deep, we were poor teamsters, and had many mishaps by the way, but finally completed our task and moved into the new house on the first day of March, 1867 — a month long to be remembered by the early settlers of Nebraska, as every night the thermometer fell to zero or below. The last day of February was warm, the snow melted and every little ravine had a running stream.

A poor man living at the salt basin driving an ox team could not force them through the broken ice and melted snow. He labored with them until he was soaking wet,

then the weather suddenly turned intensely cold and he got home at last so badly frozen that, after weeks of suffering, he insisted that his feet should be amputated, and Doctor McKesson undertook the operation. He had no proper amputation saw, and I wish, right here, to correct a story that has often been told that the Doctor used a common handsaw for this surgical work. He borrowed the saw from my partner, Mr. Biles, who now lives in Los Angeles, California. It was a stiff-back saw with fine teeth, suitable for use in cabinet work, which Biles had brought from London, and though larger than a surgeon's saw it was very well adapted for such an emergency. One foot was taken off, but the patient was too weak to recover and died soon after.

There is another item of interest which I do not find recorded in the history, an incident which reflects honor on one of the early settlers in the new city; and the only excuse I can see for its omission is the thought that honorable deeds were so common in our midst that nothing else could have been expected of any of us. Yet I think the incident I am about to relate to you, and which doubtless some of you remember, is worthy to be spread on the records of this society; and when you erect that grand historical building which a generous legislature is going to pay for, I hope that somewhere in its marble halls there will be placed a memorial tablet to the memory of Darwin Peckham. Mr. Peckham was a carpenter and contractor, and he built the stone block of two stories still standing on the northeast corner of O and 10th streets, which was occupied by the banking house of James Sweet and Brock, the grocery house of Rudolph, and the general store of Martin Pflug and Brother. Whilst Mr. Peckham was busy earning money for the support of his family and perhaps laying the foundation for a modest competence, it was reported one day that in one of the hotels a man was sick

with smallpox. He was at once taken to a shanty on the outskirts of the town, and a volunteer nurse was called for. Mr. Peckham undertook this disagreeable and dangerous duty, caught the disease himself and barely escaped a horrible death. Mr. President, there are many men today wearing these bronze buttons in the lapels of their coats and drawing pensions from a grateful nation for heroic services on a hundred battlefields, who never performed a nobler deed, or suffered more for our common humanity than this unassuming citizen of whom I speak.

The other day I stood on O street and called the attention of a young law student to the lot on the corner of O and Eleventh streets, on which stands part of Rudge & Guenzel's store, and told him that I stood by and saw that lot sold for \$87.50; and he asked me why we did not all of us buy lots and grow rich by the investment. This is the question that naturally occurs to any one at this late day, and in self-defense it should be answered.

Nebraska at that time was supposed to be a great desert, not only by eastern people, but those who lived in the towns along the Missouri river really thought there was no land worth cultivating as far west as Lancaster county. The location of the capital was regarded as a doubtful project, and men with money to invest stood by and saw these choice lots sold for a mere song. It must be remembered there was not a mile of railroad south of the Platte river; that a large part of Iowa was still a howling wilderness; and even on the grand prairie in central Illinois land could then be bought for five dollars an acre. Some of those who had faith in the city and made heavy investments came to grief when hard times came. One heroic woman told me the other day that she took in washing during several of those hard years so as to pay taxes and save the family property.

It is curious how soon people forget, and though the history I here referred to is fairly accurate there are a few errors in it I take the liberty of pointing out. Mr. Bashley, the first lumber merchant in your city, is called Larkley. I remember him well. One of his first sales was to me. He and his son drove two mule teams to East Nebraska City and hauled lumber to the salt basin where I built a salt-house for Tichenor & Green. Pine lumber came in with the advent of the capital. In Lancaster times we used cottonwood and walnut. There was very fine walnut timber at that time on the streams west of here.

One curious error I notice recorded on page 154 of the history; not a matter of much consequence, but it might as well be put right. It is about the location of J. D. Minchall's first store. One man declared it was on P street, another said it was on O,—yet on the very same page is a picture of the store he really occupied — on Ninth street, just north of Dr. Gilbert's drugstore. If my version of this matter needed confirmation it could be confirmed by Nelson Brock. He and I, and Robert Bain, once your county treasurer, boarded next door with Mrs. Doctor Gilbert, and if I remember rightly he improved his spare time courting Mrs. Gilbert's sister. Dr. Gilbert sold hardware as well as drugs. The hardware, and I think the building also, belonged to Humphrey Brothers of Nebraska City. The old store has been removed to Twelfth and Q streets, where it is now doing duty as a wagon shop. When I saw it the other day I was puzzled to make out how we used to sleep *upstairs* in it. There certainly was an upstairs; but we must have been very careful those nights not to bump our heads against the rafters.

In Lancaster times Jacob Dawson was postmaster and Judge Pound was his deputy. I am sorry the judge did not hold that position a year longer; if he had I should be \$30 richer. The first Lincoln postmaster was a thief

and I lost that \$30 in the mail and the postmaster was sent to the penitentiary for this and other robberies. Captain Donovan, his father-in-law, induced Governor Butler to procure his pardon and he disappeared. S. B. Pound, the young lawyer, had so good a reputation for honesty, even in that early day, that a jury of six men, of whom I was one, refused to give a verdict against his client on the sole ground that three of the men declared it to be their unalterable conviction that Mr. Pound would not defend a case that was not absolutely correct and true. I am glad to know that after forty years the judge has not lived down his early reputation in a city where so many men have been wrecked.

I have sometimes boasted to my children that I was one of the founders of the city of Lincoln and also an incorporator of the State Historical Society; but on searching the records I find that your present association is of much more modern date, and I am forced to the conclusion that the old society died of neglect, and so we lost the block of lots which the commissioners donated to us when they laid out the city. That block is now occupied by farmers and others with loads of hay and many things more useful than ornamental.

Mr. President, I am glad we have a historical society here in Nebraska and an industrious secretary to keep a record of these things, some of which may seem trivial, as the doings of very common people. President Lincoln once said: "God must love the common people because he made so many of them." Whilst we have read much history that records the sayings and doings of kings and princes, who often were unworthy of the position they occupied, and of generals who led vast armies to fields of slaughter, and though we still admire the words of Longfellow—

"Lives of *great* men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime,"

I would add another sentiment for your consideration not expressed in melodious verse but in simple every day prose:

"Lives of honest men and virtuous women ever remind us that we are citizens of this great republic, and we are expected to live worthy and useful lives."

ENGLISH SETTLEMENT IN PALMYRA

BY REV. RICHARD WAKE

[A paper prepared for the Nebraska State Historical Society by Mr. Wake and read before the annual meeting of the Society, January 18, 1910, by his brother, Mr. Charles Wake.]

Palmyra was from its beginning chiefly an English neighborhood. During the winter of 1855-56 the writer of this paper, an Englishman and pastor of a Methodist church in northern Illinois, being impressed with the great opportunities offered by the West to people with habits of thrift and industry, wrote a series of letters to the *Christian World* of London, setting forth the conditions in the states of Illinois, Iowa, and Nebraska, the two last mentioned having then large tracts of unoccupied government land. I wrote especially of the inducements presented to the farming class in England, recommending that they and others possessed of small means should emigrate in companies to settle contiguously on these cheap lands, so that they might have from the beginning the advantages of society and thus be saved from the loneliness and consequent homesickness to which the solitary settler is liable. I invited correspondence and hundreds of letters were received showing great desire to follow my suggestions.

In April, 1866, I came west through Des Moines, Omaha, and Nebraska City, viewing the country yet unoccupied lying in western Iowa and eastern Nebraska. As government land in Iowa had been withdrawn from market to await the building of the railroads to the Missouri and the selection of railroad grants, Nebraska offered the most promising field for settlement. Securing a three months' vacation from my parish, I made a long promised visit to

England and embraced the opportunity thus offered to perfect arrangements for bringing out a colony to settle in the vicinity of what afterward became the town of Palmyra. Many who were anxious to come could not dispose of their property in time to return with me; but on the first of August, 1866, 115 men, women and children sailed on the steamship Denmark from Liverpool, landing in New York on the 17th and reaching Chicago on Sunday, August 19. Here those who did not possess sufficient means to establish themselves on homesteads sought and found employment. As then there was no railroad west of Des Moines, the families who intended to be farmers in Nebraska bought teams, weapons, and general outfits in Chicago, traveling overland from that city to their destination, with Nebraska City as the point for crossing the Missouri.

Of the party thus arriving early in September, 1866, I recall the names of F. Lucas, C. Dorman, B. Dorman, Wm. Pell, Dawson Collins, W. A. Harris, J. Johnson, E. Burrows, A. J. Harris, R. Sears, R. R. Ward, W. Sanders, J. Richards, F. R. Strachan, John Harding, J. Maycock, Thos. Cole, Fr. Lovett and E. Comley. Of these, Messrs. Johnson and Sears, after seven or eight years residence in Otoe County, returned and are now (1909) living in Bedfordshire, England. J. Harding opened a clothing store in Rulo, Nebraska. Dawson Collins established a music business in Nebraska City, and W. Sanders built a mill and elevator in Unadilla. Others of the party took homesteads in and around what is now Palmyra. Messrs. Burrows, Lucas and Dorman were among those who remained and who since have been known as among the most substantial citizens of Otoe county.

In the spring of 1870 a second party arrived under the leadership of Rev. Thomas Bell of Penrith, Cumberland. In this party were Messrs. Rootham, father and son, Mr.

John Reed and others. These have all passed away, but members of their families still remain.

So far as the writer has been able to ascertain, these settlers have done well. Though for some years they had to undergo the hardships and inconveniences inseparable from life in a new country, they have succeeded in making themselves good homes and have in some instances become quite wealthy. Not all immigrants are successful, often because they lack in themselves the qualities which insure success. But on the whole it may be claimed that the Palmyra pioneers have done well.

HISTORY OF FORT KEARNY

BY ALBERT WATKINS

In the whole realm of nature, institutions and incidents are the result of more or less complex influences. The story of the beginning of an institution such as Fort Kearny is therefore a fragment of the history of human environment, desire, and endeavor. In former papers I have traced the evolution of communication between the settled easterly part of the country and the great Northwest which resulted in the establishment of the Oregon trail. This story begins with the French discovery and occupancy of the Mississippi valley and the later squatting of trappers and Indian traders, whose chief base of operation was St. Louis, along the Missouri river. In 1682 Ferdinand LaSalle, passing down the Mississippi river, laid claim to the vast territory lying, roughly speaking, between the great river and the Rocky mountains, east and west, and the British possessions and the Gulf of Mexico, north and south. This country was called Louisiana, in honor of the reigning French monarch, Louis XIV. There was more or less desultory squatting along the Missouri river as early as the latter part of the eighteenth century; but the American purchase of Louisiana in 1803 gave a strong impetus to the movement, and from that time there was a gradual growth of occupancy by white people.

Six months before the great purchase was consummated, President Thomas Jefferson, probably the most astute and alert American expansionist, seems to have divined, intuitively, the American destiny of Louisiana; and so, moved in part at least by this premonition, it seems

reasonable to think, he proceeded to make arrangements for the Louis and Clark expedition. After Louisiana came into our possession, the expedition was sent out according to its original conception, its scope being only somewhat extended or broadened.

Before this, operations along the Missouri river had been confined to individuals or, at most, small partnerships. Five years after the purchase—in 1808—two strong companies were formed; and they together laid the foundation for the settlement of the upper half of the Purchase which eventually came under the territorial organization of Nebraska. Soon after 1840 the central belt of the Purchase came to be called “The Nebraska Country”, after its principal river. One of these two great organizations, the Missouri Fur Company, operated from the first along the Missouri river, and its representatives were therefore the first settlers and agriculturists of Nebraska. The other and stronger one, the American Fur Company, whose genius was John Jacob Astor, did not begin operations along the Missouri until 1822. Its first object was to gain possession of Oregon; and the Astorian expedition of 1810 was sent out for that purpose. In going out this famous expedition traversed the farther end of the Oregon trail. A part of the intrepid explorers, on their return in 1812 and 1813, passed over the rest of the trail,—except that, instead of taking the cut-off from the head of Grand Island to a point on the Missouri river, now the site of Kansas City, they continued down the Platte river to its mouth. Of course there was afterward some deviation, for improvement, from the course of these Astorians, until they struck the headwaters of the Platte river; but the fact that the permanent line of this great national highway deviated so little from that which the discoverers fumblingly followed, demonstrated that it was the most practicable road to the Columbia river.

Even after the Americans were victors in the revolution, the three leading European powers, Spain, France, and England, insolently disregarded our territorial limits and rights; and superior British aggression wiped Astor's north-western project off the American map. The purchase of Louisiana checked this European trespass, and the war of 1812 almost put an end to it. But there still remained the vexatious question of the northwest boundary. The first military post in the Nebraska country, known as Fort Atkinson, was established partly with reference to British aggression from the north and partly for the protection of our frontier from hostile Indians of the upper Missouri. Eventually these Indians, and especially the ferocious and powerful Blackfeet, discouraged traders in that region, and drove them across the Rocky mountains into the Snake river and Green river basins. In 1823 a formidable expedition under Colonel Leavenworth was sent up the Missouri river from Fort Atkinson to punish the Arikari Indians, whose villages were situated near the place where the new bridge of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul railroad crosses the river. In 1825 General Henry Atkinson led a force of 476 soldiers 120 miles above the Yellowstone to treat with the Indians and scare out British intruders. Two years later the fort was abandoned, and its equipment was carried down to its successor, Fort Leavenworth. This change illustrates an important stage in the evolution of traffic with the Northwest. While it is easy to see why Fort Leavenworth was established, it is not clear why military protection was so completely and abruptly withdrawn from the upper Missouri; but that question does not immediately concern our purpose.

In 1823 General William H. Ashley, a leading spirit in the Rocky Mountain Fur Company which was formed in 1822, was defeated in a battle with the treacherous Arikari, and his force of trappers and traders was badly cut to

pieces. The next year, therefore, he evaded the Missouri field and the Missouri route, and instead followed the Oregon trail to the lower fields beyond the mountains,—except that he ascended to Fort Atkinson and thence followed westward along the Platte river. The lower transmontane fur fields were now so well established that they called for a direct route to the St. Louis market and base of supplies. Heretofore peltries had been shipped mainly in bull boats down the Big Horn and the Yellowstone rivers to the Missouri and thence to St. Louis. Previous to 1830 pack animals had been used on the Oregon trail; but in that year three of Ashley's great lieutenants, Jedediah Smith, Daniel E. Jackson, and William A. Sublette took a train of fourteen wagons over the cut-off to the mountains. In 1832 the famous Captain Bonneville took a wagon train over the same route and through the south pass. These were the first wagons to cross the mountains. The same year Nathaniel Wyeth went over the cut-off through to Oregon;¹ but he abandoned his wagons beyond the main mountain divide. In 1836 Marcus Whitman, the colonizer of Oregon, went through nearly to the Columbia river with a wagon. In 1842 the first company of Oregon emigrants, numbering 120, went through over the trail from their rendezvous near Independence. A still larger company, numbering about 1,000, went in 1843. Dr. White's party of 1842 abandoned its wagons at Fort Hall, using pack horses the rest of the way. The party of 1843 took its wagons — about 120 — through to the Columbia. These were the first loaded wagons to pass over the entire length of the trail. The great highway had now won and deserved its name,— the

¹ That part of Wyeth's Journal which no doubt described this section of his route was, very unfortunately, lost. We have fairly credible statements that the party followed the Big Blue to its headwaters but circumstances raise more than a suspicion that the Little Blue was meant but miscalled.

Oregon trail. It remained distinct and celebrated over all its course, from Kansas City to the Columbia river, until it was superseded by the Pacific railroads to a point where it left the line of the Union Pacific. Railroads have since traversed the remainder of the trail, closely or approximately. Thus this great institution, like all other human institutions, owed its being to gradual growth and evolution and gave it up by the same process.

The location of Fort Leavenworth was chosen chiefly in recognition of the new and growing traffic by the Platte route. It is not so easy to understand why the second military post in Nebraska was located at Table Creek, afterward the site of Nebraska City. In accordance with an act of congress, passed July 2, 1836, Colonel Stephen W. Kearny and Captain Nathan Boone were appointed commissioners to locate a certain road and incidentally to establish this post. They reported from Fort Leavenworth, April 25, 1838, that they had selected "an eminence near the mouth of Table Creek as a site for the advance military post". The site was selected May 23, 1846, and the block-house, the first building, was erected in June. Colonel Kearny gave as the reasons for selecting this location that it would probably become the starting point from the Missouri river for the Oregon emigration and that it was in a dangerous Indian country. It did not become the starting point for Oregon emigration, but twelve years later it did become a very important starting point for carrying supplies to the military posts on the frontier and for the great Pike's Peak gold fields. In the meantime all danger from Indian hostility had vanished. The decision to establish the post at that place must have been merely half-hearted; for it was virtually abandoned within a few months, when its small garrison was diverted to the scene of the Mexican war, which had broken out in the

meantime; and it was finally abandoned in about ten months after it was begun.

In his report for 1840, the secretary of war recommended the construction of a fort "at the head of navigation on the Kansas river" and another "northwest of Fort Leavenworth, at Table Creek, on the Missouri, below the mouth of the Platte river. To connect this last post with Fort Snelling, a post ought to be constructed at or near the forks of the Des Moines". As yet there was no clear vision or planning beyond the Missouri river. This harking back to conditions which existed before continuous and considerable travel over the Oregon trail had begun explains the mistake of first placing Fort Kearny so far from that highway soon to become of more importance than the border line of frontier settlement.

There had been a more or less slumbering Oregon question between this country and Great Britain ever since the tentative or temporary open-door arrangement of 1818. President Monroe recommended in his last annual message — 1824 — the construction of a fort on the Columbia river to protect and forward American interests in the Oregon country. The genius of Wyeth and Whitman, which led them to take and stimulate active steps toward securing that region to the United States, challenged more positive official attention. In his report for 1841,² the secretary of war recommended the construction of a chain of posts "from the Council Bluffs to the mouth of the Columbia, so as to command the avenues by which the Indians pass from the north to the south, and at the same time maintain a communication with the territories belonging to us on the Pacific". This reference to Oregon was put in diplomatic phrase. It was doubtless intended to be the main part of the question. President Tyler endorsed the recommendation in his annual message of

² House executive documents, 1841-42, v. 1, doc. 2, p. 61.

the same year.³ An interesting part of this recommendation is the approval of the plan of Colonel J. J. Abert, topographical engineer, for establishing the proposed line of posts. In a report as chairman of the house committee on military affairs⁴ N. G. Pendleton (of Ohio) gave an exhaustive history and discussion of the Oregon question, in which he incorporated Colonel Abert's report of January 15, 1842. The engineer pointed out that the most practicable route to the Columbia river lay through the pass in the Black Hills, at about latitude 44° 30'; thence between these hills and "Big Horn Mountain"; then crossed the Three Forks of the Missouri; thence southwesterly to the headwaters of the Bitter Root; down that river to its junction with "Salmon or Lewis's river"; and down that river to the Columbia. Colonel Abert held that the starting point on the Missouri river ought to be as nearly opposite the trend of the western trail as practicable,—at some point between the great bend and the mouth of the White river. Though the south pass had been in use for ten years, Fremont had not yet made it well known; so that Colonel Abert's route was far too high up. His plan involved the shifting of Fort Leavenworth back again to Council Bluff as the initial extreme frontier point of his route, and he emphasized the advantage of three hundred miles of river transportation to the point of departure above the great bend. The small garrison at Fort Leavenworth would, he thought, be ample for the resuscitated post at Council Bluff; but he recommended a force of 500 foot and two companies of dragoons for the main post on the Missouri and a like force for the other principal posts at the mouth of the Columbia.⁵ In his annual message of

³ House executive documents, 1841-42, v. 1, doc. 2, p. 41.

⁴ Report of committees, 3d session 27th congress, v. 1, No. 31.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

1842⁶ President Tyler approved these recommendations of the war secretary for establishing means of communication "with our territories on the Pacific"; and though he would propose "nothing inconsistent with friendly negotiations, yet a prudent forecast points out the necessity of such measures as may enable us to maintain our rights". In his report for this year, the secretary of war repeats his recommendation of 1841.⁷

But by 1844 the Oregon emigration had become so important and had so distinctly marked out the lower and permanent trail, by way of the Platte river, that the secretary of war, in his report for that year,⁸ not only recommended the appropriation of \$100,000 "for erecting military posts from the Missouri river to the Rocky mountains", but also urged organization, under the name of Nebraska, of the territory which the Platte river and the Oregon trail bisected. He mentioned, as another incentive to the adoption of this line, the fact that "an excellent and more direct pass to Oregon" had been "discovered by recent exploration, about 150 miles southward of the great south pass". "The emigrants' trail to the Willamette", the secretary observed, "is at last traversed by every kind of conveyance." He said also that congress had been reluctant to enclose the territory west of the mountains owing to the "conflicting claims of a foreign nation".

In his annual message of 1845⁹ President Polk recommended the establishing of a suitable number of stockades and blockhouse forts along the usual route between our frontier settlements on the Missouri and the Rocky mountains, and that an adequate force of mounted riflemen be raised to guard and protect the emigrants on their journey.

⁶ House executive documents, 1842-43, v. 1, doc. 2, p. 9.

⁷ House executive documents, 1842-43, v. 1, doc. 2, p. 189.

⁸ House executive documents, 1844-45, v. 1, doc. 2.

⁹ House executive documents, 1845-46, v. 1, doc. 2.

He protested that this action would not violate existing treaty relations with Great Britain; but a little farther on he talks about "securing our rights in Oregon". During this year Colonel Stephen W. Kearny led a military expedition over the trail from Fort Leavenworth to the Rocky mountains, returning by way of the Arkansas valley. In his report of the expedition¹⁰ he estimated that 850 men, 475 women, 1,000 children, 7,000 head of cattle, 400 horses and mules, and 460 wagons had passed over the trail during the season of 1845. The chief engineer of the United States army in his report dated November 9, 1849, testified to the wisdom of establishing the posts on the Oregon route. "The events of the last eighteen months have added greatly to the importance of Forts Kearny and Laramie. Nearly 8,000 wagons, 30,000 people and 80,000 draught animals have passed along this thoroughfare on the way to California, Oregon and Salt Lake."¹¹ Major Osborn Cross, who accompanied the rifle regiment in its march from Fort Leavenworth to Oregon in 1849, estimated that from 8,000 to 10,000 wagons with an average of four persons to the wagon, passed Fort Kearny and Fort Laramie that year — nearly all bound for California.¹²

There were protests in both houses of congress in the discussion of the bill — passed May 19, 1846 — making an appropriation for a chain of posts, that no hostility to Great Britain was intended. But they also must be regarded as largely diplomatic.

In accordance with the act of congress a call was made on the state of Missouri, March 31, 1847, for a regiment of mounted volunteers, a part of which was to be used for establishing the new posts; but the exigency of the Mexican war drew the whole regiment to Santa Fe,

¹⁰ House executive documents, 1845-46, v. 1, doc. 2, p. 212.

¹¹ House executive documents, 1849-50, doc. 5, p. 225.

¹² Senate executive documents, 1850-51, doc. 1, p. 149.

and a battalion of similar troops was assigned to the duty in question.

From the report of the adjutant general, November 30, 1848, it appears that the rank and file of the regiment of mounted riflemen, originally designed to establish the posts on the Oregon route, were discharged at the close of the war with Mexico, but several companies had been reformed in the process of reorganizing the regiment "two of which have relieved Lieutenant Colonel Powell at the new post established on the Oregon route at Grand Island".¹³

The records of the adjutant general's office of the state of Missouri show that Ludwell E. Powell, forty-one years of age, was mustered into service, August 30, 1847, at Fort Leavenworth, as a lieutenant colonel "in L. E. Powell's battalion, Missouri Mounted Volunteers, during the war with Mexico unless sooner discharged", and that he was honorably discharged at Fort Leavenworth, November 11, 1848. During the month of July, 1848, Andrew W. Sublette, David McCausland, James Craig, William H. Rodgers, and Robert M. Stewart were mustered in as captains respectively of companies A, B, C, D, E, which formed the battalion. All of these officers were also honorably discharged at Fort Leavenworth, in the early part of November, except Captain Rodgers, who was "left sick at Savannah, Missouri". The five companies comprised 452 men and twenty-five officers, 477 in all.¹⁴

In an order dated June 1, 1847, William L. Marcy, secretary of war, directed that the battalion should march to its destination as soon as practicable; that an engineer would be charged with the location and construction of the posts and that his requisitions for labor, services, and reconnoissance must be supplied by regular details from

¹³ House executive documents, 1848-49, v. 1, p. 162.

¹⁴ House executive documents, 1847-48, v. 2, p. 77.

the troops of the command. "The commanding officer will be responsible for the completion of the works and will urge upon the troops that it is their duty first to build and then to garrison them." On the 3d day of August, 1847, Lieutenant Colonel Clifton Wharton, of the First dragoons, in command at Fort Leavenworth, wrote to the adjutant general — R. Jones — urging that it was too late in the season for the command to proceed to Grand Island and that it would be better to winter at Table Creek. Four companies of the battalion had arrived at Table Creek and the fifth was daily expected. On the 20th of August the adjutant general wrote to Lieutenant Colonel Wharton that he approved of this arrangement; but by October 13 he had changed his mind and on the ground that it would be very difficult, and not worth while, so late in the season, to construct quarters. It would be better to send the battalion back to Fort Leavenworth where it could be maintained more cheaply than at Table Creek. In reply Lieutenant Colonel Wharton wrote on the 27th of October that there was plenty of material upon the ground for the construction of barracks, etc., for the battalion, and that it would be the fault of the commander if the troops were not made comfortable for the winter. But he complained that Lieutenant Colonel Powell had been distributing his command "to a degree to retard the advancement even of temporary accommodations". One company had been detached, under order of the adjutant general, "to attend the Pottawattamie emigration". Another had been sent to Grand Island, on the requisition of the engineer officer, as an escort "for the purposes of a survey of the vicinity". At the instance of Major Harvey, superintendent of Indian affairs, Powell had sent heavy detachments from the remaining companies against the Sioux.

A contract had already been made for 20,000 bushels of corn for Powell's command at $37\frac{1}{2}$ cents a bushel — "a

price which I think quite reasonable". The somewhat peppery Wharton disputed the statement of the adjutant general that Table Creek was not in the direct route traveled by the emigrants. He reminded him that "the Missouri river is crossed by these people at very many points", and from some personal experience, and much information from others, he had become satisfied that "a better starting point for the troops could not be selected". He boldly suggested that stories traveling over the long distance to Washington might not be disinterested and ought not to be credited without caution. On the 6th of November Lieutenant Colonel Wharton again writes that on the 2d he had received a communication from Lieutenant Colonel Powell stating that "there are already some sixty good substantial log cabins, with straw and dirt roofs nearly completed", and that "my entire command will in a short time be in very comfortable quarters".

November 18, Lieutenant Colonel Wharton informs the adjutant general that the detachment which Lieutenant Colonel Powell had let go against the Sioux had returned, and, as he expected, "without seeing an Indian". Lieutenant Colonel Wharton complained also that Lieutenant Colonel Powell had ordered Lieutenant Daniel P. Woodbury, engineer officer, to Washington without consulting him. On the 23d of September this engineer had been sent to Grand Island by Lieutenant Colonel Powell with an escort of five officers and seventy-eight men "for the purpose of a survey of the vicinity". The escort returned to Table Creek October 23.

According to the record of the battalion it left Fort Leavenworth September 5, 1847, and arrived at Table Creek September 15. March 12, 1848, Lieutenant Colonel Powell relinquished command at Table Creek and left for Grand Island. April 28, 1848, eighteen officers and 375

men left Table Creek for Grand Island where they arrived June 1.

November 1, 1848, Captain Charles F. Ruff reported to the adjutant general that with his command, companies I and G, regiment of mounted riflemen, he arrived at "Fort Childs, Platte river", October 28, after having marched 280 miles from Fort Leavenworth in the most inclement weather. On his arrival he found that Lieutenant Colonel Powell, previously in command of the post, had left for Fort Leavenworth on or about October 9, leaving as a garrison one first lieutenant and eighteen privates. Captain Ruff immediately ordered this garrison to follow to Fort Leavenworth, October 30. He complained bitterly that his command would have to endure extreme hardships and, he feared, much suffering during the winter. They would be compelled to erect shelters for both men and horses, the weather was already exceedingly cold and the sod and sun-dried brick, the material of which the post was to be constructed, could not be procured or worked in the snow, which was threatening to come.¹⁵ On account of the scarcity of forage, he had sent a part of the horses back to Fort Leavenworth, reserving only seventy-three, and he feared that the larger portion of these would perish of exposure on the prairies without shelter. The entire command, with the exception of a sufficient guard, was at work constructing shelters under the direction of First Lieutenant Woodbury of the engineer corps. Captain Ruff bitterly complained, also, that Lieutenant Colonel Powell had even ordered or permitted Assistant Surgeon Joseph Walker, U. S. A., to go with him to Fort Leavenworth, leaving the garrison entirely without medical attendance.

¹⁵ Powell's command, for some unexplained reason, had done nothing toward erecting quarters, so that Captain Ruff's complaints had a more substantial basis than the natural or usual contempt of the regular for the volunteer. See Bancroft's Works, v. 25, pp. 689-91, for some rather inaccurate information.

The troops, being composed entirely of raw recruits, were especially in need of a medical officer. They were also absolutely suffering for want of good and sufficient clothing. Captain Ruff was informed that Lieutenant Colonel Powell had employed an experienced mountain trapper and trader as an express rider, at \$50.00 a month — \$55.00 for the winter months. As it would be impossible to procure mail during the winter "by means of any soldier of the command", the captain had decided to retain this rider until his action could be passed upon by the secretary of war or the opening of safe travel in the spring.

February 26, 1849, Captain Ruff again reported the condition of affairs at "Hd'q'rs. Squadron Mounted Riflemen, Fort Childs, Oregon Route". He urged the absolute necessity of mounted troops "to render the garrison effective amidst Indian tribes, who may be said to live on horseback". There should be two mounted companies and one company of infantry at this post, situated, as it was, "more than 200 miles beyond and west of the frontier of Missouri and of civilization, in the midst and on the very battle ground of the most numerous and at the same time the most inveterate enemies of each other (Pawnee and Sioux Indians), on the great and only traveled road from one-half of our continent to the other half, there is no post on the western frontier of equal importance to the safety of life and property — of a vast emigration and great trade".

Captain Ruff pointedly asked whether Fort Kearny — at Table Creek — or Fort Leavenworth was to be the depot of supplies for Fort Childs. He thought that the Table Creek post should be abandoned. "The only possible good to be derived from occupying Fort Kearny is the obtaining the better road and direct route to this post and others on the Oregon route; a military garrison is not necessary there for the protection of the frontiers of Missouri, this post being for that purpose far more effectual

with a garrison of mounted troops. If, on the other hand, Fort Leavenworth is to be the depot for this route, a survey of a practicable road should at once be directed either from this post to Fort Leavenworth or from Fort Leavenworth to this post; the present traveled route is totally impracticable for heavily loaded wagons; in consequence the supplies intended for this post will probably be transported by the Missouri river to Fort Kearny before the proper survey can be made. . . . It is proper to add that Fort Kearny is fifty miles nearer to this post than Fort Leavenworth is." But the first Fort Kearny project had already been abandoned, virtually, the adjutant general having issued an order, dated June 22, 1846, to suspend work there "for the present"; and it was not resumed. The last remnant of the garrison left for Fort Leavenworth July 19, 1846. Subsequent operations at the short-lived fort were entirely incidental to the work of establishing its substitute on the Platte. Ten years later Table Creek, now become Nebraska City, was made a military depot and shipping point of supplies for the western posts. In 1858-59 a vast amount of munitions was transported to Nebraska City by steamboats on the Missouri river and thence overland to Utah to supply the army stationed there on account of the Mormon rebellion.

Lieutenant Colonel Powell dated his first return,—reporting the arrival of his command at Table Creek—"Fort Kearny, Missouri River, September 30, 1847." It is probable that this was the first formal application of the Kearny patronymic to a military post.

Six months after the new post had been given a local habitation it received a name through an order of the war department, dated December 30, 1848:

"The new post established at Grand Island, Platte river, will be known as Fort Kearny.

By order:

R. JONES, Adjutant General."

Until this formal designation the names of the post were of a catch-as-catch-can variety. In the statement of the distribution of troops contained in the report of the secretary of war for 1848 the fort is called "the post at Grand Island", while "Fort Childs" was a common designation in the official correspondence. This name appears to have been applied, though without formal authority, by the soldiers who had more or less to do toward establishing the post.

It appears from the report of the secretary of war for 1846 that Colonel Childs cut an important figure during the Mexican campaign of that year. Brevet Brigadier General W. J. Worth, who commanded the assault on Monterey, September 20, 1846, reports¹⁶ that Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Childs, of the artillery battalion,— afterward colonel of the Third artillery — was put at the head of the assaulting party. But General Kearny cut a still larger figure, and consequently his name cut out the lesser one and became perpetuated successively in the post, the county in which it was situated and the important town which sprang up on the line of the Union Pacific railroad on the opposite side of the Platte river.

The spelling of the final name was more varied than the names themselves had been. Until 1857 the name was usually spelled correctly. In the official reports of that year the letter e is sometimes injected into the second syllable. In the reports of the war department for 1846 the name is uniformly spelled as General Kearny wrote his name,¹⁷

¹⁶ Report of the secretary of war, house executive documents, 1846-47, v. 1, doc. 4, p. 102.

¹⁷ In a communication to the Nebraska State Historical Society, published in volume 3 of its Transactions and Reports, p. 317, Lieutenant Edgar S. Dudley expresses his opinion that General Kearny spelled his name with the additional e. But this unwarranted decision is based mainly upon the statement that the signature appears so spelled in volume 7, American State Papers (Military Affairs), p. 961. But this is a printed signature and so is of little evidential value. Examination of General Kearny's written signature at Washington shows that he left out the e, and this spelling preponderates in the official publications.

without the second e; and it is so spelled in the reports of General Sherman and General Babcock for 1866. Unfortunately the alien has become so firmly established that to oust it at this late day would be difficult, though not impracticable. That one of our most important historic memorials is thus a misnomer is certainly unfortunate. It is a great pity that the carelessness, or misapprehensive care, which is responsible for this misfortune, was not diverted to more effectually disguising the names of cheap politicians which are fastened upon many of our counties.

The post on the Platte came to be commonly called New Fort Kearny to distinguish it from its predecessor at Table Creek. It is so called in the act of congress of February 17, 1855, which authorized the construction of a wagon road from Omaha to the fort, and in war department papers almost up to the time of its abandonment. After the real Old Fort Kearny had vanished from sight and faded in memory, popular carelessness and misapprehension insisted in contradictorily substituting the distinguishing adjective of its name for "New" which properly distinguished the real New Fort Kearny on the Platte; and this misleading misnomer is getting almost as firmly fixed as the usurping e in the proper part of the name.

Captain Ruff was deeply impressed with the humanity "of permitting to the commanding officers of the posts on this route the exercise of a sound discretion in making issues of provisions to emigrant parties of our own citizens who, either in returning from or going to Oregon, frequently stand in need of instant and substantial relief". Parties had passed during the last fall who would have perished from want but for the relief offered by private charity.

According to the report of the adjutant general, November 28, 1849, Captain Ruff's command was soon relieved by one company of the First dragoons and two companies of the Sixth infantry. This third garrison was

under Brevet Major Robert H. Chilton. Major Osborn Cross, quartermaster of the United States army, in his report of the march of the regiment of mounted riflemen to Oregon in 1849, said that the few buildings that were then inhabited were made of sward cut in the form of adobes. The hospital was the only building in course of erection. Gardens had been started to little purpose, but he conceded that in time, when the qualities of the soil were better found out, vegetables would be raised in abundance and also grain of every description. Colonel Bonneville — the famous "Captain Bonneville" who owes his fame to Washington Irving, was commandant of the post at that time.¹⁸ Captain Ruff's command went to Oregon with the regiment of mounted riflemen to which it belonged. Brevet Brigadier General Joseph T. Totten, chief engineer of the United States army, in his report for 1849, said that in the fall of 1848 three temporary buildings were erected at Fort Kearny for quarters for officers and men (two companies); a bakery, stables for the horses of one company each, also temporary, and a large adobe storehouse finished. During the season a hospital containing four rooms below and two attic rooms had been built, and a two-story building for soldiers' quarters was under way and would be finished before winter. A good temporary magazine had already been erected. During the year 1850 there were built a two-story building, seventeen by nineteen feet, with four rooms, for officers' quarters, two halls, a piazza front and rear and attic room; and a guardhouse fifteen by twenty-five feet. The roof of the adobe storeroom was covered with sheet lead. The three frame buildings erected the year before were now nearly finished.

William Kelly, an English traveler, who passed over the trail in 1849, said of Fort Kearny that, "The states have stationed a garrison of soldiers in a string of log huts

¹⁸ House executive documents 1850-51, v. 1, doc. 1, p. 138.

for the protection of the emigrants; and a most unsoldierly looking lot they were — unshaved, unshorn, with patched uniforms and lounging gait. Both men and officers were ill-off for some necessities such as flour and sugar, the privates being most particular in their inquiry for whiskey.” Captain Howard Stansbury, United States topographical engineer, who led an expedition over the trail to Salt Lake City in the same year, described the fort as follows: “The post at present consists of a number of long, low buildings, constructed principally of adobe, or sun-dried bricks, with nearly flat roofs; a large hospital tent; two or three workshops, enclosed by canvas walls; storehouses constructed in the same manner; one or two long adobe stables with roofs of brush; tents for the accommodation of horses and men.”

In October, 1863, eight companies of the Seventh Iowa cavalry regiment, which had been detailed from the South for the purpose of protecting the Nebraska frontier from Indians, arrived at Fort Kearny. Eugene F. Ware, a lieutenant in the regiment, who afterward became commissioner of pensions and otherwise well known, described what he saw at and about the fort in his book, “The Indian War of 1864”. At that time the two main roads from the Missouri, one of which started from Leavenworth and the other from Omaha, united at Kearney City or Dobytown, and travel on the Omaha route crossed the Platte river opposite that noted and notorious emporium, and so about two miles east of the fort. “The volume of travel was much larger on the southern prong, and these two great currents of overland commerce meeting at Dobytown fixed the spot where the toughs of the country met and had their frolics. Large quantities of the meanest whisky on earth were consumed here, but, strange as it may appear, there were large quantities of champagne sold and drank here.” Army officers and many wealthy travelers to and

from the rich western gold fields were no doubt accountable for this esoteric taste. Supplies for the West in great quantities were stored in a vast warehouse at the fort. The commissary was authorized to sell provisions at cost to indigent and hungry persons on requisition by the post commander. These stores were kept mainly to supply western military posts in case of emergency. The post commander was also permitted to feed gratuitously hungry Indians of the propinquity. A number of barrels of whisky were among the stores in the warehouse, some of them having been there since 1849.

“The post itself was a little old rusty frontier cantonment. The buildings were principally made out of native lumber hauled in from the East. The post had run down in style and appearance since the regulars left it. The fuel was cottonwood cordwood cut down on the island of the Platte. The parade ground was not very large, and had around it a few straggling trees that had evidently been set out in large numbers when the post had been made; a few had survived, and they showed the effect of the barrenness and aridity of the climate. They looked tough.”

It is popularly believed that the lines of great cottonwood trees which now adorn the east and south sides of the parade ground were planted as early as 1849; but if this statement is correct many of them must have been planted much later. The largest building was on the south side of the square, and on its second floor there was a commodious room which appeared to have been used as an officers' club or assembly room. It was customary for officers who visited this room to write their names upon the large chimney breast which was faced with hard plaster. Among these names were many that became eminent during the civil war, including that of Robert E. Lee, the great commander-in-chief of the southern armies. The quadrangular earthworks, with bastions at each corner, a short distance east of the parade ground, are still prom-

inently visible. It seems superfluous to say that steps should be taken to preserve this most interesting historic relic from further disintegration.

The prospects of peace on the plains seemed so roseate in 1852 that the military authorities at Washington advised the withdrawal of troops from Fort Kearny and the construction of a military post at the junction of the Republican and Kansas rivers which, it was contended, would afford protection to both of the great trails,— the Oregon and the Santa Fe. Of course this view might be attributed to usual long distance ignorance of western conditions, indicated by the failure to anticipate the great Indian war which broke out in 1864,¹⁹ or to the domineering aggression of the South, then at its worst.

Though Fort Kearny continued to be an important military point up to about 1865, when the principal troubles with the Indians had been shifted farther west, north, and south, yet its garrisons were always relatively small, running as a rule from one to two companies. Its use was in the main for defensive protection of the great traffic over the Oregon and California roads and, later, of the construction of the Union Pacific railroad.

On the 17th of May, 1866, General O. E. Babcock arrived at Fort Kearny on a tour of inspection of military posts in the West. He observed that "the transitory state of affairs at Fort Kearny prevented the neat appearance that would otherwise characterize the post. I see no reason why this post should not be dispensed with, and the garrison sent to some point where they will be of service. Perhaps this cannot well be done before next spring." Fort McPherson, ninety miles beyond, now superseded Fort Kearny in importance, and the inspector complimented its appear-

¹⁹ Report quartermaster general, house executive documents, 1852-53, v. 1, part 2, pp. 71, 127, and letter of T. T. Fauntleroy of First dragoons.

ance and condition. It should be noted that in this report the name of the post is spelled correctly without the e in the second syllable.²⁰ General William T. Sherman, who visited this part of his general command in the same year, observed that there was a great deal of travel by Fort Kearny. He found no trains of heavily loaded wagons on the north side of the Platte but many emigrants. The great bulk of travel that season left the Missouri river at Atchison and Nebraska City and followed the usual military route by the south side of the Platte. In a report from "Fort McPherson, Cottonwood", August 21, 1866.²¹ General Sherman relates that General Grenville M. Dodge, engineer of the Union Pacific railroad, had given his party a special train and accompanied it to the end of the road, about five miles northeast of Fort Kearny. The depot of the road would be about four and a half miles from the fort. "We had to cross the Platte, as mean a river as exists on earth, with its moving shifting sands, and I feel a little lost as to what to say or what to do about Fort Kearny. It is no longer of any military use so far as danger is concerned, and now that the railroad is passing it in sight but with a miserable, dangerous and unbridgable river between, it must be retained for the sake of its houses and the protection of wagon travel, all of which still lies to the south side of the river. General Wessels commands and has two companies at Kearny and two companies thirty-five miles higher up at Plum Creek, where General Pope thought there was or might be danger from some roving bands of Indians which had hunted buffalo to the south over about the Republican. All of these companies belong to the Fifth United States volunteers (rebels) that I want to muster out and must muster out somehow this fall; but I will defer making an emphatic order until I look up the

²⁰ House executive documents, 2d session 39th congress, doc. 20, p. 2.

²¹ House executive documents, 2d session 39th congress, doc. 23, p. 5.

line further and see where other troops are to come from to protect the stores and property. At Kearny the buildings are fast rotting down and two of the largest were in such danger of tumbling that General Wessels had to pull them down, and I will probably use one of them to shelter some horses this winter and next year let it go to the prairie dogs, same of the temporary station at Plum Creek."

General Sherman and his escort, armed with "Spencers", proceeded up the valley to Fort McPherson in five spring wagons. The "rebels" in question were paroled confederate prisoners who had been utilized for garrison duty. A trifling story has been repeated in several historical publications that when General William T. Sherman was at Fort Kearny in the summer of 1866 some of these adapted soldiers applied insulting epithets to him and that thereupon he petulantly decided that the post should be discontinued forthwith. As General Babcock intimated, abandonment of the post had been contemplated by the war department for some time. It is interesting to note, incidentally, that on this trip of inspection General Babcock traveled by stage from Atchison and arrived at Fort Kearny May 17.

Explanation of the presence of these confederate prisoners under enlistment in the army of the United States is an interesting story in itself. On the 25th of February, 1865, the house of representatives passed a resolution requesting the secretary of war to make a report upon this subject of the enlistment of rebel soldiers. Secretary Stanton, responding on the 28th, said that in 1863 461 confederate prisoners had been enlisted for the Third Maryland cavalry and credited to that state, and eighty-two for the First Connecticut cavalry and credited to that state. This class of enlistments was stopped by an order of the war department, August 21, 1863; but afterward 120 more prisoners were enrolled in the third Maryland regiment.

All of the soldiers enlisted as above were paid the regular bounty. Afterward, at Point Lookout, Maryland, 1,105 prisoners were enlisted for the First United States volunteers and 379 for the Second United States volunteers. These were not credited to any state, and enlistment was again stopped in September, 1864. The second regiment was sent by General Grant to the Northwest for service there. Under special instruction by President Lincoln, in September and October, 1864, 1,750 more prisoners, held at Rock Island, Illinois, were enlisted and credited to the state of Pennsylvania, excepting twelve, which were credited to Ohio. These recruits received local bounties paid by the places to which they were credited. On application of General Pope, of the department of the Missouri, they were ordered to his command and as we have seen, part of them were assigned to Fort Kearny.²²

Samuel Bowles, editor of the Springfield *Republican*, observed that in 1865 there were two regiments of infantry, "all from the rebel army", among the troops on the plains. Mr. Bowles declared that they had cheerfully enlisted in the federal service, that they were all young but hardy looking men, and the colonel—probably of the Eleventh Ohio regiment—"testified heartily to their subordination and sympathy with their new service. They are known in the army as 'whitewashed rebs', or, as they call themselves, 'galvanized Yankees'."²³ Albert D. Richardson who was of the same party—with Bowles—relates that the four cavalrymen who escorted it and the soldiers who guarded the stations, "were all rebel prisoners or deserters who had taken the oath of allegiance and enlisted in the United States service. They styled themselves 'galvanized' Yankees; were faithful, prompt and well-disciplined."²⁴

²² House executive documents, 1864-65, v. 13, doc. 80.

²³ Across the Continent, p. 11.

²⁴ Beyond the Mississippi, pp. 328, 331.

Captain Henry E. Palmer, of Omaha, relates that in August, 1864, he was instructed by General Curtis, then head of the department of Kansas, to take command of a detachment of the Eleventh Ohio volunteer cavalry, sixty men, "every one of them lately confederate soldiers with John Morgan on his raid into Ohio, captured there and confined at Columbus. They had enlisted in the federal service under the pledge that they were to fight Indians and not rebels. I was to conduct these men to Fort Kearny and there turn them over to Captain Humphreville of the Eleventh Ohio".²⁵ Captain Palmer's statement that these men were enlisted in an Ohio regiment conflicts with the report of Secretary Stanton.

In March, 1865, Lieutenant Eugene F. Ware traveled from Seneca, Kansas, to Fort Kearny in company with six young soldiers who "had been selected from among the capable sergeants of the state regiments" for lieutenants of the Third United States volunteers; and he characterized the adapted recruits of the regiment as follows:

"These 'United States volunteers', as they were called, were soldiers recruited from the military prison-pens at Chicago and Rock Island, and were made up of men taken from the Southern Confederacy who were willing to go West and swear allegiance to the United States on the condition that they would not be requested to go South and fight their own brethren. They wanted to get out of prison, were tired of the war, didn't want to go back into the service, did not want any more of the Southern Confederacy, did not want to be exchanged, and were willing to go into the United States service for the purpose of fighting the Indians. A detachment of these troops had gone up the road from Omaha, but I had not seen them. They were called 'galvanized Yanks'."

General Sherman's observation that he found ranches every few miles, consisting "usually of a store, a house and

²⁵ Illustrated History of Nebraska, v. 2, p. 188.

a big pile of hay for sale", illustrates the fact that the great through highway was a means of introducing interior Nebraska to the outside world, and also of starting settlement and agriculture here. The relentless, and by no means optimistic, old warrior shows us that graft is not indigenous to our degenerate days. Of Fort Sedgwick, just across the Nebraska-Colorado line, he said: "This is the post where wood is to be hauled sixty miles; cost last year \$111.00 a cord, but this year \$46.00 by contract. Hay is also an item, costing \$34.00 a ton." Then he goes on to say that in spite of these conditions the divergence of the Denver and Salt Lake and the Laramie roads — where Fort Sedgwick was situated — was a military point and must be held.

General Augur, commander of the department of the Platte, in his report for 1870,²⁶ said that under an order of the war department Fort Kearny and Fort Sedgwick had been abandoned as military posts, "being no longer necessary". The stores and material at Fort Kearny, not required by troops in the camp south of it, were transferred to Fort McPherson. "The buildings at Fort Kearny are very old and of little value and the lumber not worth moving. A vast amount of old iron has accumulated at this post which may be of some value when the railroad south of the Platte is completed to that point."

Major George D. Ruggles, adjutant general, department of the Platte, in his report for the year 1875 to General George Crook, commander of the department, said: "During the year (1875) the few buildings at Fort Kearny have been pulled down and removed to North Platte and Sidney Barracks. The reservation still belongs to the government."²⁷

²⁶ House executive documents, 1870-71, v. 1, doc. 1, p. 31.

²⁷ Messages and documents — war department — 1875-76, p. 71. The report is dated September 16, 1875, at Omaha.

The reservation proper of Fort Kearny, ten miles square, was situated in townships 7, 8, and 9, ranges 14, and 15 west. The northern part of the reservation — about one mile in width — lay north of the Platte river. The eastern limit of the islands pertaining to the reservation was about one mile east of the west line of range 12; the west boundary was about one mile east of the west line of range 17, just beyond the head of Long Island. The east boundary intersected Elm Island. By order of the secretary of war, January 29, 1848, and of the adjutant general, February 2, 1848, the officer in command was directed to set aside a reservation ten miles square. This reservation was surveyed by the war department in 1859 and connections made with the public surveys by Deputy Charles W. Pierce, under instructions from the United States surveyor general, dated May 24, 1859. The west line of the reservation ran within a mile and a quarter of the west side of range 15, and it extended about the same distance on the east side beyond five sections of range 14. It ran approximately one mile and a seventh into township 9, extended entirely across township 8, and two miles and six-sevenths into township 7. The flagstaff was situated near the southwest corner of section 22, township 8, range 15 — approximately two miles from the west line of the reservation. The township lines of the reservation were surveyed in June and July, 1859, and the subdivisions August 25, 1859, by Charles W. Pierce. The original reservation, which was ceded by the Pawnee in a treaty made with Lieutenant Colonel Powell, August 6, 1848, extended from a point on the south side of the Platte river five miles west of the fort, thence due north to the crest of the bluffs north of the river, thence east along the crest of the bluffs to the termination of Grand Island, “supposed to be about sixty miles distant”, thence south to the southern shore of the river, thence west along the southern

shore to the place of beginning. That part of the reservation south of the Platte river already belonged to the United States when the fort was established, having been ceded by the Pawnee in 1833. December 2, 1876, the reservation was relinquished to the interior department for disposal under the act of congress of July 21, 1876, which directed that it should be surveyed and offered to "actual settlers only at minimum price, under and in accordance with the provisions of the homestead laws". August 29, 1876, instructions were forwarded to the surveyor general to survey the reservation in accordance with the act of congress.

The surveyor general of Nebraska, in his report for 1860, stated that Wood River valley was the tract then most eligible for survey, "by reason of its present population who have gone there without knowing it to be a military reserve, under the treaty with the Pawnee of the 6th day of August, 1848, and who were undisturbed because the officers at Fort Kearny did not themselves know that it was a reserve".²⁸

Most of the earlier travel to Utah and the Pacific coast which passed, or started from points on the Missouri river north of the Platte river continued along its north side; but after the discovery of the Pike's Peak gold fields most of it crossed at Shinn's ferry, fifteen miles east of Columbus, or at a point opposite the fort. From the first, of course, more or less of the north side through traffic crossed to the south side because Fort Kearny was a convenient place to replenish supplies of various kinds. Kearney City was a by-product of the fort — the seat of such traffic, commercial or otherwise, virtuous and vicious, as might not properly be carried on at the post or within the reservation.

²⁸ Messages and documents, 1860-61, p. 178.

An act of the territorial legislature, passed January 10, 1860, authorized the organization of Kearney county and defined its boundaries, which included the territory now comprised in the counties of Franklin, Harlan, Kearney and Phelps. The act in question directed the governor to appoint county officers; and he thereupon commissioned J. Tracy, Amos O. Hook and Moses Sydenham for county commissioners; Dr. Charles A. Henry, county clerk; John Holland, treasurer; Thomas Collins, sheriff; John Talbot, probate judge. Kearney City was designated in the act as the county seat. It was established by the Kearney City Company in the spring of 1859 and was situated just outside the western line of the Fort Kearny reservation, two miles due west from the fort. It grew up on trade with the occupants of the fort and travelers to California, Oregon, Salt Lake City and the Pike's Peak gold fields. In the spring of 1860, according to a statement in the *Huntsman's Echo* — November 2, 1860 — there were only five "hovels" in Kearney City; but by November of that year it had grown to forty or fifty buildings, about a dozen of them stores. According to the same paper — of April 25, 1861 — there were 200 residents and a half dozen stores in Kearney City at that date. The opening of the Union Pacific railroad — in that part of the territory in 1866 — attracted business and inhabitants from Kearney City. In 1860 it was not recognized in the United States census while the population of the county was 469; so that the place grew up suddenly during the latter part of the year. At the election of 1860, 111 votes were cast in the county; in 1864, 61; in 1865,²⁹ 16; in 1866, 28. There were no more

²⁹ An act of the legislature — tenth session — passed February 9, 1865, attempted to revive the organization of the county by ordering a special election for county officers to be held on the second Monday of March, in that year, at the store of William D. Thomas, Kearney City. [Laws of Nebraska, 10th territorial session, p. 61]

election returns from the county after 1866, until 1872, when, under reorganization, fifty-eight votes were cast. It appears that the county government was dormant in the intervening time. It was revived by authority of a proclamation issued by Acting Governor William H. James, May 2, 1872, ordering an election for county officers, to be held "at the town of Lowell", June 17, 1872.

The name of the most notable soldier of the plains was passed around very much as was done by Council Bluffs. In 1866 a station called Kearny, or Kearny Station, was established on the Union Pacific railroad at a point opposite the fort. It became the first capital of Buffalo county and had prospects until, in 1872, the Burlington road from Plattsmouth intersected the Union Pacific at a point five miles west of the first railroad namesake and proceeded to take the lead in importance and growth. The name of Kearny Station was changed to Buda and its rival was named Kearney Junction; but the needless second word has been happily dropped.

The order of the secretary of war dated June 1, 1847, contemplated that the Missouri battalion should establish both Fort Kearny and Fort Laramie. We have seen that both Lieutenant Colonel Wharton and Captain Ruff charged Lieutenant Colonel Powell with serious lack of judgment and remissness of duty. Making due allowance for the usual antipathy of regulars for mere volunteers, it yet seems proper to attribute the early and abrupt dismissal of Lieutenant Colonel Powell and his command to these complaints. Nevertheless, it is proper to call him the founder of the post, though Lieutenant Woodbury, it seems, established its definite location, and with his engineer corps, under Captain Ruff's command, directed the first construction work. To Captain Ruff, then, and his heroic band of regulars must be awarded the honor of actually or materially establishing the post and that under the most trying

circumstances. Under date of November 18, 1847, Lieutenant Colonel Wharton complained that Powell had ordered the engineer to Washington; and he probably started soon after returning to Table Creek from his first visit to the site of the projected New Fort Kearny. For, in a letter dated at Washington March 2, 1848, he advises that if, as he evidently supposed, old Fort Kearny was to be abandoned, a large quantity of doors, window sashes, shingles, pine boards, etc., ought to be used in the construction of the new post; and March 20 the application was approved by the secretary of war. Thus, though Powell planted and Woodbury watered, it was the modest and courageous Ruff who gave the increase. It is pleasant to discover that the records of the war department show that Captain Ruff must have possessed the sterling qualities which his services at Fort Kearny would imply. August 1, 1847, he received the title of brevet major for gallant conduct in the affair at San Juan de los Llanos, Mexico. He became major of the mounted rifles December 30, 1856; lieutenant colonel June 10, 1861, and was retired March 30, 1864. He received the title of brevet brigadier general March 13, 1865, for faithful and meritorious service in recruiting the armies of the United States.

While Woodbury achieved the same regular rank as Ruff — lieutenant colonel —, June 1, 1863, he rose a grade higher in meritorious distinction,—receiving the brevet rank of major general for meritorious services during the war. He became brevet colonel July 1, 1862, for gallant and meritorious service during the peninsular campaign; brevet brigadier general December 13, 1862, for the same merit at the battle of Fredericksburg; and August 15, 1864, brevet major general for meritorious services during the war. Major Thomas Childs attained the regular rank of major of the First artillery, February 16, 1847; brevet colonel, May 9, 1846, for gallant services at Palo Alto and Resaca

de la Palma. Stephen W. Kearny probably excelled them all in the merit of general service. His regular rank was brigadier general, attained June 30, 1846. He became brevet major general December 6, 1846. He died October 31, 1848, just two months before the order was issued to confer his name upon the famous Nebraska post,— a mutual honor.

In civil parlance we should call this a splendid quartet. In military terms it was a glorious one. I am sure that all who read this story will agree to these two suggestions: that restitution of the name of the most noted of these heroes to his accidental mis-namesakes — Kearney county and the beautiful memorial city across the Platte — be made as soon as practicable by dropping the e from its second syllable; and that a suitable monument be erected in memory of Lieutenant Colonel Powell, Captain Ruff, and Lieutenant Woodbury, actual founders of the post;— and if I were to select an inscription for such a monument the name of Captain Ruff, the actual builder, who performed his work under conditions which educed the finest strain of heroism and human sympathy, should lead all the rest.

The adjutant general, in his report dated November 28, 1849, said that, "as it may not be practical to provide sufficient quarters for the troops the present season, the commanding officer has been authorized to order one of the infantry companies to Fort Leavenworth". From 1851 to 1857, inclusive, the garrison of Fort Kearny consisted of one company of the Sixth infantry under Captain Henry W. Wharton, except for the last year when First Lieutenant E. G. Marshall was in command. In 1858 the garrison consisted of one company of the Fourth artillery, under Captain J. P. McCown. Colonel E. V. Sumner is reported "on the Platte near Fort Kearny" with three companies of the First cavalry;³⁰ and three companies of the

³⁰ See *Illustrated History of Nebraska*, v. 2, p. 153.

Third artillery were at a point on the Big Blue, 132 miles from Fort Leavenworth.³¹ In 1859 the garrison comprised one company of the Second dragoons and one of the Fourth artillery, under Major W. W. Morris. When the civil war broke out in the spring of 1861 there were two companies of the First cavalry and one of the Second dragoons under Captain Edward W. B. Newby. It appears that Captain Newby was ordered south with his command in the latter part of 1861. Under him at Fort Kearny was Captain Charles H. Tyler. He was born in Virginia and sent to the military academy at West Point from that state. He had been promoted from a lieutenancy to his captaincy January 28, 1861; but devotion to his state and section overcame his specific allegiance and his larger loyalty to the Union. Accordingly he started a little campaign of his own by spiking the cannon at the fort. Stories of this enterprise differ, some of them giving the number of disabled howitzers as ten and other accounts as fifteen. It appears from the army register that Captain Tyler was dismissed from the federal service June 6, 1861, doubtless on account of his disloyalty. Captain Newby, also, was born in Virginia, though he was appointed as a cadet at West Point from Illinois. Either on account of the influence of his northern environment or of differing temperament, he took the opposite course from that of Captain Tyler and appears to have had a creditable career in the federal army. He was commissioned captain of the First cavalry March 3, 1865; captain of the Fourth cavalry August 3, 1861, doubtless on the occasion of his leaving Fort Kearny and entering service in the South; major of the Third cavalry July 17, 1862; retired September 25, 1863; died March 29, 1870.³²

³¹ Report of the secretary of war, 1858, v. 2, part 3, doc. 2, p. 782.

³² Moses Sydenham, who was at the post at the time, informed the present writer that the incident actually happened.

Captain Tyler had a notable career in the confederate army. He rose to the rank of brigadier general and as such served under several of

In January, 1864, the First Nebraska veteran cavalry regiment returned from the South and on the 18th of August was ordered to Fort Kearny. Soon after the end of the civil war regular troops were again sent to the western plains on account of Indian troubles there. In the spring of 1866 General Babcock found Colonel Henry C. Carrington with his Eighteenth regiment of infantry temporarily at Fort Kearny, but the regular garrison consisted of two companies of the Fifth United States volunteers. There were six regiments of the regular army stationed at various points in the department of the Platte that year. According to reports of the adjutant general the garrison at the fort in 1867 consisted of two companies of the Thirtieth infantry and recruits; in 1868, one company, Third artillery; 1869 and 1870, one company, Ninth infantry, under Captain Edward Pollock, who was therefore the last commandant at this famous post. Fort Kearny continued to be the most important point in the interior of the plains until the Pacific railroads were constructed, because it was the junction of the main branches of the wagon roads from the Missouri river by the central route to the Pacific coast; but as settlements proceeded westward and pushed the Indians before them the military importance of posts beyond the first military establishment of the great trail naturally

the famous military leaders of the Confederacy, including General Longstreet and General Joe Wheeler. He was in Missouri under the commands of Marmaduke and Price in the latter part of 1864. He was a prisoner in 1862 and was exchanged in that year against a federal officer of like rank in a New York regiment. Consult general index, Records of the War of the Rebellion, in which he receives frequent mention.

Not many years ago there would have been a sharp cleavage of public opinion touching the contrasting careers of these two notable soldiers. From one point of view Tyler would have been regarded as a martyr, of great spirit and devoted loyalty; from the other, as a traitor and an ingrate. And likewise Newby would have been ranked as a patriot or a ruthless invader. Now the good qualities will be generally conceded to both, and Tyler will be blamed only, or mainly, for bad judgment in his choice of alternatives.—Ed.

increased at its expense. Fort McPherson, ninety miles west of Fort Kearny, was established in 1863, and it soon overshadowed its more noted predecessor. In 1867 it was garrisoned by one company of the Third artillery and was headquarters for the Eighteenth infantry; in 1868 it continued to be headquarters of the Eighteenth infantry and had a garrison besides of six companies of the Second cavalry; in 1869 its garrison comprised seven companies of the Fifth cavalry and Ninth infantry. Fort Sedgwick, situated near old Julesburg, just west of the Nebraska line, also assumed more military importance than Fort Kearny at this time.³³

³³ Statements of the distribution of troops at Fort Kearny and other posts named above appear in the house and senate executive documents as follows:

House executive documents, 1848-49, v. 1, doc. 1, pp. 162, 164.

House executive documents, 1849-50, v. 3, pt. 1, doc. 5, pp. 185, 188d, 188e.

House executive documents, 1850-51, v. 1, doc. 1, p. 110.

House executive documents, 1851-52, v. 2, pt. 1, doc. 2, p. 195.

House executive documents, 1852-53, v. 1, pt. 2, p. 56.

House executive documents, 1853-54, v. 1, pt. 2, p. 116.

House executive documents, 1854-55, v. 1, pt. 2, p. 56.

House executive documents, 1855-56, v. 1, pt. 2, p. 134.

House executive documents, 1857-58, v. 2, pt. 2, p. 72.

House executive documents — report of secretary of war — 1853-59, v. 2, pt. 3, doc. 2, p. 782.

Senate executive documents, 1859-60, v. 2, p. 600.

Senate executive documents, 1860-61, v. 2, p. 216.

Senate executive documents, 1861-62, v. 2, doc. 1, p. 54.

House executive documents, 1866-67, v. 3, doc. 1, app. p. 5.

House executive documents, 1867-68, v. 2, pt. 1, p. 436.

House executive documents, 1868-69, v. 3, pt. 1, p. 734.

House executive documents, 1869-70, v. 2, pt. 2, doc. 1, p. 154.

Report of secretary of war, 3d session, 41st congress, 1870-71, v. 1, pt. 2, doc. 1, p. 70.

In the civil war period there were frequent changes of garrisons at the posts. During a part of 1863 one company of the Second Nebraska cavalry was stationed at the Pawnee agency. [House executive documents, 1863-64, v. 3, p. 369.] In October, 1863, a detachment of the Seventh Iowa cavalry under Major Wood garrisoned Fort Kearny. In the latter part of 1864 five companies of the First Nebraska cavalry were stationed at the fort, under command of Colonel Robert R. Livingston. In the spring of 1865

In the report of the adjutant general for 1848, Captain Ruff's command of two companies of the mounted rifles were reported at Grand Island and also as enroute to the mouth of the Columbia. It had been ordered to "proceed with this command — that is the regiment of mounted riflemen under Colonel Loring — to Oregon early next spring by which time the regiment will be filled up to the lawful standard, the rank and file having been lately discharged by act of congress, August 14, 1848".³⁴ The quartermaster general in his report for 1850³⁵ said: "The regiment of mounted riflemen for which means of transportation and supplies had been furnished before the commencement of the year were marched across the continent during the year and stationed in the territory of Oregon with the exception of two companies left at Fort Laramie on the route." According to the report of the adjutant general for 1849 two companies of mounted riflemen were at Fort Laramie; two at Fort Hall and six, under Colonel Loring, at Somona, California, on the way to Oregon. Captain Ruff's command — two companies of the rifle regiment and one of the Sixth infantry — started west before the main body of the regiment, under Colonel Loring, reached Fort Kearny, and Lieutenant Woodbury, the engineer, had already bought the post of the American Fur Company, to be used as the second of the new chain of military posts, when Colonel Loring arrived. On the 22d of June Major Cross said in the journal of the expedition: "We had now arrived at Fort Laramie, 639 miles from Fort Leavenworth (273 from Fort Kearny), a point where the government has established a military post, where two companies of the rifle regiment were stationed, which was

Lieutenant Colonel Baumer was in command, Colonel Livingston being absent on an expedition up the North Platte. [The Indian War of 1864, pp. 429, 553.]

³⁴ House executive documents, 1848-49, v. 1, doc. 1, p. 184e.

³⁵ Senate executive documents, 1850-51, v. 1, doc. 1, p. 123.

to be a resting place for us for a few days."³⁶ In 1850 there were two companies at Fort Laramie, three at the mouth of the Columbia river, and five under Brevet Major Ruff at Fort Vancouver. The Sixth infantry was the favorite regiment for the plains country. In 1848 there were two of its companies at Fort Scott, Kansas; three at Fort Leavenworth; one at Fort Atkinson, Iowa; two at Fort Crawford, Wisconsin; one with the Winnebago on the Mississippi; two at Fort Snelling, Minnesota. In 1849 there was one company at Fort Scott; two at Fort Leavenworth; two at Fort Kearny; one at Fort Laramie; three at Fort Snelling; one at Fort Ripley — formerly Fort Gaines. In 1850 there was one at Fort Scott; one at Fort Leavenworth; one on the Arkansas; two at Fort Kearny; one at Fort Laramie; one at Fort Clark; two at Fort Snelling; one at Fort Ripley.

FORT KEARNY RESERVATION

The following data relative to the reservation of Fort Kearny, Nebraska, were compiled from the township plats in the office of the commissioner of public lands and buildings at Lincoln.

The reservation was situated in townships 7, 8, 9 of ranges 14 and 15, west of the first principal meridian. Its west line ran within a mile and a quarter of the west side of range 15, and it extended about the same distance on the east side beyond five sections in range 14. It ran approximately 1 1-7 miles north into township 9, extended entirely across township 8, and 2 6-7 of a mile into township 7, making in all a tract of 10 miles square. The flag-staff was situated near the southwest corner of section 22, township 8, range 15. In this range there were 1,108.64 acres north of the Platte river, and 1,929.98 south of the river.

³⁶ Senate executive documents, 1850-51, v. 1, doc. 1, p. 157.

The township lines of the reservation were surveyed in June and July, 1859, and the subdivisions August 25, 1859, by Charles W. Pierce. The original reservation, out of which that part of the reservation proper lying north of the river was delimited, extended from the fort on the west along the south bank of the Platte river a distance of sixty miles and was bounded on the north by the line of the bluffs of the Platte valley. It was surveyed in 1866. After a request by the surveyor general of Nebraska that it should be thrown open to settlement,³⁷ that part of township 9, in ranges 14 and 15, above the ten mile reservation, was surveyed in July and September, 1866; while townships 7 and 8 of range 14, lying immediately south of the Platte and therefore within the original reservation, were surveyed in July and August, 1859. So, also, townships 8 and 9 of range 16, on both sides of the Platte and contiguous to the west line of the original reservation, were surveyed in June and August, 1859, resurveyed, 1877. A little less than two sections deep of township 8, range 16, were north of the river. The subdivisions of the tract last described were surveyed in July and September, 1866. Township 9, range 13, north of the Platte, comprised in the original reservation, was surveyed in July and August, 1866; while township 8, ranges 12 and 13, south of the Platte, and so below the original reservation, were surveyed in 1859. A small corner of township 8, range 12, north of the Platte, was surveyed in 1866. Township 9 of range 12 north of the Platte — probably north of the original reservation — was surveyed in 1859. Range 12 is the west tier of Hall county; range 13 is the east tier, and range 16 the west tier of Buffalo county. In township 11, range 8, north of the Platte, no survey was made earlier than 1866; that part south of the Platte in 1865. In townships 13 and 14,

³⁷ See index card, "Fort Kearny, 1848", library Nebraska State Historical Society.

range 8, the township lines were run in 1862; the subdivisions in 1866. Township 9, range 10, west, a small corner northeast of the Platte, in 1866; all southwest of the Platte, in 1859. Township 10, range 10, immediately northwest of the Platte, in 1866; that part of the same tract southwest of the Platte, in 1859; townships 11 and 12, north of the Platte, 1866.

Township 8, south, and that part of township 9, south of the Platte, in range 11, were surveyed in 1859; that part of township 9, same range, north of the Platte, in 1866; township 10, range 11, both sides of the Platte, in 1866. Townships 11 and 12, range 11, all north of the Platte, in 1866. Township 8, range 12, mostly south of the Platte, 1859; a corner of that tract northwest of the Platte, in 1866; township 9, range 12, north of the Platte, 1866;— the southwest corner south of the Platte in 1859; townships 10, 11, and 12, north of the Platte in 1866.³⁸

Inquiry at the general land office, through the courtesy of Mr. Hitchcock, elicited the following official statements:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, GENERAL LAND OFFICE,
Washington, D. C., April 13, 1910.

Hon. G. M. Hitchcock,
House of Representatives.

SIR: In response to the inquiry contained in your letter dated April 9, 1910, I have the honor to advise you that the former Ft. Kearney military reservation is shown by the records of this office to have been located on the South Platte River in Ts. 7, 8, and 9 N., Rs. 13 to 17 W., Nebraska, embracing ten square miles,³⁹ including islands above and below the Post, containing 70,088 acres, exclusive of water.

³⁸ See Transactions Nebraska State Historical Society, v. 2, 2d series, p. 53; J. P. Dunlap goes with a party to survey Buffalo county and Hall county into sections. The party was under Henry H. Hackbush, and it began "from the northwest corner of the reservation", June 24, 1866.—Ed.

³⁹ This should be "embracing a tract ten miles square". The reservation did not approach range 17, nor touch range 13.—Ed.

A part of the lands were purchased on August 16, 1848, from the Confederated Pawnees.⁴⁰ See Revised Indian Treaties, page 647. It was established by the War Department, according to the record, in 1847 or 1848 as Ft. Childs, a military station on route to Oregon, under authority contained in the Act of Congress approved May 19, 1846 (9 Stats., 14). It was surveyed by the War Department in 1859, and connections made with the public surveys, by Deputy Pierce, under instructions from the U. S. Surveyor General, dated May 24, 1859.

On December 2, 1876, the reservation was relinquished to the Interior Department for disposal under the Act of Congress approved July 21, 1876 (19 Stats., 94). On August 29, 1876, instructions were forwarded to the U. S. Surveyor General to survey the reservation in accordance with the Act of Congress aforesaid, and further instructions were issued him on October 26, 1876. . . .

Very respectfully,

FRED DENNETT, Commissioner.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, GENERAL LAND OFFICE
Washington, May 2, 1910.

Mr. Albert Watkins,
Lincoln, Nebraska.

SIR: In reply to your letter dated April 18, 1910, I have to advise you, in addition to the details expressed in office letter "E" dated April 13, 1910, addressed to Hon. G. M. Hitchcock, House of Representatives, relative to the abandoned Ft. Kearney military reservation in Ts. 7, 8, and 9 N., Rs. 13 to 17 W., Nebraska, that the whole of the former military reservation including that part thereof ceded by the Indians, was relinquished and transferred to the custody of the Interior Department for disposal under the Act of Congress approved July 21, 1876, (19 Stat., 94), according to the record.

That portion of the land embraced in the reservation which was ceded by the Indians is referred to in Article 1 of the Treaty of 1848, (See Revised Indian Treaties, 1873, page 647), as follows:

⁴⁰ This should be August 6. See 9 stat., p. 949.

“ARTICLE 1. The confederated bands of the Pawnees hereby cede and relinquish to the United States all their right, title, and interest in and to all that tract of land described as follows, viz: Commencing on the south side of the Platte River, five miles west of this post, ‘Fort Childs’; thence due north to the crest of the bluffs north of said Platte River; thence east and along the crest of said bluffs to the termination of Grand Island, supposed to be about sixty miles distant; thence south to the southern shore of the Platte River; and thence west and along the southern shore of said Platte River to the place of beginning”

The land embraced in the abandoned military reservation including that part ceded by the Indians was surveyed under the direction and supervision of this office in 1877, for disposal under the law

Very respectfully,

FRED DENNETT, Commissioner.

Note.—For a part of the official data about Old Fort Kearny, not originally available, I am indebted to a valuable article in the *Conservative* of February 2, 1899. My belief that the article was prepared by Mr. A. T. Richardson almost assures the correctness of the data in question.—Ed.

MISSIONARY LIFE AMONG THE PAWNEE

BY REV. JOHN DUNBAR

NOTE.— The following was copied verbatim, including spelling and punctuation, from the original manuscript.—Ed.

In 1834 on the day that is annually set apart in our churches for special prayer for the conversion of the world the Presbyterian church at Ithaca N. Y. determined to increase their efforts to promote that important object. The plan adopted at the time to augment their labors and contributions was this. The church unanimously resolved to select certain persons from her own bosom who, provided the project met with the approbation of the American Board and was deemed worthy of its patronage, should perform an exploring tour among the Indian tribes near and beyond the Rocky Mountains. Should a location be found in this vast and almost unknown country where it would be safe and desirable to commence a Mission it was to be forthwith occupied. The expenses of the exploring tour and of the Mission should one be established were to be defrayed by this church. The Mission was to be called "the Oregon Mission." Three persons, the number designated, were soon obtained to engage in this undertaking. One of these was a clergyman for sometime a resident in the place; the other two were young laymen. The church afterwards excused one of the laymen at his request, and adopted a son to supply his place.

May 5th. of the same year Rev. Samuel Parker, Mr. Samuel Allis and myself started from Ithaca to perform the exploring tour already mentioned. We arrived at St. Louis May 23d. On making inquiries we were informed that the

party of traders whom it was designed we should accompany from that place to and beyond the Mountains had started 6 weeks before our arrival. They had been gone so long that we could not expect to overtake them, and as we were unacquainted, both with the way through the country, and with the mode of travelling and subsisting in it, we were advised to delay our undertaking till the ensuing spring. After we had gained what information we could relative to our enterprise at this place we did not deem it expedient to prosecute our exploring tour at present. Mr. Parker concluded it would most promote the cause in which he had engaged that he should return and procure other associates who with him should be at this place in season to have company beyond the Mountains and thus accomplish the exploration of that remote region. It was thought advisable, that Mr. Allis and myself should proceed to the Pawnee country, and if we should find that people prepared commence a Mission among them. Of the Pawnees and the tribes in their vicinity we had received favorable intelligence.

We left St. Louis on 7th. and arrived at Liberty on 14th June; a distance of 400 miles by the course of the river. Liberty is the most western village in the state of Missouri on the north side of that stream. Here we stopped a few days, and then proceeded to Cantonment Leavenworth; 34 miles above Liberty and on the opposite side of the Missouri. We had intended to go directly up to the place of our destination, when we came to this place, but we could find no opportunity to get thither. It is rare that whites pass either up from, or down to the Cantonment from the last of May till the first part of September. We were compelled to remain in the vicinity of Leavenworth till the latter part of Sept. The way seemed to be hedged up before us. This was to us a time of deep anxiety and anxious suspense. We were fully aware that our

patrons were expecting us to go forward in our work, but we seemed to be doing comparatively nothing. We did indeed visit some of the tribes in the vicinity of the Cantonment, and endeavored to study Indian character, but this, at the time seemed to be accomplishing very little. Once during the time of our delay I made arrangements to accompany a wretched half starved party of Otoes, who had come down to the Cantonment to beg provisions, when they should return to their village. At their village I would be within 30 miles of the place I wished to visit. When I went to their camp in the early part of the day on which they assured me they would set out on their return, they informed me, they had determined to pay their friends the Konzás a visit and it would be several weeks before they would reach their place of residence on the Platte. The true reason however of their not wishing my company was that they were desirous to take home with them a quantity of whiskey, and they were fearful they might get into trouble about it should I be in the company. The next day I saw some of them coming up from the settlements in the border of the state having with them 6 or 8 horses laden with the waters of death to the Indian. Some white man with a devil's heart had for a little paltry gain furnished these creatures, already sufficiently wretched, with that which is speedily working their destruction.

We had not been at this place many days before Mr. Allis' health became impaired, and for several weeks the prospect of his ever benefitting the Indians directly by his personal efforts was darkened. At length his health began to mend, and before we were able to reach our destined field was fully restored. Now came my turn to lie and pine on a sickbed. My sickness was severe, but of short duration. My disorder yielded readily to medical treatment, but exposures, when recovering, brought on a second and third attack of the same disease. The strength

of each in turn was prostrated, and we felt, that if God had any thing for us to do for the benefit of the Indians, he would spare us and give us strength to accomplish it; if he had not, his time for winding up our labors for the good of our fellowmen was the best time. We now saw our own weakness, and were made to feel, we could do nothing toward the accomplishment of our contemplated work without God. Here we were taught a useful lesson. We had been over anxious, and wished to do too much in our own strength. Now we felt, and afterwards were made to see, that God's way is the best way.

Sept. 22. I started from the Cantonment, and on the 2d. October reached Bellevue, at that time the seat of the government agency for the Pawnees, Otoes and Omahaws. This place is in the Otoe country, and about 200 miles above Leavenworth on the same side of the Missouri. It is 10 miles above the mouth of the Platte and 20 below the site of the Old fort called Council Bluffs. Here we found Rev. Mr. Merrill, his wife and a female assistant, who had come out in the autumn of 1833 as Missionaries to the Otoes under the patronage of the Baptist Missionary Society. Here were also the Otoe blacksmith his family and assistant. The Omahaws have a blacksmith and his assistant stationed at this place. The interpreter for the Otoes and Omahaws then resided here with his family. Half a mile below is the establishment of a gentleman who is engaged in the fur trade in the Mountains. Mrs. Merrill with her female associate had gathered the children of these families into a school which was at the time quite flourishing and numbered about 20 scholars. Their people, the Otoes then lived 30 miles from them. At this time no missionaries, except the Methodist brethren who crossed the mountains the spring before, had penetrated the Indian country further than this place. The traders and others who have heretofore traversed this immense region have

almost without an exception kept the knowledge they have acquired of the country and its inhabitants to themselves, or communicated it only to their fellowtraders. In this country men may not unfrequently be met with who have spent 15, 20, or more years in it, who have travelled over almost every part of it, and who appear to be as well acquainted with its geography as we are with that of our native state. These men rarely travel beyond the limits of the Indian country, consequently their knowledge, not being committed to writing and diffused, dies with them and does not benefit the world. Those engaged in trade in this country may deem it to be for their interest to keep the world in ignorance of the geography and inhabitants of this extensive portion of our continent. Certainly the conduct of many white men who live in, and of others who occasionally visit this country needs only to be known to be condemned in any decent society. Their deeds are deeds of darkness, and cannot bear the light of civilization merely.

About the middle of October the Pawnees were called in to the agency to receive their annuities for the first time under the provisions of the treaty stipulated with them by commissioners on the part of our government the previous autumn. As many as 600, or 800 of the Pawnees were present at the time. The agent delivers the annuities to the chiefs, and they make such distribution of them among their people as they may think proper. The chiefs keep but few of the goods to themselves. The Pawnees receive of them, I think, in proportion to their rank and wealth. The annuities of the different bands of Pawnees come in distinct parcels. At this time they were highly gratified with the quantity of goods received. A better state of feeling among this people toward our government and its subjects never perhaps existed.

We were now led to see that we had come to the Pawnees at precisely the right time to obtain a favorable introduction to them. Had we come earlier in the season, they would have been out on the prairie prosecuting their summer hunt, and we would have been unable to have gained access to them till they had returned to their villages. At this place we would not have had so favorable a place to have studied Indian character as we had had where we spent the summer. God brought us to this people just when they were best prepared to receive us.

The first chief of the Pawnee Loups, soon after his arrival, having heard casually, that two missionaries had come who were desirous to go and live with the Pawnees and teach them a new religion, went to his father, the agent and requested that one of them might live with him and teach his people. When the agent communicated this intelligence it inspired us with hope and raised our expectations of being yet in the hands of God instruments of good to this benighted people. Before the receipt of this intelligence we were intending to spend the ensuing winter together and with the Grand Pawnees, but now, after prayerfully considered the subject in view of this unexpected opening, we concluded to separate and go with different bands, provided the chiefs of either of the others should apply for a missionary.

The agent told us he would give us an introduction to the Pawnee chiefs, state our object in coming to live with them and recommend us to their good treatment in the evening after he had finished his business with them. Accordingly when he had completed his business the agent introduced us to the chiefs who were sitting about the council room, they all rose, passed round, shook hands with us and sat down again. The chiefs of the Grand Pawnees demanded a Missionary. We were now both spoken for, and the chiefs of the other bands would have

been pleased to have taken each a Missionary to live with them.

The agent now proceeded to inform them we had come to tell them about God to teach them our religion and to learn their children to talk on paper like the white man does. He also told them that it would be pleasing to him to hear that we were well treated by them. The first chief of the tribe arose and made a speech the substance of which was that he was very glad we had come to tell his people about God and the things of religion. He said his people were in the dark on these subjects their religious notions were vague and indistinct and they would receive gladly our instructions. He also said it was well we had come to live with them and teach their children, and promised that we should be well treated. Some of the other chiefs followed to pretty much the same effect. This was more than we had ever ventured to expect from these savage sons of the prairie.

The next day we started from the agency to accompany our new acquaintances to their villages. We had not proceeded more than a mile before we came to the place where our respective guides and protectors separated each taking the trail that led to his own village. From this spot we were each alone with our savage companions. Mr. Allis was under the care of the first chief of the Pawnee Loups. My conductor and host was the second chief of the Grand Pawnees. Our trail crossed the Big Horn and Platte and led up to the Grand Pawnee village on the south side of that stream. The first and second days of our journey I ate nothing till night and slept on the ground under the spangled curtains of the heavens. In the afternoon of the third day we rode into the village and came to the old chiefs lodge. He dismounted and walked directly into his dwelling. Forthwith his daughter, a young woman of 22, made her appearance to unsaddle our horses and

bring in our luggage. The young woman unsaddled and unbridled her father's horse, then attempted to do the same to mine. But my horse seemed to have a more just sense of propriety in this respect than prevails among the Pawnees. She did not succeed and I willingly removed the saddle and bridle myself. I now entered the lodge, and found the bearskin already spread for my reception. This was to be my chair and table by day and couch by night. The old chief had treated me with utmost kindness by the way and his family appeared highly pleased to welcome me to their humble mansion. The women commenced expressing their good feeling by placing before me a large wooden bowl containing a good quantity of dried buffalo meat, and when I returned this, another bowl of equal dimensions, containing not a sparing portion of boiled corn and beans, was received in exchange. I was not long unemployed before a third bowl with liberal share of mush was presented. This was followed by a quantity of pounded corn, an ear of roasted corn, &c., and my eating for that day was finished. The news of my arrival having spread through the village, the next day before noon I had been to six different lodges to be feasted. Nearly my whole time had been occupied, and the fragments of time I was permitted to spend at my new home were chiefly taken up with the presentation of food by my kind hostess. This will serve as a specimen of my feasting during the five days we remained at the village. All, from the highest to the lowest, seemed to be perfectly kind and friendly, and apparently gratified, when they could do me a favor.

The Pawnees are divided into four distinct bands. These are the Grand Pawnees, the Republican Pawnees, Pawnee Loups, and Tapage Pawnees. The Grand Pawnee village is on the south side of the Platte 130 miles from its junction with the Missouri. Tapage and a part of the

Republican band live in the same village on the north side of the Loup fork of the Platte 30 miles above its mouth. The other part of the Republican band live in a little village 4 miles above the Tapage on the same stream. The Pawnee Loups have a village on the Loup fork 3 miles above the little Republican village. The four villages have a population of 8,000, or 10,000 souls, and may all be visited by riding 30 miles. It may be questioned whether there be another spot in the whole Indian country where so many immortal beings may be visited with so little travel.

The different bands intermarry. The chiefs of each band seem to be independent in managing the affairs of their respective clans. But when business of common interest is to be transacted a general council of the chiefs and others from the different bands is held. The first chief of the Grand Pawnees is the first chief of the nation. Jealousies often exist between the different clans, villages and chieftains. The Loups have longest been separated from the parent stock, and between this and the other bands there is a less intimate connection existing than between either of the three other bands. Between the Loups and the other bands war has been waged. The Loups have been so long a distinct band, that their language has become dialectically different from that spoken by the others. The Rees, or Aricaras were once probably a band of Pawnees, but their separation has been of such long standing, that their language has become materially different from the Pawnee tongue, yet there is still a striking resemblance. This tribe numbers from 2,000 to 3,000 — has been hostile to the whites, is poor and wretched and distinguished for the beauty of their females.

The government of the Pawnees is exercised by the chiefs. Some of these possess a good degree of authority and influence over their people. Usually they are the

fathers of their people, and instead of receiving any compensation for their services do much directly to promote the happiness of their subjects by feeding them and giving them presents. In the exercise of their authority they are generally mild, but when the occasion requires it, they are sufficiently severe. Instances have been known of life's having been taken to secure obedience. A man who persists in his disobedience is pretty sure not to escape a sound beating. The chiefs take a deep interest in the welfare of their people. I have known them to manifest much anxiety to benefit their people, and this too when they stood most in need of the sympathies and efforts of their rulers. Rank among the Pawnees is hereditary. A man is a chief because his father was. But all authority is conferred by the common consent of the people. A man may be in rank a chief, yet have no authority. To be an authoritative chieftain a man must have rank, and be a favorite of his clan. Among the Pawnees a man becomes a brave by stealing horses and killing his fellowmen. It is not necessary however among those wild savages for a man to have contributed to the destruction and misery of so many of his fellowmortals to constitute himself a hero, as it is in lands denominated christian.

The Pawnees make two hunts each year, the summer and winter hunt. To perform the winter hunt they leave their villages usually in the last week of October, and do not return to them again till about the first of April. They now prepare their cornfields for the ensuing season. The ground is dug up with the hoe, the corn is planted and well tended. When it has attained to a certain height, they leave it, and go out to their summer hunt. This is done near the last of June. About the first of September they return to their villages. Formerly the buffalo came down to and far below their villages. Now they are obliged to travel out from 10 to 20 days to reach them. The

bufalo are rapidly diminishing and will in time become extinct.

When they leave their villages to hunt the bufalo, they take every man and beast with them, and the place of their habitations is as desolate and solitary during their absence as any other spot on the prairie. When the time of their departure arrives all the furniture and provisions they wish to carry with them are packed on their horses. The residue of their scant furniture and provisions are concealed in the earth till their return. As each family gets ready they fall into the train, which frequently extends some miles. They travel of course in Indian file, and each boy, woman and girl, that has a horse to lead, walks in the trail before it. Their children who are yet unable to walk with them, the women either carry on their own backs, or pack them on their horses. The aged and infirm are obliged to travel with the others, and get along the best way they can. It is piteous to see the poor, wretched, crippled creatures drag themselves along. These start early and in the course of the day come to the next camp. They do not start very early in the cold season, but during the warm season they set off as soon as it is light, and sometimes before light and travel till 11, 12, 1, 2, 3, 4 o'clock; then stop and turn their horses loose to feed. It is not customary with them to take any food till their days travel is ended. The women now set up their tents wood and water is brought and food prepared. They now eat till ample amends are made for the morning's fast. They travel from 8 to 20 miles a day. It frequently occurs, when they are travelling, that a horse gets frightened, jumps about breaks away from its leader, kicks till it has divested itself of every thing that was put on it, and then runs off at full speed. The unfortunate wife must now follow her horse till she can catch it, bring it back gather up her scattered utensils replace them on her horse, then

follow the train. All the recompence she receives for her trouble is a severe chiding from her lazy husband who may have been a witness to the whole transaction without having offered at all to assist his inferior half. They camp where there is both wood and water, when it can be done. When they come to the spot selected, each family chooses a site for their dwelling, and a populous village soon grows up in the midst of a solitary place. When they have traveled all day, and just at night come to the camping ground a scene usually ensues that beggars description. The horses are fretful and uneasy, the children, cold and hungry, the women, vexed and weary, the men illnatured and imperious. The dogs yelp and howl, the horses whinny, the mules and asses bray, the children cry, the boys halloo, the women scold, the men chide and threaten, no one hears and everything goes wrong. Tongue and ears at such a time are of but little use.

The Pawnees kill the bufalo on horseback and with the bow and arrows. They throw the arrow with such force as sometimes to pass entirely through the bodies of those animals. They ride close alongside the bufalo, and while at full speed shoot their arrows into them. Generally every arrow tells in the work of death. They are very strict in their regulations while killing the bufalo. A body of soldiers are enrolled whose duty it is in connection with the chiefs to take the charge of this business. They keep men out to look for the bufalo, and when a band of them is discovered to watch their movments. When the village has come sufficiently near to a herd to warrant a hunt, the intelligence is proclaimed through the village by some old man designated for the purpose. All who wish to participate in the sport now catch their horses and prepare for the work of destruction. Two or three of the leading soldiers curiously painted and wearing a variety of ornaments ride out of the village bearing the soldiers

escutcheon with about a dozen armed attendants and stop on some eminence till all the hunters have come up with them. The soldiers now move forward in the direction of the buffalo, and the hunters follow. Two old men bearing their gourds and medicine sacks run on foot at full speed before the hunters, sweating, singing and shaking their gourds. A man who should now have the temerity to ride before the soldiery would scarcely escape with his life. At any rate he would secure to himself a most savage flogging. Thus the soldiers and old men precede the hunters till they have come as near the herd as they can safely go without frightening them. The hunters are now drawn up in a line that all may have an equal opportunity of killing game. The word is given, the charge is made and in a few moments each is seen alongside the animal he has selected the fatal arrow flies, the wounded animal stops,—a second victim is marked out, and soon winged death overtakes it,—a third, fourth and sometimes a fifth fall before the swift destroyer, and in the short space of one hour a band of 200 buffalo are slain butchered and their flesh moving toward the dwellings of their destroyers. The Pawnees are excellent horsemen and with good horses deem it rare sport to kill the buffalo. The regulations of the soldiery are so strict, that it would not screen a man from punishment, who should go out and frighten a herd of buffalo, should he even plead that his family were starving for want of food. This is a wise regulation, though it may appear uselessly severe. Did no such thing exist among them a part of them would starve to death.

The food of the Pawnees consists principally of buffalo flesh and corn. The buffalo flesh is preserved by drying, and cooked in a variety of ways—usually boiled. They grow a good quantity of corn. This is harvested at different times and prepared in different ways. They usually have more corn than is sufficient for their own consumption.

They also cultivate pumpkins, beans, watermelons, &c. At the proper seasons they dig a variety of edible roots. Their food is coarse, but wholesome.

The men say their appropriate employments are hunting — (taking the buffalo), and war. Consequently everything else that is to be done is the appropriate business of the women. The women are very laborious, but most abject slaves. One educated in our privileged land can scarcely form a conception of the ignorance, wretchedness and degraded servitude of the Pawnee females. We cannot contemplate the condition of these wretched creatures without being led to feel deeply that for all that is better in the condition of females in christian lands they are indebted to the gospel of Jesus Christ. The female, no matter who she is, that makes light of the christian religion, trifles with that which makes her to differ from the most abject slave and degraded heathen.

I have wandered with these savage people during four of their hunting campaigns,—two winters and two summers. In their winter excursions, they kill as much meat, as they think they will need, as soon as may be after coming into the region of the buffalo. When this has been done they retire into winter quarters; that is, they go to some place where is wood, water and plenty of horse fodder. Here they remain till the feed for their horses becomes short. They then remove to another place, and do not return to their villages till the first of April; because their horses could not live there before that time. In the summer they stay no longer on the prairie than is necessary to procure a supply of meat. As soon as they can accomplish this and return to their village their corn harvest is ready to be commenced. The first hunting tour I performed with them, they travelled, from the time they left their village, till they returned to it again in the spring, about 400 miles. During the first summer hunt I was

with them they travelled 700 miles before returning to their village. During my second winter hunt they travelled 900 miles. Second summer hunt 800 ms. Mr. Allis has performed three hunting tours with the Loups and been treated with uniform kindness and respect. Said his host, the first chief of that band, in a conversation one day, any persons to injure that man, meaning Mr. A., must step over my dead body. I suppose Mr. A. was more beloved by the family of his host than any other member of it. All of us who have lived with them are constrained to say they are a kindhearted, liberal people, but they are heathen, darkminded heathen.

Last spring the Pawnee Mission received its first reinforcement; consisting of Dr. Saterlee and Mrs. Allis. The wife of Dr. Saterlee deceased before reaching the Indian country. I was wholly unacquainted with either the Dr. or his lady, yet when I received the sad intelligence I could not but deeply sympathize with our bereaved brother in his affliction, and feel that the Mission had sustained a loss in our sister's early death. But I did not fully appreciate our loss till I had learned the character of that soulloving, amiable young woman. She seems to have been admirably fitted to have been useful in the sphere to which she had been assigned. She is happy now, and her afflicted partner is spared to do his master's work. Dr. S. spent the last summer with me among the Grand Pawnees. When I left him he was expecting to return and spend the winter with them. He is quite useful to them in the practice of his profession. Mr. Allis spent the last summer at Bellevue, and was intending to remain there during the winter.

Among the variety of vices that are practiced by the Pawnees is that of Polygamy. It is a common usage with them for the same man to marry all the sisters of the same family. When a young man wishes to enter the married

state, at the proper time, he puts on his buffalo robe with the fur side out, and draws it over his head and face so as to nearly conceal his visage. In this predicament he walks to the lodge of his intended fair one, enters it and sits down. No one speaks to him, nor does he utter a word till he leaves the lodge. But the object of his visit is understood by all the parties concerned. When he has sat in silence a while, he rises and leaves the lodge. After the lapse of a few days, he ventures to visit the dwelling of his beloved a second time, wearing his robe as before. When he enters the dwelling, if he sees the bearskin, or other skin is spread for his reception, he may now show his face and be seated, for this is a sure indication that his visits are not unacceptable; but if no seat is prepared for him, he may retire, his company is undesired. If he is favorably received the young woman soon takes a seat by his side. Her father also makes it convenient to be at home at the time. A conversation ensues between the young man and the young lady's father in the course of which the suitor asks the old gentleman's mind with respect to the proposed connection. The old man replies that neither he, nor his family have any objections to his becoming their son-in-law. The old gentleman moreover tells his intended son-in-law to go home to his own lodge, make a feast, invite all his relatives and consult them with respect to his proposed marriage. In the meantime, he tells him, he will make a feast invite his daughter's relatives and consult with them concerning her marriage. If the relatives offer no objections on either side, the union follows as a matter of course without farther ceremony. This is followed by a series of feasts on the part of the bride. The parties thus brought together may have previously settled the marriage question between themselves, or they may have been wholly unacquainted. The husband comes to the lodge of his father-in-law and lives in it with his wife.

The soninlaw on taking his wife gives his fatherinlaw from one to six horses according to his ability for his daughter and the privilege of living in his lodge. Thus it is the case with the eldest daughter. The others are given to the soninlaw by their father as they become marriageable, and he receives in return a horse, or two for each of his daughters. The soninlaw has a particular portion of the lodge allotted to him, and it is [his] appropriate business to take care of all the horses that belong to the family. The eldest sister is the principal wife, and commands the younger, who seem to be little more than domestic slaves. It is a regulation among the Pawnees, rank being equal, the younger shall obey the elder. How little to be desired is the condition of the younger sisters in the Pawnee family and particularly of the youngest.

ADDENDUM

[The following letter, dated June 11, 1909, from B. S. Dunbar, now a resident of Manhattan, Kansas, and son of Rev. John Dunbar, is placed here because it is supplemental to the foregoing paper.—Ed.]

The mission and principal farm station were located on Plum Creek, and a smaller farm station was located on the Loup Fork, near the Pawnee Loup village, for the convenience of that band of Pawnee. The first incident that I will mention is the death of Falki, chief of the Pawnee Loups, and of Marcellus Mathers, son of the farmer at the Loup Fork station.

Falki went to Mathers' house and asked him for some powder which the government had promised the Indians; Mathers said that there was no powder there for them; and they had some words. At last Falki said he would take what powder there was there, and stepped towards a powderhorn that was hanging on the wall and reached toward it with his right hand, holding his blanket across

his chest with his left hand. Mathers picked up an ax and struck Falki on the chest, cutting off his left hand at the wrist and also cutting into his chest some. Falki then threw his left arm around Mathers' neck and took the ax away from him. At that moment Marcellus Mathers stepped into the door and Falki, on seeing him, let go of his father and followed Marcellus who ran around the house. Falki threw the ax at Marcellus, the edge striking him between the shoulders, injuring him so badly that he died in a few days. Falki then started to the village but fell from loss of blood. Some of his people saw him in time to get him home before he died. My father and Timothy E. Ranney helped to take care of Marcellus Mathers until he died. After Falki died the Indians were determined to kill Mr. Mathers; but the missionaries persuaded them to go on a hunt, and as soon as Marcellus died they got Mr. and Mrs. Mathers off to the settlements on the Missouri.

I remember when a large body of Sioux warriors made an attack on the village nearest the mission; I think it was about a mile away. The village was on the bottom and the Sioux were on the bluff overlooking it. The main body of Sioux remained on the bluff, but parties were constantly riding back and forth. I do not remember how many of the Pawnee were killed; but their loss was heavy. It was not known how many of the Sioux were killed, as they took their dead away with them. The shooting and shouting were plainly heard at the mission.

The last incident I will mention took place at the time the mission was abandoned. The Pawnee had gone on their summer hunt and left a number of their children at the mission school. Some time before this occurred it had been decided that in case of alarm all the people were to repair to the farm station as there was a stockade around the buildings. One morning the alarm was given that the

Sioux were coming and all gathered at the farm station. The Pawnee children were put down in the cellar and the men, numbering between ten and fifteen, armed themselves and made the best showing they could. Father went to the gate and talked with the Sioux, as he understood the Indian language and ways better than the others. The Sioux chief wanted to come into the stockade, but he was kept out because he would be very apt to discover the Pawnee children, and if he did, it would be the end of them. After a while, some of the Sioux got the stable door open and stampeded the horses that belonged at the station, when the whole party took after them and thus ended the attack.

That afternoon there was a council held, and it was decided to abandon the mission. I remember well how badly my mother felt about giving up the mission after doing, and going through so much, and when good results were just beginning to appear.

I will give the names, as nearly as I can remember, of the people who were at the mission at the time it was abandoned. Rev. John Dunbar and Rev. Timothy E. Ranney, missionaries; George B. Gaston, Lester W. Platt, farmers; Samuel Allis, teacher in Indian school; Peter Harness, blacksmith; Mr. Delaney, striker; Mr. Groves, Mr. Cline, and Mr. Petijohn, farm laborers; George Crow, laborer at the Missouri farm; Mr. Cleghorn, interpreter. Messrs. Dunbar, Ranney and Allis each had a wife and children, and Mr. Gaston a wife at the mission.

Rev. John Dunbar moved to Andrew County, Missouri, and from there to Holt County, where he bought a farm and lived until 1856, when he moved to Brown County, Kansas, where his wife died, November 4, 1856, and he died November 1, 1857. Rev. T. E. Ranney went to the Choctaw mission. Mr. Gaston settled at Tabor, Iowa; Mr. Platt at Civil Bend, Iowa; Mr. Allis in southwestern

Iowa; Peter Harness went to St. Joseph, Missouri; Mr. Pettijohn and George Crow went to Andrew County, Missouri. Crow was married there and afterwards moved to Nemaha County, Nebraska, where he was elected a member of the legislature in 1859.

Of Mr. Dunbar's children, Jacob S., the oldest son, born October 27, 1837, now residing at Evans, Colorado, served over three years in the Second Kansas cavalry; John B., now a resident of Bloomfield, New Jersey, was born April 3, 1841, and served two enlistments in a Massachusetts artillery regiment; Mary, the oldest daughter, was born December 13, 1842. She was married to Rev. S. H. Adams and now resides at Clifton Springs, New York. Bellevue was the birthplace of all these children.

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