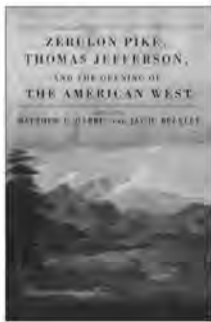


# JOURNAL *of the* WEST<sup>®</sup>

VOL. 51, NO. 3  
SUMMER 2012



***The Civil War Era  
and the West***



## ZEBULON PIKE, THOMAS JEFFERSON, AND THE OPENING OF THE AMERICAN WEST

Edited by Matthew L. Harris and Jay H. Buckley  
\$29.95 HARDCOVER · 256 PAGES · 14 B&W ILLUS.

In life and in death, fame and glory eluded Zebulon Montgomery Pike. The ambitious young military officer and explorer, best known for a mountain peak that he neither scaled nor named, was destined to live in the shadows of more famous contemporaries. This collection of thought-provoking essays rescues Pike from his undeserved obscurity.



## ELEVATING WESTERN AMERICAN ART

**Developing an Institute in the Cultural Capital of the Rockies**

Edited by Thomas Brent Smith  
\$34.95 HARDCOVER · 320 PAGES · 300 COLOR ILLUS.  
\$24.95 PAPERBACK · 320 PAGES · 300 COLOR ILLUS.  
DISTRIBUTED FOR DENVER ART MUSEUM

Published to mark the tenth anniversary of the Denver Art Museum's Petrie Institute of Western American Art, *Elevating Western American Art: Developing an Institute in the Cultural Capital of the Rockies* includes thirty essays by art historians from across the United States and Canada as well as a comprehensive history of the growth of Denver's impressive collection of art of the American West.



UNIVERSITY OF  
OKLAHOMA PRESS

2800 VENTURE DRIVE · NORMAN, OK 73069

TEL 800 627 7377 · OUPRESS.COM   



## BONANZAS AND BORRASCAS

By Richard E. Lingenfelter

**Vol. 1: Gold Lust and Silver Sharks, 1848-1884**

**Vol. 2: Copper Kings and Stock Frenzies, 1885-1918**

(GOLD LUST AND SILVER SHARKS) \$40.00 HARDCOVER · 448 PAGES · 34 B&W ILLUS., 4 MAPS

(COPPER KINGS AND STOCK FRENZIES) \$40.00 HARDCOVER · 600 PAGES · 35 B&W ILLUS., 2 MAPS

This two-volume study of the heyday of gold, silver, and copper mining in the American West is unique in both scope and approach. Richard E. Lingenfelter describes how miners, managers, investors, and speculators produced enormous wealth—spurring the American economy, attracting myriads of Argonauts and settlers, and transforming the West and the nation.



## CONTEST FOR CALIFORNIA

**From Spanish Colonization to the American Conquest**

By Stephen G. Hyslop

\$39.95 HARDCOVER · 448 PAGES · 21 B&W ILLUS.

California's early history was both colorful and turbulent. In *Contest for California*, Stephen G. Hyslop draws on a wide array of primary sources to weave an elegant narrative of this epic struggle for control of the territory that many saw as a beautiful, sprawling land of promise.



## VOYAGE TO THE NORTHWEST COAST OF AMERICA, 1792

**Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra and the Nootka Sound Controversy**

By Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra

Translation by Freeman M. Tovell

\$34.95 HARDCOVER · 192 PAGES · 24 B&W ILLUS.

This book offers the first published English translation of Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra journal, a remarkable account of his travels along the Northwest Coast of America, encounters with Native peoples and the friendship that developed between Bodega and his British counterpart, George Vancouver.



## GOLD-MINING BOOMTOWN

**People of White Oaks, Lincoln County, New Mexico Territory**

By Roberta Key Haldane

\$45.00 HARDCOVER · 336 PAGES · 274 B&W ILLUS

The town of White Oaks, New Mexico Territory, was born in 1879 when prospectors discovered gold at nearby Baxter Mountain. In *Gold-Mining Boomtown*, Roberta Key Haldane offers an intimate portrait of the southeastern New Mexico community by profiling more than forty families and individuals who made their homes there during its heyday.



THE ARTHUR H. CLARK CO.

2800 VENTURE DRIVE · NORMAN, OK 73069 · 800 632 7377

AHCLARK.COM An Imprint of the University of Oklahoma Press

# JOURNAL of the WEST®

Title Registered U.S. Patent Office

An Illustrated Quarterly Devoted to Western History and Culture

Published by ABC-CLIO, LLC, Dr. Steven L. Danver, Managing Editor  
JOURNAL of the WEST

(print ISSN 0022-5169, online ISSN 1930-0115)

ABC-CLIO, LLC, P.O. Box 1911, Santa Barbara, California 93116 USA Editorial e-mail: journalofthewest@abc-clio.com  
Shipping: 130 Cremona Dr., Santa Barbara, California 93117 USA Customer Service e-mail: journalofthewest@sfsdayton.com  
Customer Service phone: 800-771-5579

PUBLISHER: Ronald J. Boehm, ABC-CLIO, LLC, Santa Barbara, California  
MANAGING EDITOR: Steven L. Danver, Mesa Verde Publishing, Washougal, Washington  
BOOK REVIEW EDITORS: Brian S Collier, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana;  
Richard Vaughan, Indiana University School of Law Library, Bloomington, Indiana  
COPY EDITING: Anne Friedman, San Francisco, California  
DESIGN/PRODUCTION: Lori L. Daniel, Daniel Graphics, Manhattan, Kansas  
PRINTING: Sheridan Books, Ann Arbor, Michigan

## EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

**Honorary Lifetime Board Members:** Duane A. Smith, Carol A. Williams, Robin Higham  
**Term expiring December 31, 2012:** George Vrtis, Brian S Collier, Lindsey Passenger Weick, Donald L. Fixico  
**Term expiring December 31, 2013:** Adam M. Sowards, Robert Pahre

Lorin L. Morrison and Carroll Spear Morrison, *Editors, 1962–1976*

Dr. Robin Higham, *Editor, 1977–2004*

The illustrated quarterly **JOURNAL of the WEST** (ISSN 0022-5169) is published quarterly (Winter, Spring, Summer, and Fall) for \$80 per year (institutional), \$50 per year (individual), and \$30 per year (student) by **ABC-CLIO — JOURNAL of the WEST**, P.O. Box 291846, Kettering, OH 45429. Periodicals Postage Paid at Santa Barbara, CA and at additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to **ABC-CLIO — JOURNAL of the WEST**, P.O. Box 291846, Kettering, OH 45429.

Editorial correspondence should be directed to the **JOURNAL of the WEST**, ABC-CLIO, P.O. Box 1911, Santa Barbara, CA 93116. E-mail editorial correspondence to [journalofthewest@abc-clio.com](mailto:journalofthewest@abc-clio.com).

## CHANGE OF ADDRESS

Change of address notification should be sent to the ABC-CLIO — **JOURNAL of the WEST**, P.O. Box 291846, Kettering, OH 45429, e-mailed to [journalofthewest@sfsdayton.com](mailto:journalofthewest@sfsdayton.com), or call 800-771-5579.

Abstracted and indexed in *America: History and Life*, *Academic Abstracts*, *Magazine Article Summaries*, and *Social Science Source*.

No copies may be made of **JOURNAL of the WEST** without written permission from the publisher. Contact us for list of back issues available.

© 2013 by ABC-CLIO, LLC

**COVER:** Union and Confederate soldiers charge across Brush Creek during the Battle of Westport in N. C. Wyeth's mural, The Battle of Westport (1920), in the Missouri State Capitol, Jefferson City, MO. *Public Domain*

## SUBSCRIPTION RATES

**Individual** – \$50 per year, **Institutional** – \$80 per year, **Student** – \$30 per year. **Canadian and foreign subscribers add \$12 postage annually.**

**Back Issues** – \$20 (shipping included)  
\$23 (Canadian and foreign, shipping included)

Claims for issues not received cannot be accepted for more than 90 days after mailing date; 150 days for overseas. Claims received after the allowed time will be treated as single-copy purchases and must be prepaid.

**ORDERS: Mail ABC-CLIO — JOURNAL of the WEST, P.O. Box 291846, Kettering, OH 45429, e-mail: [journalofthewest@sfsdayton.com](mailto:journalofthewest@sfsdayton.com) or call 800-771-5579**

## INSTRUCTIONS FOR AUTHORS

Prospective authors are encouraged to contact the *JOW* Editorial Office at [journalofthewest@abc-clio.com](mailto:journalofthewest@abc-clio.com). Articles must be previously unpublished, offered exclusively to *JOURNAL of the WEST*. Ideal maximum text length is the equivalent of 15 double-spaced pages, plus endnotes, bibliography, or sources. Articles for consideration should be submitted via e-mail or on disk.

The *JOURNAL of the WEST* is aimed at the knowledgeable Western History enthusiast as well as the academic. Articles should be based on sound scholarly research, though may be directed to a less formal audience.

Each article in *JOW* should be illustrated with a minimum of three and a maximum of eight illustrations (maps, photographs, charts). Please include with a submission photocopies of illustrations, if available at the time, with captions; also include a brief biographical sketch. Upon acceptance of the article, black-and-white glossies of photographs should be supplied, which *JOW* will return.

The submission of an article, book review, or other communication, with the intention that it be published in the *JOURNAL*, shall be taken as *prima facie* evidence that the author willingly transfers the copyright to the *JOURNAL* and its parent organization, ABC-CLIO, LLC, which will freely grant the author the right to reprint his/her own material. A contract will be sent to the author for publication of an article.

## Advertising in *JOURNAL of the WEST*

*JOURNAL of the WEST* has space available for advertisers of all kinds. Please contact our advertising coordinator or go to <http://journalofthewest.abc-clio.com/advertising> for more information. Please direct inquiries to Alexis Hammond at [ahammond@abc-clio.com](mailto:ahammond@abc-clio.com), or call (805) 968-1911, ext. 126.

# JOURNAL of the WEST<sup>®</sup>

An Illustrated Quarterly Devoted to  
WESTERN HISTORY AND CULTURE

## CONTENTS

Vol. 51, No. 3

Summer 2012

# The Civil War Era and the West

Editors:

James Robbins Jewell, North Idaho College, and Steven L. Danver, Walden University

## WESTERN FORUM

Alan Pratt

**The Grand Canyon and the Mountain King: *Hunting and Zane Grey's View of the West* . . . . . 3**

## ARTICLES

Steven L. Danver

**Introduction: *The Civil War Era in the West* . . . . . 8**

James Robbins Jewell

**French Imperialists and Mexican Republicans:  
*Dangers Along the Southwestern Border During the Civil War* . . . . . 10**

Lorraine McConaghy

**The Deplorable State of Our National Affairs: *The Civil War in Washington Territory* . . . . . 16**

Adam Arenson

**George Engelmann's Barometer: *Measuring Civil War America from St. Louis* . . . . . 27**

Stephen Engle

**Governors of the Pacific States: *The Politics of Remaining in the Union in 1861* . . . . . 40**

Kyle Sinisi

**Getting Lost on a Civil War Battlefield: *How Soldiers, Map Makers, and  
Historians Have Wrestled with the Battles of the Big Blue and Westport* . . . . . 46**

Grant Dinehart Langdon

**The Origins of the Homestead Act of 1862: *Eastern Manor Houses and Western Settlement* . . . . . 56**

James Robbins Jewell

**EPILOGUE: The Far Western Borders: *The Civil War's New Frontier* . . . . . 62**

## LESSON PLAN

Scott L. Stabler and Abilyn Janke

**Nuanced History: *Westward Expansion in the Context of the Civil War and After* . . . . . 66**

## ABOUT THE WEST

Clinton Whitfield

**Red Cloud: *Last Defender of the Sioux* . . . . . 82**

Brad J. Congelio

**Playing in Pahá Sápa: *The Recreational Culture of the Black Hills Gold Rush* . . . . . 90**

## REVIEW ESSAY

Patricia Ann Owens

**Turning the Focus on Civil War Scholarship West:  
*Etulain, Abraham Lincoln, and the Oregon Country* . . . . . 99**

**BOOKS FOR THE WESTERN LIBRARY . . . . . 101**

**INDEX . . . . . 108**

*The Western Forum is intended as a place where experienced professionals can speculate, sound off, or otherwise be provocative.*

## The Grand Canyon and the Mountain King *Hunting and Zane Grey's View of the West*

Alan Pratt

FOR nearly a century, Theodore Roosevelt was thought to have held the record for the largest mountain lion when he killed a 227-pound cougar in Colorado in 1901. His record was broken with an 8-foot lion killed near Pagosa Springs, Colorado, in 2001.<sup>1</sup> The heaviest cougar ever recorded was killed near Hillside, Arizona, in 1917 by government predatory animal hunter J. R. Patterson. The 8 foot 7¼ inch cat weighed 276 pounds with the intestines removed, suggesting it may have weighed over 300 pounds.<sup>2</sup> In 2009, a 220-pound lion taken in Canada measured approximately 10 feet in length.<sup>3</sup>

At about 11:30 in the morning on May 1, 1907, Zane Grey, then an unknown 35-year-old East Coast greenhorn encountered a mountain lion named Old Tom. At 10 feet 3½ inches and 300–350 pounds, Old Tom was larger than any of the cougars encountered by Roosevelt, Patterson, or anyone else. When the colossal lion leapt toward Grey, he fired three times: the first shot slammed into the rocks above it; the second pierced the cougar's right paw; the third entered along the right ear and



A young Zane Grey, as a member of the University of Pennsylvania's baseball team in 1895. *Courtesy University of Pennsylvania Archives, item number UARC20051010001.*

shattered the skull where it exited. The lion then rolled 200 yards down a steep slope of the North Rim of the Grand Canyon.

### Lassoing Lions in the Grand Canyon

In 1907, Grey met Charles "Buffalo" Jones in New York City where Jones was entertaining audiences with stories of lassoing wild animals. Impressed with what

he heard, Grey paid to join Jones on a hunting expedition to Arizona's Kaibab Plateau with the idea that he would document the buffalo hunter's claims. *The Last of the Plainsmen* (1908) is Grey's narrative of the expedition.<sup>4</sup>

The adventure began mid-April with a wagon caravan in Flagstaff, AZ, bound for Lee's Ferry. Seventeen days later, Grey, Jones, and three companions set up camp on the North Rim of the Grand Canyon near Crazy Jug Point on the remote western slope of the Kaibab Plateau. In *Plainsmen*, Grey explains that Old Tom was well-known among cattlemen in this area. Monroe "Bridger" Clark, a wrangler who grazed horses on the Esplanade, tells the hunters that he'd seen the tracks of a huge lion in the area for five years.<sup>5</sup> Clark also reports that he frequently lost horses to mountain lions, and judging from tracks, it was a huge cougar that had killed many of them.

### Pursuing the Mountain King

On May 1, Grey and three others rode out in a cold dawn, and within a mile their six dogs began howling and charged off to the north.<sup>6</sup> After chasing the hounds for miles, the hunters regrouped and decided to ride south toward the Grand Canyon. Grey refers to the ragged terrain of the western Kaibab as the "Siwash," thick with pinion pine, dense scrub oak, and juniper that "tore like barbed wire."<sup>7</sup> Racing after the dogs, several in the group including Grey were thrown from their horses, while all suffered cuts and bruises.

As the four men bushwacked south, they reach the "breaks of the Siwash," hollows that became increasing larger and deeper.<sup>8</sup> Pausing in one of these depressions, Grey noticed the odd behavior of Sounder, their keenest hound: "He stopped to smell a bush. Then lifted his head, and electrified me with a great, deep sounding bay."<sup>9</sup> This is the first brush with Old Tom.

As the hunters crashed through the scrub following Sounder,<sup>10</sup> it's apparent from Grey's narrative they continued in a southwesterly direction. An inexperienced horseman, Grey fell behind during the long chase, finally catching Jones in a pinion grove where he saw his first cougar in the wild — and it's nothing less than "The Lord of the Craggs": "In a low, stubby pinion tree . . . a tawny form. An enormous mountain lion, as large as an African lioness," Grey records in his notebook. "'It's Old Tom! Sure as you're born! It's Old Tom!' yelled Jones. 'There's no two lions like that in one country.'"<sup>11</sup> The huge animal leapt from the low pine and bounded south with the yelping dogs in pursuit. In the ensuing chase, Grey lagged behind again, but emerging from a thicket, he suddenly found himself on the precipice of the Grand Canyon where his companions had dismounted to search for the cougar. Old Tom is spotted 100 yards below moments before it disappeared into a cave.



Zane Grey looking into a canyon.

Courtesy National Park Service.



A treed lion, from Zane Grey, *Tales of Lonely Trails* (1922).

Courtesy Project Gutenberg.

### Death of the Mountain King

Grey, Jones, and Frank Onstott found a “wedge-shaped break” and worked their way below the Kaibab Cliffs.<sup>12</sup> From there, the three labored for an hour along the Toroweap Formation to reach the cave. While Grey’s partners positioned themselves directly above it — Jones so he can lasso Old Tom and Onstott so he could release the frantic hounds — Grey, armed with his .35-caliber Remington Model 8, was ordered 100 feet below.<sup>13</sup> Then without warning, the massive cougar bolted from the black hole.

Re-creating this moment in *Plainsmen*, Grey gives readers the impression that the cougar leapt at him, and he killed it: “A huge yellow form shot over the trail and hit the top of the slide with a crash. . . . “Kill him!” roared Jones. Then the lion leaped, seemingly into the air above me. . . . I felt a rush of wind. I caught a confused glimpse of a whirling wheel of fur, rolling down the slide. . . . Old Tom had jumped at me, and had jumped to his death” (233).

Grey describes the event differently in his notebook, however. The huge cat did suddenly leap from the cave toward him, but what actually happened next is less flattering than the published account. The first shot “stroked fire from the rocks” above the lion. Then, attempting to escape, Old Tom leapt *beyond* Grey down the slope before Grey fired a second and third time: “He wheeled to go downhill and with tremendous leaps went past me. I sent another shot after another. At this last shot, he doubled up and plunged headfirst downhill, rolling over and over” (59).

While Jones and Onstott skinned the lion, they discussed its immense size, estimating its weight at 350 pounds. “He surely was the old King,” Grey declared in his notebook, “and the fellow who left those enor-

mous tracks all over this part of the forest. I marveled at my luck” (61). That evening, Grey added, “The lion is 10 feet 3½ inches.” Significantly, it’s the same length eventually published in *Plainsmen* (236). He continued his note with this satisfying boast: “Wonderful to relate this lion exceeds by half an inch the largest Col. Jones ever killed.”

One photograph of Old Tom exists. “The Death of the Mountain King” shows a huge lion resting several hundred yards down the slope of the Toroweap Formation with the Kaibab limestone cliffs above. Jones stands with lasso in hand.

Grey published one other photograph near this location. “The Slope of Sliding Stone” shows the steep rock-slide the three men scrambled down, an obstacle that made it nearly impossible to return to the rim. During the arduous ascent, incidentally, Jones’ shoes were ripped to shreds, his feet bloodied.<sup>14</sup>

The direction and length of the shadows indicate “Slope” was taken looking southeast at about 11:30 a.m. In the upper right, there is a colossal box canyon that is just north of Monument Point, indicating Old Tom was killed less than four miles from the hunters’ camp.<sup>15</sup> Recall that Grey descended a wedge-shaped break. Satellite imagery of the rim from where one would suspect this photograph was taken clearly shows a wedge-shaped chute with a river of loose, broken rocks below — exactly as Grey described.

### Old Tom Is the Mountain King

Exceptionally large mountain lions must have access to an abundance of food, and Grey reported seeing large herds of mule deer and many wild horses. And when Theodore Roosevelt hunted the North Rim in 1913 with “Uncle” Jim Owens, he confirmed that lions could be



A Lion Tied, from Zane Grey, *Tales of Lonely Trails*, New York: Harper & Bros., 1922.

particularly large in the area.<sup>16</sup> Roosevelt also confirmed that horses were especially vulnerable to cougar attacks, consistent with what Clark told Grey's group six years earlier. Undoubtedly, the Kaibab Plateau had been a mountain lion paradise for years, an environment, as Grey described it, where cougars remained fat and unmolested — an ideal environment for producing record-breaking animals.

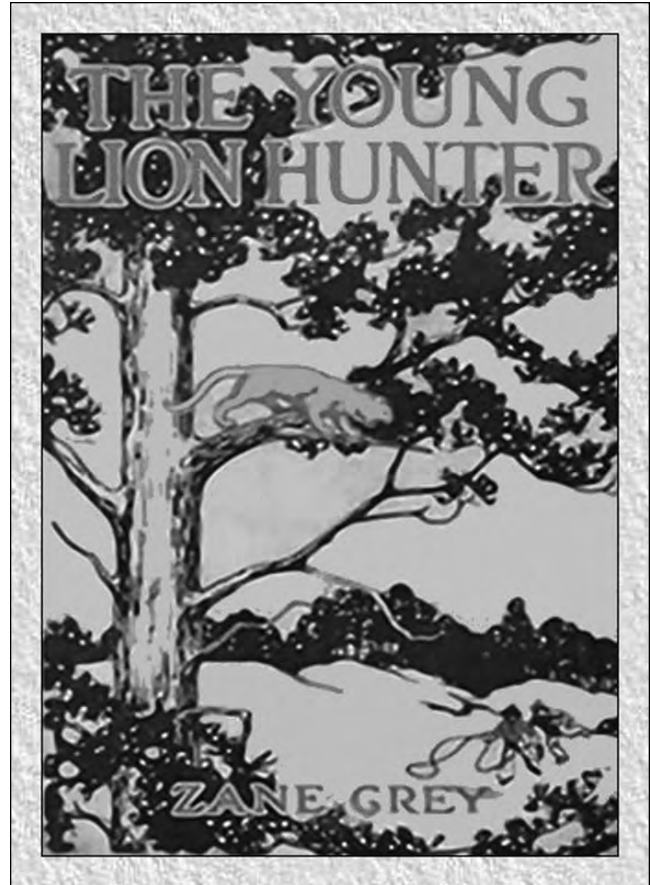
Consider, too, Zane Grey's motives for taking the trip to the North Rim. In 1907, he was an obscure, struggling writer. His primary aim for accompanying Jones was to confirm the buffalo hunter's claims, so Grey could expect to have any published account scrutinized for accuracy. In addition, the most lengthy, detailed descriptions in Grey's notebook document three successful lion hunts: Old Tom, the first, merits 10 pages, while another detailing the capture of "Kitty" runs 15 pages of the 120-page notebook. The third, never published, describes a second lion kill along the Esplanade Trail in Crazy Jug Canyon. If these descriptions contain fabrications, one must conclude that Grey embellished his private journal, which seems unlikely. More likely, Grey faithfully recorded what occurred and later exaggerated or modified selected details to create exciting and thus marketable narratives. One detail he did not modify, though, is the reported length of Old Tom — 10 feet 3½ inches.

And the other witnesses?

Besides Grey, three men saw Old Tom treed on the Siwash, and two of those were with the author when the huge lion was killed. Four others saw Old Tom's skin nailed to a pine at the Saddle camp.<sup>17</sup> Among these witnesses only Ether Wood, a young cowboy who encountered Grey on the North Rim, provided written details. Returning from the Esplanade with Clark, Wood passed through Grey's camp where he remembers seeing an enormous cougar pelt and hearing the story of the chase: "The lion bounded out past him. Zane Grey was standing about 50 feet from the cave and shot him twice. They showed us his pelt. It measured 11 ft. and 3 inches from its nose to the tip of its tail."<sup>18</sup> While the length is incorrect, it's revealing that Wood's recollection corresponds to the account in Grey's notebook, not the version in *Plainsman*.

While they did not leave written accounts, two other witnesses — "Uncle" Jim Owens and Jones — are especially significant because Grey's reputation for killing the King would have also affected their reputations and legacies.

In 1906, Owens was hired as game warden for the new Grand Canyon Game Reserve where he would later become famous as the "The Cougar Killer of the Kaibab." Roosevelt reported that Owens had killed 200–300 hundred lions by 1913,<sup>19</sup> and over the course of his twelve-year career, he allegedly killed more than 600. No one has ever had more experience with



Cover of Zane Grey, *The Young Lion Hunter*, New York: Harper & Bros., 1911.

mountain lions than Owens had, yet he never challenged Grey's statements.

Buffalo Jones is the most compelling witness, however. He was 63 in 1907 and already somewhat famous for the wild animals he had killed or captured. In 1902, Roosevelt appointed Jones game warden for Yellowstone National Park where, by his own account, he killed 72 mountain lions and lassoed many.<sup>20</sup> In 1907, then, certainly Jones had more experience with cougars than anyone else in the world, so his assessment of Old Tom is particularly credible. In addition, as a friend of Roosevelt, Jones surely would have been aware that Grey's record-breaking lion surpassed the president's 1901 record. Like Owens, though, the old buffalo hunter never amended or recanted his observation that Old Tom weighed somewhere between 300 and 350 pounds and was larger than any lion he had ever killed.

These two prominent eyewitnesses — who had, or would have, extensive, unrivalled experience with mountain lions — together with Grey's private notebook and photographs provide convincing support for Old Tom's record-breaking size. While the hunters had no means of weighing the lion, they could make precise measurements — and there is no record of a mountain lion longer than 10 feet. Old Tom, then, is



more than 3 inches longer than any other recorded cougar and surely *the Mountain King* — the largest mountain lion ever recorded.

The day Grey killed Old Tom was a defining one for the then unknown author. It was the same day his life-long reputation as a superb marksman began. It was the day he stopped reigning in horses because he was fearful of losing control, thus shedding his status as a greenhorn.<sup>21</sup> It was the day he was praised by real Westerners he admired. And, most important, according to Grey himself, it was the day his luck changed: “First day of May! I think the good luck inaugurated on that day will continue.”<sup>22</sup>

Grey returned to the Grand Canyon seven more times, but, by his own admission, the 1907 North Rim trip proved to be one of the most significant experiences of his life, a definitive awakening that not only changed him but also changed the world. It is estimated that over 130 million of Zane Grey’s books have been printed and over 110 motion pictures derived from them. Nearly all of these are Westerns which, taken together, have had a tremendous and indelible impact in shaping the world’s perception of the American West.

#### NOTES

1. “Record Mountain Lion Is Evidence of Colorado’s Healthy Lion Population” (Colorado Division of Wildlife, Sept. 6, 2002, <http://dnr.state.co.us/newsapp/press.asp?pressid=2081>).
2. Stanley Young and Edward Goldman, *The Puma, Mysterious American Cat* (Washington, D.C.: The American Wildlife Institute, 1946), 54. Mountain lions are the second-largest cats in the Western Hemisphere, typically ranging from 5½ feet to 8½ feet and weighing between 60–225 pounds, though adult males can be larger. Tom Brakefield, *Big Cats* (St. Paul, MN: Voyageur Press, 1993), 128. “Mountain lion,” “cougar,” and “puma” can be used interchangeably.
3. Luke Hagen, “Mitchell Resident Shoots One of World’s Largest Mountain Lions” (*The Daily Republic*, Jan. 20, 2009, [http://www.northlandoutdoors.com/event/article/id/31436/publisher\\_ID/4/](http://www.northlandoutdoors.com/event/article/id/31436/publisher_ID/4/)).
4. Zane Grey, *The Last of the Plainsmen*. (New York: Black’s Readers Service, 1936), 203. The Outing Publishing Company edition of *Plainsmen* (1908) includes twenty-two of the author’s photographs from the trip. Subsequent publishers omit some of the photos or all of them, like the Black’s Reader’s Service Company edition I reference here. A PDF of the 1908 edition is available at [GoogleBooks.com](http://GoogleBooks.com).
5. Zane Grey, *Plainsmen*, 36.
6. Zane Grey, “Notebook of Visit to Cave Dwelling” (Ms. 1262, Ohio Historical Society), 53. This is the author’s chronicle of the 1907 trip. Selected details of the hunt from “Notebook”:

We rolled out this morning at 5 o’clock. A quarter mile from camp old Moze gave tongue, and Sounder and Jude followed suit. They made off with us crashing through the brush. . . . Down the green canyon we flew. . . . This required us to ride four or five miles before we could head off the dogs. . . . We made for the breaks in the canyons. . . . Mile after mile I tore off. . . .

7. Zane Grey, “Notebook,” 56. When crashing through the scrub oak and cedar, “flung and tossed almost to pieces,” Grey is thrown from his horse (“Notebook” 54) (*Plainsmen* 215).
8. Zane Grey, *Plainsmen*, 203.

9. Zane Grey, “Notebook,” 54; *Plainsmen*, 219. Where possible, I’ve included references from both *Plainsmen* and “Notebook” to highlight the similarities between the two accounts.
10. Grey’s caption suggests this is the moment Sounder picked up the scent of Old Tom. While it appears to have been taken on the Siwash, it may or may not be that moment. Grey is consistent in his journal and *Plainsmen* that only four participated in the hunt, while a fifth person would have taken this photograph. There are also discrepancies between the photograph and Grey’s description of this setting: “We paused at the head of a depression, which appeared to be a gap in the rim wall, filled with massed pinion, and splintered piles of yellow stone. Zane Grey, *Plainsmen*, 219, “Notebook,” 54.
11. Zane Grey, “Notebook,” 55; *Plainsmen*, 224.
12. Zane Grey, “Notebook,” 56; *Plainsmen*, 226. In his “Notebook,” Grey describes it as a “wedge-shaped break” down “a long scaly incline where the stones slipped from under us and slid down the precipice.”
13. Zane Grey, “Notebook,” 57; Zane Grey, *Plainsmen*, 233. The Remington Model 8 was a semi-automatic rifle first produced by in 1906. Its take-down design made it easy to separate the barrel and receiver for traveling.
14. Zane Grey, “Notebook,” 61; *Plainsmen*, 235
15. Grey also says of this location that one could see the conjunction of Kanab and Grand Canyons, which is certainly possible (*Plainsmen*, 226). As they follow the canyon rim back to camp, they pass the break they suspected the dogs had gone down earlier after another cougar. In *Plainsmen*, Grey says this break was an alternate route to the Esplanade Clark sometimes used (236). This trail could only have been the now lost Miners/Clarence Dutton Trail into the Grand Canyon than began somewhere midway between Monument Point and Crazy Jug Point.
16. Theodore Roosevelt, “A Cougar Hunt on the Rim of the Grand Canyon” (*Outlook*, October 4, 1913, 259–266), 262.
17. The four include a wrangler named Lawson, Jim Owens, Monroe Clark, and Ether Wood.
18. Ether Wood, “Biography of Ether Wood,” Brent Prince Blogspot, <http://brentprince.blogspot.com/2009/02/biography-of-ether-wood.html> (accessed August 25, 2012). This is actually Wood’s autobiography. He mistakenly recalls meeting Grey in 1906.
19. Theodore Roosevelt, “A Cougar Hunt,” 262.
20. Robert Easton and Mackenzie Brown, *Lord of the Beasts*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1970), 156. Yellowstone National Park was actually the Yellowstone Military Preserve at the time.
21. Zane Grey, *Plainsmen*, 221.
22. Zane Grey, “Notebook,” 106.



Alan Pratt is a professor of humanities at Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University in Daytona Beach, Florida. While his research interests in the Grand Canyon and Zane Grey are recent, his appreciation of both is long-standing. He wanted to learn more about Grey’s journey to the North Rim after reading *The Last of the Plainsmen*. This narrative in conjunction with Grey’s notebook from the 1907 adventure offers a unique frame for viewing the author’s life, his writing, and the creative process. Alan retraced Grey’s journey last summer, and since then, has become very envious of those who live close enough to the Grand Canyon to wander in it and wonder at it. Generally, Alan writes about the history and impact of nihilism. His books include *Black Humor: Critical Essays*, *The Critical Response to Andy Warhol* and *The Dark Side: Thoughts on the Futility of Life*.

# Introduction

## *The Civil War Era in the West*

Steven L. Danver

**A**LTHOUGH it cannot be said that the handful of battles during the American Civil War that took place in the region that we today would refer to as the American West were especially significant to either the Union or Confederate war effort in a tactical or strategic sense, the impact of the Civil War era itself on the American West itself is more noteworthy. Even more than those few battles fought in the West, the changes in American politics and social relations forged by the war left their mark on almost every part of the West. The articles that comprise this issue of *Journal of the West* are a testimony to this influence, how widely it was felt, and the myriad ways that it impacted a region thousands of miles removed from the main battlefields of the Civil War.

My coeditor for this issue, James Jewell, has written two articles, the first of which looks at the situation along the Mexican border during the Civil War. During 1862–1863, Mexico was at war with France. Though the French conquest of much of the country was a clear violation of the Monroe Doctrine, which stated that the United States would tolerate no European power making new claims in the Americas, neither the Union nor the Confederacy were in any position to do anything about it. The presence of Union troops along the border was less about ensuring Mexican sovereignty than it was about making sure that neither Mexico nor France was able to encroach on the poorly defended American territories in the Southwest.

From the Borderlands of the Southwest, Lorraine McConaghy takes us to the Pacific Northwest; specifically Washington Territory. As in much of the West, racial issues were important during the war, but it was more often the relationships between American Indian groups and settlers that formed the locus of conflict, as there were fewer than three dozen black or mixed race people in the territory. However, disagreements between those who supported the abolition of slavery and those who favored the right of the states to determine the status of Africans for themselves (typically those supporting slavery) found their way into places like Washington as well, and were fertile grounds for debate during the election of 1860 and after. Adam Arenson puts the focus on where the West begins (by some reckonings) — St. Louis, Missouri. His focus, however, is less on the war itself, but on the development of weather science, which

would have an impact on the ways that battles were fought from that point on. Arenson examines the work of George Engelmann, a doctor from Germany who immigrated to St. Louis in 1835. From St. Louis, he maintained correspondence with numerous others recording weather phenomena across the West, including John C. Frémont, Peter Koning, Alexander Humboldt, and John Nicholas Nicollet.

The actions of Western political leaders are the focus of Stephen Engle's article on governors in the region. Many states, such as California, chose to remain in the Union, and yet had large contingents of Confederate sympathizers. Maintaining order while supporting the war effort proved challenging for California's John G. Downey (D) and Leland Stanford (R) and Oregon's John Whiteaker (D). Kyle Sinisi turns the focus on to the battlefield, specifically the Battle of the Big Blue and the Battle of Westport in Missouri. Confederate general Sterling Price led an invasion of Missouri in summer 1864, in what turned out to be the final Southern offensive of the war. Sinisi seeks to correct some cartographical errors made by the Union side, and perpetuated in the literature on the battles. Looking at how the landscape influenced the outcome of the battles, the focus of each side was gaining local knowledge. A Civil War action with a more direct impact on the West was the Homestead Act of 1862. Grant Dinehart Langdon traces the linkages between Southern plantations, Eastern manor houses, and the drive for the settlement of the West.

James Jewell's second contribution to the issue looks at the Western perceptions of the threat posed by Confederate spies and schemes along the West Coast. From the efforts of a group of erstwhile Southern sailors to turn the U.S.S. *J. M. Chapman* into a threat to merchant ships in the Pacific to the mutual mistrust between the Royal Governor in British Columbia and residents of Washington Territory, to the instability along the southern border with Mexico, the Civil War impacted the lives of Westerners, though the battles might have been far to the east. Finally, Scott Stabler uses the Civil War as a starting point to a lesson plan focusing on teaching about the experiences of homesteading and Western expansion. The Homestead Act of 1862 was passed, among other reasons, to help stop the spread of slavery by filling

the West with individual landowners who would establish family farms rather than plantations. Within the context of the Civil War and the Reconstruction period that followed, Stabler leads students through primary sources that allow them to critically assess the effectiveness and morality of the Homestead Act.

One thing that the articles making up this issue make abundantly clear is that there is a vast history to be in-

vestigated in looking at the Civil War's impact on the West. Some historians, like Richard Etulain, have started to do so in writing monographs examining the ways that the Civil War impacted specific regions of the West. But as James Jewell reminds us, the vast majority of scholarship on this era has (somewhat understandably) had an Eastern and Southern focus, leaving the West today as "a new frontier in the study of the Civil War."



Steven L. Danver, PhD, is Academic Coordinator and Core Faculty in Social Sciences in the College of Undergraduate Studies at Walden University, and is managing editor of *Journal of the West*. He received his doctorate in American History from the University of Utah, specializing in American Indian and American environmental history. Dr. Danver has written, edited, or coedited a number of works, including *Water Politics and Policy in the United States* and the *Encyclopedia of Politics in the American West* (with John Burch), which was recently named an Outstanding Academic Title by the American Library Association.

# French Imperialists and Mexican Republicans *Dangers Along the Southwestern Border During the Civil War*

James Robbins Jewell

DEPARTMENT of Pacific leaders in San Francisco, as well as those in Washington, grew increasingly concerned over international affairs in Mexico when, in December 1861, European powers seeking repayment of loans became involved in internal Mexican affairs. The external pressure applied on the Mexican government further destabilized President Benito Juárez's precarious hold on his country. Finally, the French conquest of most of the country in 1862 and 1863 shattered the fragile stability in Mexico, greatly alarming American officials in the process.

Union defeats in the early months of the war prohibited the Northern government from responding forcefully to this violation of the Monroe Doctrine. Out in the Far West, Department of the Pacific commanders faced a complex problem when formulating a policy to deal with potential dangers posed by the warring in Mexico. Since it was national policy to remain neutral, troops on the Pacific Coast enforced neutrality on a population that openly despised the French occupation, in part for its subjugation of a neighboring republic, but mostly because of the nearness of imperialistic armies to American borders. The presence of a significant number of Mexican nationals within the department's borders made this all the more difficult, and the intrigues of both French and Mexican agents posed an additional impediment to maintaining neutrality and stability. In such a complicated atmosphere, the Union's western-most command, the Department of the Pacific, faced the difficult task of protecting its southern border while avoiding being entangled in the fighting on the Mexican side.

In the absence of any support from the Americans, there was little the still fractionalized Mexicans could do to oust the European forces. Although it did not help Mexican President Benito Juárez, the Spanish and English envoys soon recognized that the French had no intention of adhering to the Tripartite Treaty of London, and therefore dissolved that arrangement on April 9, 1862. With the departure of the English and

Spanish forces, the French initiated a war of conquest, which forced the duly elected government, the only one the United States recognized during the crisis, to move from one place to the next, just to stay ahead of the French troops.

The dramatic increase in the number of French soldiers in Mexico, and their eventual seizure of Mexico City on June 12, 1863, alarmed many Americans. Western civilian, military, and political officials sympathized openly with the Juárez government, which was a government more in name than in actuality. American opinion solidified against the French even further when Napoleon III had officials in Mexico lay the groundwork for the appointment of a European royal as emperor of Mexico. In the end, Austrian Prince Maximilian assumed the Mexican throne, which he held not by the grace of God, but through Napoleon III's military support.

The eventual presence of some 40,000 French and French-allied troops roaming about Mexico, meddling in that nation's internal affairs, while trying to capture its lawful president, caused a great deal of concern for the American president, Congress, and the Union commanders in the Southwest and Far West. Essentially, as the *Army and Navy Journal* told its military audience, "Next to the Southern Rebellion, no question is of greater interest to the Army and the entire country than this of Mexico. One main object of the intervention, as publicly avowed by its imperial author [Napoleon III], was to arrest the growth of the power of this Republic [the United States]."<sup>1</sup> Echoing that view, Senator James McDougall, of California, warned that "It will not be long before the front of an undisguised enemy will be exhibited to the Republic; and simultaneous with that will be the attempt to seize upon all there is of our Republic on the shores of the Pacific."<sup>2</sup> U.S. Senator McDougall also reprimanded the government for its decision to ignore the well-established Monroe Doctrine: "the duty is now devolved upon this Government to protest against, and if

necessary, resist by force of arms the extension of the power and policies of France, with the monarchical institutions of Europe, over the neighboring republic of Mexico.”<sup>3</sup>

Despite the anger voiced by many, with the Civil War in progress, it behooved the Union government to avoid becoming entangled in another war. American response, therefore, followed an unappealing program: individuals, both average citizens and leaders like Senator McDougall, publicly denounced both the violation of the Monroe Doctrine and its resulting usurpation of the elected Mexican government as well as the perceived threat to American territories and states. Administration officials faced an infuriating situation where any personal desire to threaten France with the use of force had to be muted for the good of the nation. In short, the official course of action was inaction. As Secretary of State Seward put it, “in the present circumstances the United States would sacrifice Mexico if she thought it would save her from French intervention in the U.S. Civil War which hangs over her.”<sup>4</sup> Thus, despite some impotent remonstrations and toothless Congressional proclamations, the American government committed itself to a neutrality stance regarding the French presence in Mexico.

Seward understood that many Americans, including military personnel, in the affected regions might oppose this policy. Therefore, he made it clear to Far Western commanders that, “You should be specially charged to do whatever is practicable, consistent with the national safety and dignity, to avoid any collision between the forces under your command and either of the belligerents in Mexico, and even guard so far as may be possible against suffering any occasion to arise for disputes or controversy.”<sup>5</sup>

With a large segment of the population opposed to the government’s neutrality position, enforcing such a national policy proved cumbersome in the Far West. Despite the need to focus on the ongoing Civil War, the blatant nature of the French imperial conquest of Mexico angered many who feared the French more than the Confederates. The proximity of a European-supported (some said puppet) imperial regime exacerbated that anger. Ensuring that the official neutrality position remained intact fell to the senior officers in the region, the Department of the Pacific commanders: first Edwin Sumner, then George Wright, and eventually Irvin McDowell.

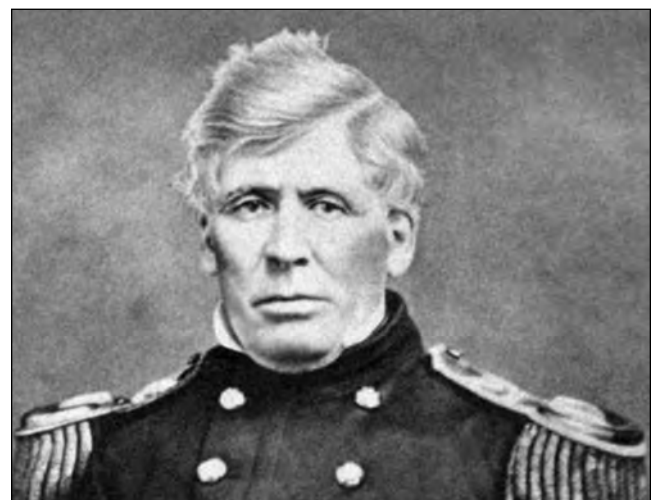
All three generals were career soldiers, and as such they carried out their orders regardless of popular opinion. However, none of the department commanders were dispassionate about the monarchical assault on a republican government in the Americas, and the resulting dangers it posed. During their tenures as commander both Sumner and Wright contemplated sending American troops into Mexico. McDowell, who assumed command in June 1864, was no less contemptuous of

the French actions. Therefore, maintaining neutrality, not surprisingly, proved difficult in this highly charged atmosphere, where a significant portion of the civilian population openly sympathized with the Mexican cause. Making matters more precarious, the military commanders, whose job it was to uphold federal policy, likewise either sympathized with the Mexican plight or worried about French designs (which some feared included a Confederate component) on America’s most distant lands.

General George Wright assumed command of the Department of the Pacific months before England and Spain pulled out of the tripartite agreement. Thus, for most of the war, protecting America’s Western borders and doing everything possible to prevent Mexicans, Frenchmen, or Americans from compromising the nation’s neutrality fell to Wright. Like many others, Wright bristled with indictments of French actions. He went so far as to describe the French regime as “a rapacious and unscrupulous power” which he felt “covets California and will fraternize with rebels to accomplish its end.”<sup>6</sup>

Wright’s indictment of the French might have been off somewhat regarding the relationship between Confederates and the Maximilian’s puppet regime, but at the time plenty of evidence, both from abroad and in the Americas, gave weight to his views. As a result of the general anxiety caused by the near proximity of French forces and the Mexican agents in California, Union forces in the state, kept a watchful eye southward.

Despite the anger toward, and the resulting attention given to, the French military, the more immediate threat to American neutrality in the Far West came from the Mexican and French agents, whose intrigues in California and Nevada could at any time incite Americans to join in the fighting. In California, especially from San Francisco southward, something akin to an espionage war took place between operatives from both factions.



General George Wright, U.S. Army commander of the Department of the Pacific.  
*Courtesy U.S. Military Academy, West Point, NY.*

San Francisco served as the epicenter of this cold war, where both France and republican Mexico maintained consulates. The Mexicans struggled on three fronts, hoping to induce American citizens to put pressure on the federal government to terminate the detrimental neutrality policy, while simultaneously, and covertly, buying much-needed arms and munitions and trying to raise mercenary forces to come to their aid. At the same time the French officials focused their efforts on ensuring that American officials, meaning the military and local magistrates, enforced the unpopular neutrality policy. Department of the Pacific commanders found that maintaining equilibrium between national interests and sympathy for the neighboring republic was increasingly difficult in such an atmosphere.

No single individual made maintaining American neutrality in the Far West more difficult than Plácido Vega, former governor of the state of Sinaloa and a Juarist general after 1860. As the situation grew bleaker for the Juarez government in 1863, the president and his advisors decided to take a drastic step. In desperate need of arms, munitions, and men, President Juarez sent Vega on a not so secret mission to San Francisco, to purchase war materials, and, if possible, raise forces for the Mexican cause. Although Vega himself did not arrive in San Francisco until 1864, his aides reached the city in October 1863. Over the next three years the general and his aides spent over half a million dollars buying weapons, munitions, raising troops, and greasing both the press and the political machine in California and, to a far lesser degree, in Nevada.

Despite the Department of the Pacific's efforts to enforce neutrality by stopping shipments of military goods believed destined for Mexico and hindering the travel of persons suspected of trying to join the Mexican cause, Westerners openly supported Vega's efforts. Acquiring arms proved easy in such an atmosphere. The first shipment of any size reached Mazatlan in December 1863. Two months later, over a 1,000 rifles and ammunition reached Juarist troops; and the trade continued until December 1866.<sup>7</sup> The gamble, at least in regard to acquiring arms, appeared to pay off.

Finding someone willing to sell arms proved easy; however, getting those arms to Mexican forces proved more difficult. Although more shipments arrived in Mexico than were stopped by American officials, the process was fraught with uncertainty and inconsistency. The difficulties Vega and his subordinates faced were not accidental, but rather part of the concerted effort by French agents to thwart every step the Mexican officials made. Just as Vega and others acted with the knowledge and approval of the Mexican consulate in San Francisco, French officials in their consulate worked to counteract the Mexican moves. The most effective French official in the hunt to expose any activity violating the American neutrality policy was the



Plácido Vega y Daza, governor of the state of Sinaloa. Engraving by Bradley & Rulofson, San Francisco.

*Courtesy Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.*

consul himself, Charles Ferdinand Cazotte, who replaced the outgoing consul in January 1864.<sup>8</sup>

The French held an important advantage over the Juarists in this peculiar struggle. The United States' official neutrality stance enabled the French to cajole unsympathetic civilian agents and Department of the Pacific officials into thwarting Mexican efforts to acquire goods and men. McDowell illustrated the awkwardness of this situation when he wrote Vega in late 1864 that despite "the interest & sympathy which in common with the majority of my countrymen I feel for your country," national policy superseded both popular and personal sentiments. Since the Mexican agents' continued efforts to raise arms and material placed Department of the Pacific officials in the undesirable position of enforcing those policies, McDowell rather curtly pointed out to Vega, "I am in no way empowered by the Government to regulate its foreign policy, and am in no position to discuss it with you. That if you find any cause of complaint in the conduct pursued by any one in this matter, your proper course is to lay it before your minister in Washington."<sup>9</sup> The message was clear, American officials would confiscate any weapons and materials destined for military use by the Juarists and they would impound any vessels carrying those items.

French consul Cazotte, who understood that Americans in the region loathed both the French incursion in Mexico and the near proximity of thousands of imperial

troops, relied heavily on the officials' reluctance to abrogate standing orders. Of course, Cazotte and the others understood enforcing the law and seeking out violators and their cargo were not the same. Both required incentives. After sizing up the situation, Cazotte informed the French Foreign Office in Paris that

In this country everything has its price, and if the armaments continue, as a result of the present situation in Mexico, I will be able to stop them only by means of 'gratifications' at the right moment to certain officials, and especially the chief of police, who seems devoted to us. I dare, then, to propose to Your Excellence, that if Chief Burke should continue to make important seizures of arms and of contraband of war, to be so good as to put at my disposition funds for unforeseen events.<sup>10</sup>

Furthermore, Cazotte bluntly informed his superiors that "I do not believe those whom I employ in these affairs will be very happy with pretty words."<sup>11</sup> Officials in Paris heeded their consul's deft characterization of the situation in San Francisco and established a line of credit for Cazotte's use in bribing willing American officials.

Wise distribution of these funds enabled agents to obtain information about Mexican efforts to purchase arms and supplies. Cazotte, in turn, passed this information on to the local magistrate and customs officials, whose job it was to assist in enforcing the neutrality law by preventing either belligerent from acquiring military supplies. The chief of San Francisco's police force, M. L. Burke, who supplemented his income with French bribes, readily acted on the information supplied to him. Chief Burke was not the only important San Francisco official wallowing in the French trough. Many believed the city's chief collector of customs, Charles James, was also on the French payroll. State surveyor general, Edward Beale, denounced James in a letter stating, "You are known to have had frequent and cordial interviews with the consul of France, and you will be seen by the thoughtless multitude through a flood of French gold, which will be believed to have overwhelmed your integrity."<sup>12</sup> Whether or not James accepted French bribes is not entirely clear, but there is no denying he zealously worked to prevent any military material from reaching Mexico. His effort was so strident that Beale promised "your name will become the synonym of everything that is humanly base wherever the Democracy rears the flag of a free people."

The combination of Burke and James proved valuable to the French and troubling for Vega. In April 1864, officials seized 3,000 rifles aboard the American ship *John L. Stephens*. Later that summer, a revenue ship seized an American merchant vessel, the *Haze*,

while agents in San Francisco took possession of rifles, ammunition, and cannons waiting to be shipped. The haul amounted to approximately 9,000 rifles and more than a dozen cannons. Despite these successes and the continued assistance of the chief of police and the zealous head customs officer, Cazotte only succeeded in disrupting, not stopping, the flow of arms to the Juarists in Mexico.

Far more important to maintaining neutrality, and thereby keeping the United States out of the fighting in Mexico, was preventing Americans from joining the fray below the border. The primary responsibility for prohibiting the raising, organizing, and eventual movement of an American expeditionary force to Mexico fell predominantly to the United States military. Failure to prevent Americans from assisting President Juarez in his struggle might induce French forces to take military action — possibly on the American side of the border. Such a confrontation, between American citizens or, worse, military personnel, would ignite a war, and as Grant said in 1864, "we want Napoleon out of Mexico, but we don't want any war over it; we have certainly had enough war."<sup>13</sup>

As General Vega discovered, many people shared half of Grant's opinion. From the outset of his mission, Vega had been candid about his desire to acquire arms and munitions in California. He went so far as to point out to Department of the Pacific commander McDowell that in an April 1864 meeting he gave California Governor F. F. Low and Edward F. Beale, then with the Army Corps of Engineers, "full details [of] the object of my mission, which amounted substantially to procuring the means necessary for repelling the usurpation of Maximilian in Mexico."<sup>14</sup> However, he understood that attempting to acquire arms and supplies, which itself violated America's neutrality, was one thing and openly raising troops in defiance of that neutrality was another. Therefore, to raise troops to help expel Maximilian and his French masters from Mexico, Vega acted more covertly.

Obviously, concentrating and transporting any sizable body of men almost guaranteed detection. An additional problem stemmed from the need to advertise. Vega needed to get the word out, but without raising suspicions; otherwise, military and civilian officials might imprison anyone caught recruiting by invoking Department of the Pacific, General Order Number 5. That order prohibited citizens from sailing to Mexico unless they convinced officials they had no intention of aiding either side in any manner. The Mexican agents needed to use ingenuity to evade these dual problems, and Vega proved more than capable.

Shortly after the French initiated large scale operations in 1862, angry native Californians organized "Mexican Clubs," where increasing numbers of citizens vented their rage while discussing what they might do to aid their brethren in Mexico. Juarez's agents took

full advantage of the presence of those organizations by seeking aid from their members, and in fact, the Juarist operatives contributed funds to encourage their continued existence. Vega used the clubs, as well as the Spanish language newspapers, to get the word out regarding an effort to create a new “colony” in north-west Mexico. He named the first effort to raise men the Arizona Exploring Expedition. Any such colonizing endeavor required dealing with the frequently hostile Apache Indians, which rather conveniently enabled the body to circumvent American laws prohibiting the emigration of well armed groups.

With Mexican agents able to both advertise for troops and explain the transportation of heavily armed bodies, it only remained to be seen if Americans would respond. The continuous flow of letters of inquiry put to rest any uncertainty about individual American willingness to take up arms for Mexico. Edward Lever spoke for many prospective volunteers when in November 1864, he wrote Vega, “Being in heart and soul a believer in republicanism, I have long sympathized with Mexico and her patriots, therefore I offer myself for any position whereby I might be of service.” One of the volunteers, A. A. C. Williams, forwarded testimonials about his martial service from a number of Union generals to Vega, who after meeting him appointed Williams a colonel in the Mexican national guard. As expected, the native Californians also readily volunteered to help liberate their former country from the imperial yoke. In fact, Vega found generating interest easy among the Hispanic population, republicans, mercenaries, and disappointed miners throughout California and Nevada, where he focused his efforts.

Generating interest and organizing bodies of men proved easier than getting them past Union officials in the Far West, who suspected the Arizona Exploring Expedition’s objective. However, so long as the group’s existence was not overt and it did not attempt to leave for Mexico, officials let the charade continue. The fact was that until they set out for Mexico they could maintain the façade of not violating the neutrality law. However, Department of the Pacific officials fully understood that Vega’s effort to raise men went against their primary objective of maintaining stability in the Far West. Despite their personal sympathies for the Mexicans and hatred of the French, the department commanders’ responsibility was to ensure the stability of the Far West. In this case, that meant prohibiting the raising of men to aid Juarez.

In late summer 1864, General Wright, stated the position unequivocally: “our neutrality must and shall be preserved in good faith. No recruiting rendezvous for enlisting men for foreign service will be allowed at any place in the State. No bodies of armed men will be permitted to sail from San Francisco or any other point on the coast. Any violation of this regulation after due warning will be met by the prompt arrest of

the offenders.” Previous experience in smuggling arms and supplies out of California, gave Vega reason to hope for success in raising and sending men to Juarez. In any case, given the desperate situation in Mexico, Vega and the other agents had no choice but to test the officials’ commitment.

In May 1865, with the Civil War virtually over, General Vega finally arranged to transport a body of 400 men to join the Juarist forces in Mexico.<sup>15</sup> Despite the fact that American policy regarding the shipment of arms (and men) to Mexico was in flux, and murky, at the time, officials in San Francisco prevented the Arizona Expedition from sailing and, as Wright warned, jailed some of those involved. Although American policy soon became more helpful for republican Mexico, the setback proved significant. Through the joint work carried out mostly by civilian and treasury officials (some of whom were aided by French spies), with the support of the military, no organized bodies of volunteers left for Mexico until 1866, by which time the United States government relaxed laws prohibiting aid to the Juarez government.

Department of the Pacific commanders and men, with the significant assistance of government officials, prevented any dangers emanating out of Mexico from drawing Western Americans, and eventually the nation, into the morass below the border. During the course of the Civil War, Department of the Pacific leaders maintained the sanctity of their department and the safety of the people from being imperiled by dangers bubbling in Mexico. American neutrality had been preserved, and Mexico, as Secretary of State Seward predicted, nearly sacrificed to the Europeans in the process.

By marshalling their troops effectively, Department of the Pacific officials deterred both the French and the Mexicans from either advancing, as in the former case, or retreating in the latter, into America. The work to protect the Far West, and thereby the nation, from being sucked into the Mexican vortex was complicated and required vigilance by the officers and men stationed in the southern part of the department, deft political maneuvering by its commanders, and stealth by civilian and department personnel thwarting violations of neutrality. By maintaining the integrity of the borders and the nation’s neutrality in the face of public support for the Mexican cause, and despite their own sympathies, Department of the Pacific officers and men achieved an important and complicated success for the Union.

#### NOTES

1. *United States* [Washington D.C.] *Army and Navy Journal*, April 9, 1864, 552.
2. James A. McDougall, *French Interference in Mexico: Speech of Hon. J. A. McDougall* (Baltimore: John Murphy and Company, 1863), 5.
3. *Ibid.*, 20.



4. Alfred Jackson Hanna and Kathryn Abbey Hanna, *Napoleon III and Mexico* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina, 1971), 38–39.
5. *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, series 1 (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1897), 34, 2: 595.
6. *O.R.* 50, 2: 792.
7. Robert R. Miller, “Arms Across the Border: United States Aid to Juarez During the French Intervention in Mexico,” *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 63 (1973): 21.
8. A. P. Nasatir, “The French Attitude in California During the Civil War Decade,” *California Historical Society Quarterly* 43 (1964): 1, 28.
9. *O.R.* 50, 2: 1075.
10. Cozotte quoted in Lynn M. Case and Warren F. Spencer, *The United States and France: Civil War Diplomacy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1970), 523.
11. *Ibid.*
12. Beale cited in Miller, “Arms Across the Border,” 19.
13. Grant quoted in Horace Porter, *Campaigning with Grant* (New York: The Century Company, 1897), 256.
14. *O.R.* 50, 2: 1038.
15. Miller, “Arms Across the Border,” 27.

James Robbins Jewell is an Instructor of History in the Social and Behavioral Sciences Division at North Idaho College, in Coeur d’Alene.

# The Deplorable State of Our National Affairs

## *The Civil War in Washington Territory*

Lorraine McConaghy

*On July 5 1862, the Washington Standard reported that the citizens of Olympia, Washington Territory, had gathered for their annual Fourth of July picnic. It was a sober gathering in the territorial capital; back East, civil war was raging. As the picnickers arrived, they unpacked baskets of food to be shared. Suddenly there was a silence, and a crowd gathered around the dessert table, pointing and staring at one cake. The cake was frosted with white butter-cream, and a perfect Confederate flag had been piped on top — the Dixie stars and bars at a territorial picnic while the nation was at war. The secessionist baker was anonymous, and her act of conviction and defiance is all that remains to us. Her cake is one data point in the rich experience of Washington Territory's Civil War.*

**T**HE Civil War was the great American storm of the nineteenth century that obscures all that came beforehand and overshadows all that came after. In the West, American Manifest Destiny had played out on Indian land that became the focus for antebellum conflict over slavery expansion and over race itself, both black and indigenous. During the Civil War, the rich, dynamic West was the great prize, its orientation to the Pacific promising the future to the wartime adversaries. And afterward, during Reconstruction, a generation of veterans both rebel and Union left the East behind to reinvent themselves and shape the Western future. This article reminds the reader that the Civil War was a *national* war, not a regional one, and that Washington Territory must be included in any examination of the war, its causes and its consequences.

In the Northwest, the issue of race focused as much on indigenous people as blacks — blacks could be forbidden, Indians were already present. Settlers who followed the overland trail had feared the fierce Plains warriors and some had experienced attacks. When they reached the end of the trail, they had little respect and less patience with the Native people for whom the newly-organized territory was home. Washington's indigenous people were savagely dealt with: their women exploited, their youth debauched, their labor

requisitioned, their ways of life destroyed and their lands confiscated by hasty, contemptuous treaties.

In the 1850s, some argued that the Far West had little in common with the United States, and should secede. In 1861, a determined minority dedicated to Confederate success remained in the West and adopted the Pacific Republic initiative. The shadowy paramilitary organization, the Knights of the Golden Circle, met in Pacific Northwest “castles” to plot such treason.

The suspension of habeas corpus and freedom of the press was significant to the territory's wartime experience. In the end, half a dozen Oregon newspapers distributed in the Territory were barred from the U.S. mails in what one of them — the monthly *Eugene City Review* — called a wave of “abolition terrorism,” in which constitutional freedoms were suppressed by the military (11/1863).

The Crown Colony of Victoria was home to a large black community and a refuge for fugitive slaves, including at least one from Washington Territory. But Victoria also became a haven for West Coast secessionists. Although Great Britain declared neutrality in the Civil War, some Northwesterners feared that Victoria authorities allowed the colony to be used as a base for Confederate schemes in the West, including encouraging Native hostilities.

In 1860, there were fewer than 12,000 settlers in all of Washington Territory and they had little say in their government. The only important elective position in the territory was the delegate, a non-voting member of the U.S. House of Representatives. In fact, every significant territorial office was filled by an appointee chosen by the president from his political loyalists. In turn, the “Olympia Clique” filled lesser positions with their cronies. From Indian agents to rural postmen, dozens of jobs and contracts were awarded to loyal members of the prevailing political party. Dependent on patronage from Washington, D.C., and on federal legislation and appropriation, settlers were keenly attuned to national politics.

Most settlers who traveled to Washington Territory emigrated from back East, though some were from the Hawaiian Islands, the west coast of Africa, and Europe.

Settlers brought their convictions with them about the great issues of the day: about popular sovereignty and states' rights, religion, Indians, the Pacific Republic, slavery, and race. Their intense interest in the ideas that led to war and in the events of the war itself is clearly revealed in territorial newspapers. This article argues that the issues' immediacy to these Northwesters is as significant as their physical distance from Eastern battlefields. Settlers brought the Civil War with them like they brought garden seeds, a fiddle, a Bible, a servant or a slave, a subscription to *The Liberator* or to *DeBow's Review*. The Civil War is not only about battles, but about ideas.



In 1850, the U.S. Congress passed the compromise that admitted California as a free state, prohibited restrictions on slavery in the rest of the territory gained from the Mexican War, and strengthened the Fugitive Slave Act. But four years later, the organization of the territories of Kansas and Nebraska posed a new crisis. Congress enacted the Kansas-Nebraska Act to revoke the old border of 36°30' between slave and free and provide for the extension or restriction of slavery by popular sovereignty. A series of votes confirmed Kansas as slave territory but the outcomes were tainted by fraud and violence. The death toll rose into the hundreds in Bleeding Kansas, a portent of civil war fought over the issue of slavery. Settlers in Washington Territory hungrily read newspaper coverage of Bleeding Kansas and many approved the fundamental principle: popular sovereignty was an expression of frontier independence, of the right of pioneers to govern themselves without interference from the distant federal government.

But in 1857, the U.S. Supreme Court challenged the power of the U.S. Congress to enact such legislation concerning slavery. In the Dred Scott decision, a majority of the justices agreed that slaves were items of property, and that Congress had improperly interfered with the owners' "right to property in a slave." An American's property was his to keep wherever he traveled. On February 2, 1858, Washington's territorial legislature endorsed the Court's decision, giving blanket assent to the policies of President James Buchanan's administration:

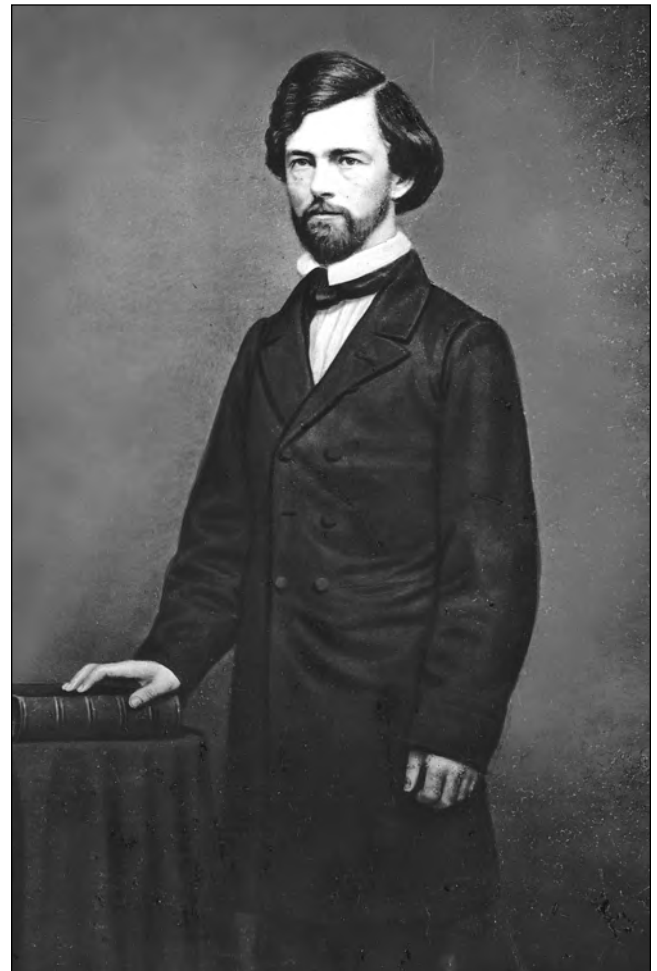
*[W]e understand the opinions and principles entertained by the majority of the supreme court . . . in the Dred Scott case, to be a fair interpretation of the constitution of the United States and to be the true doctrine embraced in the Kansas Nebraska act as entertained by the democratic party of this Territory.*

*Resolved, that we believe the people are the proper tribunal to settle all questions which concern themselves.*

*Resolved, that we most cordially endorse all the measures of the present administration . . .<sup>1</sup>*

Territorial Republicans denounced the Dred Scott decision. But the *Pioneer and Democrat* gleefully editorialized that the decision "sweeps away every plank of their [the Republicans'] platform and crushes into nothingness the whole theory upon which their party is founded" (5/8/1857). That theory, simply put, was that the federal government had constitutional authority to regulate slavery. Territorial Democrats were convinced that Congress had no right to prohibit slavery in the territories, and that the people had been empowered to regulate their domestic institutions to suit themselves. Most settlers agreed with a letter writer to the *Washington Standard* that the territory was "in a latitude unprofitable to slave labor" but they also believed that "there is a principle involved" (2/9/1861). Conviction was not just a practical matter nor was it an abstraction: there was at least one slave in Washington Territory.

When Washington Territory was split from Oregon in 1853, Isaac Ingalls Stevens was appointed territorial governor by President Franklin Pierce, a Democrat, in gratitude for his services during the election campaign.



Isaac Ingalls Stevens, governor of Washington Territory from 1853-1857.  
Courtesy Library of Congress.

The two governors who followed him were appointed by another Democrat, James Buchanan, a Northern man with Southern sympathies. Virginia slaveholder Fayette McMullin arrived in 1857. He was succeeded in 1859 by Richard Dickerson Gholson, a Kentucky farmer and Texas rancher, and a slaveholder at both his homes. When Gholson returned to Kentucky to work for Abraham Lincoln's defeat in the election of 1860, the *Oregonian* jokingly wondered whether he would bring his slaves back with him to Olympia when he returned (7/21/1860). The joke had bite. Southern extremists were loudly talking of seceding to form a new confederacy, if Lincoln was elected. What would the territorial governor do, in that case?

The majority of Washington residents of both parties were appalled by the Southern threat to break up the Union through secession. In practice, most settlers in the Pacific Northwest rejected the radicals in both parties — the abolitionists on the one hand and the slavery expansionists on the other. The long-gathering conflict came to a heated climax in the four-way presidential contest of 1860, in which territorial residents could not vote. The national Democratic Party split on sectional lines to nominate two candidates for the presidency: Stephen Douglas and John Breckenridge. Washington Territory's former governor Isaac Stevens directed the national campaign of Breckenridge and his running mate, Oregon's Joseph Lane. The Constitutional Union Party nominated John Bell of Tennessee for president, and the Republican Party nominated Abraham Lincoln.

In Washington Territory, the partisan newspapers closely covered the 1860 campaign. The *Pioneer and Democrat* editorialized: “[T]here never was a period in the history of this country when. . . there was manifested such absorbing interest in national affairs as at the present time. . . [when] we have reached a crisis in political affairs” (3/2/1860). Two Republican newspapers sprang up during the campaign: the *Port Townsend Northwest* and the *Olympia Washington Standard*, “to do battle for the advancement of free territory, free labor, free speech and free men,” but they did not mean free black men in the territory itself (*Standard*, 11/17/1860). In 1860, the thriving little city of Victoria, a British Crown Colony just north up Puget Sound, rebuked American racism. The gold rush boomtown boasted 3,000 residents, and nearly 700 of them were black. While the population included blacks from throughout the British empire, many had immigrated to Victoria from the United States, especially from California, and their stories intersected with that of Charles Mitchell, a young slave brought from Maryland to Washington Territory by the Pierce-appointed surveyor-general, James Tilton.

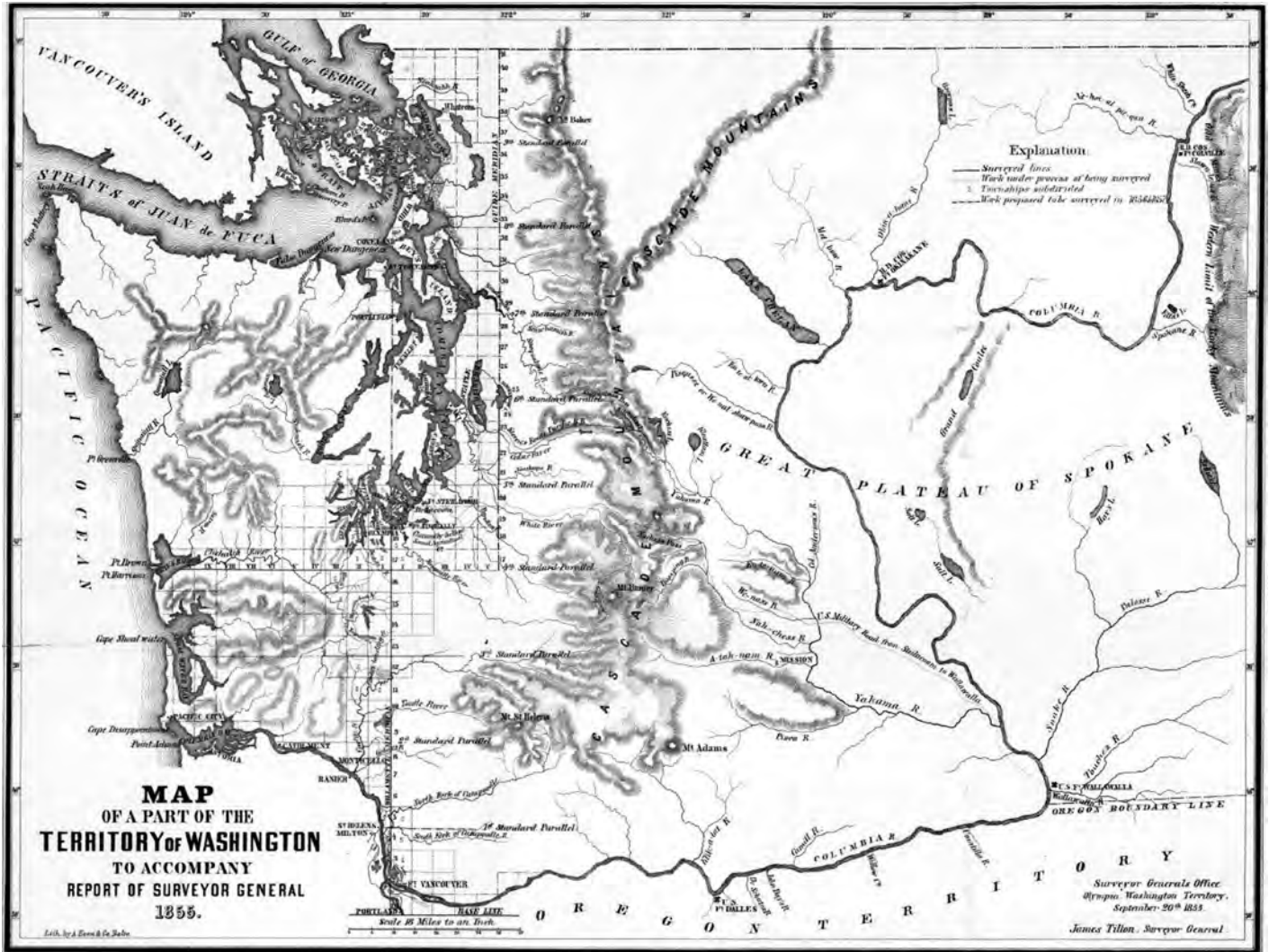
In 1858, the great gold rush to British Columbia drew thousands of would-be miners, and Victoria boomed. Ten years earlier, ambitious African Americans

were drawn to the Gold Rush in California, hoping to make their way in a free state. However, they found stubborn racial prejudice there, and were denied the right to vote and the protection of law. Faced with such hostility, leaders of San Francisco's black community began to search for a place to build their lives. In 1858, thirty-five black San Franciscans visited Victoria and met a warm welcome. Three hundred black men and their families soon sailed to Victoria, leaving behind the America of Bleeding Kansas, the Fugitive Slave Law, and the Dred Scott decision. Black businessmen thrived in Victoria, supplying the miners, others worked as carpenters, teamsters, loggers and cooks, and some tried their luck in the goldfields. Victoria was not paradise but it was a more open and tolerant society where blacks had the sense that they were accepted for what they could achieve.

Some of these black men and women were committed to helping enslaved blacks find the same freedom they had found. They had helped themselves, and they developed a West Coast underground railroad to help others.

Black Victorian William Jerome had briefly lived in Olympia, and he remembered Charles Mitchell. He told new friends in Victoria that there was a black boy in Olympia, who was held against his will in the white Tilton family, held as a slave, and they decided to approach Mitchell and offer him freedom. James Allen joined the conspiracy to free Mitchell. The cook on the mail steamer *Eliza Anderson*, Allen was in a perfect position to contact Mitchell and conduct him on the waterway to freedom. Allen invited a friend, Will Davis, to join him, and the two men approached Charles Mitchell while the boy was running errands in Olympia.

In 1860, in all of Washington Territory, fewer than three dozen men, women and children were identified by the census enumerator — in the language of the time — as black or mulatto. Some were sailors, others were laborers, farmers, cooks, and barbers. Mitchell was the only slave in Olympia but he was not the only African American there. Alex and Rebecca Howard ran the Pacific House, a hotel and restaurant in downtown Olympia. Jackson Jourdan, Arthur and Eliza Strong, and a few other black men and women lived near Olympia, and George Washington Bush and his wife and family owned their farm out in the countryside. Bush had arrived with the very earliest settlers and his generosity was legendary, tiding over newcomers until their own crops came in. But it required a special act of the territorial legislature, responding to a petition signed by 55 white settlers, to allow Bush to claim a section of land. The federal distribution of land in the Northwest was for whites only, and Bush was the exception that proved the rule — most in the territory, whatever their political party, were opposed to the presence of people of color.



Map of a Part of the Territory of Washington by Surveyor-General James Tilton, 1855.

Courtesy National Archives.

After repeated contacts, Mitchell decided to trust these men and run away from James Tilton. Allen met him at the *Eliza Anderson* dock before dawn on September 24, 1860, and stowed the boy in the galley. The steamer headed north, and Mitchell was discovered en route. The *Anderson's* captain recognized the boy from visits to the Tilton home in Olympia, and decided to lock him up, to be returned to his “owner,” as the *Pioneer and Democrat* put it (9/28/1860). However, the “white humanitarians and free blacks” who were eagerly awaiting Charles Mitchell on the Victoria dock turned to the protection of British law. Mitchell was taken to the Victoria city lockup under a writ of habeas corpus, held overnight, and then freed on September 26, 1860, in court. When Tilton learned of Mitchell’s flight, he protested vigorously, and the territory’s acting governor carried the matter forward to Secretary of State Lewis Cass, as a violation of U.S. sovereignty under international maritime law and an “unwarranted interference” in the relationship between a master and his slave.<sup>2</sup>

Two months before Lincoln’s election, newspaper coverage of Mitchell’s flight divided along national lines between Victoria and Washington Territory, and along political lines within the territory. The American editors of the newspapers at Steilacoom, Port Townsend, and Olympia were displeased with British intervention, but they were otherwise not in agreement. Olympia’s *Pioneer and Democrat* supported Tilton wholeheartedly, reporting that “a number of black ingrates” who were “worthless free negroes from Victoria” had alienated Mitchell from Tilton and his wife, “who had been to him as a father and a mother.” The editor wrote that Mitchell was an impressionable teenager whose head had been turned by “a flashy looking darkey . . . from Victoria.” According to the newspaper, Tilton intended to educate the boy and train him to earn his living; then, when he turned eighteen, he would be freed. However, Tilton now hoped that Charlie would not return, judging him unfaithful, ungrateful and “lack[ing] stability . . . as with most mulattos” (9/28/1860).

Both Republican newspapers on the Sound used the Mitchell incident to rebut persistent Democratic accusations of black advocacy. Although the *Port Townsend Northwest* satirized the *Pioneer and Democrat's* defense of the “rights of the South,” its editor regretted that Tilton had brought a black boy into the territory at all (10/4/1860). The *Northwest* did not support Mitchell's cause but opposed the presence of *any* blacks in Washington Territory who might socialize with whites or compete with whites for jobs. But the Steilacoom *Puget Sound Herald's* editor remarked thoughtfully, “Our proximity to the British Possessions on this Coast affords the same facilities to an underground railroad that the Canadas do on the Atlantic” (10/5/1860). The blacks of Victoria — who had taken their fate into their own hands, and left California behind — were eager to free the blacks of the West. Puget Sound seemed to the *Herald* to be a logical Western route to freedom.

Less than two months after Charles Mitchell fled Olympia, on November 6, 1860, eligible voters in the United States went to the polls. Nearly two weeks later, the news made its slow way via Pony Express and coastal steamer to Puget Sound: Abraham Lincoln had been elected president of the United States. Governed as it was by appointees of the political party holding the White House, Washington Territory viewed the change of administration with considerable interest. Soon President Lincoln appointed a Republican governor, William Pickering, and the antebellum Democratic patronage machine was dismantled. Stalwart Democrat James Tilton wrote dispiritedly to a friend of “the deplorable state of our national affairs,” the sentiment which heads this article.<sup>3</sup>

During the secession winter between Lincoln's election and inauguration, many settlers in Washington Territory were deeply troubled. When South Carolina seceded on December 20, 1860, quickly followed by six other states, disunion was a reality. Some Northwest editors advocated a peaceful separation. Others regarded secession as treason and argued that military force — war, if necessary — was inevitable if no other way could be found to bring the rebel states back into the Union. “The Union must be preserved,” argued the *Washington Standard's* editor, “if necessary, at the point of the bayonet” 3/30/1861).

As Southern states seceded, regular troops were withdrawn from forts in the West and largely replaced by volunteers. Men in the U.S. Army at territorial forts were required in June 1861 to swear “the oath of allegiance” — however, many officers had already resigned by then. For instance, Lieutenant Edward Porter Alexander, stationed at Fort Steilacoom, followed his state, Georgia, out of the Union. Likewise, U.S. Navy Captain Isaac Sears Sterrett, who had sailed a warship into Puget Sound during the Treaty War, also resigned his commission to fight for the

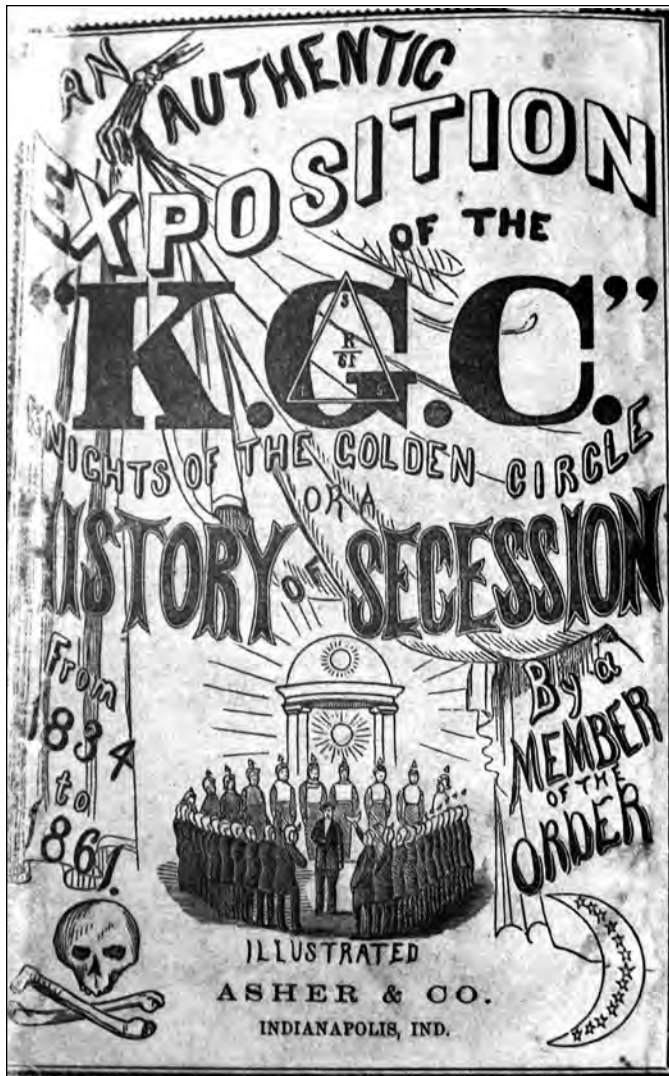
Confederacy. As did George Pickett, Edmund Fitzhugh, and many other military men in the territory, following their convictions.

Few in the United States were willing to go to war to put an end to slavery, let alone to set blacks on an equal footing with whites. And that was true in Washington Territory, too. The Republican *Washington Standard* hotly denied that its editor, the Republican Party, or the president held any “fanatical ideas concerning negro equality” (6/7/1861). In fact, the *Standard* insisted, “the Republican party is not advocating the interests of the negro” at all; rather the president “will ever bear in mind that this country is designed for the white race,” (11/30/1860). The *Standard* argued that Republicans stood against rebellion and for restriction of slavery to slaveholding states.

In that secession winter, Isaac Stevens, former campaign manager for the Breckenridge/Lane ticket, worked hard to convene a national convention of reconciliation that would reframe the Constitution to protect slavery and restore the Union. But such efforts failed and opposing perspectives hardened. After Fort Sumter, popular support rallied behind “coercion,” to force the Southern states to return to the Union. No one was more conflicted than Stevens, who had worked hard in the Southern Democratic cause. However, once secession was a reality, Stevens' course became clear to him — to put down rebellion. Stevens received a commission in the Union Army, and soon died a martyr at Chantilly.

Washington Territory was deeply engaged in the Civil War. A reader sent a letter to the *Standard's* editor, encouraging vigilance and arguing, “This struggle is purely of a national character” (8/24/1861). The editor agreed, “We believe treason is as much treason on the Pacific coast as anywhere else” (12/7/1861). Soon, there was no neutrality in Olympia or Seattle or Walla Walla — settlers forced one another to take sides, to declare themselves, to support the Union or the Confederacy, wholeheartedly. Republican newspapers in the Pacific Northwest like the *Standard* smeared all Democrats as rebels, especially those who spoke with a Southern accent, slamming “several persons in our midst who delight . . . to show their love for the south . . . we do think it is in decided bad taste for men to publicly offend the ears of loyal citizens [here]” (4/23/1861). And the *Standard* later editorialized, “Too many of these [traitors] inhabit the Pacific Coast . . . they should seek their secession friends in the “sunny south” [because] they are as full of Virginia pride and South Carolina logic as a hog of fleas” (8/24/1861). Many Northwest Democrats were Southern men, and sounded like it.

Suspicion of all was encouraged by the behavior of some, and two prominent Northwest Democrats stood out. Oregon's Joseph Lane — born in North Carolina and raised in Kentucky — was disappointed in his



The Knights of the Golden Circle, active in the Pacific Northwest during the Civil War, had their own version of history as of 1861.  
Public Domain.

run at the vice presidency in 1860 and then became an outspoken advocate for secession, for a “glorious southern confederacy,” as quoted in the *Oregon Statesman* (2/25/1861). Washington Territorial Governor Richard Gholson had resigned in April 1861, refusing “for even one day to serve under a so-called Republican president.”<sup>4</sup> By then, Gholson was actively working for Kentucky’s secession from the Union, raising a cavalry unit to fight for the new Confederate States of America. When Kentucky did not secede, he gathered up his family, his slaves and the cavalry unit, and headed south to the rebel state of Tennessee. The *Standard* editor claimed that such “Breckenridge Democrats turn to secessionists as naturally as tadpoles to frogs” (7/12/1862). So what form would rebellion take in the Pacific Northwest?

For years, some Westerners had argued that the Far West — Washington, Oregon, and California — had little in common with the United States. The nation

fell into two unequal pieces: a strip of territory along the West Coast and the states back East, separated by a vast and hostile geography. The West looked to the Pacific; the East to the Atlantic. The West looked to Asia; the East to Europe. The West was new and the East was old. But above all, the West had gold and the East had none. Every two weeks, a steamship left San Francisco with nearly one million dollars in gold mined in California but bound for Eastern banks. A determined minority who were dedicated to Confederate success didn’t “go South” but remained in the West and co-opted the Pacific Republic dream, arguing not just for separation but for alignment with the emerging Confederacy. The Pacific Republic became less a Western initiative and more a Southern one when most of its wartime advocates were unmasked as Confederate sympathizers. In November 1861, the *Washington Standard* announced that an organization known as the “Knights of the Golden Circle” planned to meet at Salem, Oregon “to agree on a system of measures to carry Oregon for secession at the next election” (11/9/1861).

The Knights of the Golden Circle (KGC) organized back East before the war as a paramilitary secret society to establish a slave empire in a huge circle that had Cuba at its center. By the time war began, the Knights were active in the West. Territorial Governor Pickering was deeply concerned about the threat posed by the Knights in Washington Territory — “these Barons, Lords, Earls, Dukes and Princes of Rank Treason.”<sup>5</sup> Oregon’s governor hired spies to infiltrate the KGC in that state, and their reports detail the Northwest organization. Men who joined the Knights swore oaths of secrecy, made financial contributions to the Confederacy, owned a long gun and a handgun plus ammunition for each, and met for military drills and weapons practice. The Oregon KGC was organized in “castles” or chapters; with an elaborate hierarchy, secret handshakes, and passwords. At the word of command, members were sworn to execute all U.S. representatives, who would be replaced by Confederates, waiting in a shadow government.<sup>6</sup>

“It has long been understood,” the *Port Townsend Northwest* reported, that a “secret, sworn society of armed men, numbering several thousands, existed on the shores of the Pacific, whose sole aim was to possess the arms, treasure and fortifications of the Federal Government . . . and subjugate, by force of arms, such of the people [as resisted] their attempt at coercive control” (3/7/1861). The *Washington Standard* agreed, “This conspiracy is an undeniable fact. . . . That we have an organized band of these Knights in Oregon and Washington, there is no question” (7/12/1862). Throughout the war, Republican newspapers ran alarmist stories about the Knights meeting in “midnight enclaves,” and questioned the loyalty of every opponent of the war, wondering whether he belonged to the KGC (10/18/

1862). Let us look at one example — James Tilton, former territorial surveyor-general, master of runaway slave Charles Mitchell, and stalwart Democrat.

On August 31, 1861, Tilton was accused of being a “traitor and secessionist” in the *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* by an anonymous territorial correspondent. The *Bulletin* had published an earlier letter that applauded the arrival of the new Republican surveyor-general who would replace Tilton and “kick out of office a band of secessionists and traitors who have long been living on the Government” (8/28/1861). In Olympia, the *Washington Standard* brought the attack home, questioning Tilton’s loyalty in a series of escalating attacks.

Tilton swore the loyalty oath and continued to receive his half-pay, as an officer wounded in the Mexican War. Nevertheless, the *Standard* pointed out that “many of our half-pay as well as whole pay officers have refused to take the oath and fled to the land of Dixie . . . and are now fighting against the Government that made and cherished them, and we think it would have been more creditable to Mr. T if he had followed their example” (11/2/1861). When Tilton continued to advocate a peace convention to amend the Constitution to protect slavery and restore the Union, the *Standard* editor accused him of cowardice, treason, greed, and deceit. Tilton protested that while he was “no supporter of Mr. Lincoln’s administration,” he would “gladly bestow [his] heart’s blood” to reestablish the Union, “in its original strength and unity” (*Bulletin*, 9/19/1861; *Standard*, 10/5/1861). He struggled to explain the conflicted position of a man loyal to the Union as it once was and in radical disagreement with the wartime administration. Tilton continued to be regarded as a “secessionist,” a “Copperhead.” He had good relations with senior officials of the Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC), and had urged moderation during the Pig War. Did his closeness with them further argue against his loyalty?

Territorial settlers who had long mistrusted the British were convinced that West Coast secessionists found safe haven in the Crown Colony. Victoria was home to a large black community and it was the new home of Charles Mitchell, a fugitive slave. But during the Civil War, Victoria also became “a hotbed of secessionists, many of whom had been driven from the U.S. on account of their disunion sentiments,” according to a retrospective article in the *Victoria Colonist* (3/18/ 1885). Although Great Britain declared neutrality in the Civil War, Governor Pickering and the U.S. consul at Victoria feared that Victoria authorities allowed the colony to be used as a base for Confederate schemes in the West. When Victoria celebrated the birthday of the Prince of Wales in 1862, Union and Confederate émigrés joined in the festivities but tempers rose when the Confederate States of America flag was raised.<sup>7</sup>

As Pickering described the event, with his emphasis:

*The American citizens in Victoria agreed to join in on this patriotic national occasion and form in procession and intermingle in all the glorification of the day. They had cheerfully hoisted every American flag in the city, when to their surprise and mortification a large sprinkling of American Secessionists and Rebel Sympathizers who had fled to Victoria, hoisted a Jeff Davis rebel flag in a central part of the city and secured some police officers to prevent its being taken down by the loyal American citizens . . . After that time, the said Rebel Flag was frequently hoisted, and that place was considered the headquarters of American secessionists. . . . Several Rebel Flags are used as objects of attraction for customers, for business purposes. . . .*<sup>8</sup>

After nighttime secessionist vandals covered the consular coat of arms with black paint, the consul protested to the colonial governor that there were more Confederate flags flying over Victoria than Union flags.<sup>9</sup>

Some settlers saw a likely alliance between the British at Victoria and Confederate agents to promote Indian disturbances. A territorial correspondent reported to the *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* that a “secesh” had incited the Indians to attack American settlers in the Puyallup valley because the “Bostons” were preoccupied fighting one another (11/13/1862). A week later, the *Port Townsend Northwest* reported that “serious difficulties” with local Indians had been “incited by secessionists” in the countryside near Seattle (11/20/1862). In such cases, the British were believed to be providing encouragement and arms to the Indians and offering refuge to Confederate agents. Anxious settlers identified half a dozen pro-Confederate plots in Victoria. For instance, the *Puget Sound Herald* reported that an attempt was made in Victoria to purchase the Hudson Bay Company’s steamer *Thames*, and arm the ship as a raider (2/10/1863). And Confederate agents tried at least twice more to purchase steamers to be outfitted in Victoria as privateers to prey on the gold ships bound south from San Francisco, and divert the gold to the Confederate treasury.<sup>10</sup>

The Northwest played no part in the great land or naval battles of the Civil War but most settlers feared and a few hoped that Confederate war steamers would enter Puget Sound. In 1864, the *Seattle Gazette* predicted the *CSS Alabama*, then cruising in the Pacific Ocean, would refuel at Victoria and steam into the Sound, leveling the sawmills and wiping out every town (4/5/1864). A year later, the *CSS Shenandoah* burned and sank two dozen U.S. merchant and whaling vessels in the north Pacific. The *Pacific Tribune* worried that the warship might enter Puget Sound (8/5/1865) with guns blazing. Though the U.S. Navy occasionally sent warships to patrol Northwest waters, Republican



newspaper editors called for more protection, enflaming local fears and bringing the war close to home.

Throughout the war, the Democrats retained their majority in the territorial legislature and Republican editors tirelessly questioned their loyalty, attacking “these fellows [who] do not like to be called secessionists or traitors, [but] sail under the old banner of democracy.” The *Standard* complained bitterly about the influence of “dissatisfied Southern office hunters and ambitious politicians . . . on the Pacific Coast” — a clear reference to out-of-work appointees like James Tilton (8/24/1861). The *Bulletin’s* Olympia correspondent joked that these old Buchanan officeholders — “toadies” who used to hang around the whiskey barrel — were now out of work and had more time to read, and to support the circulation of “treasonable sheets” like the *Portland Advertiser*, published just over the border from Vancouver, Washington Territory (1/19/1862).

Territorial settlers read their local wartime newspapers but they also read newspapers and magazines published elsewhere. Under Republican patronage, Union loyalists delivered the mail and were shocked by these publications and called for censorship (*Standard*, 11/16/1861). The *Standard* attacked the *Advertiser* relentlessly as the “treasonous” mouthpiece of defeated vice-presidential hopeful Joseph Lane, one of “the handful of traitors on this coast” (8/24/1861, 9/13/1862). The *Standard* claimed, “The great object of the treason party of the Pacific is the dismemberment of the union and the establishment of a Pacific Confederacy. . . . There is evidently a complete organization of the treason party on this coast,” and the newspapers to support it (10/12/1861).

Republican newspapers republished outrageous statements from these “treacherous papers,” that encouraged “anarchy, rebellion and civil war . . . in our midst” (11/16/1861), urging their suppression. The *Portland Advertiser* reached the fateful conclusion that “We have every reason to invoke divine interposition to stay the hand of Lincoln . . . and put a stop to the . . . war that he has inaugurated and carried on” (quoted *Oregonian*, 10/9/61). Such murderous statements were cited to justify wartime suspension of freedom of speech and the press. The *Standard* editor urged that “the postmaster of Olympia should refuse to deliver the pestiferous, treason-preaching sheet [the *Advertiser*] and kindred journals” to readers in Washington Territory (11/16/1861). Among the “most notorious . . . Secession Democratic” newspapers were the *Oregon Herald*, *Oregon Democrat*, *Corvallis Weekly Union*, *Eugene Democratic Register*, *Albany Inquirer* and, of course, the *Advertiser* (8/24/1861, 6/28/1862). The *Standard* called on the military authorities to “put an end to the treason inciting acts of [these] traitorous cohorts to rally a party on this coast to carry out their treasonable designs” (11/16/1861).

The newspapers under attack responded angrily. The *Weekly Union* editorialized, “There is no more freedom of the press. It has been stricken down by the strong arm of military power. The motto of the Abolitionists is that their King — King Lincoln — can do no wrong” (9/illegible/1861). And a year later, the *Register* protested: “‘Traitor,’ did you say? You cowardly, perjured, lantern-jawed, green-eyed Yankee! Traitor to what? You pampered Abolitionist pet!” In the end, according to the *Washington Standard*, half a dozen Oregon newspapers were judged treasonous and “interdicted” by the military (10/25/1862), action triggered by postmen in Washington Territory.

As both sides dug in and casualties mounted, the Emancipation Proclamation marked the changing basis of the war, a graver, more profound reason than punishing secession and enforcing union. The Proclamation did not free slaves in states and territories that remained part of the United States, and would not have freed Charles Mitchell. Nevertheless, the war continued and ended for a different reason than it had begun. The shift was clear to many in the Northwest. The *Statesman*, a Democratic newspaper in Walla Walla, denounced the Proclamation and summarized its significance succinctly. “The question [now],” editorialized the *Statesman*, “is whether this war is to be prosecuted for the sole purpose of putting down the rebellion . . . [or] for destroying slavery regardless of the consequences to the Union” (8/29/1863). The newspaper accused Republicans of an ongoing pretense that they did not intend “the abolition of slavery and the equalization of the races.” Territorial Republican newspapers responded that emancipation was strictly a wartime measure, to cripple Southern resistance, and the *Standard* editorialized, “If the people of the rebel States wish to evade the consequences of the proclamation, they have only to return to the Union, where they will be protected under the Constitution in the enjoyment of their slave property” (10/4/1862).

Territorial residents read hungrily about the unfolding horrors of the Civil War, and newspapers thrived even though the news they published was two weeks old. But on September 4, 1864, the fragile telegraph wire finally reached Olympia. Most settlers had family or friends back East and were eager to know where the Third Confederate Cavalry or the Ninth Regiment of the Illinois Volunteer Infantry was serving.

One month after the telegraph’s completion, a new newspaper — the *Washington Democrat* — began to publish in Olympia, funded by James Tilton, according to the *Daily Evening Bulletin* (3/7/1865). The *Democrat* appealed to the “sons and daughters of liberty-loving, patriotic white men,” to remember that Abraham Lincoln — “in the fourth year of a bloody rebellion” — still refused to negotiate with Southern peace commissioners unless they pledged to abolish slavery (10/16/1864, 10/24/1864). The *Democrat* published scurrilous gossip,

reporting that “Old Abe” was seeking a divorce from his “white wife,” Mary Todd Lincoln, to “take unto himself a sable wench” and begin the “great work of miscegenation” (10/17/1864); or that Republicans “have the instincts of a negro, without the color” (12/3/1864); or that a “convention of Negroes in Syracuse, New York” had called for the enslavement of Copperhead Democrats (12/24/1864). But the newspaper primarily served to further one man’s political ambition: to gain Tilton the Democratic Party nomination as territorial delegate, campaign against the Republican candidate, beat him, and head for Washington, D.C., as a member of the U.S. House of Representatives.

Tilton’s campaign for territorial delegate was crippled by its timing. A band was playing “light airs” at the festive gathering of Democrats in Olympia, celebrating his nomination, but the music changed to a somber dirge when news of Lincoln’s assassination was announced to the crowd. The very publication of his candidacy, like everything in the territorial newspapers on that day, was edged with the black of mourning (April 15, 1865). In the wake of the assassination, Tilton’s opposition to the administration and his newspaper’s slanderous attacks on Lincoln destroyed his chances. His opponent was Republican Arthur Denny, son of John Denny, an old colleague of Lincoln. The president’s murder drew a cloak of virtue around Denny and deepened suspicion of Tilton’s integrity and loyalty.

The Democratic papers in Washington Territory — the *Walla Walla Statesman* and *Washington Democrat* — valiantly championed candidate Tilton in 1865. The *Democrat* insisted that Tilton was a principled man — an “unflinching Democrat” who steadfastly

*was among the first, at the commencement of our national troubles, to proclaim himself in opposition to secession and negro equality, viewing both alike as calculated to overthrow the sacred institutions of our government and destroy the foundations of its happiness and prosperity. . . . He has . . . fearlessly maintained his right to differ in opinion with those whom he thought were pursuing a ruinous policy, he has never been in opposition to the Government; he has only differed in opinion with the present administration (4/5/1865).*

But Republicans relentlessly accused Tilton of disloyalty, and the *Seattle Gazette* led the attack on May 4, 1865:

*Is General Tilton a Secessionist?*

*Had General Tilton kept out of the embraces of Copperheadism, his private opinions, however antiquated or odious, might have been tolerated as the whims of a fossil politician and he himself respected as the same staid, unobtrusive and*

*harmless old foggy he was wont to be in time past . . . [But] he is the candidate of the Copperhead party for Congress; as such he is a public man, and all his actions, opinions and sympathies . . . become public property. . . . Thus it is that the question which forms the heading of this article is a proper one — a question the people have a right to ask — and which, we are rejoiced to know it does not fall to our lot to answer but to that of General Tilton’s present friends. . . .*

The *Gazette* then quoted an editorial originally published in the *Democratic Union Flag* in 1861:

*He (Gen Tilton) is not a member of the Democratic party, and we have good reason to believe that he is as strong a secessionist as there is in the country. He sympathizes with the southern Confederacy and is one of their principal apologists in the Territory . . . General Tilton says he is a patriot and a warm supporter of the Union. This is . . . misrepresentation. We have no doubt Jefferson Davis, [William] Yancey, [Alexander] Stephens and [Joseph] Lane would say nearly the same thing.*

Democratic newspapers insisted that Isaac Stevens had been Tilton’s “old friend and comrade” — and Stevens had died on the battlefield, a Union hero. But Tilton’s other close friends George Pickett and Edmund Fitzhugh went south. On May 25, 1865, the *Seattle Gazette* commented:

*Major Tilton has been intimate with Secession sympathizers and actors, both in this Territory and in the Confederate army. It is well understood that when Hon Isaac I. Stevens resolved to go into the Union army, it broke friendship with Major Tilton. It is well understood that Pickett and Fitzhugh have kept up friendly relations with Major Tilton, and that they belong to his party and are his supporters while they are in the Rebel army.*

James Tilton ran for office as an unrepentant Democrat, focused on the politics of race — firmly “opposed to Negro equality,” according to the *Statesman* (5/5/1865). In fact, racism was his strongest asset in Washington Territory, where there was little sentiment in favor of black social, political, or economic rights. The *Washington Democrat* warned that Arthur Denny was “in favor of negroes voting! . . . That the leading men among [Denny’s] supporters are miscegenationists! That the party supporting [him] wants a “New Nation!” (5/20/1865). The central conflict of the Civil War was laid bare in Washington as clearly as anywhere else in the nation. Democrats like Tilton did not want a

new nation of black equality; they yearned for the old one of racial hierarchy. But when Tilton lost to Denny, the vote was not an affirmation of black civil rights; it was a rejection of Tilton's opposition to Lincoln.

At the war's end, veterans headed West to remake their lives. The East tightened its embrace of the Far West during the war, completing the telegraph to Washington Territory, initiating the Homestead Act, the Morrill Act, and finally chartering the Northern Pacific Railroad. After the war, Washington remained a territory and its residents continued to observe but not participate in national politics. Nevertheless, the issues of Reconstruction echoed loudly.

The postwar *Walla Walla Statesman* doggedly opposed the extension of political rights to American black men by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution. Every issue included articles and editorials that satirized "the negro" as "a brute" and "a child," who, "left alone, lapses into his original barbarism and is about as safe a neighbor as a wild beast" (11/18/1866). During 1869 discussion of the repeal of the territorial law forbidding interracial marriage, the *Statesman* railed against "white-nigger-Indian equality and social miscegenation" (2/14/1869). Announcing the Democratic convention that year, the *Statesman* called for "the government of white men, for the benefit of white men and their posterity" as opposed to the benefit of "mongrel and inferior races" (2/26/1869). Two years later, on August 12, 1871, the *Oregon State Journal*, in Eugene, published the Ku Klux Klan oath.

*You solemnly swear, in the presence of Almighty God, . . . that you are not now a member of . . . [any] organization whose aim and intention is to destroy the rights of the South or of the States, or of the people, or to elevate the negro to a political equality with yourself and that you are opposed to all such principles, so help you God. . . .*

How meaningful is the publication of such an oath? Was it published merely to satisfy curiosity or to inspire Northwest night riders? Did members of the KGC move on to join the Order of American Knights, and then the Klan? More research is needed to answer that question, and many others. Certainly, secession was never a serious threat in Washington Territory. On March 12, 1861, the *Bulletin* published a "Letter from Puget Sound," claiming ". . . I do not believe there are fifty Secessionists in the territory." Robert Johannsen concluded that most territorial settlers "assumed a position of compromise and reconciliation," with a "few exceptions."<sup>11</sup> Undoubtedly, territorial secessionists constituted a minority, and, after all, what *did* happen in Washington Territory during the Civil War? A good deal of heated talk about the issues. Some advocacy for the Pacific Republic. Reports of a few local

Confederate conspiracies. Persistent accusations that Peace Democrats harbored disloyal convictions. A couple dozen Knights of the Golden Circle drilling in secret. Midnight shots fired through the window of an abolitionist judge. A few American flags stripped from their staffs, and burned by night. Confederate flags flying in front of Victoria saloons. Ugly words painted on a fence. A few fistfights. One runaway slave, Charles Mitchell. Widespread refusal to admit racial minorities on equal terms with whites. And a Fourth of July picnic cake decorated with the Dixie flag, placed by an unknown hand. A scatter of data points which — as yet — do not comprise a persuasive whole, even as the perspective of a minority. But clearly, Washington Territorial settlers were deeply engaged by the Civil War. As we enter the war's sesquicentennial, it is of vital importance to remember that this was a *national* war of ideas. It is by emphasizing that conflict, that public historians in the Pacific Northwest will engage their communities in informed civic conversation.

#### Selected Bibliographic Essay

Here, we emphasize the Civil War experience of Washington Territory; there is far more extensive bibliography for Oregon and California. The classic regional, state and county histories remain important, from Hubert Bancroft and Edmond Meany to Clarence Bagley and Charles Prosch. Then, Dorothy Johansen and Charles M. Gates' *Empire of the Columbia: A History of the Pacific Northwest*. (New York: Harper & Row, 1967) is essential as is Robert E. Ficken's *Washington Territory*. (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 2002) There are a number of biographies that are important for this period but William L. Lang's *Confederacy of Ambition: William Winlock Miller and the Making of Washington Territory* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996) stands out for its superb research in the territorial collections held by the Beinecke Library at Yale University.

The principal secondary source for the Civil War in Washington Territory remains Robert W. Johannsen's *Frontier Politics and the Sectional Conflict: the Pacific Northwest on the Eve of the Civil War* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1955). David Kimball Hansen's University of Washington M.A. thesis, "Public Response to the Civil War in Washington Territory and Oregon, 1861–1865" (1971) is also very useful. A recent general overview is Scott McArthur, *The Enemy Never Came: The Civil War in the Pacific Northwest* (Caxton Press, 2012).

In terms of scholarly articles, the reader is directed to three: Robert W. Johannsen, "The Secession Crisis and the Frontier: Washington Territory, 1860-1861," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* Vol. 39. No. 3 (Dec., 1952) 415–440; Joseph Ellison, "Designs for a Pacific Republic, 1843–1862," *Oregon Historical*

*Quarterly* XXXI (Dec., 1930): 319–342; and Richard W. Etulain’s “Washington and Idaho Territories, 1861–1865,” *Journal of the West* 16 (1977): 26–35. Etulain has written thoughtfully about Lincoln’s relationship to the Pacific Northwest: *Lincoln and Oregon Country Politics in the Civil War Era* (Oregon State University Press, 2013) and *Lincoln Looks West: From the Mississippi to the Pacific* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2010).

On race, readers should turn first to Quintard Taylor, *In Search of the Racial Frontier: African Americans in the West* (New York: Norton, 1998). Esther Mumford’s article, “Slaves and Free Men: Blacks in the Oregon Country 1840–1860,” *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, (Summer 1982) is also essential. Concerning slavery in Washington Territory, two recent sources are Gregory Nokes, *Breaking Chains: Slavery on Trial in the Oregon Territory* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2013) and Lorraine McConaghy and Judy Bentley, *Free Boy: True Story of Slave and Master* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013).

On Victoria, the two fundamental sources are James Pilton’s M.A. thesis, “Negro Settlement in British Columbia, 1858–1871,” (University of British Columbia, 1951) and Crawford Killian’s *Go Do Some Great Thing: The Black Pioneers of British Columbia*. (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1978). Mifflin Gibbs’ memoir, *Shadow & Light. An Autobiography*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994) is invaluable for its insight into the African-American community that emigrated from California to Victoria. For Charles Mitchell, see Robie L. Reid, “How One Slave Became Free: An Episode of the Old Days in Victoria,” *British Columbia Historical Quarterly* Vol. VI, No. 4 (October 1942) 251–256.

To understand the day-to-day experience of the Civil War in Washington Territory, primary sources are essential. Newspaper evidence is shaded by partisan bias and sensationalism; nevertheless this article has depended heavily on that source. A few newspapers are digitized and available at the Washington State Archives website or through other digital collections. Others are available only on microfilm. There is a series of microfilm reels available at the Oregon Historical Society library, entitled “Oregon Newspapers Suppressed During [the] Civil War.” The newsprint became discolored through time and the photography is often out of focus – nevertheless, this microfilm is our best source for these papers.

Finally, the reader is directed to four archival collections. The British Columbia Archives preserves much of the paper trail of Charles Mitchell’s escape to Victoria; the governor’s papers at the Washington State Archives include protests and affidavits filed in the Mitchell case; the files concerning the Knights of the Golden Circle, Oregon Historical Society, offer our best insight into that

organization in Oregon and Washington Territory, and the collected papers of three Democratic friends William Winlock Miller, Isaac Stevens and James Tilton, at Yale University.

“Civil War Pathways” will open at the Washington State History Museum, on February 17, 2014. Dr. Lorraine McConaghy curated this artifact-rich exhibition, which will further explore the ideas of this article.

#### NOTES

1. *Laws of Washington, Volume 1, 1854–1862* (Seattle: Tribune Printing Company, 1895–1896), Resolution 158/72, February 2, 1858.
2. James Tilton to Henry McGill, October 30, 1860, Governor’s Papers, Washington State Archives; McGill to Lewis Cass, microfilm copy at Washington State Archives.
3. James Tilton to Edward Lander, March 10, 1861, Tilton correspondence, MSS 475, Beinecke Library, Yale University.
4. Richard D. Gholson to Jeremiah S. Black, February 14, 1861, microfilm copy at Washington State Archives.
5. William Pickering to Benjamin Alvord, July 19, 1862, Pickering collection, Washington State Library.
6. Knights of the Golden Circle, MSS 468, Oregon Historical Society.
7. *Washington Standard*, November 22, 1862, Allen Francis to William Seward, T-130, National Archives and Records Administration, November 13, 1862.
8. William Pickering to U.S. Secretary of State William Seward, July 5, 1862, microfilm copy at Washington State Archives.
9. *Victoria Colonist*, April 21, 1862; *Daily Evening Bulletin*, April 29, 1862.
10. Consul Allen Francis reported on these rumors of Confederate privateers to Seward, on numerous occasions including February 14, 1863, March 4, 1865; Joseph Densman to Governor Kennedy, concerning *Shenandoah*, August 9, 1865, enclosure with Francis to Seward, August 12, 1865, T-130, National Archives and Records Administration; see also *Victoria Daily Chronicle*, February 7, 1863.
11. Robert W. Johannsen, “The Secession Crisis and the Frontier: Washington Territory, 1860–1861.” *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* Vol. 39. No. 3, p 425.



Lorraine McConaghy is a public historian who has devoted her professional life to researching and teaching Pacific Northwest history in a museum setting. At Seattle’s Museum of History & Industry, she has curated a series of successful projects, including the museum’s core exhibits *Metropolis 150* and *Essential Seattle*, as well as *Blue vs. Gray: Civil War in the Pacific Northwest*. McConaghy teaches

in the Museum Studies program at the University of Washington, and her work has been honored by the Washington Museums Association, the Oral History Association, the National Council on Public History, and the American Association for State and Local History. In 2010, she received the Robert Gray Medal, the highest honor awarded by the Washington State Historical Society.

# George Engelmann's Barometer Measuring Civil War America from St. Louis

Adam Arenson

April 12, 1861,  
7 A.M.                      *Barometer,*  
                                         *observed height*      29.215  
                                         *Thermometer*              52.0  
                                         *in open air*  
                                         meteorological observations,  
                                         St. Louis University<sup>1</sup>

*May the storms which are now disturbing the air  
be no indication for the course of events which  
brought our unhappy country to the edge of de-  
struction by all this insanity and passions, espe-  
cially not for your city.*

Adolph Francis Alphonse Bandelier,  
Letter to George Engelmann, 1862<sup>2</sup>

WHEN the Confederate Army began firing on Fort Sumter early on Friday morning, April 12, 1861, Peter J. Koning, member of the Society of Jesus, stood ready in St. Louis, dutifully recording the conditions.<sup>3</sup> On that fateful day, the barometer continued its decline. The spring morning dawned cool, with temperatures hovering in the low 50s. As is common with low pressure, soon the rain clouds let forth their moisture; under “Casual Phenomena,” the priests and brothers of the St. Louis University meteorological team inscribed, “A little shower at 11½ A.M. & at 2, 2½ and ¾ P.M.”<sup>4</sup> The Civil War was underway.

Of course, many would argue that the Civil War did not begin at Fort Sumter. The firing that morning was merely the flashpoint along a smoldering front, one that had been building for decades, rolling across the nation like a political thunderhead. As far as I know, no one blames the weather for the Civil War, its complexities on changes in barometric pressure. Yet like the weather, the history of American expansion, slavery and emancipation, a new birth of freedom and the construction of new means to curtail rights — the history of Civil War and Reconstruction — touched every corner of the nation. Like a spring rain or the summer heat, the first frost or the spring thaw, the factors and causes of the great American conflict seeped into every-

day lives, shaped the observation of events, and influenced the course of history in ways minor and profound.<sup>5</sup> And through it all, the careful reading of the barometer provided a baseline.

This is not really an essay about the weather, nor about the science of barometers.<sup>6</sup> Reading the barometer — like consulting library records, courthouse murals, piecing together park dedications — might not seem obvious sources for local politics, the national mood, and international connections. But the story of the barometers at St. Louis holds all this.<sup>7</sup>

This essay considers real and metaphorical barometers in St. Louis, a city split between the nation’s three regions — North, South, and West. The geographic baseline in St. Louis, created with one of the first barometers west of the Mississippi, played a role in mapping the newly acquired Western territories after 1848.

And the metaphorical barometer of St. Louis — a city that mirrored the nation’s political, ethnic, cultural, and ideological diversity of the nation during the Civil War Era as no other. Measurements in St. Louis offer a baseline, not only recording national storms and the ripples of international sea changes, but the human actions to observe, record, and even change those conditions. St. Louis provides a remarkable place to consider the agenda of the American West during the Civil War, and how advocates for each region — including a few scientists, barometers in hand — measured the transformations that the nation experienced.<sup>8</sup>

In the age of the 24-hour Weather Channel, the newspaper’s weather page, and confident predictions of the weather every 10 minutes on the radio, it is easy enough to forget how omnipresent and how unknowable the weather truly is. We have easy access to tables of seasonal norms, record highs and lows, and to satellite imagery and computer predictions. The meteorologists appear in public with their prognostications but do not face censure when their predictions are wrong. They rarely report whether the barometer is rising or falling, converting this information instead into automated computer graphics and shorthand phrases. They often receive data from the National Weather Service,

April 1861. P.G. R. St. L.

Barometer

Day	Barometer in open air			Barometer in open air			Barometer in open air									
	2 PM	9 PM	Mean	2 PM	9 PM	Mean	2 PM	9 PM	Mean							
1	29.582	29.705	29.760	54.0	57.0	60.0	29.515	29.640	29.675	29.610	43.5	55.0	57.5	51.7	57.5	44.0
2	29.733	29.682	29.664	53.0	61.0	61.5	29.655	29.596	29.577	29.609	45.5	59.0	54.0	52.8	61.0	43.0
3	29.628	29.561	29.492	59.0	59.5	60.0	29.548	29.480	29.404	29.479	50.5	52.5	56.0	53.0	56.0	47.0
4	29.420	29.362	29.395	59.0	68.0	68.0	29.343	29.258	29.271	29.297	56.0	73.0	67.5	65.5	73.0	52.5
5	29.372	29.376	29.346	66.0	70.0	69.0	29.273	29.267	29.237	29.259	62.5	74.0	65.5	67.3	76.0	58.0
6	29.163	29.166	29.266	67.0	68.0	66.5	29.063	29.044	29.166	29.091	62.5	66.5	59.5	62.8	67.5	58.0
7	29.387	29.125	29.252	63.5	66.5	60.0	29.195	29.027	29.169	29.130	58.0	70.0	52.0	60.0	70.5	48.0
8	29.200	29.156	29.211	57.5	58.5	57.5	29.124	29.077	29.135	29.112	50.0	57.0	48.0	51.7	57.0	45.0
9	29.251	29.296	29.366	56.0	59.0	59.5	29.178	29.216	29.283	29.226	46.0	58.0	53.5	52.5	60.0	41.5
10	29.441	29.373	29.408	57.5	62.5	61.5	29.365	29.284	29.321	29.323	52.0	63.0	57.0	57.3	63.0	46.5
11	29.335	29.279	29.333	53.5	59.0	59.0	29.256	29.199	29.253	29.236	50.0	52.0	53.0	51.7	57.0	47.5
12	29.215	29.224	29.317	57.5	61.0	64.5	29.149	29.140	29.209	29.166	52.0	57.0	52.5	53.8	52.0	49.0
13	29.386	29.465	29.542	57.5	58.0	58.0	29.310	29.387	29.464	29.387	48.5	58.0	52.5	53.0	59.0	45.0
14	29.605	29.637	29.584	53.5	60.0	58.5	29.539	29.554	29.505	29.533	51.0	58.0	52.5	53.8	58.5	41.0
15	29.517	29.445	29.486	56.5	59.0	59.5	29.443	29.365	29.405	29.404	49.0	60.0	51.5	53.5	61.0	45.0
16	29.511	29.509	29.574	49.5	54.0	55.0	29.456	29.443	29.509	29.469	39.5	51.5	46.0	48.7	51.5	33.5
17	29.600	29.430	29.270	50.5	57.0	60.5	29.542	29.355	29.186	29.361	42.5	60.5	60.5	54.5	65.0	36.0
18	29.404	29.450	29.643	56.0	61.5	60.5	29.331	29.353	29.539	29.408	57.0	61.0	51.0	56.3	62.0	51.0
19	29.714	29.708	29.651	53.0	58.0	59.5	29.644	29.630	29.570	29.616	47.0	54.5	50.0	50.5	56.5	38.0
20	29.624	29.467	29.438	56.0	61.0	63.5	29.551	29.381	29.346	29.426	49.0	62.5	59.0	56.8	66.0	43.5
21	29.396	29.254	29.288	62.5	68.0	72.0	29.307	29.150	29.173	29.210	63.5	79.0	72.0	71.8	82.0	32.0
22	29.386	29.361	29.384	71.5	75.5	76.0	29.273	29.238	29.259	29.257	72.0	81.0	74.0	75.7	83.5	67.0
23	29.448	29.343	29.634	73.0	78.0	72.0	29.331	29.213	29.519	29.354	69.0	79.0	59.5	69.2	81.5	58.0
24	29.702	29.668	29.592	62.5	65.5	68.0	29.613	29.571	29.488	29.557	58.0	68.5	61.0	62.3	69.5	47.5
25	29.569	29.470	29.442	64.0	69.5	71.5	29.475	29.362	29.329	29.389	60.5	79.0	69.0	69.5	81.0	52.0
26	29.376	29.286	29.253	67.5	75.5	74.0	29.273	29.163	29.133	29.190	69.0	80.0	72.5	75.5	80.5	52.5
27	29.220	29.263	29.350	68.0	59.5	59.0	29.118	29.182	29.270	29.190	63.0	49.0	54.0	55.3	72.5	46.5

Peter J. Koning, Meteorological Observations for April 1861, St. Louis University Archives

rather than recording it carefully as Koning did, three times a day, in large hand-written records, each column perfectly ruled.

Yet in the nineteenth century, records of the sunrise and sunset, temperature, barometric pressure, and casual phenomena, once amassed and analyzed, provided the most accurate method for mapping the landscape yet known, identifying ridges and basins, the best acres of farmland and the easiest routes across the continent. In a model of Enlightenment cooperation, scientists from around the world shared data and constructed an accurate globe, with latitude and longitude recorded, and altitude pinpointed by readings from a barometer. They calculated seasonal norms and created climate zones, making the weather legible, conditions known. Within measurements of pressure, Alexander Humboldt and John Nicolas Nicolle, Peter Koning, and George Engelmann found their world transformed.

Francis H. Stuntebeck, Ignatius Panken, and John Lunemann worked alongside Peter J. Koning at St. Louis University, recording meteorological observations as part of their duties as instructors in physics, astronomy, and natural philosophy.<sup>9</sup> All four of these men had been born in Europe in German- or Dutch-speaking communities, common enough among St. Louisans. Their university was the oldest and most prestigious educational institution in the city, the place where William Clark, upon returning from his explorations West, sent the son of Sacagawea and Toussaint Charbonneau for schooling.<sup>10</sup> The instructor-priests were not monks, dedicated to seclusion, working in silence or measuring natural phenomena solely as a way to observe and understand God's creations. Their lives were those of good Jesuits, an order deeply engaged with the community and interested in intellectual inquiry.<sup>11</sup> Their weather observations were only one of the ways in which these men cared deeply about the place of St. Louis and served its populace.

Francis H. Stuntebeck is the most remembered of these four men today, having risen through the ranks to become chancellor and rector of St. Louis University, serving in academies from Cincinnati to Kansas along the way. At his death in 1898, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* declared him "one of the oldest and best-known Jesuits in the United States," and the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* deemed him one of the best Jesuits the editors had ever encountered.<sup>12</sup> Ignatius Panken lived a long life of service, following his teaching with work as a missionary to the American Indian tribes of Wyoming in the 1890s, before retiring back to St. Louis, where he died and was buried in 1906.<sup>13</sup> Neither Peter Koning nor John Lunemann saw long life; both died in their thirties, amid the Civil War and most likely because of it, succumbing to diseases acquired from attending to war wounded and the displaced.<sup>14</sup> Yet they too left a legacy: Koning is remembered for his early

and fervent work on behalf of St. Louis's African American slaves, a community Panken also served, becoming the first pastor of the first designated African American parish, St. Elizabeth's, and remaining with that congregation for twenty-two years.<sup>15</sup> And Lunemann left a remarkable notebook.

"Table (M): Mean Height of the Barometer in various Latitudes, reduced to the level of the sea, and to the freezing point," reads a chart in John Lunemann's lecture notes from 1856. There he listed the reference calculations for thirty locales around the globe, from London, Königsburg, and Paris, to the Cape of Good Hope and Macao, Funchal in the Madeiras, and "Reikiavig," Iceland.<sup>16</sup> The names appear in his careful handwriting, alongside practice problems and lecture outlines; a logarithmic refraction table, to help bring pressure calculations to this standard temperature and altitude, is pasted into the front.<sup>17</sup> As the charts suggest, the astronomical and meteorological work Lunemann set out to teach his pupils — young explorers and traders among them — had a global reach. Data came from the learned capitals of Europe and the vast reaches of the European empires, an expanse replicated on the vast territory between the American cities he listed (Philadelphia, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Savannah, Georgia) and the western reaches of the nation's territory, in the Louisiana Purchase and the newer Mexican Cession. The scientists at St. Louis stood somewhere in the middle, in communication with both the centers of knowledge and the unknown frontier, balancing the calculations from both locales in their baseline.

At the beginning of the notes for lesson eight, Lunemann made the object of all these measurements clear, and acknowledged the source of his method. "To determine the Longitude of a place," he titled that day's lecture, which began, "The following method, which was invented by M. M. Nicolai [sic] and Baily, . . ." <sup>18</sup> The life of Joseph Nicholas Nicolle spanned the global community of the barometer and intimately connected its seemingly arcane measurements to questions of nation and knowledge along the frontiers of the nineteenth-century.<sup>19</sup> Hard at work in Paris on the paths of comets and the grand Enlightenment project of an accurate topographic map of France, Nicolle had worked with the esteemed astronomer Pierre Laplace and corresponded with the scientific polymath Alexander von Humboldt. After the July Revolution of 1830 threw his patrons out of favor and destroyed his savings, Nicolle became one of the many young men inspired by Humboldt to venture into the blank spaces of the map.<sup>20</sup> But unlike many of those enamored with the adventures and almost mystical writing style of Humboldt, Nicolle also had a solid scientific education, and could follow the intricacies of Humboldt's calculations and the nature of his postulates. Along with British astronomer Francis Baily,

Nicollet perfected Humboldt's system for measuring altitude through the process of compound barometric leveling, also known as hypsometry.<sup>21</sup>

When Lewis and Clark set out from the region around St. Louis to explore the West, they carried no barometer.<sup>22</sup> The mercury and glass contraptions were too delicate and not considered a high enough priority by the men or their patron, President Thomas Jefferson. By the time their party left the Dakota camps, all the similarly fragile thermometers had broken, leaving temperature to guesswork as they trekked out to the Pacific and back.<sup>23</sup> With an astrolabe, Lewis and Clark's party could make readings of latitude, and their chronometer allowed for some longitude calculations, but as for the altitude of the mountains, basins, and ridges they reported, the men resorted to guesses educated by their experience on the trail. While William Clark's map of the lands the team explored holds a remarkable *general* likeness to the West as it came to be known to further explorers, the sorts of errors it includes — the angle of the mountain range, mistaken distances between rivers or to passable valleys — would confound any traveler relying on what Lewis and Clark had sketched.<sup>24</sup>

Humboldt, after decades of his own exploration into the locales most remote from his home castle in Berlin, came to understand something about these difficulties, as well as how to solve them. Study of the stars, combined with accurate clocks, could synchronize readings around the globe. If each observatory kept their chronometer set to Greenwich Mean Time, and then recorded the sunrise and sunset, or the motion of the planets, calculations would pinpoint the longitude, the angle of difference from the established meridian. Accurate thermometers and barometers placed at these reference points could provide a series of baselines for altitude measurements; if weather conditions could be recorded and accounted for, the remaining difference in a column of air would reveal how much less atmosphere pressed down at a mountain peak than at a college observatory.

Humboldt was one of the first to understand these methods, and he used his worldwide renown to launch a series of observatories around the world. Numbers poured in; men hired as computers could determine the coordinates and the topology. The German explorer set up his Western Hemisphere observatories in Central and South America, the terrain he had explored; his Northern Hemisphere knowledge was from Europe. Humboldt could map most of the world; it was left to Nicollet to map America.<sup>25</sup>

So Nicollet came to the United States in 1832, equipped with a pocket barometer and a compass, just as Humboldt recommended.<sup>26</sup> Nicollet established himself in Baltimore, the scientific center closest to the capital, and befriended the necessary politicians to fund an expedition; by 1835, Nicollet had arrived in

St. Louis, to gather materials and more funds for the documentation of the Upper Mississippi basin.<sup>27</sup> During one such visit, Nicollet raised funds by using his French to pore over old documents and write a short history of the city's founding; on another, his assistant, Charleston-born John C. Frémont, met the woman he was to marry, Jessie Benton, the daughter of the state's imposing senator.<sup>28</sup> Most important, Nicollet worked to ensure the establishment of a baseline: in the summer of 1835 he installed the necessary apparatus for the Jesuit observatory at St. Louis University, and, on his return in 1837, he set up a barometer with his most capable local adherent, George Engelmann.<sup>29</sup> Nicollet later did the same upriver, working at Fort Snelling, in Minnesota, on the advice of the artist George Catlin; somewhere on the fort grounds, while Nicollet calibrated barometers, a St. Louis slave by the name of Dred Scott and his wife Harriet labored.<sup>30</sup>

By the time Nicollet returned to St. Louis, amateurs could get into the measuring business. Jacob Blattner was advertising his skills as "MAKER OF MATHEMATICAL, OPTICAL, AND PHYSICAL INSTRUMENTS," allowing any interested farmer to track how storms on their farms in Illinois related to the readings they found in their correspondence, or soon saw in their newspapers.<sup>31</sup>

William Clark maintained a museum of scientific and anthropological artifacts in town, and interest in science even reached the level of public entertainments, with lectures at the St. Louis Mercantile Library by the noted Swiss geologist and Harvard professor, Louis



J. BLATTNER

MAKER OF MATHEMATICAL, OPTICAL  
AND PHYSICAL INSTRUMENTS,  
HAS removed his establishment from Ches  
nut to No. 34 OLIVE STREET, where he  
hopes and respectfully solicits the continuance  
of that patronage and favor from his friends  
and the public which has heretofore been ex-  
tended to him.

He had constantly on hand a good assort-  
ment of Mathematical Instruments, surveying  
compasses and chains, leveling instruments,  
barometers, Thermometers, spy-glasses, spec-  
tacles, &c. All instruments made by him  
will prove to be correct and in the neatest  
order

ap6-y-w-tri w

Jacob Blattner, advertisement, *Missouri Republican*, October 19, 1841



Agassiz, and by the Cincinnati astronomer O. M. Mitchell, later a Union general.<sup>32</sup>

Nicollet returned to the East Coast in 1841, never to see the land he was mapping again. The combination of work on the master map and his steadily worsening tuberculosis kept him overburdened; the *Map of the Hydrographical Basin of the Upper Mississippi River* was completed in 1843, but the printing in quantity occurred only after Nicollet's death that same year.<sup>33</sup> Nicollet's map was a grand accomplishment. It fulfilled the Humboldtian vision by providing topographic detail, and pleased his political sponsors, who could more accurately plan for the settlement on plots of land whose dimensions and character could now be systematically recorded and tracked. Nicollet's instructions allowed Frémont to pursue careful mapping on his expeditions, and the barometers he provided created a baseline and a valuable cache of continuous records (with ties that reach to the St. Louis University meteorologist today, who gives many of the local weather forecasts on the radio).<sup>34</sup>

From St. Louis to the Smithsonian and the General Land Office, and later to the U.S. Weather Service, these lines of information connected the landscape the same way that the measured phenomena — a cold front, warm summer winds, a hurricane — tracked across the Plains or up the Mississippi Valley, without regard to any political boundaries.<sup>35</sup> Whether it was French or Spanish territory, over Indian tribes or American settlers, raining on Union or Confederate troops — the weather patterns were the same, the measurements the same.

St. Louis stood as a particularly sensitive place to measure which way the winds were blowing, whether political, economic, or meteorological. As the combination of racial equality and meteorology in the careers of the St. Louis University priest-scientists suggest, those who measured the weather also embodied the experience of the times, all the while recording conditions on a regular schedule.<sup>36</sup> These literal and figurative measurements of the nation intersect most in the life of George Engelmann.

George Engelmann did not think of himself as a weather scientist; his passion was plants. "*Ich . . . besetzte mich selbst als ein Knabe leidenschaftlich mit Botanik*," Engelmann introduced himself to a new correspondent in 1868; "I . . . occupied myself even as a youngster passionately with botany," he wrote, ". . . and after having travelled all by myself on horseback through the western territory, I settled in 1835 here in St. Louis as physician."<sup>37</sup> As the town doctor in a growing community, Engelmann found a perfectly pleasing profession. But it was his avocation that drove him and caused correspondents to seek him out, whether seeking his *carte-de-visite* for an album of "all the living American Botanists"; asking him to write up the Missouri flora for a national cen-

tennial exhibition; or requesting he tell fellow co-founders of the National Academy of Sciences what should be included on their seal.<sup>38</sup> With other doctors and local dabblers, Engelmann had founded the Academy of Science of St. Louis in 1856, and served as its first president.<sup>39</sup> He became the chief scientific advisor to Henry Shaw, whose plantings became the world-renowned Missouri Botanical Garden, and together they established a school of botany at Washington University.<sup>40</sup> No matter which label he preferred, Engelmann was instrumental in making St. Louis a key center for scientific observation.

Given his sedentary lifestyle and dislike of the hardships of an expedition, Engelmann's special expertise — the taxonomy of cacti — might seem unlikely. "Before I continue," Engelmann confided, "let me say, that I have never seen a wild cactus except the locally growing *Opuntia Rafinesquii*! All my examination[s] have been made with cultivated or dried specimens." St. Louis was the ideal location for such work, as Engelmann was in constant contact with the explorers and scientists throughout the American West, as well as the world's experts in Washington, Philadelphia, and the capitals of Europe. "Though my practice does not permit much observation of plants in nature," Engelmann explained, "I study the copious material flowing in from friends from distant parts."<sup>41</sup> (These connections enabled Engelmann's most toasted, if not necessarily best known, contribution to world botany: when French grapevines were endangered by the phylloxera in the 1870s, Engelmann's experience with Missouri varieties helped him craft the eventual solution — grafting all of Europe's wine grapes to American rootstock.)<sup>42</sup>

Engelmann's interest in plant cultivation and his wide array of correspondents also led him to be a careful observer of meteorological phenomena and a natural conduit for barometrical measurements. He also had good teachers: "I am writing to thank you again for your erudite assistance in my research during my stay in St. Louis," Nicollet wrote after the trip on which he left Engelmann a barometer, in 1837.<sup>43</sup> The two men began an active correspondence, with Engelmann receiving technical advice, Nicollet anguishing over the painstaking calculations and the need to successfully gain and maintain federal patronage.<sup>44</sup> Engelmann tracked his friend in correspondence with others in Washington, and mourned his untimely death. "Our friend Nicollet has been very ill again for the last week or ten days, indeed dangerously so," Henry King reported to Engelmann on one of many such occasions. "We often talk about you and picture the beautiful things we shall do together on our return to St. Louis."<sup>45</sup> Nicollet's last letter to Engelmann was unanswered when news came of his death. Engelmann marked top of the letter in German script: "Nicollet died 11 Sept. in Baltimore."<sup>46</sup>

METEOROLOGICAL TABLE FOR 1859—ST. LOUIS, MO.—By DR. G. ENGELMANN.

MONTHS.	BAROMETER, Reduced to Freezing Point.				THERMOMETER, (Fahrenheit.)				Evaporation.	Force of Vapor.	Relative Humidity.	Quantity of Rain and Snow.	Prevailing Winds.	Amount of Cloudiness.	No. of Thunderstorms.
	Mean of the observations made daily at 7, 2 & 9 o'clock.	Highest.	Lowest.	Range.	Mean of the observations made daily at 7, 2 & 9 o'clock.	Highest.	Lowest.	Range.							
Jan.	29.697	<b>30.304</b>	29.142	1.162	33.5	58.5	-1.0	59.5	2.8	0.139	73	2.32	W.	4.6	—
Feb.	29.526	29.925	29.050	0.875	37.8	77.0	8.0	69.0	3.0	0.166	76	5.35	S.E. & W.	5.0	4
Mar.	29.316	29.764	<b>28.518</b>	1.248	48.9	78.0	28.0	50.0	5.7	0.207	60	7.32	W. & S.E.	5.6	4
April	29.424	29.758	28.958	0.800	52.3	82.0	28.0	54.0	6.0	0.236	61	4.89	W.	5.2	5
May	29.485	29.818	29.169	0.649	68.9	85.0	48.5	36.5	6.6	0.481	68	6.60	E., S.E. & S.	4.7	10
June	29.544	29.965	29.350	0.615	73.3	93.5	44.0	49.5	7.9	0.522	65	11.02	S.E., S. & N.W.	4.1	6
July	29.557	29.867	29.268	0.599	80.1	<b>98.0</b>	53.0	45.0	8.9	0.645	64	5.54	E. & S.	2.6	2
Aug.	29.487	29.728	29.295	0.433	76.8	92.0	57.0	35.0	8.2	0.590	66	2.93	E., N.E. & N.	3.3	2
Sept.	29.544	29.900	29.211	0.689	67.1	82.5	47.0	35.5	5.7	0.469	72	4.44	W., N.W. & S.E.	5.1	6
Oct.	29.618	29.988	29.146	0.842	54.4	80.0	27.0	53.0	6.5	0.249	61	1.80	S.E. & W.	2.8	1
Nov.	29.557	29.973	29.061	0.912	47.3	75.5	15.0	60.5	4.3	0.224	69	5.43	S.E., S. & W.	5.2	1
Dec.	29.660	30.103	29.170	0.933	25.0	49.0	<b>-3.5</b>	52.5	1.7	0.106	79	3.76	W. & S.E.	5.5	1
1859.	29.534	30,304	28.516	1.788	55.4	98.0	-3.5	101.5	5.6	0.336	67.7	61.40	W. & S.E.	4.5	42

NOTE.—CORRECTIONS FOR METEOROLOGICAL TABLE FOR 1859, page 524:—The highest elevation of the Barometer in September was 30.179, not 30.159. The amount of cloudiness in April, May, July and September was 5.6, 6.7, 2.8 and 2.1; and not 6.6, 5.7, 3.6 and 2.2.

George Engelmann, "Meteorological Table for 1859," *Transactions of the Academy of Science of St. Louis*, 1860

When Nicollet was ailing, he had worried about his legacy. "*Notre Standard Baromètre est prêt depuis trois mois*," Nicollet had written to Engelmann in 1841; "Our *Standard Barometer* has been ready for three months." But, Nicollet fretted, "I don't know how you will send it safely through the mountains. I don't dare entrust it to Mr. Frémont, who is very rushed, and who isn't used to carrying this kind of instrument." Frémont's reputation for impetuous behavior would follow him into the mountains and out again, into politics and Army service.<sup>47</sup> Nicollet's prescient comment suggested the ways in which Engelmann, rather than his own protégé, would do the most to carry on Nicollet's legacy.

Engelmann was recording the weather in St. Louis, three times daily, from soon after his arrival; by 1843, he was publishing his meteorological observations in the newspapers.<sup>48</sup> When the Academy of Science of St. Louis began publishing proceedings, Engelmann provided tables of mean weather conditions by month and year — the predecessor to today's notion of "seasonal" temperatures issued by the U.S. Weather Service.<sup>49</sup>

In 1860, Engelmann could already look back over his work as part of a long history of measurement in St. Louis, with Nicollet's 1841 observations in "the garden of the Cathedral" continued at St. Louis University and by his own hands.<sup>50</sup> Engelmann published a journal article on "the exact altitude of St. Louis," an interesting fact made essential "because most of the hypsometrical measurements throughout the northern and western regions . . . took the altitude of St. Louis as

their starting point." Engelmann made it clear: the measurements of the American West, he noted, "were based to a great extent on the barometrical observations of these explorers compared with mine."<sup>51</sup>

All along, Engelmann collected barometrical recordings from far-flung camps in the West along with his plant specimens. "My barometer until now has proved strong and found a kind of attachment between us," Engelmann's close friend and primary field assistant, Frederick Adolphus Wislencus, wrote from Chihuahua, Mexico, in 1847. "I carried it over 100 miles on my back, and took care to be well served by it."<sup>52</sup> Wislencus and others worried, however, how useful their measurements would be. From a camp on the Rio Grande — somewhere — John Milton Bigelow wrote that "it is rather a difficult task to mark a locality closely when you are a *thousand mile from nowhere*," complaining that between San Antonio to El Paso "there are very few points that have a local habitation and a name."<sup>53</sup> Engelmann's correspondents had better luck as time went on, and along the continent's more northerly rivers: "We have sufficient data to obtain an excellent profile of the Country, and, our meteorological force now abundantly strong, are bringing forward excellent results," wrote Isaac I. Stevens from near the mouth of the Yellowstone River in 1853. "Elevations and depressions, river valleys ~~and~~ have been made points of observation," scratching down his comprehensiveness.<sup>54</sup>

Engelmann continually dispensed technical advice to his loyal band of correspondents, and made connections to the newly formed national science institutions.

“You are an old meteorological observer and savant, and will therefore excuse the trouble I am about to give you now,” Bigelow wrote to Engelmann, a decade into their correspondence; the question involved calibrating a wet-bulb thermometer.<sup>55</sup> Engelmann kept handy the charts that Alexander Dallas Bache, the great-grandson of Benjamin Franklin, had made to track the weather in Philadelphia.<sup>56</sup> When Bache sought out the best meteorological observations for St. Louis and points west, he wrote to Engelmann. “For a comparison of the connected profiles of the continent of North America,” Bache explained, “you will greatly oblige me by filling up the accompanying blank.”<sup>57</sup> In its first round of requests for national weather data in 1853, the Smithsonian Institution knew to ask Engelmann for “summations of the best authorities,” Engelmann regularly corresponded with Smithsonian officials; on occasion, they would combine their mailings to Engelmann with those for the St. Louis Mercantile Library, where Engelmann was a life member.<sup>58</sup> The web of connections grew, and the analysis of national conditions came closer to fruition.

While the complex calculations of rain profiles and thermal lines were being completed, local correspondents grasped the palpable impact of patterns drawn from seemingly small, insignificant measurements. “A full year before I had any instruments, I regularly estimated the strength of the wind, cloudiness, etc. etc.,” Adolph Francis Alphonse Bandelier wrote, from Highland, Illinois; Friedrich Arends sent measurements from Huntsville, Missouri, while Friedrich Brendel wrote from Peoria that “I should like to do meteorological studies, if I only could get hold of a good barometer.”<sup>59</sup> As one of the era’s many cholera epidemics crept up the riverways by means unsure — bad air? immigrants? social vices? citizens nervously wondered — Dr. Edward H. Barton, a former dean of the school of medicine at the University of Louisiana (now Tulane), wrote confidently that “In my ‘Report,’ I think the meteorological elements of yellow fever & cholera are stated with great precision.”<sup>60</sup> He promised Engelmann, “I have been keeping your Barometer as well as I could,” Barton promised.<sup>61</sup> Barton and Engelmann stood at the forefront of science, assured that, “if now, we can take another fatal disease from the region of error & uncertainty, & demonstrate the actual etiological condition on which it depends for its existence,” as Barton wrote, “we make another advance in true science, & promote the progress of truth.”<sup>62</sup>

In contrast, those in Washington often grasped at the maps and topography reports as a chance to propose grandiose plans that went well beyond the known conditions. “I amuse myself occasionally with studying the physical Geography of the great West — Alas how little of it is known to the would[-]be great politicians at the seat of government,” Bigelow wrote from his home, in 1859. “I should greatly deplore the pas-



Daguerreotype of George Engelmann, n.d., Missouri Historical Society Photographs & Prints Collection.

sage by both branches of Congress any of the Pacific Railroad bills I have yet seen.”<sup>63</sup>

The botanical and meteorological work of Engelmann and his correspondents formed a perfect pair. Scouting and surveying parties could pinpoint locations and send back specimens and measurements; statisticians and cartographers could prepare more accurate maps, and politicians could send out further explorations to gather more detail. In Engelmann’s letters, the workings of scientific knowledge are evident. Missives in English, French, and German are filled with charts of measurements, sketches of cacti flowers, arguments about differentiating species and assigning Latin names. Bearded and spectacled, the visage of George Engelmann that peers back from the requested *carte-de-visite* photograph could seem a practical embodiment of solid, scientific knowledge.

Yet lest we think that the amassers of scientific and medical knowledge fit a white labcoat image of impartiality and dispassion, Engelmann’s letters also record how he and his correspondents were highly opinionated about the events around them and actively involved in political and cultural affairs. Engelmann’s frank, even harsh assessments of politicians or their causes provide a window into those other sorts of measurements that can be made at St. Louis, the glimpses of local and national circumstances that guide our historical exploration.

“Toward evening a message arrived, that 5,000 American troops are marching on the Santa Fe road,”

Frederich Adolphus Wislenzus reported alongside his meteorological readings from the Mexican *estado de Nuevo México* in the summer of 1846. “Governor Armigo released a proclamation this afternoon calling all able-bodied men from 18 years up into service.”<sup>64</sup> Though Wislenzus remarked in his next letter that “I feel a strong dislike to return to the States,” the invading U.S. Army brought the boundary to him in Santa Fe.<sup>65</sup> John C. Frémont, Nicollet’s assistant, jumped from scientific expedition to military campaign in the midst of the war, and ordered the execution of two men near San Rafael, California; his unauthorized action led to a court martial, which Wislenzus followed closely, along with the resulting damage to Frémont’s political stature.<sup>66</sup>

When Wislenzus returned to Washington to lobby for funding to publish his studies, he wrote to Engelmann about the dramatic news from Europe: the aftermath of the war in the West was combining with the “springtime of the peoples” in Europe to turn the year 1848 into a global watershed.<sup>67</sup> “I am in a state of revolution, and every new message hits me as with electrical shocks,” Wislenzus wrote of the news from his homeland, his veins pulsing with a desire to fight.<sup>68</sup> Yet like Nicollet before him, Wislenzus found his plans deferred by the need to court funding and prepare reports.<sup>69</sup> “My money obligations lie upon me like a nightmare,” he wrote, anguished; “If I were free from them I would be already on European soil.”<sup>70</sup> While in Wislenzus’s case scientific exploration and publishing conflicted with his political aims, science could just as easily grease the wheels of patronage. “P.S. Can you not gratify Capt. Whipple by naming someone of our new *Opuntiae* [cacti] after the Hon. Secretary of War Jeff. Davis?” Bigelow wrote to Engelmann in the fall of 1855, mentioning the patron of the transcontinental railroad surveys and future president of the Confederacy. Engelmann complied, and the namesake, Davis’ hedgehog cactus (*Echinocereus viridiflorus* Engelm. var. *davisii*) is still on the books.<sup>71</sup>

With the coming of the Civil War, Engelmann’s own voice came to the fore, his reactions preserved in letters to his medical school classmate, Alexander Carl Heinrich Braun, in Berlin. Living through the war in St. Louis, Engelmann found that “in spite of all the great principles trumpeted it is a horrible war of suppression.” He was astounded that “Lincoln’s declaration of emancipation of the blacks was proclaimed!” He chafed at the “substitution of poor southern Negroes and Europeans, living under all sorts of abuse, and then forced into the Army to take the place of Yankees,” who were “purchased . . . by agents dealing in human flesh,” an irony in a fight turned against slavery. To Engelmann, the whole war effort seemed treachery. “No state put up fewer troops than Massachusetts,” he claimed, “and none has put up more falsehood and deceit.”<sup>72</sup>

Engelmann’s son, a student at Washington University, held similar sentiments. “We have a reign of terror,” George Julius Engelmann wrote in his diary in February 1862. In January 1863, after the Emancipation Proclamation was declared, his allegiances were on his sleeve: “I wore Confederate buttons on my coat at drill to day,” the younger Engelmann wrote. “Our yankee teacher Stone, immediately noticed it. . . . I was told that if I wore them again, I should not see the inside of the school again.”<sup>73</sup> His father worried for him, writing to Braun that “I will send you my George if the age of conscription is lowered from 20 to 18!”<sup>74</sup> Both Engelmanns endured the war in St. Louis, unsure of the nation’s direction.

After the Confederate surrender, the senior Engelmann continued to keep Braun current on the bitter ironies of Reconstruction. “Here some of our firmest radicals are in part those who 4 years back stood on the other side,” he wrote. Noting the policies of the new president, he cheered “Johnson, may he be great, but what he wants is definitively a fight with the radical Congress.”<sup>75</sup> The end of the war meant the reopening of scientific as well as commercial and cultural projects, a renewal of exchanges with “Lindheimer from Texas and Chapman from Florida” — though with “much denying now, that they had ever any sympathy for the South.”<sup>76</sup>

Engelmann’s letters tracked the uncertainty and the advances, focusing at times on how national events would impact the fortunes of St. Louis. They mentioned in passing the concerns that were the focus of cultural, political, and economic wrangling, and will appear later in the book: “Two separate railroads to the Pacific Ocean are being constructed now, one from Chicago, the other from here,” Engelmann explained, while Wislenzus recorded the slogan that “Seymour and Blair! is now the solution.”<sup>77</sup> Braun reported from Berlin how Bismarck threatened Napoleon III and war seemed likely.<sup>78</sup> In 1869, Wislenzus told Engelmann that the transcontinental railroad path he Engelmann helped to chart would soon be complete. “The Great Pacific Railroad has only 6 more miles to construct,” he wrote at the start of May 1869. “It is supposed to be very defective, but, when finally completed, it will become better,” he hoped.<sup>79</sup>

The world seemed once again on the precipice of change. “Nobody trusts the financial weather,” Wislenzus advised Engelmann at the start of the 1870s, assured his fellow scientist would understand the pun. Wislenzus’s son was then at Washington University, where he graduated valedictorian; in the student newspaper, Jacob Blattner advertised his barometers and thermometers, still for sale.<sup>80</sup> At the height of Reconstruction, the political situation seemed to spiral toward farce: “These are golden times for political adventurers and cheaters of every kind!” Wislenzus wrote, noting how “last week the nomination of this

cunning demagogue and carpetbagger” — Carl Schurz — “who has lived only 1½ years in Missouri, passed in caucus.”<sup>81</sup> Faced with such choices, Wislenzus declared, “If I were forced to sympathize I would prefer the dictator Grant to the criminal element.”<sup>82</sup>

“I shall never cease to respect the (in his happy moods) good Dr. Engelmann,” John Milton Bigelow wrote in 1856, working to resolve one of their periodic arguments. Engelmann could be temperamental. His wit and passions could spill over into anger. But his close friends understood it all streamed from his dedication to the cause.<sup>83</sup> One wonders whether Engelmann sorely missed the opportunity in 1871 to discuss the weather — in all seriousness — at the twenty-fifth anniversary celebration for the St. Louis Mercantile Library, an event he attended but fellow invitee Father Francis H. Stuntebeck, S.J., had to decline.<sup>84</sup> Engelmann died in 1884, about halfway between the two pairs of Jesuit brothers who shared his meteorological passions. Soon after, his son George J. Engelmann wrote to one of his father’s colleagues how “correspondence was his life — his pleasure. . . . At his desk he had his chat — his entertainment — by writing to his friends.”<sup>85</sup>

Engelmann was devoted to close measuring, whether cacti specimens, meteorological conditions, or the turbulent times in which he lived. He rarely saw cause for boosterish exaggeration or rhetorical flourish. Engelmann measured what he saw, and took pride in his exactness. This was a lifelong passion, and one that allowed him to build a community of interested individuals from across the spectra of region, politics, or language.

Having spent fifty years in St. Louis, Engelmann witnessed the dramatic transformation of the city and the nation. He participated in its advances, commented on its conflicts, and measured its impact — the rise and fall of Manifest Destiny and St. Louis. Along with science, Engelmann and his barometer saw competing national visions at play in St. Louis, data points marking the tensions around Manifest Destiny and the cultural civil war ablaze in St. Louis and the nation.

#### NOTES

Thanks to David Blight, Joanne Freeman, John Mack Faragher, John Waide, Mary Burke, Andrew Colligan, and Rebecca Rosenthal.

1. Sheet for April 1861, Saint Louis University Archives, Saint Louis University Historical Records, Meteorological Records, Observations, Volume for 1861–1866, DOC REC 001 015 004.
2. Adolph Francis Alphonse Bandelier, Highland, Ill., to George Engelmann, January 2, 1862, George Engelmann Papers, Missouri Botanical Garden Archives, typescript page 1. Translation by Edgar Denison, 1988.
3. Koning’s initials appears atop the Sheet for April 1861, DOC REC 001 015 004.
4. Volume for 1861–1866, DOC REC 001 015 004. Faherty describes the St. Louis University observations and says that from 1857 they were done “at the request of the United States

Government”; he says “these meteorological observations were, of course, only a peripheral aspect” of the University. William Barnaby Faherty, *Better the Dream: Saint Louis: University & Community* ([St. Louis]: St. Louis University, 1968) 113,115; see also 152.

5. For a metaphorical connection between weather and the politics of the Civil War, see the speculations of Eduardo Cadava, *Emerson and the Climates of History* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1997). Cadava searched Emerson’s allusions to weather for signs of the political strife, “read[ing] the features of this world in the traces it left in Emerson’s language,” from the frost of the mind to the thunder of words. This chapter takes the literalization of the “climates of history” one step further — reading politics not just in weather imagery, but in the collection and interpretation of the era’s weather. In doing so, I build my project in accord with the metaphors Cadava suggested. Cadava, *Emerson and the Climates of History*, 8.

William B. Faherty takes a similar approach in describing the approach of American interests to French Catholic St. Louis as “A small cloud on the northeastern horizon soon threatened to blacken the entire sky,” in a chapter titled “Grey Skies Over Saint Louis.” Faherty, *Better the Dream*, 95.

6. For a history of meteorology that considers its mission as the socially relevant science, in this case in Britain, see Katharine Anderson, *Predicting the Weather: Victorians and the Science of Meteorology* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2005). For a history of American meteorology, see James Rodger Fleming, *Meteorology in America, 1800–1870* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1990).
7. For a discussion of the history of meteorological science in St. Louis, see St. Louis University Department of Earth and Atmospheric Sciences, “EAS Department History,” <http://www.eas.slu.edu/Department/history.html> Accessed March, 2006; Martha Coleman Bray, *Joseph Nicollet and His Map* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1980); Daniel Goldstein, “Midwestern Naturalists: Academies of Science in the Mississippi Valley, 1850–1900” (Ph.D. Thesis, Yale, 1989), 4–7, 36–38, 115; Michael Long, “Enterprise and Exchange: The Growth of Research in Henry Shaw’s St. Louis,” in *St. Louis in the Century of Henry Shaw: A View Beyond the Garden Wall*, ed. Eric Sandweiss (Columbia: University of Missouri, 2003), 146, 151. Using a taxonomy of science developed by George H. Daniels, Goldstein argues “The measurement of temperature is much closer to the baconian ideal of purely objective observation than is the analysis of a plant” Goldstein, “Midwestern Naturalists,” 4. As my argument in this prologue suggests, if this is true, it is in only the most superficial way. For the characteristics of Baconian science, see George H. Daniels, *American Science in the Age of Jackson* (New York: Columbia University, 1968).

For its place among the sphere of science in mid-nineteenth-century St. Louis, see Goldstein, “Midwestern Naturalists”; Walter B. Hendrickson, “Science and Culture in the American Middle West,” *Isis* Vol. 64, no. 3 (1973): 326–340; John R. Hensley, “Transacting Science on the Border of Civilization: The Academy of Science of St. Louis, 1856–1881,” *Gateway Heritage* 1986–7, no. 3 (1987): 18–25; Mary J. Klem, “History of Science in St. Louis,” *Transactions of the Academy of Science of St. Louis* vol. 23, no. 2 (December 29, 1914): 79–128; Long, “Enterprise and Exchange”; Michael Long, “George Engelmann and the Lure of Frontier Science,” *Missouri Historical Review* vol. 89, no. 3 (1995): 251–268.

8. For more about the politics, economics, and culture of the Civil War Era from St. Louis, see Adam Arenson, *The Great Heart of the Republic: St. Louis and the Cultural Civil War* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 2011).
9. The initials of each appear on weather sheets, and their names are listed on the inside cover, Volume for 1861–1866, DOC REC 001

- 015 004. It seems that the men mostly worked one after another on the observations, rather than together.
- For the positions held, see their biographies and obituaries, listed below.
10. On Jean Baptiste "Pomp" Charbonneau's attendance, see Susan M. Colby, *Sacagawea's Child: The Life and Times of Jean-Baptiste (Pomp) Charbonneau* (Spokane, Wash.: Arthur H. Clark, 2005), 94.
  11. For a history of the Jesuits, highlighting perceived weaknesses as well as successes, see Jonathan Wright, *God's Soldiers: Adventure, Politics, Intrigue, and Power: A History of the Jesuits* (New York: Doubleday, 2004).
  12. "FATHER STUNTEBECK'S DEATH: Well-Known Jesuit Died at the St. Louis University," [*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*] n.d., Saint Louis University Archives, Saint Louis University Historical Scrapbooks, Jesuit Scrapbook, p. 2, DOC SCR 001 0003 0001, and "DEATH OF FATHER STUNTEBECK: The Aged Jesuit Priest Dies of Internal Cancer," *Globe-Democrat*, December 11, 1898, n.p., Scrapbook 3, p. 5, DOC SCR 001 0001 0003. For a brief sketch of his life see Faherty, *Better the Dream*, 152–155; Walter H. Hill, "Father Francis H. Stuntebeck," *Woodstock Letters* 28 (1899), 138.
  13. "FATHER PANKEN'S NOTABLE CAREER: Priest Nearly 50 Years," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, March 25, 1906, n.p.; "PRIESTLY HELPER OF NEGROES DEAD," *St. Louis Republic*, March 21, 1906, n.p.; "Well Known Missionary Dead," *Western Watchman* [March, 1906], n.p., in Jesuit Scrapbook, p. 12, DOC SCR 001 0003 0001, and John Ernest Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis in Its Various Stages of Development from A.D. 1637 to A.D. 1928* (St. Louis, Mo.: [Printed by Blackwell Wielandy], 1928) 2:491–492..
  14. On Lunemann, obituary in *Missouri Republican*, September 15, 1864, p. 2.  
On Koning see Gilbert J. Garraghan, *The Jesuits of the Middle United States* (Chicago: Loyola University, 1984), 3:561. Peter William Koning is alternatively listed as Peter John Koning and William Koning in some documents. David Miros, of the Midwest Jesuit Archives, says these are the same man.
  15. "PRIESTLY HELPER OF NEGROES DEAD," *St. Louis Republic*, March 21, 1906, n.p.; "Well Known Missionary Dead," *Western Watchman* [March, 1906], n.p., in Jesuit Scrapbook, p. 12, DOC SCR 001 0003 0001, and Judy Day and M. James Kedro, "Free Blacks in St. Louis: Antebellum Conditions, Emancipation, and the Postwar Era," *Missouri Historical Society Bulletin* Vol. 30, no. 2 (1974): 123; Garraghan, *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, 3:561, 563; Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis in Its Various Stages of Development from A.D. 1637 to A.D. 1928*, 2:490–492.
  16. John H. Lunemann, "Application of Analysis to Astronomy" Notebook, Saint Louis University Archives, Saint Louis University Historical Records, Jesuitica, Lecture Notes, 1856, n.p., DOC REC 0001 0002 0076.
  17. The page says "Dr. Young's Refractions... From page 19 of Vol. 1st of Pearson's Practical Astronomy." The texts referred to are William Pearson, *An Introduction to Practical Astronomy* (London: Printed for the author, 1824); J. R. Young and John D. Williams, *Mathematical Tables: Comprehending the Logarithms of All Numbers from 1 to 36,000: Also the Natural and Logarithmic Sines and Tangents, Computed to Seven Places of Decimals, and Arranged on an Improved Plan: With Several Other Tables, Useful in Navigation and Nautical Astronomy, and in Other Departments of Practical Mathematics*, Rev. and corr. ed. (Philadelphia: Hogan and Thompson, 1839).
  18. Lunemann, "Application of An alysis to Astronomy" Notebook, n.p.
  19. The authoritative biography of Nicollet is Bray, *Joseph Nicollet and His Map*. See also Nicollet's own accounts of his time in the West J. N. Nicollet, Edmund C. Bray, and Martha Coleman Bray, *Joseph N. Nicollet on the Plains and Prairies: The Expeditions of 1838–39, with Journals, Letters, and Notes on the Dakota Indians* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1993).
  20. Bray, *Joseph Nicollet and His Map*, 26–46. For how Humboldt's example affected American explorers, see Aaron Sachs, *The Humboldt Current: Nineteenth Century Exploration and the Sources of American Environmentalism* (New York: Viking, 2006).
  21. Bray, *Joseph Nicollet and His Map*, 55–61. An excellent explanation of mountain barometers and the process of hypsometry can be found on the website of an amateur enthusiast: Bob Graham, "John C. Fremont," www.longcamp.com, accessed June 2006.  
For a sense of the mix of science, exploration, and personal and governmental initiative at work in these ventures, see Peter J. Kastor, *William Clark's World: Describing America in an Age of Unknowns* (New Haven: Yale University, 2011), and William H. Goetzmann, *Exploration and Empire: The Explorer and the Scientist in the Winning of the American West* (New York: Norton, 1978).
  22. This fact was confirmed in conversation with Carolyn Gilman, Missouri Historical Society, July 2006. For the scientific books and instruments carried by Lewis and Clark, Donald Dean Jackson, "Some Books Carried by Lewis and Clark," *Missouri Historical Society Bulletin* vol. 16, no. 1 (October 1959): 3–13.
  23. Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, et al., *History of the Expedition under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark, to the Sources of the Missouri: Thence across the Rocky Mountains and Down the River Columbia to the Pacific Ocean: Performed during the years 1804-5-6: By Order of the Government of the United States* (Philadelphia: Bradford and Inskeep, 1814), 1: 439.
  24. For a discussion of William Clark's map, see Kastor, 14; Goetzmann, *Exploration and Empire*, 2–24.
  25. Information on the East Coast of the United States was available to Humboldt from the observatories mentioned below; it was just the American West where Humboldt, and everyone else, had no established observatories.
  26. Bray, *Joseph Nicollet and His Map*, 30.
  27. *Ibid.*, 64–77, 133–163.
  28. *Ibid.*, 142–147, 255; see also Adam Arenson, *The Great Heart of the Republic: St. Louis and the Cultural Civil War* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 2011), 34.  
Bray believes the history was written in 1835 or 1836, but mention of the 1841 destruction suggests at least a later revision. The history was first published in the 1843 *Report*, and the French manuscript appears in the Nicollet papers in the Library of Congress. Joseph Nicholas Nicollet, "Sketch of the Early History of St. Louis," in *The Early Histories of St. Louis*, ed. John Francis McDermott (St. Louis: St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation, 1952), 132.
  29. On Nicollet delivering these barometers and the years, Bray, *Joseph Nicollet and His Map*, 148; Long, "Enterprise and Exchange," 146.  
See also Nicollet's mention of the St. Louis University meteorologists in J. N. Nicollet, Baltimore, to Peter John De Smet, St. Louis, March 12, 1841. Midwest Jesuit Archives, IX De Smetiana, AA, pp. 637–640, and Bray's source, Joseph N. Nicollet et al., *Report Intended to Illustrate a Map of the Hydrographical Basin of the Upper Mississippi River* (Washington: Blair and Rives, 1843).
  30. On Nicollet's movements Bray, *Joseph Nicollet and His Map*, 158, 164–166}. On the presence of Dred and Harriet Scott at Fort Snelling before 1842, Don Edward Fehrenbacher, *The Dred Scott Case, Its Significance in American Law and Politics* (New York: Oxford University, 1978), 244–247.
  31. On Blattner, *Missouri Republican* October 19, 1841; the text indicates he is in a new location, so it may be possible to find evidence of an earlier date for his presence. On farmers, see cor-

respondents in the George Engelmann Papers, Missouri Botanical Garden Archives.

On newspapers, Nicollet wrote to Engelmann, "I would like you to get me a copy of every issue of the paper [Fr. *Journal*] in which you publish the meteorological observations you make in St. Louis. I will pay what it takes, if there is something to pay. Send me the entire series from the beginning. You know how much this subject interests me." Nicollet, Washington, to George Engelmann, 4/16/1843, p. 2, George Engelmann Papers. Translation by James A. Long, University of St. Thomas, Minnesota, June 1993. Given the fact that the Academy was not yet formed, and I have anecdotally seen weather records in the paper, I assume this is what Nicollet refers to, though I am unsure of the start date for these reports.

32. On Clark's museum, John Francis McDermott, "William Clark's Museum Once More," *Missouri Historical Society Bulletin* Vol. 16, no. 2 (January 1960). On the appearances of Agassiz in 1853 and Mitchell in 1858, see the list of lectures, Betty Boyd Walker, "The History of the Saint Louis Mercantile Library: Its Educational, Social and Cultural Contributions" (Ph.D. thesis, Saint Louis University, 1986), 164–171.

Twenty years later "a course of Astronomical lectures" by Richard A. Proctor, followed directly after Harriet Beecher Stowe, and were arranged "under the auspices of Mercantile Library Association and Washington University with price of admission within the reach of all desiring to attend." While Stowe's lecture provided net receipts of \$32.15, the course of six lectures from Proctor averaged \$166.67 in profits every night. For receipts, St. Louis Mercantile Library Association Board of Direction, Minutes Book 3, meetings November 4, 1873, February 3, 1874, and March 3, 1874, pp. 70, 78, 79, St. Louis Mercantile Library Association Archives, M-117, Book A-1-3.

33. Nicollet wrote to Engelmann, "Such a long sedentary life, after years of travels, is killing me. My health is deteriorating, and nevertheless I can't be busy taking care of it. . . . The West, I hope will give me back life when I can see it again, and I will see it as soon as I have finished." Joseph Nicholas Nicollet, Washington, to George Engelmann, August 8, 1840, George Engelmann Papers. Translation by James A. Long, University of St. Thomas, Minnesota, June 1993.
34. St. Louis University established the first geophysics department in the Western Hemisphere in 1925, which took control of the university's existing meteorological and seismological observatories. Faherty, *Better the Dream*, 283. For a full overview, "EAS Department History," St. Louis University Department of Earth and Atmospheric Sciences, <http://www.eas.slu.edu/Department/history.html>, accessed March 2006.

Ben Abell, professor of meteorology in St. Louis University's Department of Earth and Atmospheric Sciences until a few years ago held the position descended from John Lunemann; he taught classes in meteorology and delivered the weather on KWMU, the latest station in his 40 years of delivering the weather on St. Louis radio stations. See "SLU Professor Ben Abell Named to St. Louis Radio Hall of Fame," St. Louis University press release, <http://www.slu.edu/readstory/more/6392>, accessed July 2006.

35. For a history of these efforts, see Marcus Benjamin, "*NOAA History: Tools of the Trade/Weather Prediction & Detection/Meteorology*," NOAA Central Library, [http://www.history.noaa.gov/stories\\_tales/meteorology.html](http://www.history.noaa.gov/stories_tales/meteorology.html), accessed August 2006.
36. See my comments in note 5.
37. George Engelmann, St. Louis, to F. A. C. Weber, January 18, 1868, George Engelmann Papers, page 1. Translation by Edgar Denison, 1988. See also Enno Sander, "George Engelmann," *Transactions of the Academy of Science of St. Louis* 4 (1886), 1–18; Patricia P. Timberlake, "George Engelmann: Scientist at the Gateway to the American West, 1809–1860" (Master's thesis, University of Missouri-Columbia, 1984).
38. Henry P. Sartwell, Penn Yan, New York, to Engelmann, Novem-

ber 15, 1865; Thomas Allen, Office of the State Board of Centennial Managers, St. Louis, to Engelmann, November 22, 1875; Frederick Augustus Barnard, Washington, to Engelmann, May 20, 1864, George Engelmann Papers. For a discussion of another request for a photograph from Engelmann, see Goldstein "Midwestern Naturalists," 29.

39. For the history of the Academy of Science of St. Louis, see *Ibid.*, 106–154; Hensley, "Transacting Science on the Border of Civilization: The Academy of Science of St. Louis, 1856–1881"; Klem, "History of Science in St. Louis."

Engelmann also had founded the Western Academy of Science in 1830s, though it had collapsed; Walter B. Hendrickson, "The Western Academy of Natural Sciences of St. Louis." Goldstein notes, among other reasons for its success, that the second organization could profit from the influx of European-trained and often German-born doctors in scientists after 1848. Goldstein, "Midwestern Naturalists," 64, 141.

40. Long, "Enterprise and Exchange."
41. Engelmann, St. Louis, to F. A. C. Weber, January 18, 1868, George Engelmann Papers, pp. 1–2. Translation by Edgar Denison, 1988.

For a discussion of the "naturalist's exchange economy," including specimen collection in a variety of disciplines, as well as a monetary element, see Goldstein, "Midwestern Naturalists," 27–38.

42. On phylloxera Primm, *Lion of the Valley: St. Louis, Missouri, 1764–1980*, 3rd ed. (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society, 1998), 195–196. For Engelmann's ongoing interest in and service to Missouri wine growers, see for example the discussion of grape rot in Isidor Bush, Bushberg, Missouri, to Engelmann, August 3, 1879, George Engelmann Papers.
43. Nicollet, steamboat Maryland on the Ohio River, to Engelmann, November 27, 1837, George Engelmann Papers. Translation by James A. Long, University of St. Thomas, Minnesota, June 1993.
44. "The lack of assistance and money for financing has thrown all this immense work on Mr. Fremont and myself and it's only been two weeks since we could seriously begin our large map," Nicollet wrote in 1840. Nicollet, Washington, to Engelmann, August 6, 1840, p.1, George Engelmann Papers, Translation by James A. Long, University of St. Thomas, Minnesota, June 1993. See also Nicollet, Washington, to Engelmann, August 6, 1840; Nicollet, Washington, to Engelmann, June 7, 1841; Nicollet, Washington, to David W. Goebel via Engelmann, n.d. [June 7, 1841?]; Nicollet, Washington, to Engelmann, April 16, 1843. See mention in Bray, *Joseph Nicollet and His Map*, 283
45. Henry King, Washington, to Engelmann, August 5, 1843, George Engelmann Papers. For other similar mentions, see King, Washington, to Engelmann, December 25, 1841; King, Washington, to Engelmann, April 2, 1842; King, Washington, to Engelmann, January 14, 1843; and, after Nicollet's death, King, Washington, to Engelmann, December 3, 1843. Comments on Nicollet were almost always mentioned at end of letter, clearing addressing a mutually dear friend.
46. Notation on Nicollet, Washington, to Engelmann, April 16, 1843, George Engelmann Papers.
47. Nicollet did continue, however "I will speak to him again about it, as he is perfectly willing to take care of it. But he would be so sorry if anything terrible happened!" Nicollet, Washington, to Engelmann, June 7, 1841, George Engelmann Papers. Translation based on James A. Long, University of St. Thomas, Minnesota, June 1993.

For a description of the difference between standard barometers and mountain barometers, see Graham, "John C. Fremont" website.

For more on the sense of how Frémont failed Nicollet, see where Martha Bray recounts how the efforts of William H. Emory — another frequent correspondent of Engelmann's — made the printing of a portable version of the map possible. Bray concludes,

- "Thus, in the end, Emory and not Frémont was Nicollet's last true disciple" Bray, *Joseph Nicollet and His Map*, 270.
48. A report on the 1875 meeting of the Academy of Science noted that "Dr. George Engelmann (meteorologist, as well as botanist and physician) reported on the city's weather since 1834 [or 1835, when Engelmann arrived], giving the results of his observations in 1874 on temperature, windstorms, rainfall, etc. His readings for temperature were taken, I think, three times daily." William A. Kelsoe, *St. Louis Reference Record: A Newspaper Man's Motion-Picture of the City When We Got Our First Bridge, and of Many Later Happenings of Local Note* (St. Louis: Von Hoffmann, 1927), 55.
- Kelsoe notes elsewhere that an article by John H. Tice on St. Louis storms "relied for his data for St. Louis weather before the opening of the government weather bureau here on the daily record kept for thirty years and more by Dr. George Engelmann at his residence in the western part of the city." Kelsoe, *St. Louis Reference Record*, 129.
- On weather in the newspapers, see note 28.
49. George Engelmann, "The Mean and Extreme Daily Temperatures in St. Louis for 47 Years, as Calculated by Daily Observations," *Transactions of the Academy of Science of St. Louis* Vol. 4, no. 3 (November 1883): 496–508. See also the annual charts in the *Transactions*: Volume 1 for 1856–1859, Volume 2 for 1861–1864, and so forth.
50. George Engelmann, "Elevation of St. Louis above the Gulf of Mexico," *Transactions of the Academy of Science of St. Louis* Vol. 1, no. 4 (1856): 663.
51. *Ibid.*
52. Frederick Adolphus Wislenzus, Chihuahua, to Engelmann, March 7, 1847, p. 3; George Engelmann Papers. Translations from German by Edgar Denison, St. Louis, November 1987.
- For more on their relationship, see the reminiscences of Engelmann's son, see George J. Engelmann, "Frederick Adolphus Wislenzus," *Transactions of the Academy of Science of St. Louis* Vol. 5 (1892): 464–468.
53. John Milton Bigelow, camp near the mouth of the Cañon of the Rio Grande, 60 miles below San Elceano, TX, to Engelmann, June 18, 1852, George Engelmann Papers. For a similar sentiment, see Frederick Adolphus Wislenzus, Santa Fe, to Engelmann, July 2, 1846, p. 3.
54. Isaac I. Stevens, Camp Cushing near Fort Union, mouth of Yellowstone, to Engelmann, August 6, 1853, George Engelmann Papers.
55. John Milton Bigelow, Office of Northern & Northwestern Lake Survey, Detroit, to Engelmann, March 27, 1863, George Engelmann Papers.
56. Engelmann's copy of Alexander Dallas Bache, *Discussion of Magnetic and Meteorological Observations Made at Girard College Observatory, Philadelphia, in 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1844, and 1845* Washington, D.C.: [s.n.], 1859–1864, with an autograph bookplate, is still held in the archives of the Academy of Science of St. Louis. Thanks to Mary Burke and Mistii Ritter for their help in finding this volume.
- For more on Bache's observations in Philadelphia, see Jon M. Nese and Glenn Schwartz, *The Philadelphia Area Weather Book* (Philadelphia: Temple University, 2002).
57. Alexander Dallas Bache, Superintendent, U.S. Coast Survey, Washington, to Engelmann, November 21, 1859, George Engelmann Papers. For similar requests, see Howard Stansbury, Washington, to Engelmann, August 28, 1851; John C. Frémont, New York, to Engelmann, December 27, 1855.
58. Louis Blodget, Smithsonian, to Engelmann, June 6, 1853, George Engelmann Papers.
- Engelmann and Wislenzus are listed as the official observers of the Smithsonian in Joseph Henry et al., *Results of Meteorological Observations, Made under the Direction of the United States Patent Office and the Smithsonian Institution from the Year 1854 to 1859* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1861), 6.
- Engelmann supplied alcohol and other preservation materials to Academy of Science member Charles P. Chouteau's traders, and then shipped the specimens to Baird at the Smithsonian. Goldstein "Midwestern Naturalists," 141 note 80. Spencer F. Baird, Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, to St. Louis Mercantile Library, November 6, 1852, and Joseph Henry, Secretary, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, to Sir, July 25, 1855, both mention items enclosed for George Engelmann. Archives of the St. Louis Mercantile Library Association, M-117, Executive Letter Book 2, Incoming, 1846–1857, A-3-6, pp. 162, 288.
- On life membership, see Archives of the St. Louis Mercantile Library Association, M-117, Board of Direction, Minutes Book 2, meeting May 6, 1862.
59. Adolph Francis Alphonse Bandelier, Highland, Illinois, to Engelmann, January 2, 1862; Friedrich Arends, Huntsville, Missouri, to Engelmann, August 17, 1855; Friedrich Brendel, Peoria, Illinois, to Engelmann, March 7, 1855, George Engelmann Papers. For a discussion of Brendel's scientific activities, see Goldstein, "Midwestern Naturalists," 6.
60. Edward H. Barton, New Orleans, to Engelmann, February 24, 1859, George Engelmann Papers.
- Barton had been the chairman of the New Orleans Board of Health Sanitary Commission during the 1853 yellow fever crisis and was also a member of the New Orleans Academy of Science; see *Ibid.* 92. Barton died in 1859; this work was to expand upon Edward H. Barton, *Report to the Louisiana State Medical Society, on the Meteorology, Vital Statistics, and Hygiene of the State of Louisiana* (New Orleans: Davies, Son & Co., 1851).
- For the fears of cholera and other mid-nineteenth-century diseases, see Robert Wilson, "The Disease of Fear and the Fear of Disease: Cholera and Yellow Fever in the Mississippi Valley" (Ph.D., Saint Louis University, 2008).
61. Barton, New Orleans, to Engelmann, April 15, 1854, George Engelmann Papers. Engelmann discusses sending Barton a barometer, to perfect his measure of altitudes along the Mississippi, in Engelmann, "Elevation of St. Louis above the Gulf of Mexico," 664–665.
62. Barton, New Orleans, to Engelmann, February 24, 1859, George Engelmann Papers.
63. John Milton Bigelow, Lancaster, Ohio, to Engelmann, January 27, 1859, pp. 2–3; George Engelmann Papers. See also Bigelow, Lancaster, Ohio, to Engelmann, August 26, 1855.
64. Frederick Adolphus Wislenzus, Santa Fe, to Engelmann, July 2, 1846, George Engelmann Papers. Translations from German by Edgar Denison, St. Louis, November 1987. Wislenzus was in fact illegally in Mexico, and collecting while in custody; see Goldstein, "Midwestern Naturalists," 110.
65. Frederick Adolphus Wislenzus, Chihuahua, to Engelmann, March 7, 1847, George Engelmann Papers. Translations from German by Edgar Denison, St. Louis, November 1987.
66. Frederick Adolphus Wislenzus, Washington, to Engelmann, February 12, 1848, George Engelmann Papers. Translations from German by Edgar Denison, St. Louis, November 1987.
67. On 1848 around the globe, see Bruce C. Levine, *The Spirit of 1848: German Immigrants, Labor Conflict, and the Coming of the Civil War* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992); Michael Paul Rogin, *Subversive Genealogy: The Politics and Art of Herman Melville* (New York: Knopf, 1983); Jonathan Sperber, *The European Revolutions, 1848–1851*, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University, 2005); Shelley Streeby, *American Sensations: Class, Empire, and the Production of Popular Culture* (Berkeley: University of California, 2002). Rogin coined the phrase "American 1848" and Streeby has provided one of the most helpful analyses, which I have expanded to consider as a global 1848 here.



68. Frederich Adolphus Wislenzus, Washington, to Engelmann, April 23, 1848, George Engelmann Papers. Translations from German by Edgar Denison, St. Louis, November 1987. Wislenzus writes in this letter that “the republican army seems to move into the field only now, and will still need heads and arms in a few months.”
69. For the agony over the delays and competition in publishing maps and scientific papers see Frederich Adolphus Wislenzus, Washington, to Engelmann, December 28, 1847 p. 1; Frederich Adolphus Wislenzus, Washington, to Engelmann, January 20, 1848, p. 2; Frederich Adolphus Wislenzus, Washington, to Engelmann, February 12, 1848; Frederich Adolphus Wislenzus, Washington, to Engelmann, April 23, 1848; George Engelmann Papers.
- For what these tense negotiations of politics and personality meant for nineteenth-century American science, see Kastor, forthcoming.
70. Frederich Adolphus Wislenzus, Washington, to Engelmann, April 23, 1848, George Engelmann Papers. Translations from German by Edgar Denison, St. Louis, November 1987.
71. John Milton Bigelow, Lancaster, Ohio, to Engelmann, September 21, 1855, George Engelmann Papers in Arenson, *The Great Heart of the Republic*, 69.
- For a further discussion of the species differentiation and naming, see John Milton Bigelow, Lancaster, Ohio, to Engelmann, October 4, 1855 and March 17, 1856. For Engelmann’s classification work, see Goldstein, “Midwestern Naturalists,” 123–212. For *Echinocereus viridiflorus Engelm. var. davisii*, see Natural Resource Conservation Service, *Plants Profile: Echinocereus Viridiflorus Engelm. Var. Davisii (Davis’ Hedgehog Cactus)* (United States Department of Agriculture, <http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=ECVID>, accessed May 2006. Thanks to Andrew Colligan for helping to confirm this connection.
72. Engelmann, St. Louis, to Alexander Carl Heinrich Braun, fragment, n.d. [1865; mentions “after four such years of devastating war”], George Engelmann Papers. Transliteration by Denison 1994, Westin 1996, Eliasson 1997, Taubel 1997; translation by “SGE.”
- For another correspondence that reveals Engelmann’s opposition to the war, see his letters with Asa Gray. {Goldstein, 1989 #249@143}.
73. George Julius Engelmann, “Civil War Diary of a Washington University Student,” transcript pages 6a Insert and 20, February 18, 1862, and January 20, 1863, George Julius Engelmann Papers, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis. Thanks to Carmen Brooks for mentioning this incident.
74. Engelmann, St. Louis, to Alexander Carl Heinrich Braun, fragment, n.d. [1865], George Engelmann Papers, Missouri Botanical Garden Archives. Transliteration by Denison 1994, Westin 1996, Eliasson 1997, Taubel 1997; translation by “SGE.”
75. Engelmann, St. Louis, to Alexander Carl Heinrich Braun, fragment, n.d. [spring/summer 1866; mentions “the Fall elections may bring pacification”], George Engelmann Papers. Translation by Edgar Denison, January 1988.
76. Engelmann, St. Louis, to Alexander Carl Heinrich Braun, March 18, 1866, George Engelmann Papers. Translation by Edgar Denison, January 1988.
- For a discussion of the seizure of an herbarium by the Union Army, and speculation about Alvan Wentworth Chapman and other Southern scientists during the war, see {Goldstein, 1989 #249@52–54}.
77. Engelmann, St. Louis, to Alexander Carl Heinrich Braun, June 18, 1867, George Engelmann Papers.
- Translation by Edgar Denison, January 1988. Frederich Adolphus Wislenzus, St. Louis, to Engelmann, July 23, 1868.
78. Alexander Carl Heinrich Braun, Berlin, to Engelmann, April 3, 1867, p. 9, George Engelmann Papers. Translation by Edgar Denison, December 1987.
79. Frederich Adolphus Wislenzus, St. Louis, to Engelmann, May 1, 1869, George Engelmann Papers. Translation by Edgar Denison, January 1988.
80. Information on his son from *Irving Union* 2.5 May 1870, 5. He later became a tutor at the school; *Irving Union* 2.6 September 1870, 4; for Blattner, *Irving Union* 3.10, December 1871, 8.
81. Frederich Adolphus Wislenzus, St. Louis, to Engelmann, January 18, 1869, George Engelmann Papers. Translation by Edgar Denison, December 1987.
82. Frederich Adolphus Wislenzus, St. Louis, to Engelmann, March 21, 1869, George Engelmann Papers. Translation by Edgar Denison, December 1987.
83. John Milton Bigelow, Lancaster, Ohio, to Engelmann, November 17, 1856, George Engelmann Papers.
84. Engelmann, to John T. Douglass, January 7, 1871 and F. H. Stunteback, President, St. Louis University, to John T. Douglass, January 11, 1871, Archives of the St. Louis Mercantile Library Association, M-117, Letter book 4(b) 1870-1871, A-3-9, pp. 229 and 233.
85. George J. Engelmann to C.C. Parry, February 15, 1886, George Engelmann Papers, quoted in Goldstein, “Midwestern Naturalists,” 39–40.



Adam Arenson is an assistant professor of history specializing in nineteenth-century North American history, with a particular interest in the cultural and political history of slavery, the Civil War, and Reconstruction, and the development of American cities. He is the author of *The Great Heart of the Republic: St. Louis and the Cultural Civil War* (2011), and coeditor (with Jay Gitlin and Barbara Berglund) of *Frontier Cities: Encounters at the Crossroads of Empire* (2012). He is also researching the return of African Americans from Canada during and after the Civil War. He also contributes to the Making History Podcast.

# Governors of the Pacific States

## *The Politics of Remaining in the Union in 1861*

Stephen Engle

**T**HREE days after the Battle of Ball's Bluff fought October 21, 1861, in Leesburg, Virginia, Californians learned of the Union debacle but not by way of Pony Express. On the late afternoon of October 24, far removed from the Civil War, San Franciscans were celebrating the completion of the transcontinental telegraph at Salt Lake City, which would replace the 10-day news delay between Washington and California. Horace W. Carpenter, President of the Overland Telegraph Company wired the first cable East signaling that the transcontinental line was complete and waited for the return confirmation. Brigham Young, popular Mormon and former governor of Utah territory was given the honor of sending the first wire West congratulating Carpenter on the great achievement and Carpenter responded that the nation's longest circuit transmission was complete.

Yet, as San Franciscans celebrated the glorious achievement, news over the next wire reminded the residents of the Big Bear State that they were bound to a Union fighting to save itself, and in that fight they had lost one of California's noblest sons. "Colonel [Edward] Baker was killed in Battle on the 21st, while in the act of cheering on his command," it read. The telegraph room grew silent, the mood fell somber. Although a Republican senator from Oregon at the time, Baker was a distinguished San Franciscan attorney and a confidante of President Abraham Lincoln who had done much for the political development of West. Members in the telegraph room that day could hardly believe their beloved Baker had been slain on the battlefield in a disgraceful debacle. California Chief Justice Stephen J. Field was in the room at the time, and almost quivering, ordered the operator to return a message to President Lincoln pledging Californians' loyalty to the Union. Separated by a vast continent, whose settlement had caused considerable political turmoil in recent years, Lincoln and the governors of the Pacific States would now come to terms with the war over the wires. Although California and Oregon were hardly factors in the actual conflict, the circumstances of Baker's death (along with other soldiers who fell that day) significantly altered the course of the war. The embarrassing circumstances that resulted in the Union defeat led to the establishment of a Congressional taskforce bent

on making military operations accountable to civilian political oversight. The Joint Committee of the Conduct of the War, formed in December when Congress assembled, became the civilian investigative watchdog over the Union military, tragically as a result of the death of California's most prominent political citizen.<sup>1</sup>

Republican Leland Stanford who had been elected California's eighth governor (but first Republican governor) on September 4, returned to the telegraph room that day, and sent a message via Pony Express reporting California's election results and the "triumph and overwhelming victory in favor of the Union and the



California Governor Leland Stanford, 1824–1893. California Faces: Selections from The Bancroft Library Portrait Collection, University of California, Berkeley.

National Administration.”<sup>2</sup> California Republicans had come to support the abolition of slavery, and while Stanford became the instrument of the party having campaigned the previous summer on a platform that endorsed Lincoln, he was more in favor of preserving the Union than abolishing slavery. Stanford’s victory signaled the culmination of the rise of the Republican Party whose candidates won a plurality in the legislature and over the factionalism which handicapped the Democratic Party.

Born in 1824, in the heart of New York’s Mohawk Valley in the small town of Watervliet, Amasa Leland Stanford was the fourth of eight children raised on his family’s farm. He attended the common schools and worked for his father until the age of seventeen when he entered Ithaca’s Clinton Liberal Institute. He then moved on to law at Cazenovia Seminary, passed the bar in 1848, and shortly afterward ventured to Milwaukee, Wisconsin, to embark on his legal career. It was in Milwaukee where he found a passion for politics, public speaking, and journalism. He served for a short time as District Attorney of Washington County and also founded a newspaper in the city. He returned to Albany in the summer of 1850, where he met his bride and continued his legal practice in Port Washington. But when a fire cost him his law office in 1852, the young penniless lawyer headed to the California gold mines and began panning in the mines of the Sierra Nevada.

Having limited success as a gold miner, Stanford joined his brothers in keeping a general store until 1856 when he moved to San Francisco and pursued his mercantile and political interests and helped organize the state’s Republican Party. In the 1856 election, Stanford served as delegate to the party’s first state convention, but was defeated in his bid for California State Treasurer in 1857 and ran unsuccessfully for governor in 1859, appearing to not even impress himself as a candidate. In the meantime, he continued to keep a hand in mining affairs and soon became the principal stockholder in the Amador Quartz Mine which allowed him the financial ability to co-fund the Central Pacific Railroad in 1861, with Collis P. Huntington, Mark Hopkins, and Charles Crocker, soon to be known as the Big Four. Well known for his business associations and his uncanny ability to be successful, the company made him president in 1861, the same year he won his bid for the governorship.<sup>3</sup>

Similar to a professional prize-fighter, Stanford’s physical appearance matched his financial and political acumen. Standing at 5 feet 10 inches, and weighing 250 pounds, the barrel-chested governor was an imposing figure, possessed a rugged-looking face, and a sharp nose that pointed down over his grayish-white mustache. His thick curly hair was parted neatly on the side and pulled back and he gave the appearance of always being neatly groomed. He possessed tremendous energy and stamina, but his homespun appearance made him seem slow in mind, and in fact he confessed that he was

not much of a talker, something confirmed by the fact that his speeches were always written far in advance of their delivery. Yet, he loved social and political occasions, had effectively stumped for Lincoln in 1860, and had traveled to Washington earlier in the year where he met the president and his cabinet and apparently made quite an impression giving his views “freely and candidly.” In the swarm of hundreds seeking federal office in Lincoln’s early months, Stanford came not for federal patronage, but rather to give advice on appointments, which impressed Lincoln and his cabinet. The Californian came away from the meeting impressed with the new leadership, expressing to his brother Philip he was confident that “we had an Administration equal to the occasion great as it is.”<sup>4</sup>

Stanford’s financial shrewdness and business sense allowed him to remain president of the Central Pacific Railroad when he became governor, thinking he could better direct the state’s financial resources to help fund the transcontinental railroad, half of which he was personally responsible for funding and thus would be amply rewarded. Despite the crises of the summer, Lincoln had not lost interest in his desire to see the coastlines of the nation connected by rail, now even more because of war and Stanford, visionary that he was, recognized as much given his desire to see laborers come West and the fortunes of Californians enhanced. His party would move quickly to solidify their allegiance to the anti-slavery cause, departing from the state’s political past of attempting to avoid the issue. “Patriots of the Atlantic States,” read a California dispatch, “your brothers of the Pacific shore meet you with these glad tidings, and wish you God speed in the sacred cause of the Union.”<sup>5</sup>

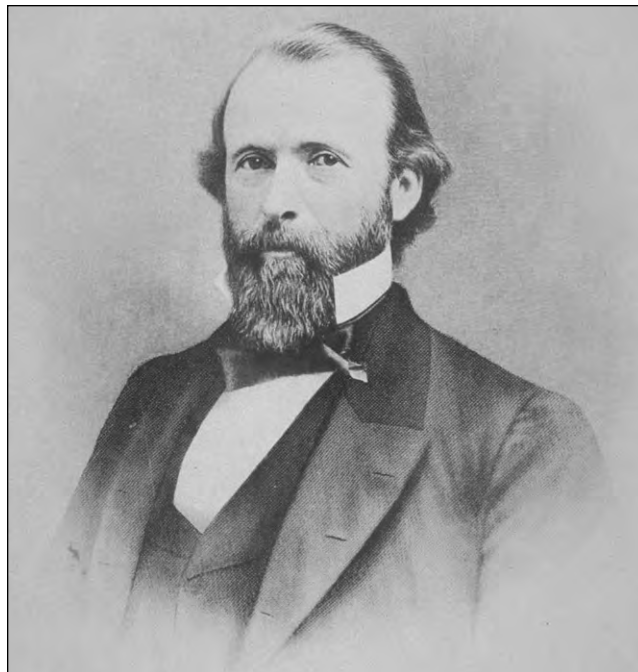
Yet, it had been an overwhelming and turbulent six months of war preparations since the firing on Fort Sumter in April 1861. It was an odd circumstance that Lincoln won California in the 1860 election, particularly since Democrats had governed much of California’s political history, and a Douglas Democrat John G. Downey was the state governor. Indeed, noted the editor of the San Francisco *Daily Alta California*, that “it might almost be said that the Golden State is the thirteen original colonies in miniature,” and was the only place on the continent now, “where Northern, Southern, and Western men can meet with cordiality and workout together a common destiny.”<sup>6</sup> Although delayed by the long journey of the Pony Express, when news of the Confederacy’s formation and Lincoln’s inauguration reached Sacramento, Governor Downey had done his best to preserve his state’s star in the Union. Downey headed off the secession hysteria and a rumored movement of Californians, Oregonians, and residents in the territories of Washington and New Mexico to create an independent Pacific Republic. The governor called on Albert Sidney Johnston, a native Kentuckian and professional army man to secure the

state's forces against Indian depredations and a rather sizable secessionist population reputedly plotting to establish a Pacific Republic. In early March, however, Johnston had relinquished his command to Brig. Gen. Edwin V. Sumner, among the oldest active military men in the Union army at the time.<sup>7</sup> Although not particularly alarmed by the approaching crisis, Downey recognized California's considerable Southern sentiment and quickly aligned himself with the Union in anticipation of local uprisings. "The people of California desire no change in our form of Government," he declared in his message to the legislature "they desire no dismemberment that would weaken us as a powerful people."<sup>8</sup>

Still, he had presided over two stormy legislative sessions and gave reason to believe that he was aligned with the Union. Yet, he also supposedly supported compromise with Southerners — a fact which had disappointed many Northern Californians. At the time, the California Legislature was so concerned over his loyalties and intentions that it passed a resolution to uphold the Union to force the issue on Downey to sign and pledge his loyalty to Lincoln's administration, which he did. In fact, in the weeks to come, Governor Downey would travel to Los Angeles and his estate-home in San Bernardino and reassure Southern Californians he would quell any attempt to sever the state's connection with the Union, a sentiment that went a long way in placing him in the Union fold, despite his democratic proclivities.<sup>9</sup>

Downey himself had reason to remain in the Union. He had followed the Gold Rush to the golden state in 1849, and prospected for a time until opening a drug-store in Los Angeles. He quickly turned a considerable profit into land investment and at one point owned over 75,000 acres in Southern California. A Douglas Democrat, Californians elected him lieutenant governor in 1859, but after five days in office Governor Milton S. Latham accepted the congressional vacancy in the United States Senate, Downey assumed his place at the helm of the Union's rapidly expanded state. At the young age of thirty-two, this short, deep hazel-eyed, and auburn-haired Irish-Catholic became the first foreign-born governor in the United States just ten years after arriving penniless in America.<sup>10</sup>

Still, Californians were grateful to Downey for his efforts in keeping the state under the Union stars, and particularly for protecting the Overland Trail. He also ensured that the flow of gold continued to travel east, particularly as the Union war effort continued to rely on it. Just the year before the Los Angeles *Star* reported that more than \$40 million worth of gold was shipped east. Despite Lincoln's sweep in the recent presidential campaign, California had not been a Republican state. Of the state's 430,000 residents, some 30,000 Southern-born and several thousand foreign-born residents supported secession, particularly those



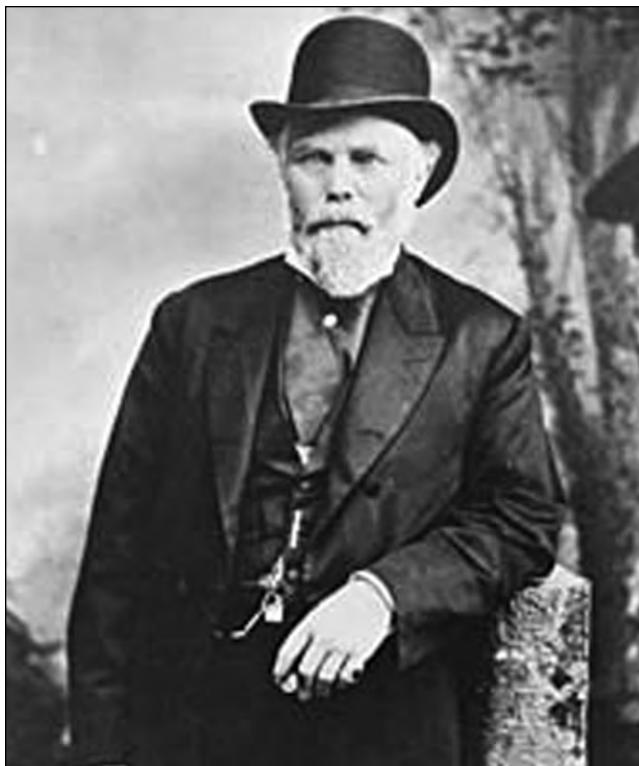
California Governor John Downey, 1826–1894. California Faces: Selections from The Bancroft Library Portrait Collection, University of California, Berkeley.

living in Southern California. Though outgoing Downey was a Democrat and had initially opposed policies of the Lincoln administration, he had remained loyal to the government, stuck by the Constitution, and fortified the borders and principle cities when there was talk among Californians of forming a Pacific Republic with Oregon and surrounding territories. Still, the California press while praising his efforts thus far in the war, also criticized him for his military appointments having come from the ranks of the Breckinridge Democrats, and for allowing weapons to be shipped to the lower counties of the state where they had fallen into secessionists hands, ultimately ending up in Texas.

There was some justification for this criticism, however, as Downey faced a show down of sorts with a pro-Southern posse called the Los Angeles Mounted Rifles, whose captain, Alonzo Ridley, was the Under-sheriff of Los Angeles and who had demanded Downey supply his unit with the state's newest weapons to protect the citizens as a result of the outbreak of war. Downey granted the request and Ridley later absconded to Texas to fight for the Confederacy, accompanying Brig. Gen. Johnston who had left in June to join the Confederacy. Plans about the republic changed as the command of the state's forces fell on Brig. Gen. Sumner, who had the task of calling in troops from the frontier to safeguard San Francisco, and subdue secessionists, while raising additional troops to protect the southern portion of the state. Not only did reorganizing and relocating troops quickly restrict the governor's ability to protect citizens from Indians, but also it placed a premium on officers needed for the army.

In the days and weeks following First Bull Run, when the Pony Express arrived in Sacramento, the rider brought with him notes to Downey from Lincoln ordering him at first to raise a total of 6,000 volunteers and five companies of cavalry, some to guard the Overland Mail Route to Salt Lake City, and some to be sent south into Texas. With the September election just weeks away, Downey had waited until after the election to call on Californians to serve, despite criticism. By this time, however, Gen. Sumner was called east to serve and Gen. George Wright succeeded him in late October. Downey welcomed the change convinced that his proven record in “quieting Indian disturbances” would serve Californians well. Nonetheless, Downey’s popularity waned in the spring and summer as critics continued to berate him and accuse him of disloyalty because he opposed the use of federal power in subjugating Southerners rather than defending the capital. This “anti-coercion” policy, as it was widely known, combined with his outspokenness against Lincoln personally, was widely circulated and identified him as a Confederate sympathizer. Still, even after his failure to secure the Democratic nomination, he continued to comply with federal directives, and kept the vast state of California in the Union until handing over the gubernatorial reins to Stanford that September.<sup>11</sup>

Oregon had also gone for Lincoln in 1860, but its current governor was also a Democrat, and a pro-slavery Democrat at that. Governor John Whiteaker wanted to keep Oregon neutral, but he did little to deter secessionism, and like Downey of California, saw no need to attend the Peace Conference in February of 1861



Oregon Governor John Whiteaker, 1820–1902. Oregon State Archives.

designed to avert an armed conflict. With a small but bitterly divided population, Oregon was only connected to the Union by the 2,700-mile long Overland Trail, a distance that took a month to travel. At the time, Whiteaker reasoned that the conference might well be over before any West Coast delegates reached Washington. Although Oregon was a Lincoln state, secessionist sympathizers had surfaced, particularly in the southern portion of the new state and expected the governor, given his anti-Lincoln proclivities, to support their actions. Many Oregonians were rural farmers, miners, and merchants and had migrated west from Missouri or Kentucky in the last decade and carried their cultural ties and hardened political views of slavery and States’ Rights with them giving Democrats majorities in the legislature. Though they supported the Union and desired admission into it, they nonetheless supported the traditional belief in limited government, and although typically anti-slavery, Oregonians were hardly abolitionists. They feared the presence of blacks, free or slave, would undermine the value of white labor in the region attempting to live off of its domestic resources, and therefore, supported the South’s desire to defend its domestic institutions.<sup>12</sup>

Amid the crisis over Kansas statehood in the years before the Civil War, Oregonians plunged into the same process and in 1858, and elected 61-year-old Whiteaker their first state governor. Congress delayed admitting the new state for nearly a year, however, until February 1859, when old “Whit” assumed the chief executive office — albeit reluctantly. A native Hoosier, who was a self-educated farmer, carpenter, and cabinetmaker who moved from job to job, Whiteaker got caught up in the California Gold Rush in 1849 and became a genuine 49er, profiting enough to return to Indiana to retrieve his wife, and head back to Eugene City, Oregon, where he purchased a farm. He quickly became active in local politics serving first as a county probate judge and then as territorial legislator, before running successfully on the Democratic ticket for governor. He spent his first term in office settling disputed land claims and persuading residents to live off the Oregonian economy, often promoting the vast resources of the state, and earning the respect of his citizens who rewarded him with the nickname “Old Soap, Socks, and Pickles”.<sup>13</sup>

Although he was the honest governor many had hoped, favoring land laws for settlers against the speculators and urging that Salem remain the capital, his ardently pro-slavery views on the eve of the Civil War alienated many of his followers who called his loyalty into question. Lincoln and Cameron bypassed him in raising Union troops and relied instead on more devoted loyalists, such as Democrat Benjamin F. Harding, Speaker of the Oregon House of Representatives, for support. Consequently, Whiteaker’s governorship came under considerable scrutiny and opposition by

Oregonians wanting to remain loyal and feared his actions would work against them to keep Oregon in the Union, from which Southerners were departing. In late May, he had brazenly issued an address that prohibited raising Union flags or Union meetings believing them to be inflammatory and counterproductive to reconciliation. While these meetings had merit, he proclaimed, “we should deceive ourselves, and mistake for Union meetings those which are held for the purpose of manufacturing partisan sentiment. . . .”<sup>14</sup> Sentiments such as these drew spirited responses in the press. One newspaper editor characterized his rise to power arguing that Whiteaker “had been elevated from his natural dunghill to a high position by political demagogues” and was “the biggest ass in the state,” and as “rotten a traitor as Jeff Davis.”<sup>15</sup>

Dressed in top hat and tails, his white beard and mustache covering his small thick face gave the short stocky politician the appearance of looking more like a traveling magician than a serious chief executive. His personal charm was far more appealing than his political acumen. Judge Matthew Deady, a contemporary of the governor, once said that Old Whit, was “wrong in the head in politics,” but “he is honest and right in the heart.”<sup>16</sup> He was a “good specimen of a frontier farmer man, formed of a cross between Illinois and Missouri, with a remote dash of something further Down East,” remarked one Oregon editor. “Plain and blunt to a fault himself,” he noted, “he has but little appreciation of court airs, or fashion plate men.”<sup>17</sup>

Still, Old Whit had initially advocated a kind of Kentucky Bluegrass neutrality when the war broke out, and had discouraged recruiting volunteers for the Union. He did eventually respond to a call for a regiment by Brig. Gen. Wright to help stabilize affairs in California and to help safeguard Oregonians from Indian attacks. He also appointed the controversial and politically ambitious Benjamin Stark, an outspoken pro-slavery Democrat, and New Orleans native to succeed the fallen Edward Baker in the Senate. This act drew a spirited response from the Oregon press which attacked him mercilessly, charging him with insulting the people of Oregon and outraging the Pacific Coast. A correspondent to the *St. Louis Daily Missouri Republican* remarked that Whiteaker had taken advantage of “the decree of God, which left the seat of Baker vacant,” and “dared to pollute it by forcing into its occupancy a semi-secessionist.”<sup>18</sup>

By the fall, however, as the regular army departed Oregon, the state’s residents prepared to protect the Northwest frontier and Whiteaker came under fire for never adequately supporting the troops and for allowing them to leave without protest. “Gov. Whiteaker is too busy fiddling for Jeff. Davis, or too much afraid of correspondence with a Republican administration,” decried the *Oregon Statesman*, “to demand any protection from the United States.”<sup>19</sup> “He perhaps thinks it

better that Oregonians, as he briefly designates them, ‘should be massacred rather than seek the polluting protection of Lincoln’s black republican army.’”<sup>20</sup> In a civil war that demanded definitive action and unceasing loyalty to the Union cause, Whiteaker’s appeal would be short lived.<sup>21</sup>

But while Stanford and Whiteaker managed to keep their states in the Union, they would not have the problems associated with the war back East. In November, the command of the Union’s armies took a significant turn. On Friday, November 1, a day Lincoln’s Attorney General Edward Bates noted in his diary as a memorable day, Lincoln accepted Gen. Winfield Scott’s resignation and that same day wrote to George B. McClellan, “I have designated you to command the whole army.”<sup>22</sup> Whatever the president knew about McClellan’s self-absorbed ego, he would fully come to appreciate its size in the coming months. The following day Lincoln removed Gen. John C. Fremont and replaced him with Brig. Gen. David Hunter, a competent military commander but not a particularly good choice politically. Days later came the news over the wires that Col. Ulysses S. Grant fell into an engagement with the Confederates at Belmont, Missouri, across the Mississippi River from Columbus, Kentucky. As the war expanded into the winter months, much had changed for Americans who had governed the Republic for more than seven decades without armed conflict. Californians and Oregonians could be thankful their soil was not a war zone, and residents stood firmly behind the Union cause, thanks in large measure to the efforts of Democratic governors.

#### NOTES

1. Milton H. Shutes, *Lincoln and California* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University, 1943), 144–145; *Hartford Evening Press*, 7 Nov. 1861; *Burlington Daily Hawk-Eye*, 29 Oct. 1861; *Oregon Sentinel*, 2 Nov. 1861; *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 21 Sept. 1861; Bancroft, *Pacific States*, 2: 457–458; *Washington Evening Star*, 21, 26, 28 Oct. 1861; *Washington Daily National Intelligencer*, 31 Oct. 1861; *Sacramento Daily Union*, 14 Aug. 1861, Downey had raised troops to protect the Overland Mail route between California and Missouri; *San Francisco Daily Alta California*, 20 Oct., 12 Dec. 1861; *Chicago Tribune*, 22, 30 Oct. 1861; Bruce Tap, *Over Lincoln’s Shoulder: The Committee on the Conduct of the War* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998), 15–20.
2. Shutes, *Lincoln and California*, 87; *Sacramento Daily Union*, 5 Sept. 1861; *Los Angeles Star*, 15, 22 June, 7 Sept. 1861; Melendy and Gilbert, *The Governors of California*, (Georgetown, CA: Talisman, 1965), 101–113, 115, 127; *Chicago Tribune*, 11, 22, 30 Oct. 1861; *Washington Evening Star*, 21, 26, 28 Oct. 1861, a few days later Downey wired his first message back to Lincoln “May the golden links of the Constitution ever unite us a happy and free people.”; *Sacramento Daily Union*, 29 Aug., 6 Sept. 1861; *San Francisco Daily Alta California*, 20 Oct. 1861; *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 21 Sept. 1861.
3. Gerald Stanley, “The Republican Party in California, 1856–1868,” (Ph.D., diss., University of Arizona, 1973), 123–129; Shutes, *Lincoln and California*, 15, 26; Melendy and Gilbert, *Governors of California*, 115–127; William B. Hesseltine, *Lincoln and the War Governors* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1948), 77; Christopher Dell, *Lincoln and War Democrats* (Ruther-

- ford, NJ: Farleigh Dickinson University, 1975), 109; *Harper's Weekly*, 23 Jan. 1864.
4. Leland Stanford to Philip Stanford, 5 May 1861; Shutes, *Lincoln and California*, 38, 60–61, 64; Stanley, "Republican Party," 123–129; Melendy and Gilbert, *Governors of California*, 115–127; *Harpers Weekly*, 23 Jan. 1864.
  5. As quoted from a dispatch from San Francisco to New York, *Newark Daily Mercury*, 24 Sept. 1861; *Sacramento Daily Union*, 15 Mar. 1861; Shutes, *Lincoln and California*, 150–153; Stanley, "Republican Party," 126–131; Melendy and Gilbert, *Governors of California*, 123–125; *Chicago Tribune* 11 Oct. 1861.
  6. *San Francisco Daily Alta California*, 4 Feb. 1861; Kibby, "Union Loyalty of California's Governors," 314–119; Richard H. Orton, *Records of California Men in the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1867* (Sacramento: State Printers, 1890), 746–753.
  7. Charles P. Roland, *Albert Sidney Johnston: Soldier of Three Republics* (Austin: University of Texas, 1964), 242–2–47; *OR*, series 1, 50:452–453, 456, 469; Ezra Warner, *Generals in Blue* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1964), 489–490; Leo Kibby, "Union Loyalty of California's Governors," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 44 (Dec. 1965): 314–317; *Sacramento Daily Union*, 24 Apr., 15, 18, 28, May 1861.
  8. *Los Angeles Star*, 18 May, 15 June 1861; Orton, *Records of California Men*, 746–753.
  9. *Sacramento Daily Union*, 13, 14, 15, 18, 21, 22, 28 May 1861 discusses a controversial letter he had written that was delivered at a Union rally in San Francisco which appeared to give the impression he was in favor of compromise; Downey was apparently hoping to be nominated as the Breckinridge candidate for the next election; the May 21 article talks about how receptive Southern Californians were to Downey's letter. *Los Angeles Star*, 18 May, 15, 22 June 1861; *Illinois State Journal*, 10 July 1861.
  10. H. Brett Melendy and Benjamin F. Gilbert, *The Governors of California* (Georgetown, CA: Talisman, 1965), 101–113; Kibby, "Union Loyalty of California's Governors," 314–319; Julia H. Macleod, "John G. Downey as One of the Kings," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 36 (Dec. 1957): 327–330; Roland, *Johnston*, 242–246; *Los Angeles Star*, 22 June 1861; *San Francisco Daily Alta California*, 8 Jan. 1861; see also Cathy Wineinger, "We are on the Circumference of the Union: But the Union Suffers Nothing From Coldness in the Extremities": The Civil War in California, (M. A. thesis, Florida Atlantic University, 2007), 52–58.
  11. Downey to George H. Woodman, 14 Dec. 1861, Letter book of Governors (John Downey, Leland Stanford, and Frederick Low), California State Archives, Sacramento, California (CaSA), cited hereinafter as Governor's Letter books; Glenn T. Edwards, "The Department of the Pacific in the Civil War Years," (Ph.D. diss., University of Oregon, 1963), 58–65, 90, 95; Roland, *Johnston*, 245–250; War Department, *War of Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1881-1902), series 1, vol. 50:433, 456, 493, 497, 572, 594, 613; *Sacramento Daily Union*, 15 Aug., 8, 21 Oct. 1861; *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 11 Aug., 16, 20 Sept. 1861; *San Francisco Daily Alta California*, 26 Apr., 14 May, 18 Dec., 1861; also see Capt. Alonzo Ridley to Downey, 9 Mar. 1861, and Maj. James H. Carleton to Downey, 18 June 1861, Governor's Papers and Correspondence, CaSA; also cited in J. M. Scammell, "Military Units in Southern California, 1853–1862," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 29 (Sept. 1950): 229–249; Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of the Pacific States of North America* (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft and Co., 1887–1890), 2:49–493; Melendy and Gilbert, *Governors of California*, 105–113; the *Sacramento Daily Union*, 21 Oct. 1861, compared Downey's significance to that of Hicks and Jackson in the power of the governor in saving states for the Union and plunging them into Civil War by allowing legislatures to convene.; see also Benjamin F. Gilbert, "The Confederate Minority in California," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 20 (June 1941): 154–170; see also *Los Angeles Star*, 4, 11, 18 May, 15, 22 June 1861; Elijah R. Kennedy, *The Contest for California in 1861* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, Co., 1912), 217–218.
  12. Jeff Lalande, "'Dixie' of the Pacific Northwest: Southern Oregon's Civil War," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, 100 (1999): 35–43; Bancroft, *Pacific States*, 2:456–457; Dell, *War Democrats*, 125, see note 30; *Oregon Statesman*, 10, 17 June 1861 for Whiteaker's public address to the people about the Union; see also Journal of John A. Whiteaker, 12, John A. Whiteaker Papers, Special Collections, University of Oregon Library, Eugene, Oregon (UOL); see also John Whiteaker Scrapbooks, UOL; *Oregon Sentinel*, 21 Sept. 1861.
  13. Journal of Whiteaker, 12, 17, 18, and Whiteaker Scrapbooks, UOL; *Oregon Statesmen*, 10, 17 June 1861.
  14. *Oregon Statesman*, 10, 17 June 1861; Journal of Whiteaker, 12, 17, 18, and Whiteaker Scrapbooks, in one of the newspaper clippings, the *Oregon Argus* referred to Whiteaker as "Old Cat-Gut," and "the biggest ass in the state"; Scrapbook also has clipping of his address; Dell, *War Democrats*, 125, 189.
  15. Thomas Edwards, ASix Oregon Leaders: and the Far-reaching Impact of America's Civil War," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 100 (1999): 11–14; *Oregon Argus*, 8 June, Sept. 13, 1862; *Oregon Statesman*, 10, 17 June 1861; Johannsen, "Whiteaker," 68–69; Dell, *War Democrats*, 125, note 30, 189, note, 45; Whiteaker Scrapbooks, UOL.
  16. Robert W. Johannsen, *Frontier Politics and the Sectional Conflict: The Pacific Northwest on the Eve of the Civil War* (Seattle: University of Washington, 1955), 206; *Oregon Statesman*, 8 May 1858, 10 Nov. 1862; Edwards, "Six Leaders," 11–14; *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 13 Oct. 1862; Johannsen, "Whiteaker," 69–71; Whiteaker Scrapbooks, UOL.
  17. *Oregon Statesman*, 10 Nov. 1862 taken from the *Portland Bulletin*.
  18. Edwards, "Six Leaders," 18; *Oregon Statesman*, 10, June, 22 July, 24 Oct., 9 Dec. 1861, 21 Apr. 1862; Johannsen, "Whiteaker," 69–71; Edwards, "Department of the Pacific," 58–59, 70–73; Whiteaker Scrapbooks, UOL.
  19. *Oregon Statesman*, 22 July 1861.
  20. *Ibid.*
  21. Lalande, "'Dixie' of the Pacific," 48–50; *Oregonian* 25 June, 3 Aug., 11, 25 Sept. 1861; *Oregon Sentinel*, 16 Nov. 1861; Johannsen, "Whiteaker," 63–87; Edwards, "Six Leaders," 11–14; *OR*, series 1, 50:599, 618, 674; *Oregon Statesman*, 10, 14, 15 June, 22 July, 21 Oct., 11 Nov. 1861. Wright got frustrated and requisitioned a force of cavalry but it never panned out.
  22. Ropy P. Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University, 1953–1955), 5:9–10; Howard K. Beale, *The Diary of Edward Bates, 1859–1866* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1933), 199, 1 Nov. 1861; see also telegram and letter of Morgan to Lincoln, 6 Nov. 1861, Papers of Abraham Lincoln, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; relative to McClellan's promotion at the expense of Gen. John E. Wool, who as the senior ranking officer, felt slighted by being passed over for this command. "I hope it may not be necessary to accept the resignation of Maj Genl Wool."



Stephen Engle is Professor of History and Director of the Larkin Symposium on the American Presidency at Florida Atlantic University in Boca Raton, Florida. The author of several books and articles on the American Civil War and Reconstruction era, Dr. Engle is completing a study on the politics of northern governance during the Civil War entitled, *Gathering to Save a Nation: War Governors, Lincoln, and Preserving the Union*.

# Getting Lost on a Civil War Battlefield

## How Soldiers, Map Makers, and Historians Have Wrestled with the Battles of the Big Blue and Westport

Kyle Sinisi

IN the late summer of 1864, Major General Sterling Price began what would be the last Confederate offensive of the Civil War west of the Mississippi River. Headquartered south of Little Rock, Arkansas, Price intended nothing less than the conquest of Missouri, which had been occupied by Union forces since September 1861. The expedition was a dismal failure. Price marched north to Missouri with 12,000 cavalymen (many without horses) and 14 pieces of artillery in September 1864. He then lingered in the state for one month, attempting to gather recruits and supplies and to stage a popular uprising. Unfortunately for the Confederacy, Union forces from Kansas, Missouri, Illinois, and Tennessee eventually converged on Price and ejected him from the state in a series of battles fought along the Kansas and Missouri border. [See Figure 1.]

Historians have paid their fair share of attention to Price's invasion and its attendant battles. There have been a number of books and articles that have chronicled everything from the important engagements to the Union's mobilization of black troops. Coverage of the campaign has been particularly good on the battles around Kansas City. Nevertheless, the significant books on these battles are now fairly old with one, Paul Jenkins' *The Battle of Westport*, first published in 1906 and another, Howard Monnett's *Action Before Westport*, in 1964. As a testament to the quality of the books, they are still in print, and all related scholarship on the invasion refers back to these books — and their maps. Perhaps even more telling, Monnett's maps and analyses

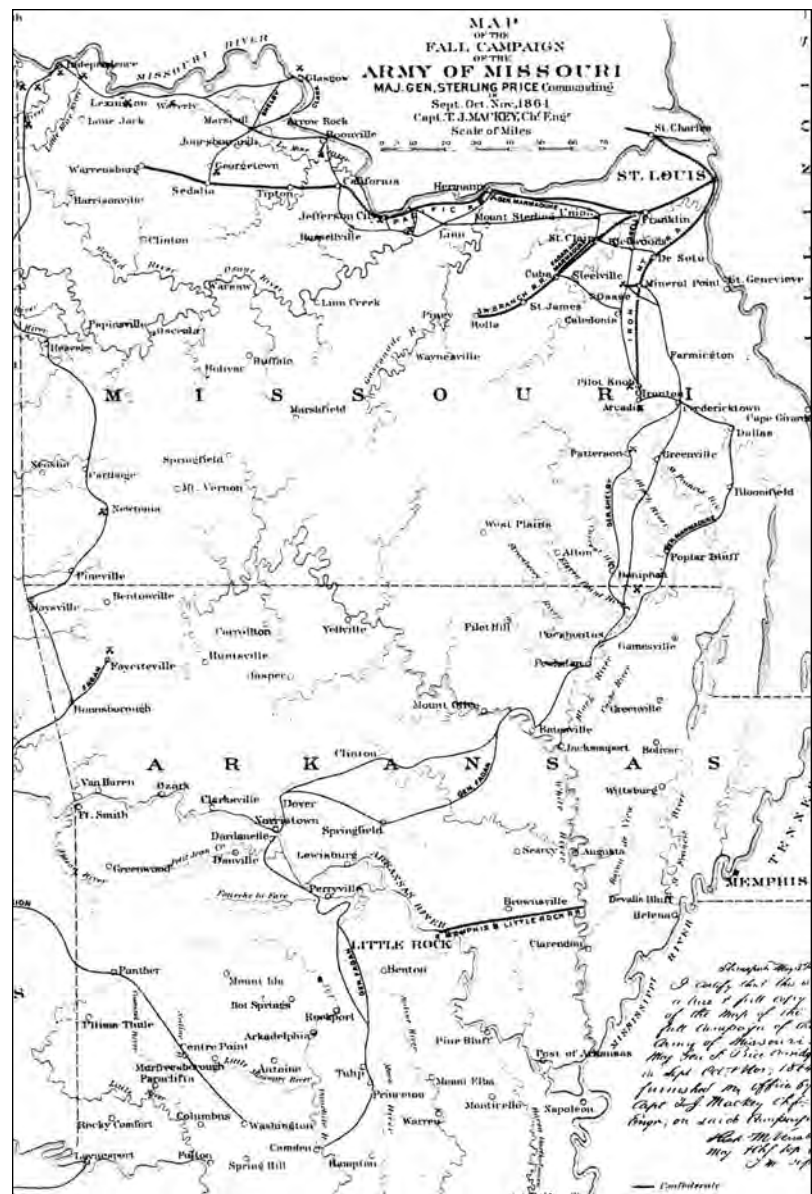


Figure 1. Operational Overview of Price's Invasion, *Official Military Atlas of the Civil War* (1891), Plate 47.



served as the basis for much of what became a series of twenty-two markers commemorating the combat in the Kansas City area.<sup>1</sup>

While both Jenkins' and Monnett's works continue to resonate to this day, they are not without significant problems, especially regarding their cartography and some of the attendant analysis. The potential in any such critique of these older works is to dwell on the trivial or the antiquarian; however, the argument will be made that the cartographic mistakes date to the battle itself and cast some light on the problems of map making and land navigation of the Civil War era. As already hinted, the mistakes can also influence the way public historians mark and interpret battle sites.

The battles around Kansas City all took place within Jackson County, Missouri. The county was then 607 square miles bounded, most notably, by the Missouri River to the north and the Kansas-Missouri border to the west. Two important cities dotted the northwestern reaches of Jackson County and the battle area. The first was Kansas City at the confluence of the Missouri and Kansas Rivers. With a population of 4,400 people it was the fourth largest city in Missouri. Just a few miles to the south was Westport, which at the beginning of the war in 1861 had about 1,200 inhabitants and served as an important early resupply point on the Santa Fe Trail.<sup>2</sup>

The topography of Jackson County and the battle area contained northern and southern uplands. The northern uplands consisted of gently rolling and forested hills that extended south from Kansas City to Westport. One contemporary observer, Jonathon Fuller, noted that "Westport stands on rather high ground in a timbered or forest country. From the town going southward you go about a mile on high ground and then a short slope to a stream called Brush Creek. . . ." About 2 miles south of the city, the southern uplands began, which Fuller neatly described as being "open prairie broken by nothing but rail fences and low stone walls put up without mortar."<sup>3</sup>

While the open prairie would influence greatly the pursuit of Price's army after his defeat on the second day's battle, it was Jackson County's rivers that would have the greatest impact on the military action. The largest tributary of the Missouri in Jackson County was the Big Blue River, which formed just over the Kansas line. It flowed east for about 5 miles before hooking to the north around the village of Little Santa Fe for another 15 miles and finally dumping into the Missouri River 5 miles to the east of Kansas City. Its attractiveness as a military obstacle was readily apparent to Major General Samuel Curtis who had assembled an army of about 15,000 Unionists to defend the city and prevent Price from driving into Kansas. The western bank of the river generally stood 12 feet above the water. No less important, the land to the west of the river rose precipitously in limestone and sand stone ledges that could easily control the valley below. Fairly open terrain

on the eastern side of the river also boded well for Curtis's efforts to discover the exact approach of Price's dusty troops. To help with this detection, Curtis erected two signal towers closer to the mouth of the river and the area where he expected Price to make his major push across the Big Blue.<sup>4</sup>

Although Curtis had not previously campaigned in Jackson County, he was not topographically blind. As early as July 1864, Curtis had anticipated the possibility of having to fight in the vicinity of Kansas City, and he ordered his chief engineer, Lieutenant George Robinson, to construct the appropriate maps. Although the Union army, as a whole, had made great advances during the war in using trained field topographical engineers, or "topogs," Curtis's army apparently possessed few such officers. Lieutenant Robinson was, however, undeterred. He paid two local civilian engineers \$200 to make the maps.<sup>5</sup>

Despite Robinson's best efforts, elements of Curtis's army would still make a near fatal mistake in reading their maps. As night fell on October 21, Curtis distributed his 15,000 men and artillery at what he thought were the principle fords of the Big Blue River. It would not be an even distribution. Instead, Curtis guessed that Price would remain consistent in his march pattern. Because Price had hugged the Missouri River for most of the campaign, Curtis deduced that the Confederates would pile along the main Independence to Kansas City road, which crossed the Big Blue about 3 miles below its mouth at Rocky Ford. To the chagrin of some his subordinates, Curtis then placed almost half of his total force at Rocky Ford. The general then stretched two brigades and assorted militia regiments another 3.5 miles to the south with instructions to anchor their line at what was known as Hinkle's Ford. Unfortunately, the brigade commander in charge of defending Hinkle's Ford, Colonel Thomas Moonlight, never made it that far. He confused the fords on his map and wound up defending Simmons' Ford, 1.5 miles north of Hinkle's. [Figure 2.] Time would only tell how this mistake would impact the impending battle.<sup>6</sup> Regardless, Curtis completed his dispositions by posting his final brigade, that of Colonel C. R. "Doc" Jennison, another 2.7 miles up the river from Simmons' Ford at Byram's Ford. Almost as an afterthought, Curtis placed some regiments of Kansas' militia at Russell's Ford, 3 miles south from Byram's Ford. Although there would be a significant action involving the troops originally stationed at Russell's Ford, it was not critical to the final outcome of the 22nd. The decisive action would occur at Byram's.

On the morning of October 22, 1864, Sterling Price finally attacked Curtis's army, thus starting what has become known as the Battle of the Big Blue. Not surprisingly, Price attacked nowhere near Rocky Ford. Instead, he teased Curtis with a diversionary probe at that ford, while flanking the entire Union line with an assault on Byram's Ford. The change in direction

stunned Curtis, who then waited several hours before trying to reinforce Byram's Ford. Jennison's defense of the ford was capable as he stopped Price cold until after noon. Unfortunately for the Union, the battle finally unraveled around two o'clock, when the Confederate assault commander, Brigadier General Jo Shelby, decided to flank Byram's Ford with river crossings above and below the ford. Shelby instructed two of his regimental commanders to probe the river 1 or 2 miles from Byram's Ford in search of manageable crossings. It was in the course of the down river, or northern, probe that one commander found the previously unguarded Hinkle's Ford and therefore pushed across unopposed. The upriver probe met similar success, and within one hour the Union defense of Byram's

Ford collapsed as did the entire Union line. Confederate forces drove Curtis's army back several miles by nightfall and into defensive positions just south of Westport along a heavily wooded stream, Brush Creek.<sup>7</sup>

In the larger context of Civil War, or military, history, the basic events of the Battle of the Big Blue are hardly unique. Battle narratives are replete with units traveling down the wrong road or simply getting lost. Richard Taylor during the Peninsula Campaign and Lew Wallace at Shiloh are but two prominent examples during the Civil War. However, what helps separate the Battle of the Big Blue from its more famous comparisons is how future historians and cartographers of the battle have themselves gotten lost. In this case, the problem started right after the battle when Samuel Curtis directed

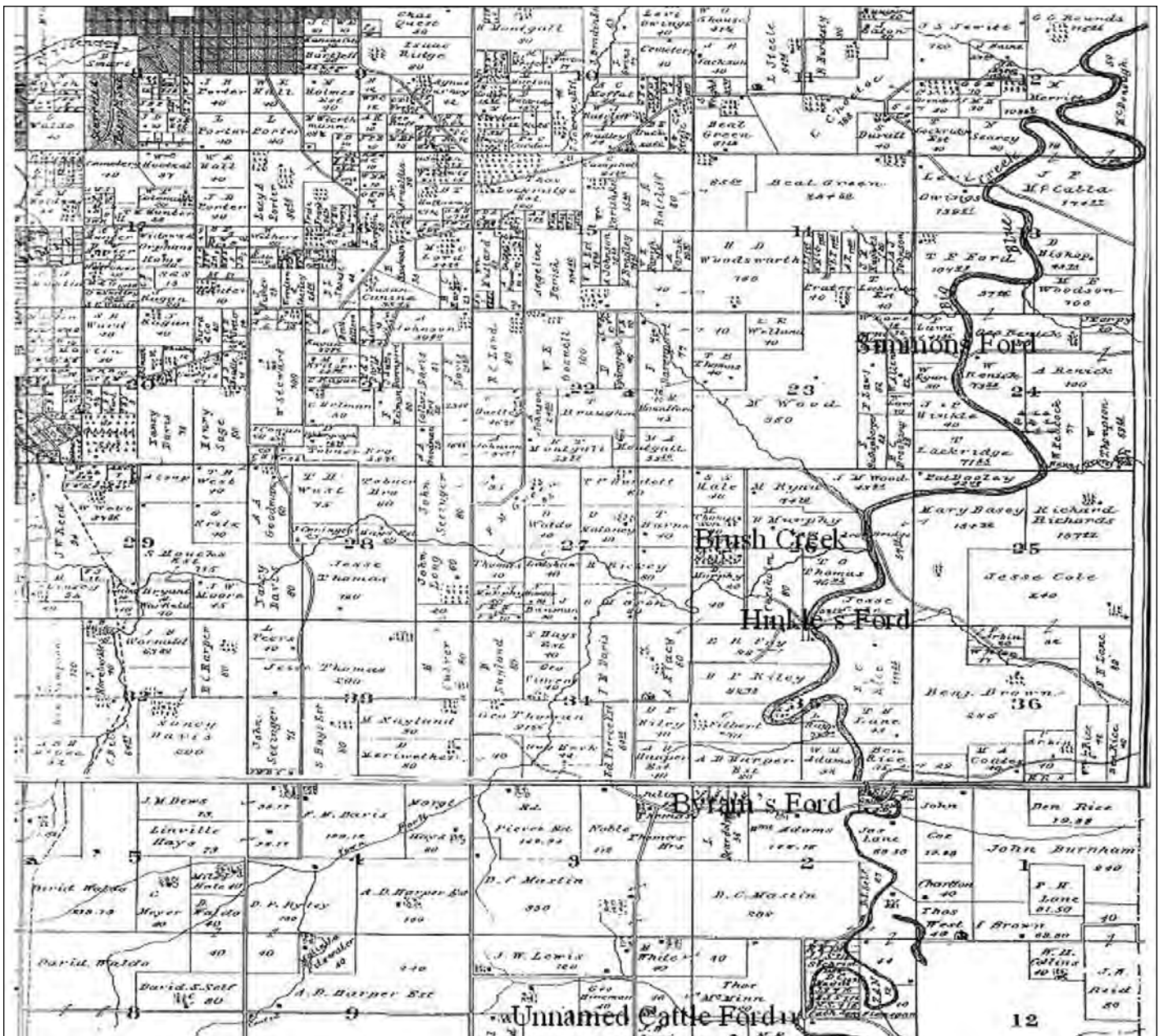


Figure 2. Key Fords, October 22, 1864, adapted from *Illustrated Historical Atlas of Jackson County* (1877).

Lyman Bennett, a civilian topographical engineer, to map the entire campaign along the Kansas-Missouri Border.<sup>8</sup> [Figure 3.] Joining Bennett in the endeavor was

Lieutenant George Robinson, who, as chief engineer, had mapped the area before the actual battle. Although Robinson's map of the battles around Kansas City

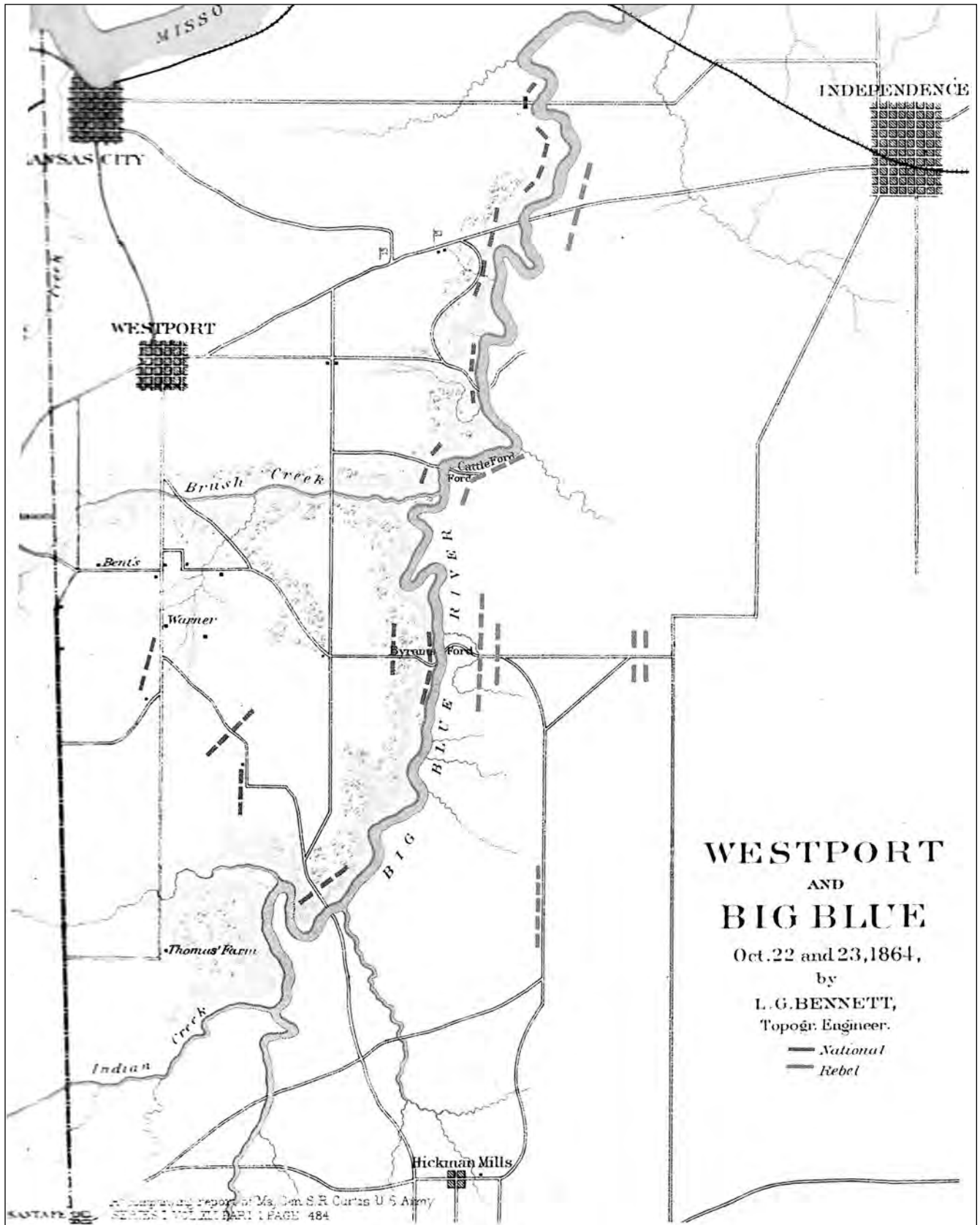


Figure 3. Lyman G. Bennett Map, *Official Military Atlas of the Civil War* (1891), Plate 66.

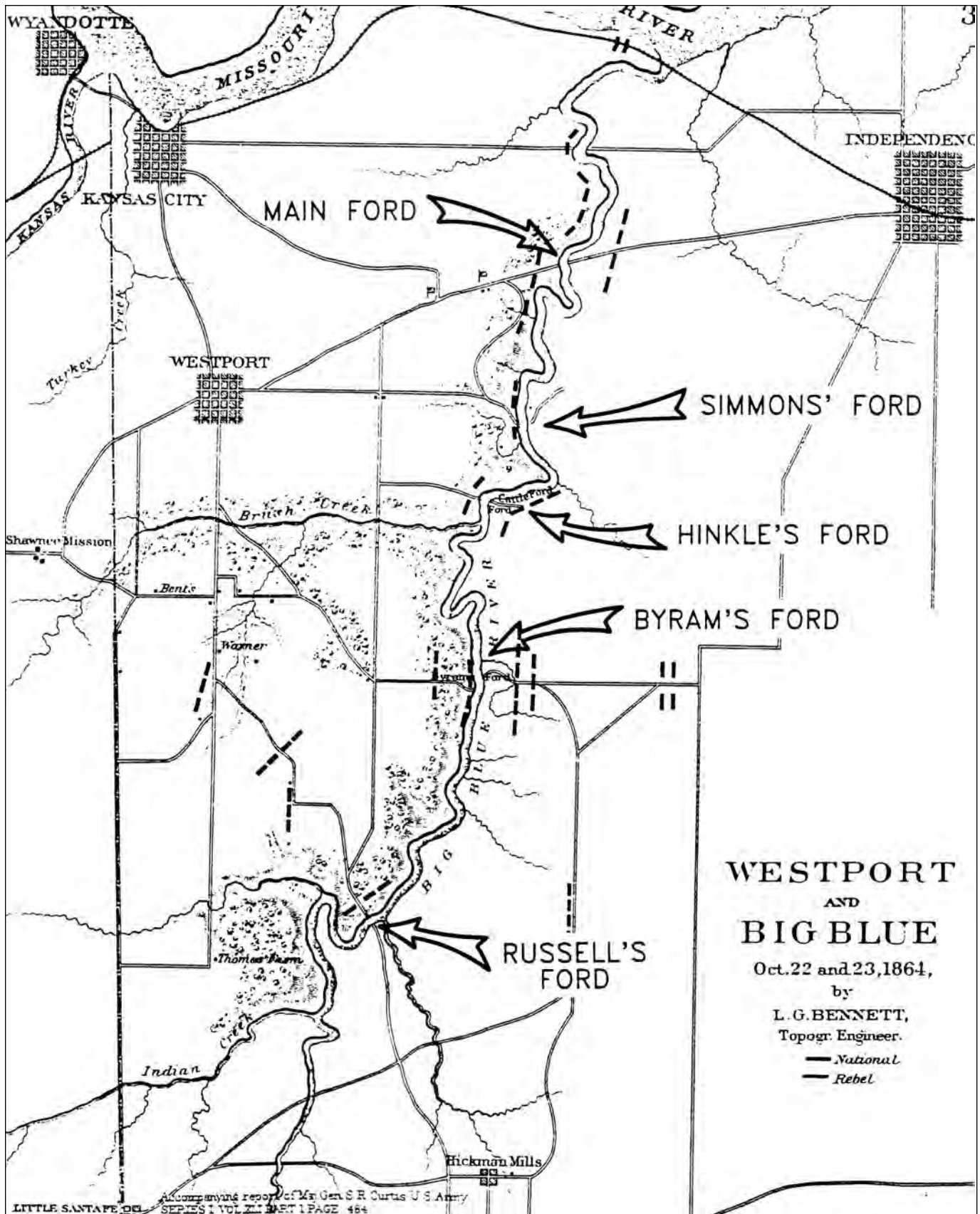


Figure 4. Misplacing of Hinkle's and Simmons Fords in Archaeological Survey, Figure 7.1, Prelude to Westport: Phase I Archaeological Survey of a Portion of the Big Blue Battlefield in Kansas City, Missouri, Jackson County, Missouri. Courtesy TRC Mariah Associates.

would not find its way into the *Official Military Atlas of the Civil War*, the map would surface and serve as the basis for Paul Jenkins' maps in his influential *Battle of Westport*. Bennett, who did not participate in any of the action around Kansas City, seems to have used Robinson's map for the basis of his own work. Bennett merely replicated Robinson's errors, especially as they pertained to the battles around the Blue River. Much like Colonel Thomas Moonlight, the mapmakers could not find their fords. Hinkle's and Simmons' Fords disappeared off their maps as did the unnamed ford that Shelby used to turn Jennison to the south. Perhaps even more interesting, Robinson and Bennett failed to draw the Big Blue River properly as it looped around Byram's Ford. The error is readily noticeable when comparing Bennett's map to the Jackson County plat maps of 1877.<sup>9</sup>

The historiographical consequences of Bennett's mapmaking did not take long to materialize. Bennett's omissions soon found their way into the *Official Military Atlas of the Civil War* as plate 66, numbers 3–4. Bennett's — and Robinson's — mistakes quickly perpetuated themselves as the maps and histories of the action moved the fords around the river and generally distorted the narrative of the battle. Paul B. Jenkins' *The Battle of Westport* (1906) was especially prone to this problem. Confusing matters even further was a newspaper article in the *Kansas City Times* in 1912.<sup>10</sup> The newspaper profiled Colonel John F. Philips, who had commanded the 7th Missouri State Militia and fought in the battles for Kansas City. Philips by 1912 was a judge and something of a local Civil War celebrity. His account of the battle confused contemporary and historical place names almost beyond repair. One geographic casualty of this was Hinkle's Ford. After Philips misplaced Hinkle's Farm to about 2.4 miles south of Byram's Ford, anyone interested in the battle naturally assumed that the small cattle ford on this property was Hinkle's Ford when it was not even close. A battlefield marker to this day mislabels the Hinkle property.<sup>11</sup>

By the 1990s, finding the exact location of any of the pivotal sites along the Big Blue River had become problematic. Most obviously, metropolitan Kansas City engulfed the river and its environs. People and vehicles ceased using the fords. Causeways and bridges crossed the river, and industrial parks and housing subdivisions grew up on the surrounding landscape. Even Byram's Ford, scene of the pivotal action in the Battle of the Big Blue, was in danger of being lost to history. Flood management projects along the Blue ultimately led the Army Corps of Engineers to conduct cultural surveys of the area in 1978 and 1980. Both surveys mistakenly, and incredibly, placed Byram's Ford a half mile upriver from its proper location. Fortunately, additional cultural and archaeological surveys in 1993, 1995, and 1997 definitively identified Byram's Ford in its proper place. Yet even this topographical victory was not without its

flaw. The 1997 survey yet again misplaced Simmons and Hinkle's Fords. [Figure 4.] Only the sleuthing of several local Civil War preservationists, but particularly Mr. Gil Bergman, recovered the location of these fords.<sup>12</sup> (See Figure 2.)

Cartographic difficulties in the battles around Kansas City were not confined to the actions at Byram's Ford. But like Byram's Ford on the first day's fighting, one of the more important events of the next day's combat has long been covered in a haze proving that Confederates, Unionists, and historians could get disoriented on the same battlefield. At issue was one the most controversial aspects of the entire campaign: Sterling Price's wagon train. Even before Price had returned to Arkansas in final defeat in December 1864, some officers and the Confederate governor of Missouri emerged to charge Price with accumulating an enormous train of 600 wagons filled with plunder and over 3,000 head of cattle. According to the critics, Price obsessed over the train and its contents, slowing the army to a crawl and making it easy pickings for Union forces that also included a division of cavalry commanded by Major General Alfred Pleasonton. This division began to close in on Price from the east as he made his way toward Kansas City. Subsequent generations of historians — and map makers — have joined the early critics in condemning Price's handling of the train. A new look at events of October 22 and 23 reveals that not only has the size of the trains been grossly exaggerated (there were closer to 250 wagons), but its route, organization, and location when attacked have never been properly noted in any secondary source.<sup>13</sup>

The problem of locating the trains and then detailing their route can be traced to the event itself. Despite the obvious fact that both armies were filled with men who were native to the general area, it was the rare two people who could agree on what to call the various roads in the vicinity of the battlefield. This was never so true than when describing the passage of the trains along a road that was called, alternately, the Harrisonville Road, the Military Road, the Fort Scott Road, the Little Santa Fe Road, the Kansas City to Pleasant Hill Road, and the State Line Road.<sup>14</sup> Making matters worse for both soldiers and historians, there was the issue of the Big Blue River and determining if what one crossed was actually the river itself or a minor tributary. The net result of all this has seen one historian after another, from Paul Jenkins down through Howard Monnett, generally show the trains traveling southwest from Independence and passing in the vicinity of Hickman Mills until reaching Little Santa Fe, where they then pivoted to the south on what would be called either the Military or Fort Scott Road. Although Price's critics believed that Price waited far too long to push his trains in a southerly direction, this movement certainly made sense given the operational situation beginning October 22. Needless to say, Price's movements did not quite happen in a way that made sense.

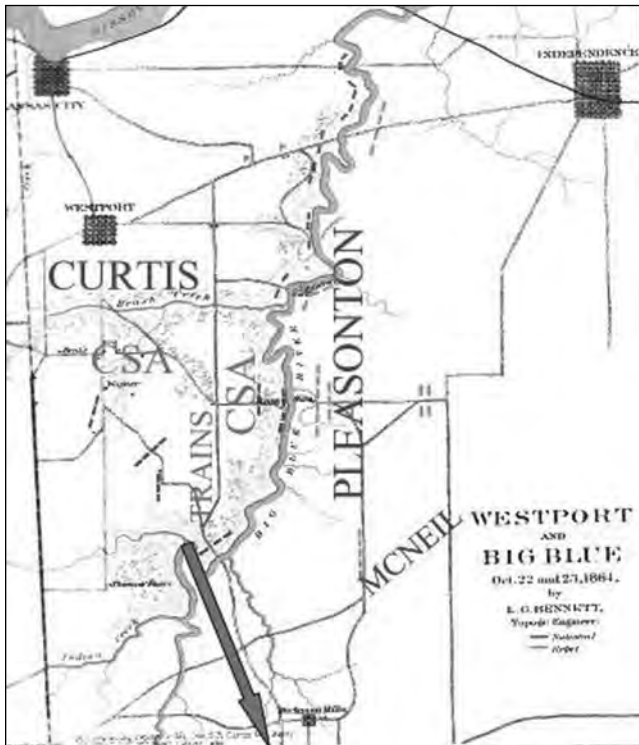


Figure 5. Proper Route of Price's Trains, October 23, 1864, adapted from Lyman G. Bennett Map.

Although Price later referred to their route as along the Fort Scott Road, the general had gotten his roads confused. The trains were indeed on the Harrisonville road, and they rode south, yet again crossing the Big Blue at Russell's Ford. The trains then proceeded another 3 miles keeping Hickman Mills to their left before deflecting along another road to the southwest. Only after rolling several more miles would the trains finally strike the Fort Scott Road well below Little Santa Fe.<sup>16</sup>

There is very little in the well-used *Official Records* of the war to identify this route for the trains. That ambiguity has long led historians to assume Price kept his trains moving along the Independence to Little Santa Fe road past Raytown. It was only logical for Price to move his trains to the southwest while his main body bought time by fighting to the north at Westport and in defense of Byram's Ford. Price's botching of the road names in his official report seemed merely to confirm this apparent disposition of the force. Moreover, for Price to pile his trains behind Shelby at Byram's Ford and then have to re-cross the river further south was terribly risky. This was especially so considering the

The odyssey of Price's trains did, indeed, start along the Independence to Little Santa Fe Road. At midmorning on the 22nd, the trains departed Independence heading to the southwest. However, and unlike the narrative found in so many books and articles, the trains turned to the west near Raytown and headed to Byram's Ford by early afternoon. As soon as one of Price's divisional commanders, Brigadier General Jo Shelby, secured the ford, the trains then passed through the river and on to the Harrisonville Road about 1 mile west of the ford. Here they remained for the rest of the night.<sup>15</sup>

The trains were certainly large, and when spread out in one column they stretched for 3 to 5 miles. Most of the extraordinary length of the column came not from wagons but from a 1,000 head beef herd, a gaggle of 3,000 new recruits, and two brigades of cavalry acting as an escort. It was this formation then that Price ordered directly south on the morning of the 23rd. [Figure 5.]

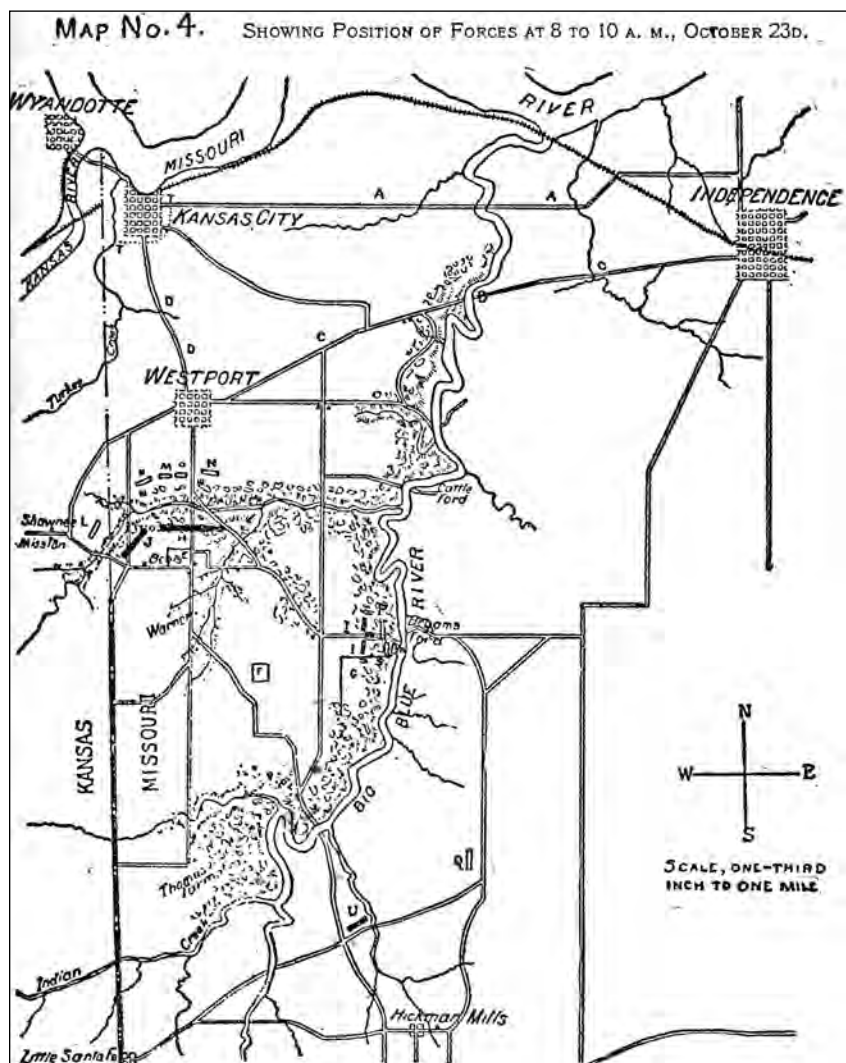


Figure 6. Paul Jenkins and the misplacement of the trains, Jenkins, *The Battle of Westport* (1906), 111.

proximity of Alfred Pleasonton's pursuit and the amount of time Price would lose by going west then south. Nevertheless, this is exactly what Price did, and it is revealed by numerous pieces of testimony in the heretofore rarely examined proceedings of Union courtmartial.

The result of all this cartographic chaos is that historians have long misplaced the scene of what should have been the decisive moment of the entire campaign. By nine o'clock on the morning of the 23rd, Price's trains detected a large Union presence off to their left, or east. More than 2 miles east of the Hart Grove Creek and its intersection with the Independence to Little Santa Fe road was one of Pleasonton's brigades of Union cavalry commanded by John McNeil. With the other two brigades of Pleasonton's cavalry then bunched up near Byram's Ford and preparing to assault the Confederates

on the western bank (in an exact reversal of the previous day's fighting at the ford), Pleasonton had ordered McNeil to swing around the Blue to the south so as to prevent Price's escape near Little Santa Fe.<sup>17</sup> It was then with a great deal of surprise that McNeil ran into the trains 3 miles east of Little Santa Fe. Confused, McNeil was not quite sure what to make of Hart Grove Creek as it did not appear on his map. Was he then at the Big Blue River and was Little Santa Fe close by?

Now presented with a glowing opportunity to slam into Price's trains and perhaps push farther to the west and truly seal off the Confederate escape, McNeil chose to do little. Paralyzed by what his map did not reveal and the sheer size of Price's trains, McNeil contented himself with some long-range and ineffectual shelling of the Confederate column. The Union general

succeeded only in forcing Price to accelerate his retreat in one of the better military deceptions of the war. Price deployed a brigade of entirely unarmed men as a screen to the east of the trains. This show of force was sufficient, stopping any further Union advance. By late afternoon McNeil withdrew to a safer position and simply watched Price's army retreat to the south. A glorious chance to destroy the Confederate army had been lost.<sup>18</sup>

Not much time would pass before Alfred Pleasonton discovered McNeil's bungling. Pleasonton court-martialed his brigade commander along with several other officers.<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless, the excruciating details of the court-martial were soon buried and with them went a precise historical recovery of the episode. More specifically, historians were left to speculate about the routes taken and the exact location of the clash between McNeil and the Confederate column. In 1906, Paul Jenkins created a narrative and adapted a series of maps from Curtis's official report showing that McNeil pursued the trains all the way from Independence to Little Santa Fe. [Figure 6.] According to Jenkins, the climatic skirmish between the two elements occurred only when McNeil caught up with the rear of the trains north of Hickman Mills. Almost sixty years later, Howard N. Monnett's *Action Before Westport* showed a similarly fanciful chase of the trains. Monnett's narrative and map, however, have McNeil catching up and passing the trains to the south of Hickman Mills where the Unionists then took up position to watch the Confederates pass. [Figure 7.] Two later works, Albert Castel's *General Sterling Price and*

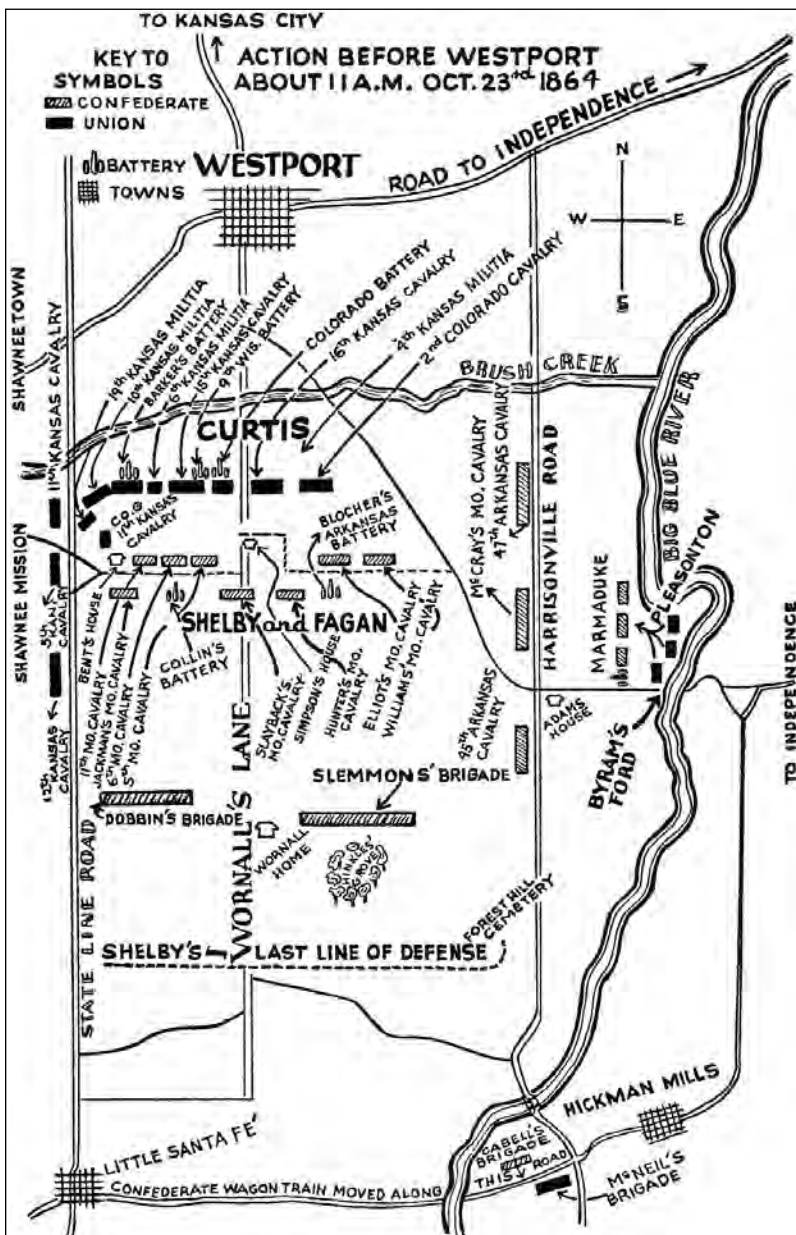


Figure 7. Howard Monnett and the misplacement of the trains and John McNeil, Monnett, *Action Before Westport* (1964), 97. Courtesy Westport Historical Society.

the *Civil War in the West* [Figure 8] and Lumir Buresch's *October 25 and The Battle of Mine Creek*, generally deduced the proper routes of the contending units, but still failed to locate their final skirmish. The fog of war has thus hovered for quite some time over this particular historical real estate.<sup>20</sup>

Land navigation in the action around Kansas City was, in its essentials, like many other battles during the Civil War. Sleepless, stressed, and generally frightened men, stumbled over unfamiliar terrain with bad maps — if indeed they had any maps at all. While both Union and Confederate forces east of the Mississippi River had made great strides in their map creation and reproduction,<sup>21</sup> those advances were not terribly evident in Missouri. The lack of reliable maps at the regimental level was particularly striking among those units in Pleasonton's cavalry division. A constant refrain in the numerous Union court-martial proceedings was a witness's inability to identify certain roads or terrain features on a map because

they had never before seen a map of the battle area. Just how destitute Price's army was of maps is difficult to discern. There is simply little mention made of the subject in any of the extant source material. However, what can be said about both Union and Confederate forces at Kansas City is that land navigation ultimately depended less on maps than on simple prior knowledge of the area and the ability to find local guides.

For the Confederacy, men with knowledge of the area was not a significant problem. Sterling Price had campaigned through this region earlier in the war. No less important, his army had been inundated with recruits from Jackson County and the surrounding area. Finding local guides was, however, more of an issue for the Union. Indeed, John McNeil's march to block Price's retreat was delayed three hours on the night of the 22nd and 23rd as the general's aides scrambled without any luck to find a local guide.<sup>22</sup> And yet, the Union was not destitute of guides. This was especially evident at the climactic moment of the battle on October 23 along the main line at Brush Creek. Union efforts to push Price's army back failed repeatedly until a local farmer arrived at Samuel Curtis's headquarters. Thoroughly angered by Confederate pillaging of his property, the farmer led Curtis's troops through a previously undetected ravine which penetrated the Confederate line. Curtis's movement when coupled with Pleasonton's fording of the Blue River at Byram's Ford soon collapsed Price's army. From this point forward, Sterling Price fled rapidly toward the south in the hopes of saving his army. Final victory came, in some sense, despite the Union's best efforts to map the battlefield. That same cartographic failure would plague historians for the next 140 years.

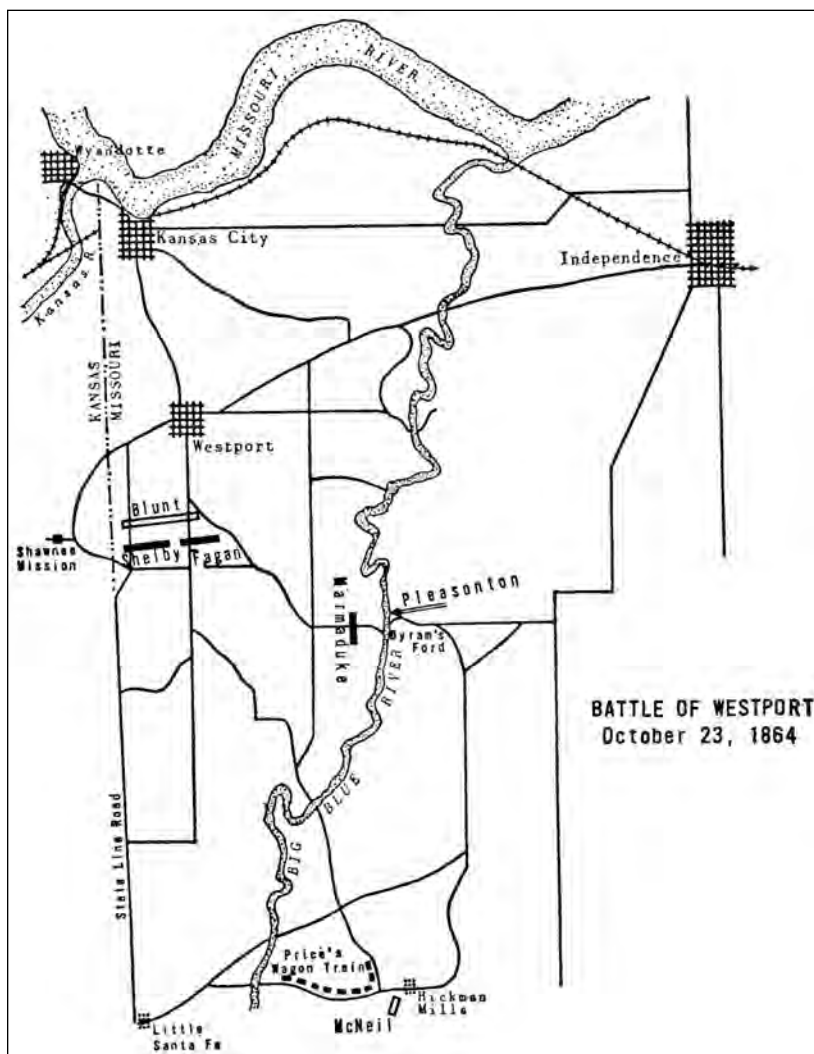


Figure 8. Albert Castel and the misplacement of the trains and John McNeil, Castel, *General Sterling Price and the Civil War in the West*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968), 233.

#### NOTES

1. There are several important books on the battles around Kansas City. They include, but are not limited to, Lumir F. Buresch, *October 25th and the Battle of Mine Creek* (Kansas City, MO: The Lowell Press); Albert Castel, *General Sterling Price and the Civil War in the West* (Baton Rouge: LSU, 1968); Paul B. Jenkins, *The Battle of Westport* (Kansas City, MO: Franklin Hudson, 1906); Howard N. Monnett, *Action Before Westport* (Kansas City: Lowell; revised ed., Niwot, CO: University of Colorado, 1995); Stephen B. Oates, *Confederate Cavalry West of the Mississippi River* (Austin: University of Texas, 1961).
2. Geographical and topographical information found in Walter E. McCourt, *The Geology of Jackson County* (Rolla, MO: McCourt, 1917), 1–15.



3. Jonathan B. Fuller to Father, October 24, 1864, F. 11, Jonathan B. Fuller Papers, Western Historical Manuscripts Commission (WHMC), Columbia, MO.
4. McCourt, *The Geology of Jackson County*, 1–15. Towers discussed in *OR* (see note 5), Series 1, Volume 41, Part I, 562.
5. None of these maps have apparently survived the war. They are mentioned in Department of War, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880–1901), Series 1, Volume 41, Part 2, 255 (hereafter cited as *OR*). The literature on Civil War mapmakers is strikingly thin. The best study, especially as it relates to topographical engineers is Earl B. McElfresh, *Maps and Mapmakers of the Civil War* (NY: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1999), 23–28.
6. *OR*, Series 1, Volume 41, Part I, 480, 526, 575, 593 and Part IV, 192. Howard Monnett errs in stating that Major General James Blunt, one of Curtis's division commanders, "overlooked" Hinkle's Ford and placed Moonlight at Simmons'. Blunt's report shows that he ordered Moonlight to Hinkle's Ford. Monnett, *Action before Westport*, 72. My placement of the fords and the troops tends to follow that of a contemporary observer and staff officer, Richard Hinton, in his *Rebel Invasion* (Chicago: Church and Goodman, 1865), 122–127.
7. This account of the flanking of Byram's Ford is based on George R. Cruzen, "The Story of My Life," typescript, c. 1930, p. 29, George R. Cruzen Papers, MHS; *OR*, Series 1, Volume 41, Part I, 480, 658, 666, 675; and Hinton, *Rebel Invasion*, 131.
8. Lyman G. Bennett Diary, January 3–8, 1865, Lyman G. Bennett Collection, WHMC.
9. *An Illustrated Historical Atlas Map, Jackson County, MO*. Philadelphia: Brink, McDonough, 1877; reprint, Jackson County Historical Society, 1976), 52.
10. *Kansas City Times*, May 30, 1912.
11. Paul B. Jenkins, *The Battle Of Westport*. Kansas City, MO: Franklin Hudson, 1906. Much of the work in sorting out Hinkle's Ford and Farm goes to Mr. Gil Bergman, a past president of the Kansas City Civil War Roundtable. See his memo "Location of Waldo's Grove and Hinkle's Ford," typescript, in author's possession.
12. Jason A. Marmor, *Prelude to Westport: Phase I Archaeological Survey of a Portion of the Big Blue Battlefield in Kansas City, Missouri, Jackson County, Missouri* (Laramie, WY: TRC Mariah Associates., 1997), 17–19.
13. Composition and length of trains discussed in E. B. Brown Testimony, p. 332, Proceedings of a General Court Martial in the Case of United States v. Brig. Gen. John McNeil, File #NN 3336, Records of the Judge Advocate's Office, RG 153, NARA.
14. The different labels for the same road can be seen throughout the testimony in McNeil's court-martial. See also Fletcher Pomeroy Diary, October 23, 1864, typescript, typescript, p. 242, Kansas State Historical Society (KSHS), Topeka, KS.
15. Definitive clarification on the route of march of the trains can be found in John Sanborn's testimony (pp. 238–240) and the affidavit of William R. Strachan, February 8, 1865, Proceedings of a General Court Martial in the Case of United States v. Brig. Gen. John McNeil, File # NN 3336, Records of the Judge Advocate's Office, RG 153, NARA. Further support for describing the line of march in this way can be found in Fletcher Pomeroy Diary, October 1864, typescript, p. 242, KSHS. The length of the train is taken from E. B. Brown's testimony (p. 332). Other material in this paragraph can be found in *OR*, Series 1, Volume XLI, Part I, 634–636; Cabell, *Report of the Part of Cabell's Brigade*, 10.
16. Testimony of John Sanborn (pp. 238–240) and the affidavit of William R. Strachan, February 8, 1865, McNeil Court Martial; Fletcher Pomeroy Diary, October 1864, typescript, p. 242, KSHS; *OR*, Series 1, Volume XLI, Part I, 634–636; Cabell, *Report of the Part of Cabell's Brigade*, 10.
17. Affidavit of E. G. Manning, July 7, 1865, Defense Statement of John McNeil, and pp. 67–68, 87, 97, 162–164, McNeil Court Martial.
18. The basic criticism of McNeil can be found in *OR*, Series 1, Volume 41, Part 1, 337.
19. An appeal board later suspended McNeil's conviction.
20. Monnett, *Action Before Westport*, 97; Jenkins, *The Battle of Westport*, 63, 75, 83, 111, 129, 150; Castel, *General Sterling Price*, 233; Buresch, *October 25th*, 50–53.
21. McElfresh, *Maps and Mapmakers*, 69–71.
22. McNeil Court Martial Proceedings, Affidavit, E. G. Manning, July 7, 1865, Defense Statement of John McNeil, and pp. 67–68, 87, 97, 162–164.



Professor Kyle S. Sinisi is a professor of history at The Citadel in Charleston, South Carolina. He graduated from the Virginia Military Institute and earned his M.A. and Ph.D. from Kansas State University. He is the author of *Sacred Debts: State Civil War Claims and American Federalism, 1861-1880* (Fordham University Press, 2003).

# The Origins of the Homestead Act of 1862 *Eastern Manor Houses and Western Settlement*

Grant Dinehart Langdon

**O**NE hundred and fifty years ago the Homestead Act was signed by Abraham Lincoln. That act opened the Western frontier to the common man and made America the place of opportunity. It distributed 270 million acres of raw Western land to farm youth who had little but the know-how and the will to work hard. These new landowners created a new middle class. Their land is worth more than 400 trillion dollars today. The opening of the West promoted national growth, the production of American goods, and made America a world power. Lincoln's promised Homestead Act is what won him the support of the farmers of the North. It was first proposed by the Anti-Rent Farmers of New York and is the issue that won him the election over Steven Douglas in 1860.

In the South the Aristocratic Plantation owners ran politics. In New York the aristocratic families owned the bulk of the land and controlled politics. In fact 10 percent of New York's population lived on their huge estates as tenant farmers. These tenant farmers made up the Anti-Rent Movement. Their lease system can be called the shadow of slavery because the terms of the contract bound the eldest son to the farm and his place in society. After a long struggle Congressman John Slingerlands was elected in 1848 by the farmers of the Anti-Rent Party. He introduced a bill for a Homestead Act. His motion placed the idea on the agenda of the nation. It was immediately opposed by the plantation owners of the South and defeated. A compromise Homestead Act was introduced by Rep. Andrew Johnson of Tennessee. It was passed but President Buchanan vetoed it to please his Southern supporters.

The demand for free land first took root along the border of the Boston Bay Colony in Colonial New York in the 1750s. It was suppressed with force by the aristocrats until 1839 when it grew into the Anti-Rent Movement and established the Anti-Rent Party. Because of the harsh treatment of the farmers and their call for free land they won the support of Horace Greeley and other important publishers of the day. Greeley was the most widely read and wrote in his

*New York Tribune* "Go West Young Man." The West offered new opportunities.

The plantations of the South were large, but some of the old Manors of New York surpassed them. Most of the landlords acquired their land by questionable means and grew rich on the toil of their tenants. They ran not just New York but the county from their grand mansions along the Hudson River. Their tenant farmers cleared and settled the farms, worked hard and lived humbly. They grew livestock wheat and hay with large families that worked the soil. When the father died the eldest son inherited the lease and the improvements. The wife was usually given life use of one room in the house by the will. The other sons left home. The Anti-Rent Movement was marked with civil disobedience and turned into a bitter fought battle in which barns were burned and men were murdered. It eventually led to a new, New York State Constitution that outlawed some of the lease terms. The tenant farmer revolt formed the Anti Rent Movement that became the foundation the Homestead Act was built on.

The push for a free homestead can be traced back 261 years. It started with a dispute over the location of the boundary between Colonial Massachusetts and New York. The Massachusetts Bay Colony claimed all the land west to the Hudson River. Colonial New York on the other hand claimed the land east to the Connecticut River. It turned into a clash of the classes. On one side were the Lords of Livingston and Van Rensselaer Manors in New York. As Lord of the Manor, the English title that replaced the Dutch title of Patroon, they ran things. They were given a place on the King's Council and maintained their own militia. The Manors even had their own judges. On the other side were settlers from Massachusetts who had little. To induce settlers Massachusetts was giving a 100 acre homestead with a clean deed free from restrictions. The Lords of the Manors' had leases based on the English Manors system of 100 years before. Many of the leases were two and three life leases meaning they were binding on future generations. A few leases never expired. It was under these conditions that the idea of a free Homestead caught on.

The problem started in 1751 when Massachusetts exercised its rights to land west of the Taconic Mountains. It laid out three new townships on land claimed by the Livingston and Van Rensselaer Manors. The actual border wasn't established until 1757 by the Lords Commissioners of Trade in London.

Settlement on Livingston and Van Rensselaer Manors started in the 1600s. Those settlers experience was much like the homesteaders of the west but they never got to own the land. They had to clear and settle the land, build houses and barns, and also had to pay rent and the taxes. They could not build a mill and use the water power. If their farm had a deposit of iron ore, as some did, the landlord owned it. They were servants to the Lord of the Manor and were bound to work a day each year for him. If they sold their interest on their settled farm one quarter of the sale went to the landlord. After the Revolution the title of Lord of the Manor went away but new leases kept the aristocrats in power.

Title to the land has always been clouded and somewhat obscure. The politically well connected Robert Livingston applied for a colonial land patent totaling

some 2,400 acres in 1686. His only requirement was he had to purchase it from the Indians and pay a quitrent, or tax, used to support education. The Indians were likely offered inducement to point out the boundaries. They also believed you could only own what you could occupy. The Indian deed turned out to be for 160,000 acres. Later it was recognized as Livingston Manor with the privileges of Lord of the Manor. The discrepancy between the land occupied and the land patent cause a problem for the Livingstons and other Manors. The quitrent was only paid on the 2,400 acres.

Homesteading on Livingston Manor was demanding. One of the very first homesteads on the 160,000 acre Livingston Manor was in Copake. That land was later claimed by Massachusetts. In 1687 Matthues Van Deusen settled a farm of 40 morgans or about 85 acres. He came from around Claverack where his father leased a farm on Rensselaer Manor. His was a 10 year lease given by Robert Livingston, the first Lord of Livingston Manor. Livingston furnished the raw land, livestock, some fruit trees, and a few nails and hardware. The livestock consisted of 1 sow, 2 mares, 2 geldings, 6 sheep, and 8 cows. At the end of ten years Livingston got the



Clermont, now a state park, was the home of Robert R. Livingston. He was the grandson of Robert Livingston, First Lord of the Manor. Robert R. could look out the front door to the Hudson River and see a million acres owned by the Livingston family on the other side of the river. Robert R. was on the committee that wrote the Declaration of Independence with Jefferson. Because of that, the house was burned by the British and had to be rebuilt. Later Livingston served as Minister to France under Jefferson. While Jefferson reluctantly agreed to purchase New Orleans, Livingston negotiated to purchase all of Louisiana. When the treaty was signed on April 30, 1803 Livingston said, "From this day the United States takes their place among the powers of the first rank." It doubled the size of the country. The treaty was ratified by Congress October 20, 1803. A reluctant Jefferson turned jubilant.

*Courtesy New York State Parks.*

original number of livestock back and 1/3 of the expected increase. If any livestock died it was Matthues's risk. Livingston also furnished a slave about 15-years-old to help for the first 7 years of the lease. Matthues was expected to clothe and feed the slave, but if he died it was at Livingston's risk. The annual rent had to be delivered in October and was paid in goods because of the shortage of money. The rent was 6 pounds of butter from each cow, two braces of hens, and a yearling pig. Matthues was also required to build a house 25' by 22.5' and a 30' by 60' barn. He had to clear and plant 63 acres and plant a 200-tree orchard. The entire farm was to be fenced and at the end of the ten years planted for winter wheat. He was required to work a day each year on the road to the Manor and work 26 days with the slave on the road for which he was to be paid. At the end of ten years he walked away with his increase in the livestock. The lease is in the Livingston Papers in New York. It was in the President Roosevelt Library when it was researched by Ruth Piwanka.

While it can't be said with certainty the house I grew up in is the house built by Matthues, I believe it is. I measured the original part of the house and the dimensions match those specified in the lease. The house is of the right design and age. It had two rooms with a porch on the south side. Each room had a door and to go from one room to the other you had to go out on the porch. The west room was likely used for storage the first few years. The chimney was of Dutch design and rested on a large beam at the center of the house and went up through a small gable. The east room had a window and two doors. A bed sink was on the

south side of the fireplace. During the day a curtain could be pulled. The walls are of stick and wattle construction. There are oak uprights and horizontal stakes fitted into groves cut in the uprights. The stakes that formed the walls were plastered over with straw and mud, and then covered with muslin that was held on with white wash. The entire house was built in an X shape. The only nails found during renovation were used to fasten the rafters at the top. The nails, furnished by Livingston, were expensive because each one had to be forged by hand. There was a cellar under the east room and was probably entered from outside on the east. About 1810 an addition was built on the east. The west room also saw changes over the years. . . .

The problems started in December of 1751 when the third Lord of the Manor Robert Livingston Jr. complained to the governor that Josiah Loomis and Michael Hallenbeck claimed ownership under Massachusetts and refused to pay rent. Then Massachusetts notified Livingston that it was laying out farms and they were asserting their claim to the land that extended north into Rensselaer Manor. More claims followed.

William Bull and 57 others petitioned Massachusetts for more homesteads in 1752. Some of the petitioners were in what is now Massachusetts and others were on Livingston Manor and Rensselaer Manor. New York officials, in the best of bureaucratic form, refused to get involved and support Livingston in the border issue. They suggested Livingston settle the matter in the British court. That led to a period when Robert Livingston, third Lord of the Manor, and John Van Rensselaer acted with force to either collect rent, or drive the Yankee farmers off. Massachusetts, on the other hand, commissioned officers and two militias were formed to enforce Massachusetts' law. William Reese was part of the Massachusetts militia and was murdered by the landlords militia during an attempt to arrest him. He tried to escape but was shot in the back with buck shot. That brought intervention by the Massachusetts sheriff and a large posse and the militia. They raided Livingston's iron works at Ancram and arrested several key workers. The furnace went out and Livingston complained to both sides that he needed his men to produce arms for the French and Indian War. Bail was arranged and things quieted down till after the war. Livingston eventually built a fort to keep Massachusetts settlers out.

The border with Massachusetts was settled in 1757 by the Colonial Board of Trade in London about where it is today. However, the fire had been lit that involved both Livingston and Rensselaer Manors. In 1766 Robert Noble led an attack on the



The house the author grew up in as it appeared about 1985. The 1687 portion of the house that measured 25' by 22.5' is visible behind the 1810 addition. The slave likely slept in the garret. Slavery was gradually eliminated by law in New York and ended in 1827. Aaron Snyder appears with his oxen next to his wife, Charity Ann, who was kidnapped by the Indians in the 1830's. Their daughter Carrie Bell, is next to a cousin and a lady that helped with the work who is in the background. The farm was finally purchased with a clean deed in 1867.

*Photo courtesy of the author.*

Sheriff of Albany County and several people were killed. In 1791 Columbia County Sheriff Hogeboom was killed trying to collect rent in Hillsdale. The challenge about ownership went on. In 1795 Petrus Pulver challenged how two King's grants to Robert Livingston totaling just 2,600 acres could be stretched into a Manor of 160,000 acres. He filed a petition with over 200 signers at the legislature demanding an investigation into Livingston's title. It was easily defeated by the Livingstons. Future President Martin Van Buren first rose to prominence in early 1811 when he represented tenants who refused to pay rent. Again the Livingstons seemed to win, but it appeared to the tenants that the Government lost its legitimacy to govern. It was only 30 years since the Revolution and the promise of citizens rights were out of reach for the tenants. The Livingstons still ran the politics and owned the courts. Van Buren backed off supporting the tenants after that loss.

Opposition resulted in eviction. In 1812 an open revolt erupted with buildings being set on fire including the mansion of Mary Livingston. Also burned were several barns of rent-paying farmers who didn't want to support the movement and the iron works at Ancram. Deputy Sheriff Truesdale was sent to evict Daniel Wilkinson and was shot. Sheriff John King returned on August 14, 1812, with a posse of hundreds and tore down his house and installed a new tenant. As soon as the sheriff was out of sight a crowd of about 50 rebuilt the house and drove the new tenant away. The resistance continued with cycles of prosecutions and resistance.

Steven Van Rensselaer was willing to work with his tenants during a poor year and many tenants on the poorer farms were behind in the rent. After Steven died his 750,000 acre estate was split between his two sons, William and Steven IV. The other children inherited other property, stocks and the like. Steven received a first rate education, but was aloof in dealing with the farmers and let his overseers work out the details. His 1,300 farms were west of the Hudson and he demanded the farmers pay the back rent. When rent day came and the rent only trickled in he demanded a committee of farmers meet with him in his office on May 22, 1839. Instead of talking to the farmers to hear their grievances, he walked through and met with his overseer. Then he returned and had his overseer inform the tenants all grievances must be reduced to writing. The farmers met at a local tavern and said they were willing to compromise on the rent if they could pay the rent in cash. They also wanted the option to purchase the full rights to the farms at a price that would return the amount of the rent if invested at 6 percent interest. A week later they received a reply. All back rent must be paid. The better farms were not for sale but rent could be paid in cash but at a higher price than the farmers suggested. The poorer farms in

the hills west of Albany could be purchased but only at double the price the farmers thought fair.

The reply united the farmers. Lawrence Van Deusen and Hugh Scott called a mass meeting in Berne on July 4, 1839. They drafted a reply to Steven Van Rensselaer. They likened the terms of the leases to voluntary servitude. They said because of the failure to compromise and alter the leases they would resist to the extreme.

Each county organized its own association. They elected a dozen or so officers and went to meetings masked and dressed as Indians to protect their identity. They were organized in cells of about 10 so no one knew the identity of all the members of the association. Dues were collected and in some counties dues were used as insurance. They gathered and tried to prevent sales from taking place. If an auction took place and someone bid on the livestock sometimes the livestock would be shot and the farmer was repaid by the insurance.

If there was one man indispensable to the movement it was Dr. Smith Boughton. He grew up on a tenant farm and treated farmers so he knew the evils of the system. He was an excellent speaker and did much to organize resistance. Eventually each county in Eastern New York had an anti-rent association. Each cell of about 10 was headed by a chief. They dressed as Indians in calico and covered their faces so they couldn't be recognized. Only the chief knew who each of his Indians were. The use of the tin horn was reserved for signaling the members to report to their location for action. It has been estimated there were 10,000 Indians ready to respond at the sound of the tin horn.

In December of 1844 an incident took place in Copake. Columbia County Sheriff Miller started off from Hudson about 14 miles away to sell livestock that had been advertised for sale in a foreclosure to pay rent. The farmers were watching and sounded a tin horn every time the sheriff went by a farm. Soon the sheriff noticed a large crowd following him. When he got to Copake he ducked into Sweets Tavern and there he was confronted by about 10 farmers in disguise with Doctor Smith Boughton dressed as Big Thunder. After some resistance the sheriff gave up the papers that were burned in front of the tavern. Then the farmers burned a straw effigy of landlord John Livingston. A few days later another public gathering was held at Smoke Hollow. That didn't go well because a young farmer was shot and Doctor Boughton was identified and arrested. He and a few other leaders were jailed in Hudson. Bail was promised, but was never set. Farmers camped out on the hills around Hudson and lit fires. The state militia was called out to protect the city and restore order. After a time a trial was held that ended in a hung jury.

However, across the river in Delhi a confrontation at a sale resulted in the death of popular Sheriff Osmond Steel. That brought a harsh response by the governor. The state militia was called out and possies of hundreds

of men were formed. So many farmers were arrested they had to build more jails. The governor then ordered a new trial for Dr. Boughton and hand-picked a new judge. John Van Buren, the son of Martin Van Buren, was the attorney general and was appointed prosecutor. The judge barred farmers from the jury pool and Doctor Boughton was sentenced to life in prison for burning the papers in Copake. Other leaders were also given stiff sentences.

All the harsh measures united the farmers even more and they pushed to force political change. The push also brought support from the press. That led to the formation of the Anti-Rent Party and the election of Representative Slingerlands. That marked the shrinking power of the northern aristocrat's power over events. The leading political parties of the day started to compete for farm support and the movement gradually splintered and started to decline.

When the election of 1860 came the Democratic Party was split between the North and the South. The Southern aristocrats demanded slavery in what they called the common lands of the West. They nominated Breckenridge, the sitting Vice President. The Northern Democrats nominated Douglas who would let the new states decide if they would allow slavery. Because secession was threatened if Lincoln won, the

Constitutional Union Party was formed and ran Bell, a Southerner. Lincoln was clear on the Western land; he would prohibit slavery. Lincoln went further by proposing to give a 160 acres homestead to men willing to do the work. Lincoln easily defeated Douglas and won the election in the North.

The election of Abraham Lincoln November 6, 1860, caused South Carolina to secede from the Union. Just a few days after Lincoln's election, talk of secession started with the aristocratic plantation owners. However, many if not most, Southerners were opposed secession. Then President Buchanan gave a speech to Congress on December 6, 1860. He said that states have no right to secede, but then he said the federal government did not have the bases to prevent it. What he said was in stark contrast to President Zackary Taylor's response when South Carolina threatened to secede earlier. Taylor said he would personally lead the troops in and hang the leaders. That ended that threat. Buchanan's gutless response seemed to allow secession.

Just two weeks after Buchanan's speech, on December 20, 1860, South Carolina held a convention and voted to secede. Ninety percent of the men in the convention were slave owners and 60 percent were plantation owners having 20 slaves or more. Until the election

of Lincoln the Southern Aristocrats had dominated national politics because their slave population helped give them more representatives and electors. The plantation owners had been able to force a compromise on slavery. However, Lincoln didn't even appear on the ballot in the South and still won. They saw no hope of compromise with Lincoln who promised a Homestead Act and no slavery in the West. I argue it was the slave owners, and not the people, who voted to secede. The record of the convention did not mention States Right, only the right to maintain slavery and domination of the black community. They feared outlawing slavery and giving blacks the right to vote. Originally South Carolina supported a strong central government. After the convention and the vote to secede they said it was for States Rights and a list of other issues used to bring the people along.

After the vote to secede, Major Robert Anderson moved all his men in the Charleston area to the



The gun at the top was carried by the authors' great-great grandfather, Abram R. Vosburgh. The gun at the bottom was carried by John Vosburgh, Abram's brother. John later moved to Wisconsin. They were masked and dressed as Indians when they confronted the Sheriff in Copake, N.Y. in 1844. The Sheriff was attempting to sell livestock to pay back rent owed to John Livingston. The event was well organized and the sheriff's papers were burned by Big Thunder in the public square before a large crowd. That led to the arrest of Big Thunder at a later protest-rally. The Landlords were pushing the governor for harsh treatment. Dr. Boughton, Big Thunder, got sentenced to life in prison. The harsh treatment solidified the farmers and the Anti-Rent Movement leading to the founding of Anti-Rent Party in 1846. About 10% of the population of New York lived on leased farms at that time. Alvin Bovay and Amos Loper, both Anti-Rent leaders, moved to Wisconsin. After Steven Douglas introduced his Kansas-Nebraska bill in 1854 they helped found the Republican Party. They opposed the Kansas-Nebraska Bill and brought the demand for a Homestead Act with them. *Photo courtesy of the author.*

more defensible Fort Sumter. A few days after Christmas, on December 27, 1860, South Carolina seized Fort Moultrie and Fort Pinckney. That was followed by South Carolina sending a delegation to Washington and demanded Buchanan remove all federal troops from the state. Again Buchanan did not respond. On December 30, South Carolina seized the arsenal at Charleston. Finally on Dec. 31, 1860, Buchanan said Fort Sumter will not be turned over and will be defended. At this point Buchanan's government was falling apart with cabinet members resigning. President Buchanan sent an unarmed supply ship to resupply Fort Sumter. On January 3, 1861, South Carolina took over Fort Pulaski. On January 9, 1861, South Carolina turned Buchanan's supply ship back. Over the rest of January, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana seceded.

February 4, 1861, a convention of Southern states met near Washington in an attempt to come up with compromise legislation. It failed and Jefferson Davis was named Provisional President of the Confederacy on February 9, 1861. On February 23, 1861 Texas seceded and joined the Confederacy.

Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated on March 4, 1861. In his address he stated that if war came it will be over secession and not slavery. He had stated he backed the Crittenden Amendment to the Constitution that would protect slavery where it existed. He was adamant about not allowing slavery on the Western land, however.

Lincoln sent a ship to resupply Fort Sumter on April 11, 1861. South Carolina learned about the ship and General Beauregard forced the surrender of the fort on April 12, 1861. Then President Lincoln declared a state of insurrection and called up 75,000 troops. Virginia joined the Confederacy on April 17, 1861, and Robert E. Lee resigned from the army and took command of the Southern forces. Arkansas and North Carolina joined the Confederacy in May. Tennessee did not join the Confederacy until June.

After secession there was no opposition to the Homestead Act and it passed easily. President Lincoln signed it into law May 20, 1862. Daniel Freeman filed a claim for 160 acres under the Homestead Act January 1, 1863, just 10 minutes after the act took effect. He was single and traveled from Illinois to Brownville, Nebraska, to file his claim. After his brother was killed in the Civil War he started corresponding with Agnes Suiter, who was engaged to his brother, James. She lived in LeClaire, Iowa, and married Daniel in 1865. They lived in a log cabin until the farm allowed them to build a brick house. Daniel Freeman died in 1908. Today his homestead is the site of the Homestead National Monument of America, a National Park created by President Roosevelt in 1936. It is dedicated to preserve the hardship of the early pioneers for future generations and is open year round, except for Thanksgiving, Christmas, and New Years Day. It is in Beatrice, Nebraska, has an educational center, a heritage

center and maintains a Website with more on the Homestead Act.

## SOURCES

### Primary Sources

*The Documentary History of the State of New York* by E. B. O'Callaghan, M.D., Albany, New York, 1850, notes taken on the Livingston Papers by Ruth Piwonka and made available by the historian of the town of Copake, NY, and *Tin Horns and Calico* by Henry Christman, Cornwallville, New York. Hope Farm Press. Henry Christman researched the trial of Dr. Boughton and the events in Delhi with the Steel murder. Ruth's notes spurred my interest when I realized the house described in the lease was in fact the house I grew up in. As I looked through the *Documentary History* and discovered the Van Deusen name I became fascinated by what was unfolding. It was a fight over land reform and against a privileged class.

### Additional Sources

- Brooke, John L. *Columbia Rising: Civil Life on the Upper Hudson from the Revolution to the Age of Jackson*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2010.
- Langdon, Grant Dinehart. *Rebels of the North, How Land Policy Caused the Civil War*. published by the author 2009.
- McCurdy, Charles W. *The Anti-Rent era in New York Law and Politics 1839-1865*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2001.
- Stebbins, L. *Eighty Years' Progress of the United States*, Hartford, CT, 1868.
- Columbia County at the End of the Century*, The Hudson Gazette, Hudson, N.Y. The Record Printing & Publishing Co. 1900.
- Furs by Astor*, John Upton Terrell, New York, William Morrow & Company, 1963.
- History of Columbia County, New York*, Philadelphia, PA., J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1878.
- The Mill on the Roeliff Jansen Kill*, The Roeliff Jansen Historical Soc., Hendersonville, NY, The Black Dome Press Corp. 1993
- Dutch Houses in the Hudson Valley before 1776*. Helen Wilkinson Reynolds, New York, Dover Publications, 1964.
- A History of Mount Washington, Mass*, Diss, Mason Library, Great Barrington, MA, 1976.
- Magazine of History* Volume 25, Number 2 April 2011 James W. Lowen, 35-44.

Author Grant Langdon grew up in the house built in 1687 by Abraham Van Deusen as a tenant-servant of Robert Livingston, first Lord of Livingston Manor. He graduated from Iowa State University in Farm Operation. He took over part of the farm in 1963. After a serial arsonist burned three of his barns he put pressure on the Sheriff. The Sheriff retaliated by arresting his 19-year-old son for burning their own barn. Charges against the son were dropped before trial but the son was never cleared of the charge and a cover-up took place. After the farm was lost on the courthouse steps he moved to Cincinnati, Ohio in 1997. He published his first book, *Scandal in the Courtroom* in 2007. His second book *Rebels of the North* explores how the Homestead Act grew out of the anti-rent movement and resulted in the election of Abraham Lincoln. It was published in 2009. He now lives in Penfield just north of the Erie Canal in western New York. The Erie Canal took settlers west and opened the markets to western farmers.



# The Far Western Borders The Civil War's New Frontier

James Robbins Jewell

AS far as the historiography of the Civil War goes, activity east of the Mississippi River has garnered the greatest attention and number of pages in historical studies (for obvious reasons), while the Trans Mississippi (between Texas and Indian Territory on the west and the river to the east) has remained something of the backwaters of the war. If one keeps looking to the left on a map they eventually come to the Far West, an expanse that was literally the frontier during the war, and which was until the 1950s a virtual no man's land as a Civil War historiographical region. The study of what went on in the Far West, and its impact on the war as a whole has been given only limited attention by scholars since the first, and only book, on the topic was published roughly sixty years ago. Reviewing the responsibilities and the legitimacy of the Federal government's concerns about the "left arm of the republic's" borders demonstrates that the Far West presents scholars and students with a new frontier in the study of the Civil War.

It is interesting that although few people recognized it then and historians have not since, the Lincoln administration realized that the Far West was an important part of the national crisis. The administration's concern is easily shown by looking at the changes in the military commitment to the region that took place between 1860 and 1865. When South Carolina seceded in December 1860 the number of United States troops listed as effective in the Far West (the military Department of the Pacific) numbered 3, 279. That was roughly one-fifth of the entire American land forces. After the fighting actually started that number fell by 15 percent, to just over 2,800 in June 1861, when most of the Regular Army commands were called eastward.<sup>1</sup>

Aware of the regions' vulnerability, the War Department aggressively filled the void with volunteer regiments beginning with the recruitment of the First California Infantry Regiment in mid 1861. A year later the total number of troops within the department had more than doubled, to 6,176 troops. Eventually, the Far West (regiments were recruited by the states of California, Oregon, and Nevada, as well as Washington Territory) contributed roughly 20,000 soldiers to the cause. Of course that number is dwarfed by comparison to the over 400,000 soldiers and sailors recruited by Pennsylvania or the more than 150,000 Virginians who served the Confederacy. Those numbers, by themselves, do not tell

the story. That the Union officials in Washington D.C., chose to retain the entire 20,000 soldiers in the Far West, where just over 3,000 had sufficed before the war, gives some indication about the administration's level of concern about its Western-most shores.

The decision to retain the soldiers in the Western-most part of the country was not popular with the recruits. A California cavalryman recalled "how bitterly disappointed the great majority of the boys were when this order [to proceed to Nevada Territory] came, as we fully expected to go to Washington City, and from there to the front." Oregon infantryman James Shelley echoed that sentiment when he wrote, "How anxious we all were," he recalled years later, "to have the opportunity to go East and participate in the real struggle, though the Recruiting officer, doubtless knew we would be kept on the [Pacific] Coast." Despite their disappointment, they and the rest of those Western soldiers performed myriad important tasks for the federal government, and thereby contributed to the Union war effort, even if, as the San Francisco *Alta California*, prophetically noted after the war began, "There is but little glory to be won by serving one's country on the Plains . . . . No matter how marvelous the achievements it will not get much play."<sup>2</sup>

So what did the Union political leaders and military personnel in the Far West do that contributed to the larger war effort, and why does the Far West present a new frontier in Civil War studies? The simple answer is that their job was to protect the Far Western borders from all threats, internal and external. Those responsibilities were not only difficult but also far more complex than they might seem.

In the early months of the war, when Army Regulars were called east to help reverse the early Union defeats, the War Department's greatest fear was that the Far West might fall either to a Confederate invasion or a pro Southern insurgency from within. The former threat had already begun when a rag-tag Confederate force set out to conquer lightly held New Mexico Territory and if all went well, a bigger prize, gold rich California. With that threat already underway by the end of the year, several regiments of recently organized California volunteers were sent to establish a defensive position in Southern California. In the spring of 1862, after the Confederates were turned back in the scorching lands of New Mexico Territory by other forces, the



accumulated Californians started out on an offensive campaign. Although the Confederate invasion scheme had been turned back, the government believed the threat — a skirmish between small contingents of Union and Confederates took place just 70 miles from the southeastern California border. Troops manned Fort Mojave, suffering in the punishing heat for the entirety of the war, blocking the most logical approach to southern California and escape route out of the state for those determined to join the Confederacy.<sup>3</sup>

Southern California was not only the place under the greatest threat from invading Confederate forces; it was also one of the perceived hotbeds of pro Confederate sympathizers, and therefore danger, in the Far West. The entire region, from Mexico to Canada, was home to many scattered expatriated Southerners, which worried the regional politicians as well as officials in Washington, D.C. Countering secret societies of Southern sympathizers, such as the Knights of the Golden Circle (KGC) and associated other groups, remained one of the Department of the Pacific's primary tasks throughout the war. The total membership in the KGC is impossible to tell, but concerned citizens in every state and territory in the region kept up a steady stream of reports about clandestine meetings well into late 1864. Looking back today it seems foolish that the government and military gave those reports any credence, but no one was taking any chances.

Two approaches were taken to defang any wild schemes. First, volunteer troops were moved about the Department of the Pacific like chess pieces, with the idea that the presence of a military force would sap the enthusiasm of local Southern sympathizers. The second strategy was founded on maintaining good intelligence. In addition to the well-intended, but often overly paranoid, citizens, both politicians and the military kept a cadre of spies employed to keep an eye on nefarious activities by clandestine groups. In this way, the military always seemed to make its presence known at the right place at the right time.

Even if a group like the KGC seemed more like the boogiemer in the closets, small groups of Confederate sympathizers were active and in at least two instances they put their plans into action. One was a robbery of a Wells Fargo coach carrying a mining company's payroll. The most famous proof of the threat posed by Confederate sympathizers in the Far West occurred on March 15, 1863, in San Francisco. On that day U.S. marines and San Francisco police stopped the U.S.S. *J. M. Chapman* as it tried to slip beyond the harbor defenses. On board were 20 Southern sympathizers who planned to turn the ship into a fighting vessel with which to attack Union commercial ships in the Pacific. The Chapman Affair, as it became known, justified continued vigilance in the effort to unearth similar plots. None materialized, but the work continued for the rest of the war.<sup>4</sup>

The Chapman Affair was not the only effort by Confederate sympathizers to obtain a ship with which to raid the gold shipments. With a tolerant political climate and a number of expatriated Southerners, Victoria, Vancouver Island, became an enclave of Confederate sympathizers during the Civil War. Those Southerners in Victoria and scattered throughout the upstart mining towns along the Fraser River combined with a pugnacious, even reckless, royal governor, led Union officials to take steps to neutralize the threat along the Washington Territorial border.<sup>5</sup>

Relations between the United States and England had been comically damaged by a murder on a small island in Puget Sound in 1859. The event took place on the jointly occupied San Juan Island, where both nations had military camps to oversee the Anglo-American population. The short summary is that an American farmer shot and killed a trespassing British pig that was wreaking havoc on his crops. The incident actually took the two nations closer to war than at any time since the settlement of the Canadian-American boundary issue in 1846 (of which this was the last wrinkle). As odd as it seems now, memories of the so-called Pig War were fresh in the minds of the locals when war broke out.<sup>6</sup>

At the outset of the war the joint occupancy of San Juan Island again became a focal point of discord. American military leaders rather brashly suggested that the British withdraw their troops from the island, just as the Americans were, to maintain the balance. The British refused. Unwilling to leave the British in charge of the island, Federal officials in Washington, D.C., decided to keep a contingent of troops on the island. Therefore, one of the very few contingents of Army Regulars to remain in the Far West during the war was stationed on San Juan Island.

Retaining troops that were desperately needed elsewhere was only a minor commitment in Union dealings with the British in western Canada. Far more daunting was trying to avoid a clash with the very aggressive Royal Governor, Sir James Douglass. Douglass feared the buildup of volunteer troops forecast an American move into British Columbia. Rather wildly he proposed seizing the opportunity, telling his superiors in England that there "was no reason why we should not push overland from Puget Sound and establish advanced posts on the Columbia River" and "with Puget Sound, and the line of the Columbia River in our hands, we should hold the only navigable outlet of the country — command its trade, and soon compel it to submit to Her Majesty's Rule." The atmosphere was such that the regional American commander warned the War Department that "The slightest provocation from either side might produce a collision, from which the most deplorable results would follow." Fortunately for all, cooler heads prevailed in London and the governor was kept on a short leash.<sup>7</sup>

Given Douglass' attitude, he was unlikely to enforce British neutrality over the enclave of expatriated Southerners. Deep concerns over what those Southern sympathizers might attempt led the United States government to establish a new American consulate in Victoria in early 1862. Ostensibly there to maintain good communication with the British royal governor, American Consul Alan Francis' subsequent activities make it clear that his primary job was to watch and thwart, as best he could, any pro Confederate plans to attack Union targets along the Pacific slope.

From 1862 to 1864 Francis and his network of spies gathered intelligence that shaped American actions both in the Far West and Washington, D.C. The most fantastic was uncovering a plot to purchase the British ship *Thames* in Victoria harbor with which to attack Union shipping in the Pacific, especially gold shipments out of San Francisco. This discovery led Secretary of State William Seward to remind the English ambassador of his country's neutrality policy:

I regret to inform you reliable information has reached this department that an attempt was made in January last, at Victoria, Vancouver's island, to fit out the English steamer *Thames* as a privateer, under the flag of insurgents, to cruise against the merchant shipping of the United States in the Pacific.

Fortunately, however, the scheme was temporarily, at least, frustrated by its premature exposure. To ensure no other attempts got any further than the first, the U.S.S. *Saginaw* was dispatched to Port Angeles, Washington Territory, opposite Vancouver Island.<sup>8</sup>

All the efforts paid off, the United States was not drawn into a conflict by an aggressive royal governor or plotting expatriated Southerners in far western Canada. It was a display of deft handling of a dangerous situation, but the northern border was not the only transnational problem confronting the Union's Far Western command. Instead of radical officials and Southern expatriates in western Canada, the danger along the southern border was the instability created by French leader Napoleon III's effort to establish his Austrian puppet, Maximilian, as imperial ruler of Mexico.

The first concerns about Mexico started when, as part of what was essentially international debt collection, England, Spain, and France landed forces in Mexico in December 1861. Spain and England deduced that France was interested in more than money, so they withdrew their troops the following April. French determination to create a European monarchy in Mexico caused alarm throughout the United States. The question was how to keep from being sucked into the morass of international intrigue in Mexico.

The answer was to follow the strict, and highly unpopular, national neutrality policy. To this end, more

troops were shipped to the California–New Mexico Territory border in the hope that their presence would deter any advancing French or fleeing Mexican military commands from crossing the border.

Far more challenging was the job of keeping the espionage war being carried out throughout California by both French and Mexican operatives (the latter seeking both men and military equipment) from drawing Americans into the fight. In spite of their own sympathies for the Mexicans, the military prevented much, but not all, of the arms acquired by Mexican operatives from leaving California. Union officials maintained the official neutrality throughout the war, thereby adhering to Grant's "one war at a time" view. Just as with the dealings with the British in Canada, superior military and political maneuvering by Union personnel in the Far West kept the country from being drawn into the turgid Mexican waters, and changing the course of the war.<sup>9</sup>

If the Far Western part of the country was so full of intrigue and potential dangers, then why was it that the veterans of the Western-most wing of the war rarely spoke or wrote about their experiences during an age when it seemed personal accounts of the war could not be printed fast enough? Likewise, the civilians rarely wrote about life in the nation's Western lands during those years. And why have historians so thoroughly ignored the contributions made by the Department of the Pacific personnel, the regional politicians, and the populace that lived in the Far West in the midst of the sesquicentennial of the Civil War?

By answering the first question, one gets part of the answer to the second. For civilians, the romance surrounding the Gold Rush or crossing on the Oregon Trail seemed to evaporate with the onset of the war. The story was the same for those that served their country in the largely unexplored Western expanses. Imagine being a Union veteran, say of the Second California Infantry or the First Oregon Cavalry regiments, sitting at a Military Order of the Loyal Legion dinner meeting, listening to the transplanted veterans from back East talk about repelling Pickett's charge at Gettysburg or having seen Robert E. Lee solemnly pass by on his way to seek terms from Grant at Appomattox. What could they possibly say that would compare? Col. George Bowie, the former Fifth California Infantry commander, spoke up for his Western commands when he noted: "In long, tedious, and weary marches, privations endured, hardships encountered, difficulties overcome, and exposure to the dangers incident to the life of the soldier in our wild regions, few have equaled us, and none have been our superiors." However, he knew all too well the answer when he asked: "May not we claim to have rendered some services that are worthy of public recognition?"<sup>10</sup>

If the veterans understood that the story of service in the Far West just was not compelling enough for

speeches, let alone books, then is there any surprise that Civil War scholars, so blessed (or spoiled) with written primary sources from the most significant leaders down to the most humble privates and civilians, have ignored what happened out on the farthest Western expanse of the country? Additionally, there is the argument of ignorance: "I never heard about anything happening on the Pacific side of the country." The Department of the Pacific's contribution is ignored, ironically enough, because the men who served in it (as well as the political leaders who navigated dangerous paths) did their jobs so successfully that scholars (and by extension, students) were unaware that anything did happen. It is not an excuse, but a logical observation. Scholars, particularly in the past, have followed the shiny objects (events) to the sources, but doing so ignores many aspects of the Civil War era yet to be studied — the role of the Far West among those. Therefore, it is time to realize that the Far West offers a new frontier in the study of the Civil War.

#### NOTES

1. Troop strengths derived from bi-yearly reports found in volume 50, parts one and two of *War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1897).
2. Sources for the three quotes here are George Bowie, "Address," *Society of California Volunteers*. (San Francisco: Edward Bosqui and Company, 1867), 5; Shelley, James M. "Military Reminiscences of James M. Shelley." MSS, Oregon Historical Society, Portland, Oregon; and San Francisco *Daily Alta California*, August 11, 1861.
3. The Confederate invasion of New Mexico Territory is the single aspect of the Civil War to garner notable scholarly interest. Two solid works on the campaign are Martin Hardwick Hall's *Sibley's New Mexico Campaign* (Austin, TX: University of Texas, 1960) and the broader strategic overview by Alvin Josephy, *The Civil War in the American West* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991).
4. The best source for the Union's response to the internal dangers along the Pacific slope is chapter 3 of my own dissertation, James Robbins Jewell, "Left Arm of the Republic: The Department of the Civil War during the Civil War," (Ph.D. diss., West Virginia University, 2006).
5. Although written over 50 years ago, Robin Wink's *Canada and the United States: The Civil War Years* is still the best overview of relations between the United States and the British in Canada. His article "Rumors of Confederate Privateers Operating in Victoria, Vancouver Island," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, 18 (1954) is particularly useful.
6. For the Pig War see, Michael Vouri, *The Pig War: Standoff at Griffin Bay* (Friday Harbor, WA: Griffin Bay Bookstore, 1999).
7. See Benjamin F. Gilbert, "Rumors of Confederate Privateers Operating in Victoria, Vancouver Island," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, 18 (1954) 3/4, 241.
8. Alan Francis' correspondence with various leaders can be found in *OR*, 50, 2 and *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1896), series I, 2.
9. Overviews of the situation along the border with Mexico can be found in Robert R. Miller, "California Against the Emperor," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 37 (1958), and *O.R.* 50:2, various correspondence and reports.
10. The colonel's comments are in George Bowie, *Address Delivered Before the Society of California Volunteers*, (San Francisco: Edward Bosqui and Co, 1867).

# LESSON PLAN

## **Nuanced History *Westward Expansion in the Context of the Civil War and After***

Scott L. Stabler and Abilyn Janke

**S**URPRISINGLY, the Civil War Era created an explosion of white westward expansion. Most think of the Civil War and they think of slavery, North vs. South, and bloody battles, but they are ignorant of the war-time law that formed the largest welfare program in American history and changed a nation — the Homestead Act of 1862. Most do not realize that the purpose of the Homestead Act involved keeping slavery out of the West not letting whites in. This all brings up a plethora of issues surrounding United States history and they came to a crossroads in the Civil War Era (1860–1876).

We start with the Homestead Act because it was passed during the Civil War and sent settlers west, not to encroach on American Indian lands, but to stop the spread of slavery. What resulted was the largest government welfare program that changed American society forever.

Politicians designed the Homestead Act to spur Western migration. Spur it, it did. Sweeping changes came to the West between 1860 and 1890 that created an encroachment explosion. In the greatest westward migration in United States history, the white population in the West grew from 2 million in 1860 to nearly 9 million by 1890. During this same period, 7 Western territories gained statehood. Cultivation in the 33 years after the Civil War exceeded the previous two and a half centuries.

The building of four transcontinental railroads allowed white settlers easy access to the West. Between 1865 and 1873 the country added 35,000 miles of track, mileage that exceeded all prewar mileage. The government awarded 100 million acres, almost equal to the size of California, to railroad companies between 1862 and 1872. The “iron horse” played a major role in bringing whites West. As a direct result, American Indian territory and hunting grounds shrank year after year, making white/Native conflict inevitable and American Indian extinction possible.<sup>1</sup>

As whites intruded on lands often reserved to American Indian communities, the government at times tried to keep settlers out, but when they were unsuccessful or American Indians attacked, the government and its army served their constituency. As white encroachment seemed unstoppable the possibility of American Indian extinction became a great concern for some and reality for others. This led to a furtherance of the reservation system with an emphasis on “Christianizing” and assimilating Native Peoples.<sup>2</sup> The government went to great expense and effort to place American Indian nations on lands that were often unsuitable for agriculture and forced a lifestyle on them that they had little knowledge of or desire to adopt. Government policy became one of subduing to save. The “saving” by subjugation led to many conflicts.

General George Armstrong Custer’s “Last Stand” in 1876, serves as an example of history that has been overdone, but the causes of the battle demonstrates the dilemma of inevitable versus immoral. Greedy white miners searching for gold in the Black Hills, lands sacred and promised to the Lakota (Sioux) and other nations by treaty, caused the dilemma. An 1874 expedition led by Custer in search of gold began the problem as the group’s findings came under dispute. The press, with the aid of Custer, published a lead story about gold in the Black Hills. This pronouncement ignored others on the expedition. A government geologist and Fred Grant, the president’s son, noted there were minimal amounts of gold in the Black Hills, if any at all. Nevertheless, a wave of miners headed for South Dakota’s hills entering lands promised the Lakota.<sup>3</sup>

President Grant initially told General William T. Sherman to stop any expeditions of white miners into the Black Hills, “by force if necessary,” and General Philip H. Sheridan carried out this order by burning the wagons of white encroachers and taking them to the nearest army post. This did not go over well with the

miners or the generally impoverished and uneducated enlisted soldiers who were now asked to burn the property of their white compatriots to protect “savages.” These same soldiers often deserted in mass to search for gold rather than fight white miners. By 1875, upward of 1,000 miners per month were entering the Black Hills, and soldiers would not and could not stop the influx. President Grant felt he could not keep the terms of the treaty involving the Black Hills, so he offered the Lakota and other nations money and land to move to a reservation. The Lakota and their chief Sitting Bull would not voluntarily move no matter the amount of money. As white/Indian hostilities grew in the Black Hills, Grant saw no alternative but war. By the time Custer went out on his expedition in the winter of 1875–1876, 15,000 white miners illegally occupied the Black Hills. Most Americans know the result of that expedition. Custer’s Last Stand outlined the overarching challenge for Grant, the near impossibility of stopping white encroachment while trying to avoid war.

In furtherance of the immoral versus inevitable dilemma come two prominent quotes. Senator John Sherman, General Sherman’s brother, wrote, “If the whole army of the United States stood in the way, the wave of emigration would pass over it to seek the valley where gold was to be found.”<sup>4</sup> Sam Houston, one of Texas’ most notable and best loved sons, perhaps best summed up the futility of the situation when he stated, “If I could build a wall from the Red River to the Rio Grande, so high that no Indian could scale, the white people would go crazy trying to devise means to get beyond it.” Both quotes proved true as Euro Americans moved on to lands others held.<sup>5</sup>

The idea for the lesson came from interactions with two groups. The first were Euro Americans who think reservations are no longer necessary and that Indians are just living off the government dole. They can never seemingly answer the question as to why cultural retention is important until they head off to the Polish Festival for a few beers. This group also cannot explain why the government should not abide by signed treaties. The second group was those American Indian historians, especially in the 1960s and 1970s and even today, who consistently make American Indians victims without showing their agency and resiliency. They endlessly blame the federal government for mismanagement and violence. These contentions are no doubt true to a large extent, but Euro Americans have expanded on to American Indian lands since before Daniel Boone founded Boonesboro in the eighteenth century with or without governmental support. When asked how could this encroachment be stopped their answers never match lived experiences.

So the question was Westward expansion immoral or inevitable has no right answer and hopefully students come away realizing that so many parts of history

and life do not have clearly defined lines between right and wrong.

**Subject:** United States History

**Grade Level:** Eleventh

**Lesson Topic:** Was Westward Expansion Immoral or Inevitable?

\*This lesson will take two 60-minute class periods to complete.

**Lesson Goals:**

- Students will identify reasons for westward expansion during and after the Civil War
- Students will understand the dilemma of Euro American westward expansion.
- Students will interpret primary documents about westward expansion
- Students will analyze how Euro American expansion westward impacted American Indians

**Essential Question:**

- Many Americans believe that the federal government, through the Homestead Act and military force, took unnecessary and inhumane actions against American Indians in order to rid the country of them. Is this an accurate characterization? If so, why was this the case? If not, why not?

**Correlation to the National History Standards.**

- Era 5 — Civil War and Reconstruction (1850–1877)
  - ♦ Standard 1A-The student understands how the North and South differed and how politics and ideologies led to the Civil War
- Era 6 — The Development of the Industrial United States (1870–1900)
  - ♦ Standard 2A-The student understands the sources and experiences of the new immigrants
  - ♦ Standard 4A-The student understands various perspectives on federal Indian policy, westward expansion, and the resulting struggles.

**Rationale/Context:**

Westward expansion had long been a vision and mission of white Americans. Spurred by the Homestead Act of 1862, millions of Americans embarked on a journey to find more land for their livelihood and their families. While for the white Americans the promise of land and prosperity in the West was idealistic and economically beneficial, the influx of people from the East quickly wreaked havoc to those native to the Western lands. This flood of Euro Americans brought the most domestic violence and death in United States history save the Civil War. Through discussion, readings, analysis, and debate students will be able to examine the effects

Westward expansion had on America; and eventually be able to answer the question “Was westward expansion immoral or inevitable?”

### **Sequence of Activities: Day 1**

#### *20 minutes*

- Students begin class by watching the video “Elbow Room” from Schoolhouse Rock <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=twFs9Vvk6F0A> (3 minutes)
- Have students write a short paragraph about their historical insights from the video, especially bias
- Teacher asks for a few volunteers to share their reflections.
- Hold brief discussion on possible historical problems with the video
- Present the question to students: “Did white Americans need elbow room?” Yes or no — justify your answer.
- With a partner, students are to discuss and create a quick T-chart with a minimum 3 yes and 3 no answers.
- Teacher asks for a few volunteers to share their T-chart answers.
- Teacher identifies the purpose of the next two days objective as “Was Westward Expansion Immoral or Inevitable?”

#### *10 minutes*

- Teacher explains that to answer the question of inevitable or immoral, students have to recall the role of slavery in the causation of the Civil War. The key comes in two parts:

1. The expansion of slavery to the West was opposed by most Northerners who wanted small farmers to have an opportunity to start small farms without the threat of nearby large slave plantations competing against them. Those who supported small farmers expanding Westward, but opposed slave owners doing the same were called free laborers.

2. In contrast, many white Southerners, especially slaveholders, saw the lack of slavery’s expansion as a threat to the “peculiar institution.” These Southerners feared that more farms controlled by free laborers would lead to the federal government outlawing slavery, which they saw the key to their economic wealth.

- These juxtaposed positions caused conflict from Kansas to Congress.

#### *5 minutes*

- Review how a bill becomes law
- Review how representation is determined in both houses of Congress

#### *15 minutes*

- Show students the Homestead Act
- Read section 1 of the primary document the Homestead Act as a class
- Note to students the passage date of the Act and that a form of the Homestead Act failed to pass the Senate after passing the House in 1852, 1854, and 1859. In 1860, the Act passed the full Congress, but was vetoed by President Buchanan.
- Have students partner with a student and brainstorm the significance of the
  - ♦ Act’s early failures
  - ♦ Act’s passage date
  - ♦ Act’s role in the conflict between free laborers and slave holders
  - ♦ Act’s impact on Westward expansion

#### **Assessment:**

#### *10 minutes*

Have students read the following 2 quotes:

“The spirits now forever bear silent witness to our people’s painful and tragic encounter with ‘Manifest Destiny.’” — lilóynin nun ?óykalo ?etx heki’-ca states (Nez Perce)<sup>6</sup>

“It is America’s right to stretch from sea to shining sea. Not only do we have a responsibility to our citizens to gain valuable natural resources we also have a responsibility to civilize this beautiful land.” — U.S. Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan<sup>7</sup>

- For their assessment — as an exit ticket — students must compare these two quotes in paragraph form.
  - ♦ How did each of the authors feel about Westward expansion?
  - ♦ Do the quotes show any obvious bias? In what way?
  - ♦ How could these quotes be used to answer the question “Was Westward expansion immoral or inevitable?”

#### **Homework:**

Students will be given a packet of primary resources pertaining to westward expansion. Those with names ending in A thru M will read the Dawes Act. Those with names M thru Z will read Chief Joseph (Nez Perce) and the *New York Times* pieces. The entire class will read the presidential quotes page. They are to read and analyze their documents in terms of was white westward expansion inevitable or immoral because the next day they will have to argue the inevitable *or* the immoral side.

### **Sequence of Activities: Day 2**

#### *10 minutes:*

- Review two land chart JPEGs. <http://homesteadcongress.blogspot.com/2010/08/homestead-act-had-larger-impact-than.html>

- Ask students what the charts say about the impact of the Homestead Act.
- View “American Progress” picture
- Ask students about symbolism of the images in the picture

### 35 minutes

Students will participate in a Socratic Seminar (see *Teaching Background: Socratic Seminar* <http://www.nwabr.org/education/pdfs/PRIMER/PrimerPieces/SocSem.pdf> for further information). The purpose of this exercise will be to debate the question “Was Westward expansion immoral or inevitable?” To begin:

- Teacher randomly divides the class in two groups. One group will argue that Westward expansion was immoral. The other group will argue that Westward expansion was inevitable.
- Groups will have 5 minutes to consult about their strongest arguments especially using the primary documents from the night before.
- Teacher places desks in two concentric circles.
- Teacher fills half of the inside circle with students that argue the “immoral” position, and half that argue the “inevitable” position. The other half of

both groups fill in seats in the outside circle opposite their group.

- *Only students in the inside circle may discuss and debate. Those in the outside circle are taking notes for rebuttal points when it is their turn in the center circle.*
- Begin with prompting the students in the center circle with the main question “Was Westward expansion immoral or inevitable?” Let inevitable start. If discussion is lacking or slow, here are some prompting questions:
  - ♦ What was an alternative solution to Westward expansion, that is, How could it be stopped?
  - ♦ If you were working in a factory in Chicago and could get cheap land in the West where your family would prosper, but the land was often used by American Indians as hunting grounds — what would you do?
  - ♦ What could American Indians do to resist white Westward expansion besides using violence?
  - ♦ Besides what you have learned, what else could the government have done to deal with the “Indian problem?”



George Croft's “American Progress” 1873.

- After 5 minutes the students must get up and move to the other circle. Those that were in the outside circle now have time to give their positions as well as bring up topics from earlier in which they wanted to comment. Keep switching students so that each group has been in the outside twice and the inside twice.
- Then divide the last 6 minutes into two 3-minute time slots and allow each group to finish their statements or topics. Let “immoral” go first.

**Assessment:**

15 minutes

- Have students read this paraphrased quote:

“If we choose only to expose ourselves to opinions and viewpoints that are in line with our own, studies suggest that we become more polarized, more set in our ways. That will only reinforce and even deepen the political divides in this country. But if we choose to actively seek out information that challenges our assumptions and our beliefs, perhaps we can begin to understand where the people who disagree with us are coming from. If you’re somebody who only reads the editorial page of the *New York Times*, try glancing at the page of the *Wall Street Journal* once in a while. If you’re a fan of Glenn Beck or Rush Limbaugh, try reading a few columns on the *Huffington Post* website. It may make your blood boil; your mind may not be changed. But the practice of listening to opposing views is essential for effective citizenship. It is essential for our democracy. Lincoln demonstrated that “we must talk and reach for common understandings, precisely because all of us are imperfect and can never act with the certainty that God is on our side; and yet at times we must act nonetheless, as if we are certain, protected from error only by providence.”

- ♦ Barack Obama — University of Michigan Commencement Address 2010
- Ask students the relevance of the quote to the inevitable vs. immoral question.

- Next pair up students so that they are with a partner that argued the same side in the Socratic Seminar. Now that they have supported their side in discussion, they must, as partners, write a paragraph supporting the OTHER SIDE of the argument. They are to use information they heard, notes they took and documents they analyzed to write a *minimum* 7 sentence paragraph that supports the *opposite* side of the issue from which they had previously argued.

**Homework:**

How American expansion and wars against American Indians relate to the present day situation of American forces in Afghanistan. Are Afghans, not Al Qaeda, similar to America’s Native People in resisting a powerful occupier? [The last part might be too controversial]

**NOTES**

1. Wilcomb E. Washburn, “History of Indian White Relations,” in *Handbook of North American Indians*, William C. Sturtevant, ed., 20 vols. (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1988), 4: 105, 170; Paul Stuart, *The Indian Office: Growth and Development of an American Institution, 1865–1900* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1979), 105; Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America’s Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877* (Harper Perennial Modern Classics, 2002), 461–467.
2. For information on American Indian boarding schools see David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indian Boarding School Experience, 1875–1928* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2007).
3. Robert Utley, *The Lance and the Shield: The Life and Times of Sitting Bull* (New York: Ballantine, 2004).
4. For the entire Custer story see Robert M. Utley, *Cavalier in Buckskin: George Armstrong Custer and the Western Military Frontier* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1988), 130–146.
5. Tom Dunlay, *Kit Carson and the Indians*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 185.
6. Quoted by lilóynin nun ?óykalo ?etx heki’ca (Nez Perce) in *Bear Paw Battlefield Pamphlet*, National Park Service, US Department of Interior. Bear Paw, Montana served as the site of Chief Joseph’s surrender to General Oliver Otis Howard and Colonel Nelson Miles in 1877.
7. Laurie Winn Carlson, Michael K. Green, Charlene Kerwin Reyes (Layton, UT: Gibbs Smith, 2009), 74.



Scott Stabler has taught in the Department of History at Grand Valley State University for ten years. Due to his experience as a public school teacher, about one half of his appointment is to work with student teachers during their field placements. In 2011, he taught at the University of Cape Coast in Ghana on a Fulbright Scholarship, and in 2012, he taught a semester abroad in Schwäbisch Gmünd, Germany at a university geared completely for future educators.

Abilyn Janke is currently a U.S. and AP U.S. History teacher in Houston, Texas. She earned a B.S. in history from Grand Valley State University with a minor in Geography. While at GVSU she studied in Egypt for a summer at the American University in Cairo.





## Homestead Act (1862)

### CHAP. LXXV. — *An Act to secure Homesteads to actual Settlers on the Public Domain.*

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That any person who is the head of a family, or who has arrived at the age of twenty-one years, and is a citizen of the United States, or who shall have filed his declaration of intention to become such, as required by the naturalization laws of the United States, and who has never borne arms against the United States Government or given aid and comfort to its enemies, shall, from and after the first January, eighteen hundred and sixty-three, be entitled to enter one quarter section or a less quantity of unappropriated public lands, upon which said person may have filed a preemption claim, or which may, at the time the application is made, be subject to preemption at one dollar and twenty-five cents, or less, per acre; or eighty acres or less of such unappropriated lands, at two dollars and fifty cents per acre, to be located in a body, in conformity to the legal subdivisions of the public lands, and after the same shall have been surveyed: Provided, That any person owning and residing on land may, under the provisions of this act, enter other land lying contiguous to his or her said land, which shall not, with the land so already owned and occupied, exceed in the aggregate one hundred and sixty acres.

SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, That the person applying for the benefit of this act shall, upon application to the register of the land office in which he or she is about to make such entry, make affidavit before the said register or receiver that he or she is the head of a family, or is twenty-one years or more of age, or shall have performed service in the army or navy of the United States, and that he has never borne arms against the Government of the United States or given aid and comfort to its enemies, and that such application is made for his or her exclusive use and benefit, and that said entry is made for the purpose of actual settlement and cultivation, and not either directly or indirectly for the use or benefit of any other person or persons whomsoever; and upon filing the said affidavit with the register or receiver, and on payment of ten dollars, he or she shall thereupon be permitted to enter the quantity of land specified: Provided, however, That no certificate shall be given or patent issued therefor until the expiration of five years from the date of such entry; and if, at the expiration of such time, or at any time within two years thereafter, the person making such entry; or, if he be dead, his widow; or in case of her death, his heirs or devisee; or in case of a widow making such entry, her heirs or

devisee, in case of her death; shall. prove by two credible witnesses that he, she, or they have resided upon or cultivated the same for the term of five years immediately succeeding the time of filing the affidavit aforesaid, and shall make affidavit that no part of said land has been alienated, and that he has borne due allegiance to the Government of the United States; then, in such case, he, she, or they, if at that time a citizen of the United States, shall be entitled to a patent, as in other cases provided for by law: And provided, further, That in case of the death of both father and mother, leaving an Infant child, or children, under twenty-one years of age, the right and fee shall ensure to the benefit of said infant child or children; and the executor, administrator, or guardian may, at any time within two years after the death of the surviving parent, and in accordance with the laws of the State in which such children for the time being have their domicil, sell said land for the benefit of said infants, but for no other purpose; and the purchaser shall acquire the absolute title by the purchase, and be entitled to a patent from the United States, on payment of the office fees and sum of money herein specified.

SEC. 3. And be it further enacted, That the register of the land office shall note all such applications on the tract books and plats of, his office, and keep a register of all such entries, and make return thereof to the General Land Office, together with the proof upon which they have been founded.

SEC. 4. And be it further enacted, That no lands acquired under the provisions of this act shall in any event become liable to the satisfaction of any debt or debts contracted prior to the issuing of the patent therefor.

SEC. 5. And be it further enacted, That if, at any time after the filing of the affidavit, as required in the second section of this act, and before the expiration of the five years aforesaid, it shall be proven, after due notice to the settler, to the satisfaction of the register of the land office, that the person having filed such affidavit shall have actually changed his or her residence, or abandoned the said land for more than six months at any time, then and in that event the land so entered shall revert to the government.

SEC. 6. And be it further enacted, That no individual shall be permitted to acquire title to more than one quarter section under the provisions of this act; and that the Commissioner of the General Land Office is hereby required to prepare and issue such rules and regulations, consistent with this act, as shall be neces-

sary and proper to carry its provisions into effect; and that the registers and receivers of the several land offices shall be entitled to receive the same compensation for any lands entered under the provisions of this act that they are now entitled to receive when the same quantity of land is entered with money, one half to be paid by the person making the application at the time of so doing, and the other half on the issue of the certificate by the person to whom it may be issued; but this shall not be construed to enlarge the maximum of compensation now prescribed by law for any register or receiver: Provided, That nothing contained in this act shall be so construed as to impair or interfere in any manner whatever with existing preemption rights: And provided, further, That all persons who may have filed their applications for a preemption right prior to the passage of this act, shall be entitled to all privileges of this act: Provided, further, That no person who has served, or may hereafter serve, for a period of not less than fourteen days in the army or navy of the United States, either regular or volunteer, under the laws thereof, during the existence of an actual war, domestic or foreign, shall be deprived of the benefits of this act on account of not having attained the age of twenty-one years.

SEC. 7. And be it further enacted, That the fifth section of the act entitled "An act in addition to an act more effectually to provide for the punishment of certain crimes against the United States, and for other purposes," approved the third of March, in the year eighteen hundred and fifty-seven, shall extend to all oaths, affirmations, and affidavits, required or authorized by this act.

SEC. 8. And be it further enacted, That nothing in this act shall be construed as to prevent any person who has availed him or herself of the benefits of the first section of this act, from paying the minimum price, or the price to which the same may have graduated, for the quantity of land so entered at any time before the expiration of the five years, and obtaining a patent therefor from the government, as in other cases provided by law, on making proof of settlement and cultivation as provided by existing laws granting preemption rights.

APPROVED, May 20, 1862.

---

## Dawes Act (1887)

### **Forty-Ninth Congress of the United States of America; At the Second Session,**

Begun and held at the City of Washington on Monday, the sixth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and eight-six.

### **An Act to provide for the allotment of lands in severalty to Indians on the various reservations, and to extend the protection of the laws of the United States and the Territories over the Indians, and for other purposes.**

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That in all cases where any tribe or band of Indians has been, or shall hereafter be, located upon any reservation created for their use, either by treaty stipulation or by virtue of an act of Congress or executive order setting apart the same for their use, the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, authorized, whenever in his opinion any reservation or any part thereof of such Indians is advantageous for agricultural and grazing purposes, to cause said reserva-

tion, or any part thereof, to be surveyed, or resurveyed if necessary, and to allot the lands in said reservation in severalty to any Indian located thereon in quantities as follows:

- To each head of a family, one-quarter of a section;
- To each single person over eighteen years of age, one-eighth of a section;
- To each orphan child under eighteen years of age, one-eighth of a section; and
- To each other single person under eighteen years now living, or who may be born prior to the date of the order of the President directing an allotment of the lands embraced in any reservation, one-sixteenth of a section:

**Provided,** That in case there is not sufficient land in any of said reservations to allot lands to each individual of the classes above named in quantities as above provided, the lands embraced in such reservation or reservations shall be allotted to each individual of each of said classes pro rata in accordance with the provisions of this act: And provided further, That where the treaty or act of Congress setting apart such reservation provides the allotment of lands in severalty in quantities in excess of

those herein provided, the President, in making allotments upon such reservation, shall allot the lands to each individual Indian belonging thereon in quantity as specified in such treaty or act: And provided further, That when the lands allotted are only valuable for grazing purposes, an additional allotment of such grazing lands, in quantities as above provided, shall be made to each individual.

**Sec. 2.** That all allotments set apart under the provisions of this act shall be selected by the Indians, heads of families selecting for their minor children, and the agents shall select for each orphan child, and in such manner as to embrace the improvements of the Indians making the selection. where the improvements of two or more Indians have been made on the same legal subdivision of land, unless they shall otherwise agree, a provisional line may be run dividing said lands between them, and the amount to which each is entitled shall be equalized in the assignment of the remainder of the land to which they are entitled under his act: Provided, That if any one entitled to an allotment shall fail to make a selection within four years after the President shall direct that allotments may be made on a particular reservation, the Secretary of the Interior may direct the agent of such tribe or band, if such there be, and if there be no agent, then a special agent appointed for that purpose, to make a selection for such Indian, which selection shall be allotted as in cases where selections are made by the Indians, and patents shall issue in like manner.

**Sec. 3.** That the allotments provided for in this act shall be made by special agents appointed by the President for such purpose, and the agents in charge of the respective reservations on which the allotments are directed to be made, under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may from time to time prescribe, and shall be certified by such agents to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in duplicate, one copy to be retained in the Indian Office and the other to be transmitted to the Secretary of the Interior for his action, and to be deposited in the General Land Office.

**Sec. 4.** That where any Indian not residing upon a reservation, or for whose tribe no reservation has been provided by treaty, act of Congress, or executive order, shall make settlement upon any surveyed or unsurveyed lands of the United States not otherwise appropriated, he or she shall be entitled, upon application to the local land-office for the district in which the lands are located, to have the same allotted to him or her, and to his or her children, in quantities and manner as provided in this act for Indians residing upon reservations; and when such settlement is made upon unsurveyed lands, the grant to such Indians shall be adjusted upon the survey of the lands so as to conform thereto; and patents shall be

issued to them for such lands in the manner and with the restrictions as herein provided. And the fees to which the officers of such local land-office would have been entitled had such lands been entered under the general laws for the disposition of the public lands shall be paid to them, from any moneys in the Treasury of the United States not otherwise appropriated, upon a statement of an account in their behalf for such fees by the Commissioner of the General Land Office, and a certification of such account to the Secretary of the Treasury by the Secretary of the Interior.

**Sec. 5.** That upon the approval of the allotments provided for in this act by the Secretary of the Interior, he shall cause patents to issue therefor in the name of the allottees, which patents shall be of the legal effect, and declare that the United States does and will hold the land thus allotted, for the period of twenty-five years, in trust for the sole use and benefit of the Indian to whom such allotment shall have been made, or, in case of his decease, of his heirs according to the laws of the State or Territory where such land is located, and that at the expiration of said period the United States will convey the same by patent to said Indian, or his heirs as aforesaid, in fee, discharged of said trust and free of all charge or encumbrance whatsoever: Provided, That the President of the United States may in any case in his discretion extend the period. And if any conveyance shall be made of the lands set apart and allotted as herein provided, or any contract made touching the same, before the expiration of the time above mentioned, such conveyance or contract shall be absolutely null and void: Provided, That the law of descent and partition in force in the State or Territory where such lands are situate shall apply thereto after patents therefor have been executed and delivered, except as herein otherwise provided; and the laws of the State of Kansas regulating the descent and partition of real estate shall, so far as practicable, apply to all lands in the Indian Territory which may be allotted in severalty under the provisions of this act: And provided further, That at any time after lands have been allotted to all the Indians of any tribe as herein provided, or sooner if in the opinion of the President it shall be for the best interests of said tribe, it shall be lawful for the Secretary of the Interior to negotiate with such Indian tribe for the purchase and release by said tribe, in conformity with the treaty or statute under which such reservation is held, of such portions of its reservation not allotted as such tribe shall, from time to time, consent to sell, on such terms and conditions as shall be considered just and equitable between the United States and said tribe of Indians, which purchase shall not be complete until ratified by Congress, and the form and manner of executing such release prescribed by Congress: Provided however, That all lands adapted to agriculture, with or without irrigation so sold or released to the United States by any Indian tribe shall be

held by the United States for the sale purpose of securing homes to actual settlers and shall be disposed of by the United States to actual and bona fide settlers only tracts not exceeding one hundred and sixty acres to any one person, on such terms as Congress shall prescribe, subject to grants which Congress may make in aid of education: And provided further, That no patents shall issue therefor except to the person so taking the same as and homestead, or his heirs, and after the expiration of five years occupancy thereof as such homestead; and any conveyance of said lands taken as a homestead, or any contract touching the same, or lieu thereon, created prior to the date of such patent, shall be null and void. And the sums agreed to be paid by the United States as purchase money for any portion of any such reservation shall be held in the Treasury of the United States for the sole use of the tribe or tribes Indians; to whom such reservations belonged; and the same, with interest thereon at three per cent per annum, shall be at all times subject to appropriation by Congress for the education and civilization of such tribe or tribes of Indians or the members thereof. The patents aforesaid shall be recorded in the General Land Office, and afterward delivered, free of charge, to the allottee entitled thereto. And if any religious society or other organization is now occupying any of the public lands to which this act is applicable, for religious or educational work among the Indians, the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to confirm such occupation to such society or organization, in quantity not exceeding one hundred and sixty acres in any one tract, so long as the same shall be so occupied, on such terms as he shall deem just; but nothing herein contained shall change or alter any claim of such society for religious or educational purposes heretofore granted by law. And hereafter in the employment of Indian police, or any other employees in the public service among any of the Indian tribes or bands affected by this act, and where Indians can perform the duties required, those Indians who have availed themselves of the provisions of this act and become citizens of the United States shall be preferred.

**Sec. 6.** That upon the completion of said allotments and the patenting of the lands to said allottees, each and every member of the respective bands or tribes of Indians to whom allotments have been made shall have the benefit of and be subject to the laws, both civil and criminal, of the State or Territory in which they may reside; and no Territory shall pass or enforce any law denying any such Indian within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the law. And every Indian born within the territorial limits of the United States to whom allotments shall have been made under the provisions of this act, or under any law or treaty, and every Indian born within the territorial limits of the United States who has voluntarily taken up, within said limits, his res-

idence separate and apart from any tribe of Indians therein, and has adopted the habits of civilized life, is hereby declared to be a citizen of the United States, and is entitled to all the rights, privileges, and immunities of such citizens, whether said Indian has been or not, by birth or otherwise, a member of any tribe of Indians within the territorial limits of the United States without in any manner affecting the right of any such Indian to tribal or other property.

**Sec. 7.** That in cases where the use of water for irrigation is necessary to render the lands within any Indian reservation available for agricultural purposes, the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized to prescribe such rules and regulations as he may deem necessary to secure a just and equal distribution thereof among the Indians residing upon any such reservation; and no other appropriation or grant of water by any riparian proprietor shall be permitted to the damage of any other riparian proprietor.

**Sec. 8.** That the provisions of this act shall not extend to the territory occupied by the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Seminoles, and Osage, Miamies and Peorias, and Sacs and Foxes, in the Indian Territory, nor to any of the reservations of the Seneca Nation of New York Indians in the State of New York, nor to that strip of territory in the State of Nebraska adjoining the Sioux Nation on the south added by executive order.

**Sec. 9.** That for the purpose of making the surveys and resurveys mentioned in section two of this act, there be, and hereby is, appropriated, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of one hundred thousand dollars, to be repaid proportionately out of the proceeds of the sales of such land as may be acquired from the Indians under the provisions of this act.

**Sec. 10.** That nothing in this act contained shall be so construed to affect the right and power of Congress to grant the right of way through any lands granted to an Indian, or a tribe of Indians, for railroads or other highways, or telegraph lines, for the public use, or condemn such lands to public uses, upon making just compensation.

**Sec. 11.** That nothing in this act shall be so construed as to prevent the removal of the Southern Ute Indians from their present reservation in Southwestern Colorado to a new reservation by and with consent of a majority of the adult male members of said tribe.

Approved, February, 8, 1887.

[Endorsements]

<http://www.pbs.org/weta/thewest/resources/archives/six/jospeak.htm>

## Chief Joseph Speaks

### *Selected Statements and Speeches by the Nez Percé Chief*

#### I.

The first white men of your people who came to our country were named Lewis and Clark. They brought many things which our people had never seen. They talked straight and our people gave them a great feast as proof that their hearts were friendly. They made presents to our chiefs and our people made presents to them. We had a great many horses of which we gave them what they needed, and they gave us guns and tobacco in return. All the Nez Perce made friends with Lewis and Clark and agreed to let them pass through their country and never to make war on white men. This promise the Nez Perce have never broken.

#### II.

For a short time we lived quietly. But this could not last. White men had found gold in the mountains around the land of the Winding Water. They stole a great many horses from us and we could not get them back because we were Indians. The white men told lies for each other. They drove off a great many of our cattle. Some white men branded our young cattle so they could claim them. We had no friends who would plead our cause before the law councils. It seemed to me that some of the white men in Wallowa were doing these things on purpose to get up a war. They knew we were not strong enough to fight them. I labored hard to avoid trouble and bloodshed. We gave up some of our country to the white men, thinking that then we could have peace. We were mistaken. The white men would not let us alone. We could have avenged our wrongs many times, but we did not. Whenever the Government has asked for help against other Indians we have never refused. When the white men were few and we were strong we could have killed them off, but the Nez Perce wishes to live at peace.

On account of the treaty made by the other bands of the Nez Perce the white man claimed my lands. We were troubled with white men crowding over the line. Some of them were good men, and we lived on peaceful terms with them, but they were not all good. Nearly every year the agent came over from Lapwai and ordered us to the reservation. We always replied that we were satisfied to live in Wallowa. We were careful to refuse the presents or annuities which he offered.

Through all the years since the white man came to Wallowa we have been threatened and taunted by them and the treaty Nez Perce. They have given us no rest. We have had a few good friends among the white men, and they have always advised my people to bear these taunts without fighting. Our young men are quick tempered and I have had great trouble in keeping them from doing rash things. I have carried a heavy load on my back ever since I was a boy. I learned then that we were but few while the white men were many, and that we could not hold our own with them. We were like deer. They were like grizzly bears. We had a small country. Their country was large. We were contented to let things remain as the Great Spirit Chief made them. They were not; and would change the mountains and rivers if they did not suit them.

#### III.

[At his surrender in the Bear Paw Mountains, 1877]

Tell General Howard that I know his heart. What he told me before I have in my heart. I am tired of fighting. Our chiefs are killed. Looking Glass is dead, Tu-hul-hil-sote is dead. the old men are all dead. It is the young men who now say yes or no. He who led the young men [Joseph's brother Alikut] is dead. It is cold and we have no blankets. The little children are freezing to death. My people — some of them have run away to the hills and have no blankets and no food. No one knows where they are — perhaps freezing to death. I want to have time to look for my children and see how many of them I can find. Maybe I shall find them among the dead. Hear me, my chiefs, my heart is sick and sad. From where the sun now stands I will fight no more against the white man.

#### IV.

[On a visit to Washington, D.C., 1879]

At last I was granted permission to come to Washington and bring my friend Yellow Bull and our interpreter with me. I am glad I came. I have shaken hands with a good many friends, but there are some things I want to know which no one seems able to explain. I cannot understand how the Government sends a man out to fight us, as it did General Miles, and then breaks his word. Such a government has something wrong about it. I cannot

understand why so many chiefs are allowed to talk so many different ways, and promise so many different things. I have seen the Great Father Chief [President Hayes]; the Next Great Chief [Secretary of the Interior]; the Commissioner Chief; the Law Chief; and many other law chiefs [Congressmen] and they all say they are my friends, and that I shall have justice, but while all their mouths talk right I do not understand why nothing is done for my people. I have heard talk and talk but nothing is done. Good words do not last long unless they amount to something. Words do not pay for my dead people. They do not pay for my country now overrun by white men. They do not protect my father's grave. They do not pay for my horses and cattle. Good words do not give me back my children. Good words will not make good the promise of your war chief, General Miles. Good words will not give my people a home where they can live in peace and take care of themselves. I am tired of talk that comes to nothing. It makes my heart sick when I remember all the good words and all the broken promises. There has been too much talking by men who had no right to talk. Too many misinterpretations have been made; too many misunderstandings have come up between the white men and the Indians. If the white man wants to live in peace with the Indian he can live in peace. There need be no trouble. Treat all men alike. Give them the same laws. Give them all an even chance to live and grow. All men were made by the same Great Spirit Chief. They are all brothers. The earth is the mother of all people, and all people should have equal rights upon it. You might as well expect all rivers to run backward as that any man who was born a free man should be contented penned up and denied liberty to go where he pleases. If you tie a horse to a stake, do you expect he will grow fat? If you pen an Indian up on a small spot of earth and compel him to stay there, he will not be contented nor will he grow and prosper. I have asked some of the Great White Chiefs where they get their authority to say to the Indian that he shall stay in one place, while he sees white men going where they please. They cannot tell me.

I only ask of the Government to be treated as all other men are treated. If I cannot go to my own home, let me have a home in a country where my people will not die so fast. I would like to go to Bitter Root Valley. There my people would be happy; where they are now they are dying. Three have died since I left my camp to come to Washington.

When I think of our condition, my heart is heavy. I see men of my own race treated as outlaws and driven from country to country, or shot down like animals.

I know that my race must change. We cannot hold our own with the white men as we are. We only ask an even chance to live as other men live. We ask to be recognized as men. We ask that the same law shall work alike on all men. If an Indian breaks the law, punish him by the law. If a white man breaks the law, punish him also.

Let me be a free man, free to travel, free to stop, free to work, free to trade where I choose, free to choose my own teachers, free to follow the religion of my fathers, free to talk, think and act for myself — and I will obey every law or submit to the penalty.

Whenever the white man treats the Indian as they treat each other then we shall have no more wars. We shall be all alike — brothers of one father and mother, with one sky above us and one country around us and one government for all. Then the Great Spirit Chief who rules above will smile upon this land and send rain to wash out the bloody spots made by brothers' hands upon the face of the earth. For this time the Indian race is waiting and praying. I hope no more groans of wounded men and women will ever go to the ear of the Great Spirit Chief above, and that all people may be one people.

Hin-mah-too-yah-lat-kekht has spoken for his people.

---

## An Indian Victory

*The New York Times*

July 7, 1876

### An Indian Victory

So few newspaper readers have followed the course of the Indian warfare in the Northwest that the overwhelming defeat of Custer's command and the butchery of this

gallant commander and his men, will produce both astonishment and alarm. We have latterly fallen into the habit of regarding the Indians yet remaining in a wild or semi-subdued state as practically of very little account. It is only now and then when some such outburst as that of the Modocs, which resulted in the slaying of General Canby, Commissioner Thomas, and others, or that which we now record with so much sorrow, comes like a shock, that we realize the character of the Indian and

the difficulties of the situation. Sitting Bull's band of Sioux left their reservation with hostile intent. They refused negotiations for peace. They defied the power and authority of the United States. They invited war. A force was sent against them. This force became divided, and General Custer, with five companies, coming up to the main body of the Sioux, attacked them impetuously, without waiting for the support of the remainder of the column. The result was that the entire body of men, numbering between three and four hundred, and including General Custer and several other commissioned officers, fell into a death trap; they were overwhelmed by superior numbers, and were all slaughtered. The precise particulars of that horrible catastrophe will never be known. There are no survivors. The course of the detachment, after it began the attack, is traced only to the bodies of the slain. How gallantly these poor fellows fought can only be surmised. The Indians carried off some of their dead and wounded; others were concealed, or *cached*, with Indian cunning, in order that the white man should not know how much damage they had suffered.

The streams on which the late tragical [sic] events have happened are branches of the Yellowstone, which in this region—Southern Montana—has a general course from west to east. Going up stream one successively passes on the left, or southern bank of the Yellowstone, Powder River, Tongue River, Rosebud Creek, and the Big Horn. The last-named stream was supposed to be the extreme western limit of the operations of this expedition. General Terry is the senior and ranking officer in the active force, General Custer having been

second in his immediate command. The Army, however, was divided into three columns, one being under General Crook, and operating far to the south of the Yellowstone, and one under Gibbon, who was to the north in supporting distance of Terry. On the 17th of June, Crook's forces met the hostile Sioux, under Sitting Bull, on the headwaters of the Rosebud, about seventy miles from the junction of that stream with the Yellowstone. The Sioux were probably not in full force, but they outnumbered the whites and their allies, the Snakes and the Crows. General Crook was repulsed and fell back in a southerly direction, with a loss of ten killed and thirteen wounded. About that time the commands of General Terry and General Gibbon were encamped on the Yellowstone, far to the northward, one at the mouth Powder, and the other at the mouth of the Tongue River.

We cannot tell when Terry learned of the defeat of Crook, if he did at all before his next movement, which was in the nature of a scout in search of Sitting Bull. That chieftain was supposed to have a large camp somewhere near Rosebud Creek. At last accounts, Custer, with nine companies, was to cross over to the Rosebud, passing west from the Tongue River, feeling for the Sioux. Terry, with seven companies, was to follow within easy supporting distance. Gibbon, we must suppose, was to follow the general route westward, but was to keep to the northward, in order to be before the Sioux, in case they attempted to turn to the eastward. Not finding the Sioux on the Rosebud, Custer kept on and struck their main camp on the Little Horn, a branch of the Big Horn, and about fifty miles west of the point where Crook had been turned back, June 17. Custer's

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>AN INDIAN VICTORY.</b></p> <p>So few newspaper readers have followed the course of the Indian warfare in the North-west that the overwhelming defeat of CUSTER's command and the butchery of this gallant commander and his men, will produce both astonishment and alarm. We have latterly fallen into the habit of regarding the Indians yet remaining in a wild or semi-civilized state as practically of very little account. It is only now and then when some such outbreak as that of the Modocs, which resulted in the slaying of Gen. CANBY, Commissioner THOMAS, and others, or that which like a shock, that we realize the character of the Indian and the difficulties of the situation. SITTING BULL's band of Sioux left their reservation with hostile intent. They refused negotiations for peace. They defied the power and authority of the United States. They invited war. A force was sent against them. This force became divided, and Gen. CUSTER, with five companies, coming up to the main body of the Sioux, attacked them impetuously, without waiting for the support of the remainder of the column. The result was that the entire body of men, numbering between three and four hundred, and including Gen. CUSTER and several other commissioned officers, fell into a death-trap; they were overwhelmed by superior numbers, and were all slaughtered. The precise particulars of that horrible catastrophe will never be known. There are no survivors. The course</p>	<p>of the detachment, after it began the attack, is traced only by the bodies of the slain. How gallantly these poor fellows fought can only be surmised. The Indians carried off some of their dead and wounded; others were concealed, or <i>cached</i>, with Indian cunning, in order that the white man should not know how much damage they had suffered.</p> <p>The streams on which the late tragical events have happened are branches of the Yellowstone, which in this region—Southern Montana—has a general course from west to east. Going up stream one successively passes on the left, or southern bank of the Yellowstone, Powder River, Tongue River, Rosebud Creek, and the Big Horn. The last-named stream was supposed to be the extreme western limit of the operations of this expedition. Gen. Terry is the senior and ranking officer in the active force, Gen. CUSTER having been second in his immediate command. The Army, however, was divided into three columns, one being under Gen. Crook, and operating far to the south of the Yellowstone, and one under Gibbon, who was to the north in supporting distance of Terry. On the 17th of June, Crook's forces met the hostile Sioux, under SITTING BULL, on the headwaters of the Rosebud, about seventy miles from the junction of that stream with the Yellowstone. The Sioux were probably not in full force, but they outnumbered the whites and their allies, the Snakes and the Crows. Gen. Crook was repulsed and fell back in a southerly direction, with a loss of ten killed and thirteen wounded. About that time the</p>	<p>commands of Gen. TERRY and Gen. GIBBON were encamped on the Yellowstone, far to the northward, one at the mouth of the Powder, and the other at the mouth of the Tongue River.</p> <p>We cannot tell when TERRY learned of the defeat of CROOK, if he did at all before his next movement, which was in the nature of a scout in search of SITTING BULL. That chieftain was supposed to have a large camp somewhere on Rosebud Creek. At last accounts, CUSTER, with nine companies, was to cross over to the Rosebud, passing west from Tongue River, feeling for the Sioux. TERRY, with seven companies, was to follow within easy supporting distance. GIBBON, we must suppose, was to follow the general route westward, but was to keep to the northward, in order to be before the Sioux, in case they attempted to turn to the eastward. Not finding the Sioux on the Rosebud, CUSTER kept on and struck their main camp on the Little Horn, a branch of the Big Horn, and about fifty miles west of the point where CROOK had been turned back, June 17. CUSTER's command was divided, Major RENO commanding part, and CUSTER the remainder. Without once reckoning the disparity of numbers, (for the Indians are reported to have been four or five thousand strong,) CUSTER impetuously charged upon the foe. The result was appalling. No such catastrophe has happened in our Indian warfare since the Florida war.</p> <p>It is useless to attempt to discover all the causes which have led to this disaster. The general management of the campaign</p>	<p>may have been faulty. It is well known that military operations in the North-west have been crippled by the mistaken policy of retrenchment adopted by the present House of Representatives. Gen. CUSTER was a brave, dashing, but somewhat imprudent soldier, and his natural desire to save his superior officer (with whom he had not been in perfect accord) the responsibility of an attack, may have hastened his fatal descent upon the enemy. Then, behind this, we cannot help seeing the needless irritation caused by the expedition into the Black Hills country last Summer. SITTING BULL's band were alienated and enraged at that time; and nothing but the interposition of friendly Indians prevented a massacre of the Commissioners sent out to treat with the Sioux. The Indians who have just wrought this bloody revenge are nominally on reservations. They have refused to stay there, and the expedition intended to chastise them and compel them to return has met with frightful disaster. The victory of the savages will inflame the border, and restless tribes will be impatient to share in the glory suddenly achieved by SITTING BULL and his braves. Year after year, the wild Indians have been homed in; they fight with no less desperation for that; and, now that we have been defeated in a considerable engagement, defensive tactics must precede the operations necessary for the chastisement of so dangerous and determined a foe.</p>
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

command was divided, Major Reno commanding part, and Custer the remainder. Without once reckoning the disparity of numbers, (for the Indians are reported to have been four or five thousand strong,) Custer impetuously charged upon the foe. The result was appalling. No such catastrophe has happened in our Indian warfare since the Florida war.

It is useless to attempt to discover all the causes which have led to this disaster. The general management of the campaign may have been faulty. It is well known that military operations in the Northwest have been crippled by the mistaken policy of retrenchment adopted by the present House of Representatives. General Custer was a brave, dashing, but somewhat imprudent soldier, and his natural desire to save his superior officer (with whom he had not been in perfect accord) the responsibility of an attack, may have hastened his fatal descent upon the enemy. Then, behind

this, we cannot help seeing the needless irritation caused by the expedition into the Black Hills country last Summer. Sitting Bull's band were alienated and enraged at that time; and nothing but the interposition of friendly Indians prevented a massacre of the Commissioners sent out to treat with the Sioux. The Indians who have just wrought this bloody revenge are nominally on reservations. They have refused to stay there, and the expedition intended to chastise them and compel them to return has met with frightful disaster. The victory of the savages will inflame the border, and restless tribes will be impatient to share the glory suddenly achieved by Sitting Bull and his braves. Year after year, the wild Indians have been hemmed in; they fight with no less desperation for that; and, now we have been defeated in a considerable engagement, defensive tactics must precede the operations necessary for the chastisement of so dangerous and determined a foe.

State	Percentage Successfully Homesteaded
Nebraska	45%
North Dakota	39%
Montana	35%
Oklahoma	34%
Colorado	33%
South Dakota	32%
Wyoming	29%
Kansas	25%
New Mexico	25%
Arkansas	24%
Minnesota	20%
Washington	20%
Idaho	18%
Oregon	15%
Alabama	14%

	Acres	Percentage
Federal Government	635,000,000	28%
Native American Tribal Lands	56,000,000	2%
State and Local Governments	195,000,000	9%
Private Ownership	1,378,000,000	61%
Total for United States of America	2,264,000,000	100%
Successfully Homesteaded	270,000,000	12% of all land in United States
Successfully Homesteaded	270,000,000	20% of land privately owned in the United States



# Socratic Seminars

## What does *Socratic* mean?

Socratic comes from the name Socrates. Socrates (ca. 470-399 B.C.) was a Classical Greek philosopher who developed a Theory of Knowledge.

## What was Socrates' Theory of Knowledge?

Socrates was convinced that the surest way to attain reliable knowledge was through the practice of disciplined conversation. He called this method *dialectic*.

## What does *dialectic* mean?

*di-a-lec-tic* (noun) means the art or practice of examining opinions or ideas logically, often by the method of question and answer, so as to determine their validity.

## How did Socrates use the *dialectic*?

He would begin with a discussion of the obvious aspects of any problem. Socrates believed that through the process of dialogue, where all parties to the conversation were forced to clarify their ideas, the final outcome of the conversation would be a clear statement of what was meant. The technique appears simple but it is intensely rigorous. Socrates would feign ignorance about a subject and try to draw out from the other person his fullest possible knowledge about it. His assumption was that by progressively correcting incomplete or inaccurate notions, one could coax the truth out of anyone. The basis for this assumption was an individual's capacity for recognizing lurking contradictions. If the human mind was incapable of knowing something, Socrates wanted to demonstrate that, too. Some dialogues, therefore, end inconclusively.

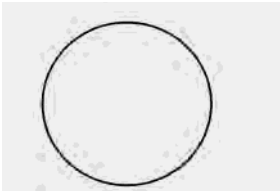
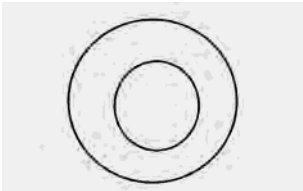
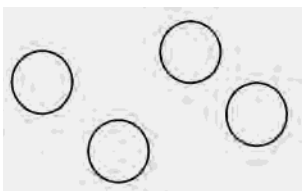
## What is a Socratic Seminar?

A Socratic Seminar is method to try to understand information by creating dialectic in class in regards to a

specific text. In a Socratic Seminar, participants seek deeper understanding of complex ideas in the text through rigorously thoughtful dialogue, rather than by memorizing bits of information.

## Guidelines for Participants in a Socratic Seminar

1. Refer to the text during the discussion. A seminar is not a test of memory. The goal is to understand the ideas, issues, and values reflected in the text.
2. Cite reasons and evidence for your statements.
3. Do not participate if you are not prepared. A seminar should not be a bull session.
4. Do not stay confused; ask for clarification.
5. Stick to the point currently under discussion; make notes about ideas you want to come back to.
6. Take turns speaking; you should not have to raise your hands, but if the need arises you may do so.
7. Listen carefully to all that is being said, and write down the ideas that are expressed.
8. Follow proper speaking techniques (make eye contact, sit up in your chair, speak to the group not the teacher, do not pile your desk with irrelevant materials . . .).
9. Avoid hostile exchanges. Question each other in a civil manner. Discuss ideas rather than each other's opinions.
10. You are responsible for the seminar, even if you don't know it or admit it.

<p>1) Group Seminar</p>  <p>Everyone participates in one large group</p>	<p>2) Concentric Circles</p>  <p>There is an inner circle and an outer circle. The inner circle speaks. The outer circle takes notes and works to assist the inner circle.</p>	<p>3) Small Group Seminar</p>  <p>Small groups are formed for more intimate conversations.</p>	<p>4) Role-play</p> <p>A role play seminar is a variation on the other forms. Participants assume the role of a character from the text.</p>
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

**What is dialogue?**

Dialogue is collaborative: multiple sides work toward shared understanding.

In dialogue, one listens to understand, to make meaning, and to find common ground.

Dialogue creates an openness to being wrong and an openness to change.

In dialogue, one submits one's best thinking, expecting that other people's reflections will help improve it rather than threaten it.

Dialogue calls for temporarily suspending one's beliefs.

In dialogue, one searches for strengths in all positions.

Dialogue respects all the other participants and seeks not to alienate or offend.

Dialogue assumes that many people have pieces of answers and that cooperation can lead to a greater understanding.

Dialogue remains open-ended.

**Dialogue is characterized by:**

- suspending judgment
- examining our own work without defensiveness
- exposing our reasoning and looking for limits to it
- communicating our underlying assumptions
- exploring viewpoints more broadly and deeply
- being open to disconfirming data
- approaching someone who sees a problem differently not as an adversary, but as a colleague in common pursuit of better solution.

**Sample questions that demonstrate constructive participation in Socratic Seminars.**

Here is my view and how I arrived at it. How does it sound to you?

Do you see gaps in my reasoning?

Do you have different data?

Do you have different conclusions?

How did you arrive at your view?

Are you taking into account something different from what I have considered?

**Generic Socratic Seminar Questions**

1. What are the assumptions (explicit or underlying) of this text?
2. Are there contradictions in the text?
3. What events would have changed the story?
4. What would you do (or say) if you were \_\_\_\_\_?
5. What might be some other good titles for this?
6. Does this text have a message to convey?
7. If \_\_\_\_\_ were writing (composing, painting, etc.) today, what would be different about this work?
8. What does the term \_\_\_\_\_ mean?
9. In what way would \_\_\_\_\_ change, if \_\_\_\_\_ happened differently?
10. How do you think \_\_\_\_\_ was viewed by \_\_\_\_\_ (would be viewed by \_\_\_\_\_)?
11. What part of this work is most useful for dialogue? (Least?)
12. Why do you say that?
13. How do you support that position from this work?
14. To check on listening: Jane, what did Richard just say? What's your reaction to that idea?
15. Inference. Fill in missing information, based upon a reasonable extrapolation of evidence in the text.
16. Implications. Explain the consequences of information or ideas in the text.
17. Hypothesis. Predict and justify future developments.
18. Reflection. How do you know what you think you know? What are you left not knowing? What are you assuming?
19. Can you think of an example to illustrate this point?
20. Is the writer's example a good one? Why/why not?
21. How does this idea connect to \_\_\_\_\_? (Refer to another passage in the text or to another text.)

## Presidential Quotes About the Homestead Act

<http://www.nps.gov/home/historyculture/presquotes.htm>

An allusion has been made to the Homestead Law. I think it worthy of consideration, and that the wild lands of the country should be distributed so that every man should have the means and opportunity of benefitting his condition.

— Abraham Lincoln, February 12, 1861

The homestead policy was established only after long and earnest resistance; experience proves its wisdom. The lands in the hands of industrious settlers, whose labor creates wealth and contributes to the public resources, are worth more to the United States than if they had been reserved as a solitude for future purchasers.

— Andrew Johnson, December 4, 1865

I see no reason why Indians who can give satisfactory proof of having by their own labor supported their families for a number of years, and who are willing to detach themselves from their tribal relations, should not be admitted to the benefit of the homestead act and the privileges of citizenship, and I recommend the passage of a law to that effect. It will be an act of justice as well as a measure of encouragement.

— Rutherford B. Hayes, December 3, 1877

Abraham Lincoln signed the Homestead Act, which embodied our fundamental belief in the importance of the American family farm. Lincoln was so right.

— Gerald R. Ford, April 3, 1976

Our commitment to freedom has meant commitment to the rule of law, and commitment to the law has created opportunity: for example, historic legislation like the Homestead Act; passage of the 14th amendment to strengthen the guarantee of civil rights for every citizen, regardless of race, creed, or color; and, more recently, *Brown vs. Board of Education*, which emphatically decreed that race can never be used to deny any person equal educational opportunity.

— Ronald Reagan, August 1, 1983

There are certain things we can only do together. There are certain things only a union can do. Only a union could harness the courage of our pioneers to settle the American west, which is why (President Abraham Lincoln) passed a Homestead Act giving a tract of land to anyone seeking a stake in our growing economy.

— President Barack Obama, February 12, 2009

---

# ABOUT THE WEST

## Red Cloud Last Defender of the Sioux

Clinton Whitfield

**A**LTHOUGH Red Cloud is the only Native American to win a war against the United States, he ultimately gave up his fighting ways and lived out his life on a reservation. Prior to white encroachment onto Sioux lands, Red Cloud constantly fought rival tribes and created a reputation as a great warrior and a remarkable leader of the Sioux. After white settlers and miners began to flood the Powder River Country in the early 1860s, Red Cloud led the Sioux against the United States Army in what became known as Red Cloud's War. Even though Red Cloud emerged victorious from the war, he constantly encountered the challenge of living on the Great Sioux Reservation set aside by the Treaty of Fort Laramie in 1868. After miners discovered gold in the Black Hills, Red Cloud once again fought for Sioux land, but he no longer fought with the lance and the tomahawk; he now fought with oratory. Red Cloud played a minor role in the Great Sioux War of 1876–1877, but his role on the reservation kept many of his people at peace during the turmoil. In the end, Red Cloud never stopped fighting for the better treatment of his people, yet Sioux leaders Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse often overshadowed the true legacy of Red Cloud. However, Red Cloud outlived any other major Sioux leader, and never stopped his fight until his last breath.

Mahpiya Lúta was born near Blue Creek, near the North Platte River in modern-day Nebraska. His father, Lone Man, was the headman of an Oglala subtribe, and his mother was Walks-As-She-Thinks. Mahpiya Lúta later became known as Red Cloud, which may have been a family name or a name given to him after witnesses watched the hills cover with scarlet-covered warriors that resembled a “red cloud.” Another myth about Red Cloud's name refers to a meteor that crossed the sky in September 1822. It was recorded in a Sioux pictorial



Chief Red Cloud, Age 77, 1898. Photograph by Jesse H. Bratley.  
Courtesy Library of Congress

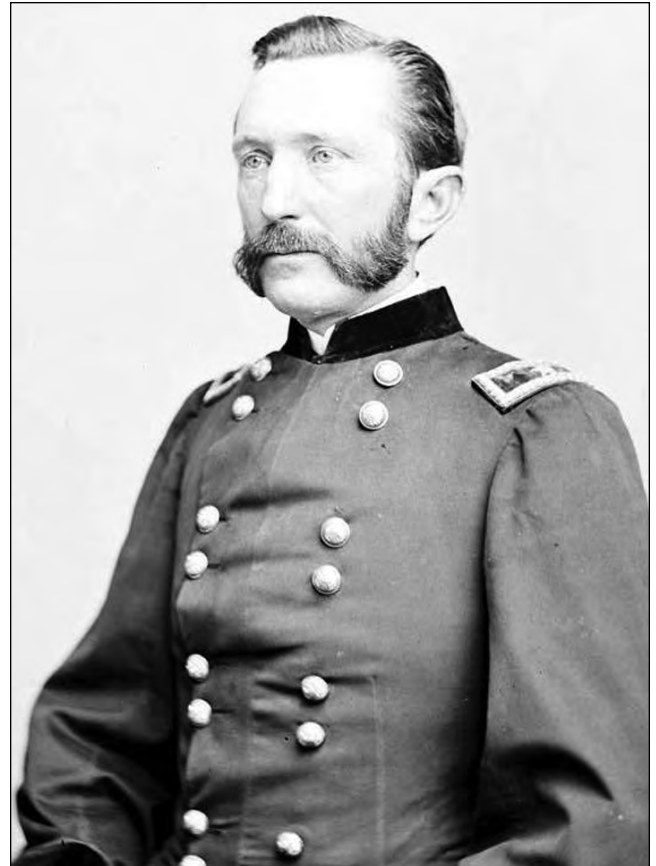
calendar and in a Minnesota soldier's diary. His name refers to the red light in the sky from the meteor.<sup>2</sup> After Red Cloud's father died, he was reared by his uncle, Old Smoke. Old Smoke taught him how to hunt, shoot, and ride at an early age. Red Cloud engaged in his first raid and war party at the age of sixteen in which he claimed his first scalp. Although little is known about the early life of Red Cloud, it is known that he established his skill as a warrior against the Crow, Pawnee, and Ute Indians. He gained the respect of his tribes after he attacked a Crow Indian, scalped him, and ran off with fifty of the Crow's ponies. Red Cloud also killed four Pawnee Indians in a raid, an amazing feat considering casualties during Indian raids were relatively low. Red Cloud and other Sioux Indians frequented Fort Laramie in the 1840s where they traded for goods. Yet, a defining moment in Red Cloud's life occurred over a dispute near Fort Laramie.

The Sioux consisted of many different subtribes, and Red Cloud associated himself with the Bad Faces or the Smoke People who were led by his uncle, Old Smoke. Their rival subtribe was the Koya, who were led by Bull Bear. In a feud over a woman, Red Cloud attacked and killed Bull Bear, which commanded great respect from his band of Oglala Sioux. Red Cloud married Pretty Owl, and bore many children with her. Though not a chief yet, he became a headman of his band at an early age. Red Cloud and his band of Sioux were relatively tolerant of the early traders at Fort Laramie, but it all changed when miners discovered gold in 1862 near the Black Hills, Montana. The government's attempt to build the Bozeman Trail led to the first victory of an Indian against the United States military.<sup>3</sup>

The end of the Civil War led to an influx of settlers and miners into the West. Cattle farming became prosperous as many Western railroads could be linked with the cattle drives. The influx of settlers and prospectors definitely created a turbulent situation between the Indians and the white menace.<sup>4</sup> Even though Red Cloud was not yet a major chief, he watched the progression of settlers flood the area with much discontent. As Robert Utley states, "His uncompromising attitude toward whites reflected the mood of the Teton Sioux of the Powder River Country in 1866."<sup>5</sup> In 1865, American negotiators met with Sioux chiefs at Fort Laramie to propose a system of forts designed to protect the Bozeman Trail and miners traveling to Montana. Yet, Red Cloud's first major encounter with the deceit of the Americans did not come at the Fort Laramie meetings; it came from a previous encounter with soldiers traveling to Montana in 1865.

In 1865, three columns of soldiers commanded by General Patrick E. Connor invaded the Powder River Country. Connor announced that Indians north of the Platte "must be hunted like wolves."<sup>6</sup> Connor told his subordinate officers to accept no overtures for peace, and "Attack and kill every male Indian over twelve years of age."<sup>7</sup> After Red Cloud heard of the invasion, he and other chiefs sent criers throughout the camps to prepare for war. Red Cloud found a wagon train full of soldiers and ammunition headed to Montana.<sup>8</sup>

They found the wagon train and attacked quickly, but the wagon train created a defensive circle and interlocked the wheels. The soldiers kept the Indians at bay with two howitzers, but the Indians constantly harassed the soldiers until the Indians decided to hoist a flag of truce. With interpreters from both sides, Red Cloud demanded an explanation for the soldiers' presence. The commander told Red Cloud they were headed to the Montana gold fields and only desired to pass through the country. The commander also expressed that he was looking for a fort that General Connor was building. This was the first time Red Cloud learned of a fort in the Powder River Country near their hunting



General Patrick E. Connor.

Courtesy Library of Congress.

grounds. Against an order to parley with the Indians, the white commander wisely offered the Sioux a wagonload of goods.<sup>9</sup> However, the small skirmish between Red Cloud and the wagon train represented a fraction of the true intentions of the American government. The intentions became clear during the first Fort Laramie meetings of 1865–1866.

The negotiators wanted the Northern Cheyenne and the Sioux to cede their land to complete the Bozeman Trail and protect it with forts. Red Cloud, only forty-four at the time, came to the Laramie delegation with a distrustful mindset because he knew what would happen to his people if the Bozeman Trail became a major thoroughfare and forts were built to protect it.<sup>10</sup> The mindset of Red Cloud came not only from his perception of the whites, but also his perception of the greatness of the Sioux. In response to the "white invasion," Red Cloud stated

The Great Spirit raised both the white man and Indian. I think he raised the Indian first. He raised me in this land, and it belongs to me. The white man was raised over great waters, and his land is over there. Since they crossed the sea, I have given them room. There are now white people all about me. I have but a small spot of land left. The Great Spirit told me to keep it.<sup>11</sup>

At the Laramie conference, Red Cloud made his stance on the proposed land cessions very clear to the negotiators.

Although it took three months to convince Red Cloud and other Sioux chiefs to meet at Laramie, it was equally difficult to muster a delegation of white negotiators. Many felt that the attempt to go into the Powder River Country was extremely dangerous. Finally, the commandant of Fort Laramie, Colonel Maynadier, convinced the “Laramie Loafers” to send out a message of peaceful intentions to the surrounding Sioux. The “Laramie Loafers” were four Sioux Indians who traded with whites and Indians near Fort Laramie. It was not until the Sioux reciprocated a peaceful intention that the delegation went forward.<sup>12</sup> Spotted Tail, a major Brule chief, also agreed to attend the conference. Maynadier seized the opportunity to grant Spotted Tail’s recently deceased daughter a ceremonial burial.<sup>13</sup> Maynadier knew this gesture might ease some of the tensions and cause Spotted Tail to give Maynadier some support. Yet, Red Cloud proved to be unyielding in his opposition to the Bozeman Trail.

Unbeknownst to Red Cloud at the time, Colonel Henry B. Carrington marched near Fort Laramie with a column of troops. He stopped 40 miles away from Fort Laramie to avoid detection. However, Chief Standing Elk encountered Carrington and informed him, “The fighting men in that country have not come to Laramie, and you will have to fight them.”<sup>14</sup> Red Cloud’s people barely survived the previous winter, and they made it clear that presents and the promise of an annual promise of \$70,000 might make their decisions easier. The chief negotiator, Indian Superintendent E. B. Taylor, used the promise of gifts as a distraction to the real issue at hand: the Bozeman Trail and the installation of military forts to protect it.<sup>15</sup> However, after Red Cloud heard the truth about the new soldiers in the Powder River Country, it was clear that Superintendent Taylor’s deceitful actions backfired.

It became clear that Carrington was fortifying the Bozeman Trail while negotiators distracted the Sioux. Red Cloud burst into a rage and exclaimed “The Great Father sends us presents and wants us to sell him the road, but White Chief goes with soldiers to steal the road before Indians say Yes or No!”<sup>16</sup> Some of the Sioux chiefs followed Red Cloud as he left the conference, but Spotted Tail, Standing Elk, and Swift Bear stayed behind to sign the treaty. They later reported to white commanders that many of their men defected. They also warned the whites that any parties that ventured away from Fort Laramie better “go prepared and look out for their hair.”<sup>17</sup> The defectors joined the camps of Red Cloud, and the fight that ensued became known as Red Cloud’s War.

Red Cloud did not react immediately. Instead, he sent out scouts to monitor the troop movements. The scouts reported an influx in troop numbers, and Red Cloud

decided it was time to teach the troops a lesson.<sup>18</sup> The attack came at Platte Bridge Station, and Red Cloud’s ranks were filled with Cheyenne Indians determined to exact revenge on the “Bluecoats” for the Sand Creek Massacre of 1864.<sup>19</sup> With around 3,000 warriors, Red Cloud decided that luring the soldiers out with a decoy might serve his intentions best. The first attempt failed, but the following day the decoys succeeded in luring some of the soldiers out of the fort, but they did not come close enough for combat. On the third day, a platoon of cavalymen marched out of the fort and the Indians attacked them immediately. Red Cloud called off the fight after the soldiers fired cannons from the fort. The Indians soon discovered the wagon train the cavalymen were sent to escort. Although the Indians killed all of the soldiers, the wagons only consisted of soldier’s clothing and rations.<sup>20</sup> In hopes that this display of Indian power taught the whites that the Indians would fight for their land, the fighting subsided, temporarily.

As Red Cloud and his followers travelled north from Fort Laramie, Red Cloud became the unquestioned leader of the Oglala Sioux.<sup>21</sup> For the ensuing six months, Red Cloud did not attempt another daring attack such as the wagon fight at the North Platte Bridge. Instead, he and his warriors engaged in guerilla warfare. They harassed the army supply lines, but they mostly kept a low profile. At its height, Red Cloud’s following consisted of around 500 lodges. Red Cloud even visited Crow camps to find recruits. Crows were lifelong enemies of the Sioux, but a common enemy sometimes unites former enemies. Some of the Crow warriors accepted the offer, and Red Cloud’s following steadily increased.<sup>22</sup> Ignorant of the breakdowns during the Fort Laramie meetings, Carrington marched from Fort Reno to build Fort Phil Kearny.

Although Fort Phil Kearny boasted strong fortifications, the Sioux constantly attacked settlers along the Bozeman Trail and disrupted lumber shipments to the fort on the eve of winter. While they isolated Fort Phil Kearny, the Sioux engaged in several skirmishes that displayed weaknesses among Carrington’s supply lines and strategies. Red Cloud knew the lumber supply of Fort Phil Kearny was low, and he also knew that the soldiers might come out of the fort to protect any more shipments of lumber.<sup>23</sup> The fight that ensued became known as the Fetterman Massacre.

Although Red Cloud did not physically participate in the Fetterman Massacre, he orchestrated it, and he called on a young Sioux warrior to lead the attack. His name was Crazy Horse. In a strategic and proven strategy, over 2,000 Sioux waited in ambush as ten decoys lured the soldiers into a trap. Another force of warriors feinted an attack on the lumber supply. After the soldiers heard gunshots, they left the fort to protect the lumber supply. The warriors doubled around and joined the other warriors waiting in ambush. Once



Red Cloud and American Horse, 1891. Photograph by John C. H. Grabill.  
*Courtesy Library of Congress.*

Captain William J. Fettermen sighted the ten decoys, he fell into the trap set by Crazy Horse. All eighty-one of the men were killed. The carnage of the scene after the massacre resembled the aftermath of Sand Creek.<sup>24</sup> The next showdown between the army and Red Cloud occurred at Fort Phil Kearny.

Prior to the attack on Fort Phil Kearny, Red Cloud roused his warriors to fight.

Hear ye, Dakotas! When the Great Father at Washington sent us his chief soldier [General Harney] to ask for a path through out hunting grounds, a way for his iron road to the mountains and the western sea, we were told that they wished merely to pass through our country, not to tarry among us, but to seek gold in the far west. Our old chiefs thought to show their friendship and good will, when they allowed this dangerous snake in

our midst. They promised to protect the wayfarers. Yet, before the ashes of the council fire are cold, the Great Father is building his forts among us. You have heard the sound of the white soldier's ax upon the Little Piney. His presence here is an insult and a threat. It is an insult to the spirits of our ancestors. Are we then to give up their sacred graves to be plowed for corn? Dakotas, I am for war!<sup>25</sup>

Approximately one week later, Red Cloud and his band of warriors attacked Fort Phil Kearny. Red Cloud also planned an attack on Fort C. F. Smith by 500–600 Cheyenne warriors. The Cheyenne encountered about 30 soldiers and some civilians, but they failed to make any headway because the soldiers were armed with new repeating rifles. On the other hand, Red Cloud had some success in his attack on Fort Phil Kearny. The Sioux once again instrumented the decoy trick that worked so well in the Fetterman Massacre. However, several hundred warriors botched Red Cloud's plan when they prematurely rushed out of concealment to rush a horse herd near the fort. Red Cloud then directed his attention to the woodcutters, but they were armed with breech-loading Springfields. The Hayfield and Wagon Box fights concluded with no clear victor, but it led to the end of Red Cloud's war in the form of a new treaty of Fort Laramie in 1868.<sup>26</sup>

In response to Red Cloud's War, President Andrew Johnson chose General William Tecumseh Sherman to lead the new peace delegation into Sioux territory. Sherman wanted to enter the territory and punish the Indians with "vindictive earnestness, until at least ten Indians are killed for each white life lost."<sup>27</sup> Sherman insisted the only way to subdue the Indians was the total-war similar to what he did in his "March to the Sea." Yet, Johnson and Sherman were mandated by Congress to seek peace. Sherman and seven other peace delegates were sent to sue for peace, yet half supported the war route, and the other half supported the peace route. Sherman made his feelings clear when he stated, "In the end they must be removed to small and clearly defined reservations or must be killed."<sup>28</sup>

As Robert Larson states, after the Wagon Box Fight, Red Cloud never fought the army again. Perhaps the federal agents suing for peace or white traders had an affect on Red Cloud's decision to accept diplomacy. Overall, many of his white adversaries were prepared for peace, and Reconstruction in the Southern states created a money vacuum for federal funds. Realistically, peace proved cheaper than war. In their first attempt at Fort Laramie, the delegates were disappointed because Red Cloud did not attend and only several other subchiefs were present. Red Cloud sent a message that he would not attend until the army abandoned forts C .F. Smith and Kearny.<sup>29</sup> Although the government agreed to abandon the Bozeman Trail, Red

Cloud still held out. “When we see the soldiers moving away and the forts abandoned, then I will come down and talk.”<sup>30</sup> After two months, the troops finally moved out of the Bozeman Trail posts. Immediately, Red Cloud and his warriors burned forts Smith and Kearny to the ground.<sup>31</sup>

By November of 1868, six months after the original peace delegation to Fort Laramie, Red Cloud agreed to the Treaty of Fort Laramie of 1868. The Treaty defined a reservation that consisted of most of modern-day South Dakota west of the Missouri River. It also granted hunting rights on the Republican River and in Nebraska and Wyoming north of the Platte. It also reserved the Powder River country as “unceded Indian Territory.” This meant that no whites could trespass on the land without Indian consent.<sup>32</sup> The Treaty of Fort Laramie in 1868 marked the end of Red Cloud’s War and his hostile defiance to the whites. He succeeded in closing the Bozeman Trail and its surrounding forts, and he also secured an expansive reservation and hunting grounds for his people. Yet, when miners once again discovered gold in the Black Hills of Dakota, Red Cloud once again had to fight for his people. However, he no longer fought with weapons, he fought with words.

By 1870, the settlement of whites into the Dakota and Montana territories remained unchecked by the government. Because of the depletion of their hunting game and flagrant violation of the Treaty of Fort Laramie, Red Cloud and his people suffered from starvation and cold. Red Cloud planned a trip to Fort Laramie to trade, but it became a trip to beg since they had nothing of value to trade. In the realization that conflict was a possibility because of the settlers violation of Sioux rights granted in 1868, the commissioner of Indian affairs prepared a trade settlement. He asked Red Cloud to trade on the Missouri River now instead of Fort Laramie. The commissioner foresaw issues over the Union Pacific Railroad route, and rumors began to spread over gold in the Black Hills. In 1870, miners formed the Big Horn Mining Association in Cheyenne with the intention of sending an expedition into the “unceded Indian territory.” During this crisis, Red Cloud informed his agent that he would like to travel to Washington to speak with the Great White Father about the Treaty of Fort Laramie.<sup>33</sup> Red Cloud’s proposition to speak with the president rather than fight the “invaders” marked a striking departure from his former stance of fighting white encroachment.

Although Red Cloud signed the Treaty of Laramie in 1868, his long career as a reservation Indian did not truly begin until after his trip to Washington. It is possible that Red Cloud’s trip to the East convinced him that he was up against an extremely formidable foe. The strategy of bringing Indian chiefs to the East worked well for the government since it displayed the full scope of the American’s power.<sup>34</sup> After a five day

trip on the “Iron Horse,” Red Cloud arrived at Washington. Red Cloud met with the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Donehogawa, also known as Ely Parker. Parker was an Iroquois Indian, a personal friend to President Grant, and the only Indian to serve as Commissioner of Indian Affairs.<sup>35</sup>

Red Cloud proved shrewd but honest as a diplomat for his people. Red Cloud met Spotted Tail in Washington, and Commissioner Parker feared that tensions may arise because of the fact that Spotted Tail obeyed the orders to move his reservation to the Missouri River. However, the two realized they had much more in common, and they shook hands cordially.<sup>36</sup> Red Cloud’s trip to Washington gave him the opportunity to express his dissatisfaction with the new invasion of whites and the blatant disregard for the Treaty of Fort Laramie.

Parker wasted little time with his bargaining process. To obtain peace, he needed to know what the Sioux wanted. He invited members from all branches of government to listen to the Sioux chiefs. After a speech pertaining to the difference between the “red man” and the white man, Red Cloud made his demands clear.

I do not want my reservation on the Missouri; this is the fourth time I have said so. Here are some people from there now [Spotted Tail and the Brule delegation]. Their children are dying off like sheep; the country does not suit them. I was born at the forks of the Platte and I was told that the land belonged to me from the north, south, east, and west . . . When you send goods to me, they are stolen all along the road, so when they reached me they were only a handful. They held a paper for me to sign, and that is all I got for my land. I know the people you send out there are liars. Look at me. I am poor and naked. I do not want war with my government . . . I want you to tell all this to my Great Father.<sup>37</sup>

This speech contrasts from his “Dakotas, I am for war” speech because he explains that he does not want war anymore. He also refers to the government and the president as “my government” and “my Great Father.” Red Cloud also asked to speak with President Grant, and they met together in the executive office of the White House.

Red Cloud reiterated to President Grant what he said previously to the government officials. He claimed the Treaty of Fort Laramie gave the Sioux the right to trade at Fort Laramie and have an agency on the Platte. Yet, Grant knew the stipulations of the treaty, and it stated that the Sioux agency was to be “at some place on the Missouri.”<sup>38</sup> Grant asked Parker to meet with the Indians the following day to explain the terms of the treaty.

Commissioner Parker knew the task of explaining the treaty would be difficult since he knew the Sioux had



been tricked. When Commissioner Parker explained the full details of the Treaty to the Indians, they felt betrayed and misled. Commissioner Parker promised Red Cloud and the Sioux delegates that he would interpret the treaty in a better way. The new interpretation of the Treaty concluded that the Powder River country was *outside* the permanent reservation, but it was *inside* the reserved hunting grounds. If some of the Sioux preferred to live on their hunting grounds, they could do so without living on the reservation.<sup>39</sup> For the second time in two years, Red Cloud emerged victorious against the United States government. Red Cloud left Washington satisfied over the outcome of the meetings. Secretary of the Interior Cox then informed Red Cloud that a trip to New York City had been planned by the government.<sup>40</sup>

Although hesitant at first, Red Cloud finally agreed to speak to the crowd in New York City. Thousands of people lined Fifth Avenue into Central Park anxious to see Red Cloud. Red Cloud spoke to the people about the differences between the whites and the Indians. But at the end of his speech, he told the crowd that the Great Spirit insisted that the white man and Indian live in peace and tranquility.<sup>41</sup> Red Cloud's mention of peace and tranquility further reinforced his stance on a peaceful coexistence with the whites, but his stance was once again challenged once he returned to the reservation.

Upon his return, Red Cloud found many enemies waiting for him. "Land seekers, ranchers, freighters, settlers, and others were opposed to a Sioux agency anywhere near the rich Platte Valley, and they made their influence felt in Washington."<sup>42</sup> Another meeting was called at Fort Laramie to discuss the relocation of the reservation once again. Red Cloud showed his anger over the possibility of relocation, and he told the delegates that he was not willing to move again. He hoped Commissioner Parker could help, but Parker's power in Washington dwindled over his attempted reforms. Red Cloud secured an agency 32 miles east of Fort Laramie, but that only lasted for two years. By that time, Commissioner Parker was gone from Washington, and by 1873, the Sioux agency was moved once again near Fort Robinson, Nebraska.<sup>43</sup>

In 1874, George Armstrong Custer led an "expedition" into the Black Hills over rumors of gold. He reported that the hills were filled with gold "from the grass roots down."<sup>44</sup> Yet, Red Cloud had issues of his own with his reservation agent, J. J. Saville. Red Cloud expressed his discontent over the poor rations and food that Saville distributed.<sup>45</sup> Red Cloud was not able to see the full scope of Custer's invasion of the Black Hills until he witnessed his young warriors protest the erection of a flag inside the Red Cloud Agency. Saville ordered a flag pole erected in the middle of the parade grounds, but the young warriors protested over the fact that they had seen flags flown near

Custer. Saville ignored their protests, and ordered the flagpole erected. As soon as the soldiers began digging the hole, several warriors came with axes to chop up the flagpole. Saville pleaded with Red Cloud to intervene, but he refused to intervene. Red Cloud was no longer able to control the young warriors.<sup>46</sup> After Saville sent for armed troops to intervene, Red Cloud once again refused to intervene. Many of the young warriors left the camp and rejected Red Cloud's leadership for that of Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse.<sup>47</sup> These warriors later fought at the Battle of Little Bighorn in 1876.

Red Cloud played a minimal role in the Great Sioux War of 1876–1877. After the Battle of Wolf Mountain, the army used Red Cloud to assist in the surrender of Crazy Horse. Red Cloud brought food and clothing to Crazy Horse's people to prevent them from tarrying any longer. Crazy Horse and over 900 followers surrendered at Camp Robinson.<sup>48</sup> It was clear that Red Cloud still possessed power amongst his people, and Crazy Horse formerly fought for Red Cloud. However, George Crook soon informed Red Cloud that the United States government no longer recognized Red Cloud as chief of all the Sioux; that title now belonged to Spotted Tail.<sup>49</sup> With the conclusion of the Great Sioux War, the defeat of Crazy Horse, and the exile of Sitting Bull in Canada, the Sioux lived harsh lives on the reservations. They constantly battled government officials and dishonest agents who cared nothing of their welfare. In 1887, Henry Dawes proposed a plan of assimilation for the reservation Indians. His plan called for the allotment of reservation lands into individual plots for Indians to farm.<sup>50</sup>

Many Indians throughout the West despised allotment, and one Sioux Indian reflected, "They made us many promises, more than I can remember, but they never kept but one; they promised to take our land and they took it."<sup>51</sup> In 1890, a Pauite Indian named Wavoka began to preach the Ghost Dance religion. The religion centered on Christian messages in which Indians danced a prescribed message that brought deceased Indians back to "a land bounteous in game and all the other riches of the natural world, a land free of sickness and want, a land where all tribes dwelt in peace."<sup>52</sup> In 1890, Sitting Bull lost his life after Indian policemen arrested him at Standing Rock Reservation over his involvement in the Ghost Dance. With the death of Sitting Bull, only two great Sioux leaders remained: Big Foot and Red Cloud.

Sitting Bull's arrest occurred because of his involvement with the Ghost Dance, which also cost him his life. However, "one other chief who worried General Miles was Big Foot."<sup>53</sup> Miles called for Big Foot's arrest because Red Cloud invited Big Foot to join him at Pine Ridge for peacekeeping purposes. Miles automatically assumed that Big Foot left to join hostile



Brig. General Samuel M. Whitside. Courtesy Library of Congress.

Indians at a gathering known as the Stronghold.<sup>54</sup> Miles directed Major Samuel Whitside to intercept Big Foot and redirect them to Wounded Knee until further arrangements could be made. Whitside allowed the Sioux to keep their weapons until they made camp, which proved to be a fatal mistake.<sup>55</sup> In *Serving the Republic*, Miles recalls how the Indians were asked to disarm themselves, and in the process a misunderstanding occurred and a shot went off. In the confusion, the Indians ran for their remaining weapons, and the soldiers (under the command of Colonel James Forsyth) opened fire on the warriors. In the chaos, many of the bullets hit women and children.<sup>56</sup> The Indians suffered losses of around 150, mostly women and children, and the army lost 25 men.<sup>57</sup> Miles said of the massacre, “It was a fatality, however, that Indian hostilities, uprisings, and wars should finally close in a deplorable tragedy.”<sup>58</sup> In the end, Miles relieved Forsyth of his command for the indiscriminate killing of women and children.<sup>59</sup> Yet, the courts exonerated and later reinstated Forsyth against Miles’s wishes.

After the Wounded Knee Massacre, disenchanted Sioux Indians did the unthinkable. Two Strike resented Red Cloud’s peace efforts throughout the Ghost Dance movement. Two Strike abducted the great chief, and Red Cloud later commented “the Brules force me to go with them. I being in danger of my life between two fires I had to go with them and follow my family. Some would shoot their guns around me and

make me go faster.”<sup>60</sup> As Robert Larson states, this was probably the lowest point in Red Cloud’s life because of the fact of his dedication to the Sioux people. It was only after General Nelson Miles took command that the disenchanted Sioux, the last rebels of the Ghost Dance movement, finally agreed to surrender without bloodshed.<sup>61</sup>

Life after Wounded Knee and the Ghost Dance movement proved devastating to life at Pine Ridge. The hope that one day the Indians could hunt once again and live on their ancestral lands ended with Wounded Knee. Many of the Indians on the reservations sullenly accepted the agricultural assimilation of the United States government. Red Cloud, once a man of amazing stature amongst his people and well respected by many whites and Indian alike, lived out the rest of his life in solitude.<sup>62</sup> Red Cloud’s life is characterized in photographs more than any other Indian chief in history. His last picture was taken at Pine Ridge in early December, 1909. Red Cloud died at the age of 88 on December 10, 1909. He was buried at Holy Rosary Mission; it snowed heavily that day.<sup>63</sup>

Red Cloud is the only Indian to ever win a war against the United States. His ancestors allowed the settlers to pass through the land, but the greed of prospectors and the United States government sparked Red Cloud’s War. Red Cloud refused to accept the terms of the Treaty of Fort Laramie in 1866. For two years, he and his band of Sioux Indians engaged in guerilla warfare, which led to the end of Red Cloud’s war and the closure of the Bozeman Trail. However, Red Cloud accepted the Treaty of Fort Laramie in 1868, which established the Great Sioux Reservation. With the discovery of gold in the Black Hills, Red Cloud traveled to the East to fight for the rights of his people. He returned home to find little change, and he managed to guide many of his people through the Great Sioux War of 1876–1877. George Crook informed Red Cloud that the government no longer recognized him as the Sioux chief; instead they recognized Spotted Tail. But Red Cloud continued to lobby for equal treatment of his people at Pine Ridge. In the end, Red Cloud could claim several victories over the United States militarily and diplomatically. However, Red Cloud finally realized the might of the United States army and government, which led him to pursue a peaceful approach with the whites. He won his war against an army devastated by the Civil War, and he later realized diplomacy offered the best change of victory. Throughout his life, Red Cloud created a legacy comparable to any other Indian leader in American history. He pursued peace through war and diplomacy, which caused many to lose faith in his “straddling of the fence.” Yet, Red Cloud never stopped fighting for the rights of his people; he was the last of the great Sioux chiefs, and the last defender of the Sioux.

## NOTES

1. Carole Barrett and Harvey Markowitz. *American Indian Biographies* (Pasadena, Hackensack: Salem Press, 2005), 405–406. Hereinafter cited as: Barrett and Markowitz. *American Indian Biographies*.
2. Ian Frazier. *On the Rez* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 2000), 185–189.
3. Barrett and Markowitz. *American Indian Biographies*, 405–406.
4. Robert Utley and Wilcomb Washburn, *Indian Wars* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2002), 211. Hereinafter cited as: Utley and Washburn, *Indian Wars*
5. Utley and Washburn, *Indian Wars*, 211.
6. Dee Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* (New York: Holt, 1970), 104. Hereinafter cited as: Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*.
7. *Ibid.*, 104–105.
8. *Ibid.*, 106–107.
9. Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, 107–108.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, 97.
12. Robert Larson. *Red Cloud Warrior-Statesmen of the Lakota Sioux* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1997) 89. Hereinafter cited as: *Larson, Red Cloud*.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Robert Utley, *Frontier Regulars* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1973), 99. Hereinafter cited as: Utley, *Frontier Regulars*.
15. *Ibid.*
16. Utley and Washburn. *Indian Wars*, 213.
17. Tebell and Jameson, *The American Indian Wars*, 263.
18. Brown. *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, 97.
19. *Ibid.*, 98.
20. Dee Brown. *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, 98–99.
21. Larson. *Red Cloud*, 93.
22. *Ibid.*, 93–94.
23. *Ibid.*, 98–99.
24. Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, 138–139.
25. Bob Blaisdell, ed. *Great Speeches by Native Americans* (New York: Dover, 2000), 131.
26. Brown. *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, 140–141.
27. John F. Marszalek. *Sherman: A Soldier's Passion for Order* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 389.
28. *Ibid.*, 390.
29. Larson. *Red Cloud*, 114–116.
30. Utley. *Frontier Regulars*, 135.
31. *Ibid.*, 135–136.
32. *Ibid.*
33. Larson. *Red Cloud*, 127–128.
34. Larson, *Red Cloud*, 137.
35. Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, 183.
36. *Ibid.*
37. Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, 184–185.
38. *Ibid.*, 185.
39. *Ibid.*, 186.
40. Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, 187.
41. Larson, *Red Cloud*, 136.
42. Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, 187.
43. *Ibid.*, 189.
44. Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, 277.
45. *Ibid.*
46. *Ibid.*, 278.
47. *Ibid.*
48. Jerome A. Greene. *Yellowstone Command: Colonel Nelson A. Miles and the Great Sioux War, 1876–1877* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska), 200.

49. Utley, *Frontier Regulars*. 272.
50. *Ibid.*, 402.
51. *Ibid.*
52. Robert Utley. *The Lance and the Shield: The Life and Times of Sitting Bull* (New York: Ballantine, 1993), 282
53. *Ibid.*, 298.
54. Utley, *Lance and the Shield*, 298.
55. Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*. 440.
56. Nelson A. Miles, *Serving the Republic* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1911), 171. Hereinafter cited as: Miles, *Serving the Republic*.
57. Utley, *Indian Wars*, 300.
58. Miles, *Serving the Republic*, 243.
59. Charles Phillips. “Wounded Knee Massacre: United States versus the Plains Indians.” *American History*, 2005.
60. Larson, *Red Cloud*, 280.
61. *Ibid.*, 281.
62. *Ibid.*, 286–287.
63. Frank H. Goodyear. *Red Cloud: Photographs of a Lakota Chief* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2003) 183.

## WORKS CITED

## Autobiographies

Miles, General Nelson A. *Serving the Republic*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1911.

## Biographies

Larson, Robert W. *Red Cloud: Warrior-Statesman of the Lakota Sioux*. Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1997.

Utley, Robert M. *The Lance and the Shield: The Life and Times of Sitting Bull*. New York: Ballantine, 1993.

## Books

Blaisdell, Bob ed. *Great Speeches by Native Americans*. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 2000.

Brown, Dee. *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West*. Holt, 1970.

Frazier, Ian. *On the Rez*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2000.

Goodyear III, Frank H. *Red Cloud: Photographs of a Lakota Chief*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2003.

Greene, Jerome A. *Yellowstone Command: Colonel Nelson A. Miles and the Great Sioux War 1876–1877*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1991.

Marszalek, John F. *Sherman: A Soldier's Passion for Order*. New York: Vintage, 1993.

Osborn, William M. *The Wild Frontier: Atrocities during the American-Indian Wars from Jamestown Colony to Wounded Knee*. New York: Random House, 2000.

Tebbel, John, and Keith Jennison. *The American Indian Wars*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960.

Utley, Robert M., and Wilcomb Washburn. *Indian Wars*. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2002.

Utley, Robert M. *Frontier Regulars: The US Army and the Indian, 1866–1891*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984.

Waldman, Carl. *Atlas of the North American Indian*. New York: Checkmark Books, 1985.

## Reference Materials

Barrett, Carole, and Harvey Markowitz, eds. *American Indian Biographies*. Pasadena, Hackensack: Salem, 2005.

## Scholarly Articles

Phillips, Charles. “Wounded Knee Massacre: United States versus the Plains Indians.” *American History*, 2005.

# Playing in Pahá Sápa The Recreational Culture of the Black Hills Gold Rush

Brad J. Congelio

**D**EADWOOD, the county seat of Lawrence County in South Dakota, is aptly known to be “as friendly a town as she ever was, and maybe even friendlier.”<sup>1</sup> Indeed, if you are savvy to gambling, saloons, and a throwback to the Wild West days of brothels and unbridled enthusiasm and optimism, the town of Deadwood will be, if anything, serene. That is, Deadwood has never lost touch with its roots. So much as it has grown into a tourist attraction, so much has it stayed the same. No better illustration reminds us of this than actors portraying Calamity Jane and Wild Bill Hickok, peacemakers firing into the sky, as Deadwood officially legalized gambling on November 1, 1989.<sup>2</sup>

Notwithstanding modern day reprises — these odes to the yesteryear of Deadwood — there remains the story of the now lore-filled history of old Deadwood; the history of the town, a melting pot of rebellious gunslingers and blurry-minded gold miners, now chronicled through quotidian reenactments on the same streets and in the same buildings.

Deadwood is a “tale of miners and merchants, of commerce and technology, of society and sinners, and of the town which loved them all.”<sup>3</sup> Before white-picket fences and trees donning apples were the hallmark of the all-American town, Deadwood “was a little city that had a life, and a spirit, and a soul of its own, as much as a town can have them.”<sup>4</sup> The nostalgic character that permeates every street and building of Deadwood keeps this spirit — this soul — thriving. And, with it, is the natural curiosity to learn of the life that these now exalted settlers lived.

The purpose of this article is not to explore the comprehensive formational history of Deadwood; other scholars have done this more than adequately. Rather, this research will provide a brief and narrowed concentration on the recreational vivacity of Deadwood and its inhabitants and provide an examination into how the miners of the Black Hills gold rush spent their recreational time in the growing town. First, however, is the necessity to outline how the ousting of the native Lakota from the Black Hills assisted in incorporating Deadwood into a town that became “a magnet for people who were not quite outlaws but not exactly law-abiding either.”<sup>5</sup>

The Lakota have profound spiritual connections to the Black Hills. The Natives believe that all humans originated from deep within the earth and “inhaled the deep breath of life” after exiting the small opening to the Wind Cave, which consists of 132-miles of surveyed passages and is one of the lengthiest caves in the world.<sup>6</sup> Additionally, the Lakota hold a sacred view of the Devil’s Tower — a “monolithic intrusion”<sup>7</sup> that rises dramatically 1,267 feet above the surrounding terrain. As the story goes, several adolescent Lakota girls, after wandering from camp, found themselves being pursued by bears. With no other options, and facing certain death, the earth suddenly rose, lifting the youngsters to safety, forming the Devil’s Tower.<sup>8</sup>

It is understood that the Lakota officially began to occupy the Black Hills in 1775 or 1776. Most, if not all, of the evidence supporting this claim is in the form of “images” drawn into rawhide. One such artifact depicts a Lakota, believed to be Standing Bull, carrying a twig belonging to a “pine tree he had never seen before.” Academics infer that the image implies Standing Bull discovering *Paha Sapa*.<sup>9</sup> By the early 1800s, the center of Lakota life centered even more on the Black Hills and, with aggressive war chiefs such as Oglala Bull Bear at the helm, the Lakota claimed the Black Hills as their own through, if anything, brute force and intimidation.<sup>10</sup>

In October 1873, General Phil Sheridan pleaded with President Ulysses S. Grant to permit a “reconnaissance” mission of the Black Hills. Sheridan argued that it would examine the “topography, flora and fauna, and, most importantly, geology” of the area. Sheridan continued that if the Black Hills were indeed rich with timber, or soil suitable for ample farming, or, most importantly, mineral of the gold kind, that the United States Government “surely . . . would not forbid its citizens to enjoy the bounty that God and nature had provided.”<sup>11</sup> The man to lead the undertaking, as selected by Sheridan, was General George Custer.

Embarking on July 2, 1874, Custer’s expedition was anything but slight. With an estimated 1,000–2,000 soldiers, the 7th Cavalry of the United States Army, heavy artillery, and a two-month supply of food also accompanied Custer.<sup>12</sup> Aside from military firepower, Custer



Deadwood, South Dakota, during the Gold Rush.

*Courtesy Denver Public Library.*

was also sent into the Black Hills with three reporters representing Bismark, Chicago, and New York.<sup>13</sup>

On August 3, 1874, Custer made the discovery of gold that not only spelled the end of the Lakota's reign over the land, thus sparking the Black Hills War, but also put into motion the founding and development of Deadwood — the cultural and industrial hub of the Black Hills gold rush.<sup>14</sup> Writing to adjutant general of the Department of Dakota, Custer said:

. . . the gold was obtained in numerous localities in what are termed gulches. No large nuggets were found; the examination, however, showed that a very even, if not a very rich distribution of gold is to be found throughout the entire valley. In other words the "prospecting" showed that while the miner may not in one panful of earth find nuggets of large size or deposits of astonishing richness, to be followed by days and weeks of unrewarded labor, he may reasonably expect in certain localities to realize from every panful of earth a handsome return for his labor. It has not required an expert to find gold in the Black Hills, as men without former experience in mining have discovered it at an expense of but little time and labor.<sup>15</sup>

The August 27, 1874, *Chicago Inter-Ocean's* entire front page was comprised of nothing but an article telling of the "Stirring News from the Black Hills." Further, the story reported the expedition had stopped to dig and discovered that "from the grass roots down it was pay dirt." As Ostler summarizes, "the Black Hills were a place where grass and gold mingled, heralding a rich future for Americans."<sup>16</sup>

While a mass influx of miners was still a year away, several lesser parties attempted to enter the land to stake claims to the riches first; none more prominent than the Gordon party. News of Gordon's discoveries in the Hills quickly became national news fodder. A March 1, 1875, report in the *New York Times* read:

. . . they sank twenty-five prospect-holes and struck gold in every instance. From the grassroots to the bed of the rock they found numerous gold and silver bearing quartz lodes, and the specimens Mr. Witcher [Eph Witchner, a member of the Gordon party who had gone out of the Hills for help] has brought back are pronounced very rich. The party never saw an Indian while in the Hills. Mr. Witcher describes the parts of the Hills they saw as having magnificent valleys, seemingly limitless forests of pine, and abundance of elk, deer, and other game.<sup>17</sup>

It was another piece written by the *New York Times* that shattered the ceiling that was containing the excitement of the gold rush, saying:

The gold is there. It is in almost every gulch, on every hillside, on every mountain top, in placers and in quartz. It is there for the poor man and for the capitalist. It is to be divided among the laborers, merchants, mechanics and manufacturers. There is enough for all who will come, and those who wish to flee from the hard times of the East and avail themselves of the hidden treasures of this, the last and richest gold field on the globe, had better make their arrangements to come early. This is a show where the front seats cannot be reserved.<sup>18</sup>

The first mass influx of miners arrived in Deadwood in 1875, despite harsh traveling conditions and the threat of Indian attack. The personal diary of Jerry Bryan, a pioneer into the Hills for the gold rush, explained further when he wrote, on March 28:

Last night will be remembered for a long time. Our [t]ent was blown down. Dishes, hats, blankets and everything that was loose was scattered. Our blankets was filled with driving snow. We sleped [sic] with our boots on or they would have been gone.<sup>19</sup>

With few incoming pioneers fearing the potential Lakota threats, the population of Deadwood quickly ballooned to an estimated 5,000 people — the majority of whom were, of course, miners seeking to strike it rich. On Jerry Bryan's entry into the town, he discovered a rather developed nightlife already in full swing. In an April 7, 1875, entry into his diary, he noted, "I, of course, would naturally bring up at a Hurdy gurdy Saloon. I find 4 or 5 old blisters and all the men that could get in the Saloon. Half dozen games running but very little money in sight. A ruff [sic] crowd."<sup>20</sup> Bryan would make another mention of the town's recreational culture in an entry dated June 18, 1875, saying, "this being Sunday we went to town as usual for grub. Things look rather dull in town. They seem to have all their fun at night."<sup>21</sup>

The very development of Deadwood itself led to this type of lifestyle by its population. Case in point, when the fledgling city began to section off plots of land to sell, the first was sold to a businessman hoping to open a saloon. Further, "for every one lot sold for the purposes of legitimate businesses such as hardware and supply shops, there were three plots sold for saloons."<sup>22</sup> As Inverson explains, this should come as no surprise:

Mining camp populations, especially during their infancies, were overwhelmingly male and over-

whelmingly young, as most miners were under the age of thirty. At night, young men from all walks of life relieved their boredom by playing cards, drinking spirits and loudly telling stories of fancy and of their day's adventure working in the dirt.<sup>23</sup>

The saloon was the most popular recreational habit of the Black Hills gold rush. Selling their concoctions at \$0.50 a drink, many saloon owners struck it rich in Deadwood in their own way after purchasing the liquor by the gallon for only \$1.65 — a \$64 profit margin.<sup>24</sup> It seems, however, that the price of the drink may very well have matched the quality — low. That is, self-proclaimed connoisseurs deemed the saloon's best "more dangerous than the Indians" and that "as a rule, it would be better for the traveler to have some Indian lead in his carcass than a glass of a ranch rot-gut in his stomach."<sup>25</sup> If you were to tally the number of saloons in Deadwood during mid-1877, you would reach 75. Because of this high number, widespread inebriation of the miners was a foregone conclusion.

The city of Deadwood was also home to a variety of social groups, including the Deadwood Pioneer Hook and Ladder Company No. 1. As Parker explains, in addition to its firefighting duties, the department "paid much attention to properly celebrating the death and burial of departed fire ladies with proper obituaries, condolences, flowers, and funerals."<sup>26</sup> Aside from that, the department was also very active in holding communal events. A blurb from the February 5, 1891, *Daily Pioneer* pointed out, "The South Deadwood Hose company's dance on the 10th promises to be one of the society events of the year. All who enjoy dancing should attend, and will be given a good time by the hose boys."<sup>27</sup>

Not only did the local daily advertise the coming events, but it also gave them review — most of which were sterling. After a December 13, 1877, social event thrown by the "Hooks," the *Daily Pioneer* sang the praises:

Last evening was a long anticipated one. The "Hooks" have worked like beavers the whole week to make their party the scene of success. The hall was ornamented with evergreens, pictures, and insignia so dear to the heart of every fireman, their presence inspiring the hearts of all present. The dancing commenced in good season, with over fifty couples on the floor, and continue until a late hour in the morning. The supper tables at the Welch House were things of beauty, the work, if not of feminine hands, of hands under the guidance of their eyes and refined taste. Upon each of the long tables were a small tree laden with every obtainable variety of fruit, while small bouquets of flowers and massive silver baskets loaded with



Phantom Ridge, Black Hills.

Photograph by John C. H. Grabill, courtesy Library of Congress.

cake combined to form a scene both grateful and graceful. The happy dancers, after tarrying a while at this bountiful feast, repaired to the hall, to again indulge in the merry movements of the Beautiful Blue Danube, until “The god of day, in russet mantle clad, proclaimed that morn was neart,” when the revelers betook themselves to their respective abodes, delighted with the firemen’s ball.<sup>28</sup>

Further, several “ethnic and national groups”<sup>29</sup> also held highly attended social events. One in particular that seemed to be regularly covered by the *Daily Pioneer* was the Knights of Pythias, a fraternal organization and secret society founded in Washington, D.C. on February 19, 1864.<sup>30</sup> A January 29, 1892, local news piece about the group read, “The Knights of Pythias last night gave an enjoyable social party at their lodge rooms in the city hall. Dancing was the principal feature of the event, and later in the evening excellent refreshments were served. The K of P dances are becoming popular, and form one of the chief society events in Deadwood.”<sup>31</sup>

It is peculiar that a fraternal organization such as the Knights of Pythias would find a home in the wild confines of Deadwood; membership into the fraternity banned members from selling alcohol or gambling, among other activities. The oath taken by participants read:

I declare upon honor that I believe in a Supreme Being, that I am not a professional gambler, or unlawfully engaged in the wholesale or retail sale of intoxicating liquors or narcotics; and that I believe in the maintenance of the order and the upholding of constituted authority in the government in which I live. Moreover, I declare upon honor that I am not a Communist or Fascist; that I do not advocate nor am I a member of any organization that advocates the overthrow of the Government of the Country of which I am a Citizen, by force or violence or other unlawful means; and that I do not seek by force or violence to deny to other persons their right under the laws of such country.<sup>32</sup>

It would seem rather far-fetched that members of Deadwood's order did not partake in the lucrative alcohol business, nor gamble in the cities' boundless casinos. Given the benefit of the doubt — that is, that the members were wholly outstanding citizens of an otherwise lawless society — they were still not biding by the fraternal law that forbid them “to deny other persons their rights under the laws of such country.” By merely settling in Deadwood, these members were ignoring the right of the Lakota to occupy the land that was rightfully, and lawfully, theirs. Nonetheless, the Knights of Pythias in Deadwood is worthy of its own study.

Deadwood liked to boast that it had more places of entertainment than any other town of equal size in the United States. As Parker phrased it, the town “was literally endowed with theaters.”<sup>33</sup> Of course, many of these theaters were not of the pure Shakespearean type. Rather, in Deadwood vernacular, a theater could insinuate any multitude of sins — from legitimate drama performances to houses of ill repute where the actresses were literally more provocative than decorative.<sup>34</sup> With a predominately young male population, it could easily be deduced that the majority of the theaters in town were of the provocative type. However, a glance through the newspapers shows a rather dissimilar truth; the population of Deadwood did enjoy legitimate theater performance. A July 13, 1877, passage from the *Daily Pioneer* read, “The matinee at the Gem Theatre on tomorrow afternoon is bound to be a success. A number of ladies and families have expressed their desire to see the Vaidis Sisters and Baby McDonald, and a crowded house of our best citizens may be expected.”<sup>35</sup>

Parker suggests that, despite attracting “a crowded house of our best citizens,” the Gem Theatre was not only notorious, but also “dissolute and degraded.” Opened by Al Swearngen in the spring of 1877, the theatre quickly became “an infamous den of prostitution under the guise of being a hurdy-gurdy.” It seems that much had changed since the *Daily Pioneer* hailed it “as neat and tastefully arranged as any place of its kind in the west.”<sup>36</sup>

Despite its double-identity, the Gem Theatre continued to garner positive reviews from the *Daily Pioneer*. A December 20, 1877, snippet promoted an event to be thrown by Swearngen at the Gem, saying, “A grand masquerade will be given by Mr. E. A. Swearngen, on Tuesday evening, December 25. The best meal obtainable will be furnished for the occasion. New and splendid costumes can be obtained by applying at the Gem, Christmas Day. Girls, your costumes are furnished free.”<sup>37</sup>

While the majority of Deadwood may have very well enjoyed the type of entertainment the Gem Theatre provided, this is not to say that others in the city did not enjoy more refined types of diversion. Case in point, the

*Daily Pioneer* advertised the upcoming concert of the New York Symphony Club, saying:

Under the name of the New York Symphony Club, and under the management of Mr. B. S. Druggs, there was given a concert at the opera house last evening, which for genuine ability, beauty, harmony, and variety, has hardly been equaled in the city . . . It was an excellent musical treat and was thoroughly enjoyed by a large and deserving audience. This, the greatest musical attraction that ever appeared in the Hills, will be here Wednesday, Feb. 25.<sup>38</sup>

The paper also carried raving reviews of those performances that were never destined to appear in Deadwood — though, the appearance of such reviews suggest that any amount of people in the city appreciated the content. A January 15, 1891, article in the Amusements section read:

The Alcazar Opera Company made its third appearance at the opera house last night in *Grotte-Girolfa* and made the most successful hit of the engagement thus far. The opera, unlike the *Mazette* and *Olivette*, has a decided and interesting plot as in a drama or tragedy. The individual members of the company never appeared to better advantage than they did last night.<sup>39</sup>

Other writings in the *Daily Pioneer* seem to suggest that more recognized “American” sports were also played in Deadwood. It is likely that baseball was introduced to the region before Deadwood was even developed, as the 7th Calvary of the United States Army was known to harbor quite a talented group of baseball players in its ranks. Stationed at Fort Randall, located on the south side of the Missouri River in South Dakota, the 7th Calvary was originally sent into the Black Hills under the guidance of Custer during his 1874 expedition. Within the 7th Calvary was the H company, led by Captain Frederick W. Benteen. In July 1874, when Benteen received word that the entire 7th Calvary was being sent into the Black Hills, the H company's baseball equipment also went along. Team records indicate that a contest was played in the Hills between the H company and a team of citizens. Benteen's club won the game 25–11.<sup>40</sup>

Research shows that America's growing love for the game of baseball remained in Deadwood after Benteen's departure. An outtake from the *Daily Pioneer* read, “Last evening, while a few professional ball players were practicing on Main Street, Mr. Dan Ree, while crossing in front of the Melodian, was struck in the eye by a passing ball and severely injured.”<sup>41</sup> While the brief paragraph nestled within the newspaper does provide evidence that baseball was a recreational



activity within Deadwood, it provides a much more essential insight. That is, the presence of professional ball players. Unfortunately, the paper does not elucidate any further on the professional aspect of the description.

The paper did, however, make mention of the Deadwood Hose Company's baseball club. While it cannot be proven that these players were the professional ball players, it can be thought that they did, indeed, compete with nearby companies. Nonetheless, they were professional enough of an organized team to necessitate uniforms. The *Daily Pioneer*, on January 30, 1891, read, "The new uniforms of the South Deadwood hose company are expected to arrive Tuesday, and the boys are standing up straight and sprucing up for the first exhibition of them."<sup>42</sup> Unfortunately, "owing to trains being blockaded, the South Deadwood Hose Boys" waited to receive their new uniforms. To lift their spirits over the debacle, they did throw a "grand dance" and all who missed it forfeited "one of the pleasantest occasions of the season."<sup>43</sup> On February 18, 1892, the "Boys" finally received their uniforms, with the *Daily Pioneer* exclaiming, "The South Deadwood Hose Co.'s new uniforms arrived yesterday evening, and the boys were trying them on last night. They are dandies."<sup>44</sup>

Deadwood also provided more pedestrian sports. For example, a January 10, 1891, entry in the *Daily Pioneer* promoted an upcoming bowling contest, reading, "For the championship of the Black Hills and three silver medals, beginning January 11 and ending February 8. The persons making the greatest number of points, in any ten frames during the contest, in either ten pins, nine pins or cocked hat, will each receive a silver medal, which can be seen at Gillette & Heckman's, on and after January 10. Contest open to all."<sup>45</sup>

The residents of Deadwood were also keen in taking part in recreational activities that were more refined than baseball and bowling. A December 29, 1877, outtake of the *Daily Pioneer* reveals, "Two young gentlemen are about to open a dancing school. These gentlemen are thoroughly competent to teach, and will beside perfecting many in the higher branches of dancing and teaching others the rudiments, furnish an enjoyable medium for passing long winter evenings."<sup>46</sup> The entry, despite being short, is long in providing a telling narrative of the Deadwood psyche. That is, recreation and sport — in this case, dancing — were more than just an activity. The writer of the entry states the dancing classes served as "an enjoyable medium for passing long winter evenings." Recreation



Deadwood street parade with numbers.

Photograph by John C. H. Grabill, courtesy Library of Congress.

was not simply about the amusement factor. Rather, the population of Deadwood, in some sense, used it as a way to survive the long and harsh winter that a state like South Dakota is capable of providing. A little over a month after the original entry was published, the *Daily Pioneer* revisited the dancing school and provided a positive review, editorializing, “The dancing school gave its regular lesson last night, and was well attended. The school has made a hit with the dancing people, and is deservedly popular with them.”<sup>47</sup>

Another posted event in the *Daily Pioneer* provided yet another recreational outlet for the residents of Deadwood, this time specific to the ladies of the city. The December 27, 1877, entry announced, “There will be a grand carnival at the Skating Rink New Year’s eve, on which occasion a grand prize will be given to the best lady skater.”<sup>48</sup> Even with the opportunity to partake in numerous recreational activities, some residents of Deadwood were still unable to find their personal niche. A letter to the editor of the *Daily Pioneer*, printed on January 20, 1891, read:

Dear Sir — I wish to ask through the columns of your paper if it would not be a good idea, and also a credit to the city, to organize an athletic club here. Now there are a great many young men here who would take an interest in it if there was some one to push it through. It would not cost very much, and is good sport, as well as good exercise. There are at present two professional trapeze performers in the city, and it would not cost much to get either one of them as instructor. Now I hope you will at least publish this in your valuable paper, and also help push it through.<sup>49</sup>

While the composer of the letter — signed only Athlete — wished to participate in a wholly athletic club, there were others in Deadwood that could provide leisurely activity. The Olympic Club was formed in 1894 and, by 1898, surpassed 200 members. The club, with its home on the third floor of the Martin and Mason’s building, provided a reading room — “for those member who did not care for the strenuous life” — and a billiard room. While not an athletic club by any stretch of the imagination, the club provided companionship coupled with like-minded people.<sup>50</sup>

Parker articulates that horse racing was also enormously popular. An 1880 race took place at the track maintained by the Deadwood Driving Park Association. Further, a \$1,000 purse was staked on the race.<sup>51</sup> However, the *Daily Pioneer* wrote of horse races much before 1880. A June 25, 1877, entry read, “The great race horse, Ten Brock, by Imperian Phaeton having the fastest one, two, three and four miles on record, is soon to measure strides with Tom Ochiltree, by Lexington, at four mile heats, and both have about an

equal number of backers. Tom Ochiltree has not such a brilliant record as his rival, but has often beat large fields of fast horses easily, and it is said, his speed and bottom has never been fully tested.”<sup>52</sup>

The people of Deadwood were also enthralled in the more physical type of recreational hobbies, such as ring fights. While the type of matches taking place ranged from the completely impromptu and unprofessional, to the fully-fledged prize fight, it made sense that a city of Deadwood, known for its outlaw way of life, thoroughly enjoyed the rough and tumble atmosphere of this recreation. A July 19, 1877, entry into the *Daily Journal* provides a glimpse of the more unprofessional quality of fighting life in Deadwood, explaining, “There is much talk about the proposed wrestling match, and it is said Whalan alias Corduroy intends tackling the might Arnault, and will give him a show to win or lose five hundred.”<sup>53</sup>

Deadwood was equally prepared to deliver boxing matches that were all the more amateurish as the wrestling matches seemed to be. A January 12, 1877, entry into the *Daily Journal* tells the story of a ring fight that “took place within the side-boards of a two-horse wagon”:

Deadwood can at last boast of a ring fight. It occurred on Friday afternoon at the foot of the hill, nearly opposite Custer House. The ring in question was not the orthodox twenty-four foot magic circle, but a golden one that some fair demoiselle had gotten possession of and delivered to another party. Though rather close quarters [a direct consequence of holding a boxing match inside of a two-horse wagon] for such an encounter, a “slogging set to” was the result, and after some give on one side, and considerable take on the other, the affair ended by the parties of the first part continuing their ride to Gayville.<sup>54</sup>

The slapdash atmosphere of boxing in Deadwood was done away with thanks to Al Swearengen and his Cricket Saloon. An incredible 52-round fight, which had no end and had to be postponed to a later date, took place between Johnny “The Belfast Chicken” Marr and George “Cook, the Kid” Latimer. The ring, described such by the *Daily Pioneer*, was “a portion of one end of the hall, about twenty-five feet square, divided from the audience by benches placed across the room.”<sup>55</sup> Further, the newspaper gave paragraph long recaps of each round, such as, “R. 30 — Both men toe the scratch a little groggy, and look as if something unpleasant had happened. Hard hitting, Marr administering some fearful doses to his antagonist. Clinch and fall, “the cook” on top.”<sup>56</sup> Despite no winner coming out of the bout, the *Daily Pioneer* still objected its opinion on the contest, writing, “In the late prize fight between Marr, “the chicken,” and “Cook, the kid,”

the order of things was reversed, for we are told instead of the usual style of the cook dressing the chicken, on this occasion the chicken dressed the cook.”<sup>57</sup>

The Deadwood gold rush has long since died. With it, much of the lawlessness and surreal characters that made the city famous have gone too. However, in its place, is a thriving city that bases its economy on gambling and modern saloons. Because of this, the young, and the old, still come into town seeking not only the adventure but also good fortunes that modern day Deadwood may be able to provide<sup>58</sup> — that is, one-armed bandits are not so much different in terms of striking it rich than digging for gold. Despite the changes, the spirit — the soul — of Deadwood forever lives. The energy — that unbridled enthusiasm and optimism — of the free spirits that created the town from the ground up, in all of its Wild West glory, can still be felt during a visit. The notorious gunslingers and ambitious gold miners who forged their own recreational lifestyle on the heels of the U.S. Government claiming Lakota territory as its own left an enduring mark on the history of the city. The forever-hopeful energy of Deadwood was best abridged in a June 29, 1877 editorial in the *Daily Pioneer* that urged the town to prepare for the 101st anniversary of the United States:

We have much more new to rejoice and exchange congratulations over than we had one year ago. So far as the direct routes of travel to the Hills are concerned, the savages have been whipped into submission; our right to occupy these mountains is at last recognized by general government; we have demonstrated to the world that our mines of precious metals are among the richest ever discovered; we are today under the aegis of established law; and, finally, are now fairly on the highroad to political sovereignty, with all the natural requisites on our side of greatness and prosperity.<sup>59</sup>

#### NOTES

1. Watson Parker, *Deadwood: The Golden Years* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1981), xi.
2. “Deadwood marks 20 years of legal gambling — Travel — Destination Travel — U.S. and Canada — msnbc.com,” November 12, 2009, [http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/33833268/ns/travel-destination\\_travel/](http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/33833268/ns/travel-destination_travel/).
3. Parker, *Deadwood: The Golden Years*, ix.
4. *Ibid.*
5. For more, see Ostler’s *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism From Lewis and Clark to Wounded Knee* and Edward Lazarus’ *Black Hills, White Justice*. The story of ownership of the Black Hills did not end with the war. Rather, at the time of this articles’ writing, the Lakota are still taking the United States to court over the proceedings. On July 23, 1980 in *United States v. Sioux Nation of Indians*, it was ruled by the Supreme Court that the Black Hills were, indeed, illegally taken from the Natives. To make amends, the United States offered the Lakota \$106 million. After refusing the payment, opting for the return of the land instead, the United States Government placed the money in a high interest-bearing account. The money remains in the account and is believed to be nearing the \$1 billion mark. Nonetheless, the Lakota, believing that accepting the money would validate the criminal act, refuse to take the money — still opting for the return of the sacred land.
6. Ostler, *The Lakotas and the Black Hills: The Struggle For Sacred Ground*, 5.
7. “Devils Tower National Monument—Frequently Asked Questions (U.S. National Park Service),” <http://www.nps.gov/deto/faqs.htm>.
8. Ostler, *The Lakotas and the Black Hills: The Struggle For Sacred Ground*, 5.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*, 13.
11. Ostler, *The Lakotas and the Black Hills: The Struggle For Sacred Ground*, 81.
12. Thom Hatch, *The Custer Companion: A Comprehensive Guide to the Life of George Armstrong Custer and The Plains Indian Wars*, 1st ed. (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2002).
13. Ostler, *The Lakotas and the Black Hills: The Struggle For Sacred Ground*, 81.
14. *Ibid.*, 84.
15. Parker, *Deadwood: The Golden Years*, 6.
16. Ostler, *The Lakotas and the Black Hills: The Struggle For Sacred Ground*, 49.
17. *Ibid.*, 8.
18. *Ibid.*, 10.
19. Clyde Walton, ed., *An Illinois Gold Hunter in the Black Hills: The Diary of Jerry Bryan* (Springfield, Illinois: Illinois State Historical Society, 1960), 14.
20. *Ibid.*, 25. As explained by Walton, a “hurdy gurdy Saloon” was not a turn of phrase used by Bryan. Rather, it was a public dance house combined with a saloon.
21. *Ibid.*, 31.
22. ADeadwoodGem.pdf, 16, <http://moh.tie.net/content/docs/ADeadwoodGem.pdf>.
23. *Ibid.*, 317.
24. Parker, *Deadwood: The Golden Years*, 187.
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.*, 169.
27. *The Black Hills Daily Pioneer*, “Local News,” February 5, 1884, Reel #384, SDSA.
28. *The Black Hills Daily Pioneer*, “Local News,” December 14, 1877, Reel #1887, SDSA.
29. Parker, *Deadwood: The Golden Years*, 169.
30. “Knights of Pythias,” <http://www.pythias.org/>.
31. *The Black Hills Daily Pioneer*, “Local News,” January 29, 1891, Reel #384, SDSA.
32. “Knights of Pythias.”
33. Parker, *Deadwood: The Golden Years*, 172.
34. *Ibid.*
35. *The Black Hills Daily Pioneer*, “Local News,” July 13, 1877, Reel #384, SDSA.
36. Parker, *Deadwood: The Golden Years*, 192.
37. *The Black Hills Daily Pioneer*, “Local News,” December 20, 1877, Reel #384, SDSA.
38. *The Black Hills Daily Pioneer*, “Local News,” February 11, 1891, Reel #384, SDSA.
39. *The Black Hills Daily Pioneer*, “Local News,” January 15, 1891, Reel #384, SDSA.
40. Harry H. Anderson, “The Benteen Base Ball Club: Sports Enthusiasts of the Seventh Cavalry,” *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 20, no. 3 (July 1, 1970): 85.
41. *The Black Hills Daily Pioneer*, “Local News,” June 29, 1877, Reel #384, SDSA.
42. *The Black Hills Daily Pioneer*, “Local News,” January 30, 1891, Reel #384, SDSA.
43. *The Black Hills Daily Pioneer*, “Local News,” February 10, 1891, Reel #384, SDSA.

44. *The Black Hills Daily Pioneer*, "Local News," February 18, 1891, Reel #384, SDSA.
45. *The Black Hills Daily Pioneer*, "Local News," January 10, 1891, Reel #384, SDSA.
46. *The Black Hills Daily Pioneer*, "Local News," December 29, 1877, Reel #384, SDSA.
47. *The Black Hills Daily Pioneer*, "Local News," January 24, 1877, Reel #384, SDSA.
48. *The Black Hills Daily Pioneer*, "Local News," December 27, 1877, Reel #384, SDSA.
49. *The Black Hills Daily Pioneer*, "Local News," January 20, 1891, Reel #384, SDSA.
50. Parker, *Deadwood: The Golden Years*, 171.
51. *Ibid.*, 184.
52. *The Black Hills Daily Pioneer*, "Local News," June 25, 1877, Reel #1877, SDSA.
53. *The Black Hills Daily Pioneer*, "Local News," July 19, 1877, Reel #1877, SDSA.
54. *The Black Hills Daily Pioneer*, "Local News," January 12, 1877, Reel #13007, SDSA.
55. *The Black Hills Daily Pioneer*, "Local News," January 13, 1877, Reel #13007, SDSA.
56. *Ibid.*
57. *Ibid.*
58. Parker, *Deadwood: The Golden Years*, 244.
59. *The Black Hills Daily Pioneer*, "Local News," June 29, 1877, Reel #13007, SDSA.



Brad J. Congelio was inspired during a weeklong trip to the Black Hills, including a lengthy stop in Deadwood. Currently, Congelio is a doctoral student at the University of Western Ontario, researching out of the International Centre for Olympic Studies. His research explores the Soviet Bloc boycott of the 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Games and the resulting change in President Ronald Reagan's foreign policy to utilize the Games as a piece of surrogate warfare in the Cold War.

## REVIEW ESSAY

# Turning the Focus on Civil War Scholarship West *Etulain, Abraham Lincoln, and the Oregon Country*

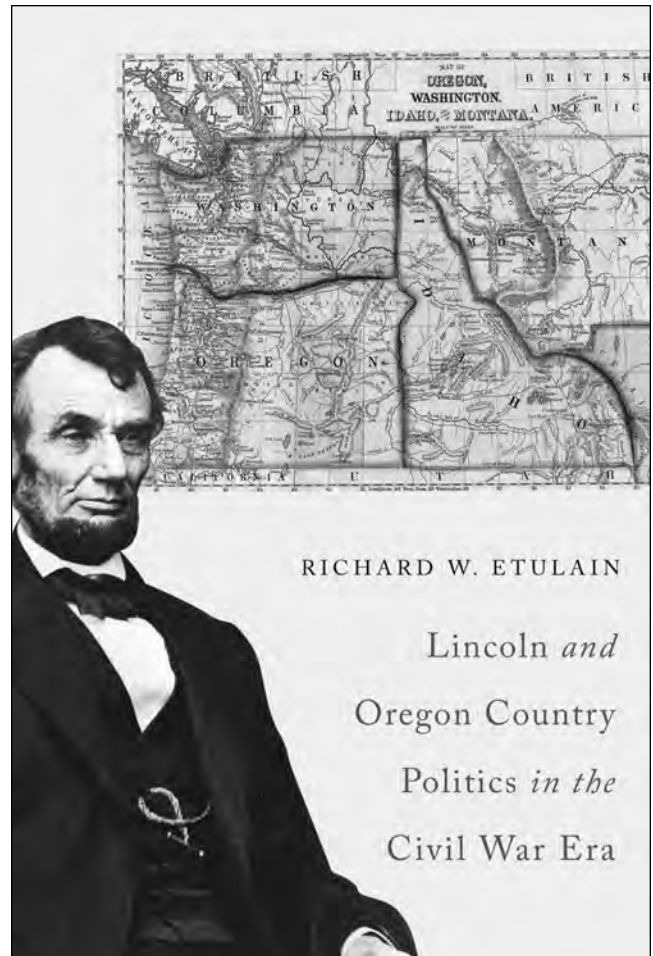
Patricia Ann Owens

**L**INCOLN AND OREGON COUNTRY POLITICS IN THE CIVIL WAR ERA, by Richard W. Etulain. Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2013, 210 pp., \$19.95 paperback.

Lincoln and the trans-Mississippi West is one of the least researched, least written-about topics in the vast area of Lincoln studies. Books, monographs and dissertations have touched upon the topic while mainly focusing on patronage, Indian affairs, or Civil War battles. But as a stand-alone subject, Lincoln and the West deserves more attention from scholars. Richard W. Etulain's current volume, *Lincoln and the Oregon Country Politics in the Civil War Era* is a significant contribution.

In 2010, Etulain edited, *Lincoln Looks West: From the Mississippi to the Pacific*, a collection of nine articles that covered a range of topics including Lincoln and the Mexican War, territorial patronage, the Mormons, Indians and the president's political ties to Nevada, New Mexico, and Washington Territory. A highlight of the volume was Etulain's essay on the overall topic of Lincoln and the West and the list of resources, previous interpretations and topics for further research. His current volume is a response to his challenge to scholars and most importantly, reflects his sincere interest in exploring a fascinating topic.

The Oregon Country of Lincoln's time included present-day states of Washington, Oregon, Idaho and the western region of Montana. Anglo Americans had traveled through this region since the early nineteenth century. Fur trappers and traders followed Lewis and Clark into the area and their tales of rich farmland lured settlers westward and the flow of overland migration hit its zenith in the 1840s and 1850s. U.S. military forces followed, and protected the travelers and built forts in the region. The influx of outsiders threatened the homelands and lifestyles of the native inhabitants and clashes between Anglos and Native Americans did occur and



often required intervention by the military. Other government officials, including Indian agents and traders, followed the trails west or took steamboats up the Missouri River to posts in the Oregon Country.

The outbreak of the Civil War did not stop the flow of overland travelers. A huge gold strike at Last Chance

Gulch (present-day Helena) in western Montana drew miners from both East and West. Fighting in the eastern theatre of the Civil War relegated news of the gold strikes to the back pages of newspapers, but the importance of that gold wasn't lost on the Lincoln administration. Nor did Lincoln miss the political opportunities presented by the new regions.

Although Lincoln had never traveled farther west than Kansas, he was a product of the frontier and he carried those influences and experiences with him to the White House. Together with ideals of the Whig Party especially their goals of improved transportation links and the new Republican Party's pledge to provide economic opportunities including homesteads in the West, Lincoln looked across the Mississippi River and saw vast prospects. One of those was political — establishment of the Republican Party in the new territories, and states, emerging in the Pacific Northwest. Etulain's brief volume examines those political bonds. He states, ". . . no national figure did more than Abraham Lincoln to shape regional politics in the Oregon Country in the 1860s." (p. ix)

Divided into six chapters, the book begins with Lincoln early contacts with the Oregon country including his appointment as Oregon Territorial secretary in 1849 which he declined and an offer a few months later to be governor of Oregon Territory, another job he did not accept.

Lincoln knew several Illinois people who immigrated to Oregon in the 1850s and he kept in contact with them over the years and they provided him with valuable knowledge about territorial politics. These friends included David Logan, Dr. Anson G. Henry, Simeon Francis and Edward D. Baker and chapter two outlines their ties to Lincoln and the roles the men played in Oregon country politics as well as how they established the Republican Party in the northwest.

Chapters three and four deal with Lincoln and the Oregon Country during the Civil War years, 1861–1864. Oregon Republicans were sly politicians and fused a coalition with Douglas Democrats, those who favored

popular sovereignty, to win elections. Their power solidified with patronage appointments once Lincoln was elected president. Etulain's use of primary sources including letters and government reports make these fascinating chapters to read. It is this type of research and the rich potential existing in newspapers, private letters and territorial papers that is sure to spur other books and monographs on the topic of Lincoln and the West.

Chapter five discusses Lincoln's reelection in 1864 and the changing boundaries of the Oregon Country and the emergence of new states and territories — all tied to their founding father, Abraham Lincoln and the Republican Party. Chapter six focuses on the last months of Lincoln's administration and how the region reacted to his assassination. The volume concludes with bibliographic essay discussing the major sources for this book.

Etulain covers a good deal of ground in this small volume and is sure to spark additional research. He successfully makes readers aware that the Oregon Country was not a far-away place, silent and unresponsive to the events of the nation during the Civil War. It was an area filled with Democrats and Republicans who debated slavery and the economy just like their fellow citizens back in the states. And most importantly, Etulain states, it was their political bonds with Lincoln that indicated ". . . their participation in national happenings in the Civil War era." (p. x)

This volume, from a well-respected historian, will be studied and honored and his ideas accepted; and as a result, historians, students and researchers are sure to delve into the idea of Lincoln and the West and re-examine primary sources and especially Lincoln's own writings and the annual reports from government agencies that reported on conditions in the West whether it be Indians, military posts or mail delivery. For example, in reference to the western territories, from his 1864 annual message to Congress, President Lincoln wrote, ". . . and thus our excellent system is firmly established. . . ." And so it was.

# BOOKS FOR THE WESTERN LIBRARY

JOURNAL *of the* WEST  
Summer 2012, Vol. 51, No. 3

**THE OLD WEST IN FACT AND FILM: *History versus Hollywood***, by Jeremy Agnew (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2012), 258 pp., \$40.00 pb.

Jeremy Agnew compares the historical Old West with how Hollywood has depicted it. His book deals with special effects, locations, the singing cowboys, the stylized clothing, the six-guns that fired a dozen shots, showdown confrontations, glorification of outlaws and lawmen, Gene Autry's "Cowboy Code," women in Westerns, and the conflicts involving the U.S. cavalry and various Indian tribes. Agnew is especially interested in anachronisms and points out numerous examples that a casual viewer is likely to overlook. He states his book offers a representative sampling rather than a comprehensive view of Western films.

Agnew alternates between discussions of the historical West and films that deal with the history of people, places, and events in Western films. His discussions, however, are more descriptive than analytical and, while he examines low-budget B Westerns as well as A Westerns, he doesn't deal with the decisions of producers to film where costs are less, say, shooting scenes in Chatsworth in the San Fernando Valley and calling them Arizona. Although he discusses the stereotyping of Native Americans, he fails to mention African American cowboys or cavalymen, or Mexican vaqueros and their inclusion or exclusion from films. For a work purporting to contrast the fact and film of the Old West, there are some careless errors, a sampling of which include stating the 19th Amendment enacted Prohibition (p. 203), the home of William S. Hart in Tehachapi (it's in Newhall, p. 50); and failing to mention that *Sergeants 3* was a remake of *Gunga Din*. The book is of interest but falls short of its promises.

ABRAHAM HOFFMAN, *Department of History*  
*Los Angeles Valley College, Valley Glen, CA*

**DANCE LODGES OF THE OMAHA PEOPLE: *Building From Memory***, by Mark Awakuni-Swetland (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 200 pp., \$19.95 pb.

This anthropological book, a reissue of a 2002 work, examines Omaha culture in transition in the twentieth-century. The Omaha built and maintained several dance lodges on their Nebraska reservation from the turn of the century to the 1940s. These were used for ceremonial, cultural, and social purposes, and, as Awakuni-Swetland argues, the dance lodges "represented both preservation and innovation" and the activities conducted there "illustrate the range of the lodge as cultural protector and cultural innovator" (41). Through new building techniques and materials, as well as new cultural activities, the dance lodges represented innovation in Omaha culture. However, they provided a space to continue traditional endeavors, which served to keep aspects of Omaha culture alive. With many Omaha leaving the reservation during and after World War II, the lodges were deserted and neglected. In recent decades, the Omaha have undertaken to revitalize their culture. While there are no plans to construct new dance lodges, Awakuni-Swetland illustrates how the dance lodge have "protected and promoted dances

and ceremonies in an uninterrupted line from past generations" (79).

*Dance Lodges of the Omaha People*, based on approximately fifty interviews with Omaha elders, chronicles significant experiences of Omaha history and culture, but the book leaves some important questions unanswered. The author notes that other Great Plains tribes built similar lodges, but fails to put the Omaha experience in this larger context or offer an evaluation of the larger phenomena. However, considering the lack of similar studies, the book is an indispensable analysis in Omaha history and culture, as well as the architectural history of the American West. Further, the inclusion of photos, maps, and several of the interviews offers a first-hand glimpse of this history. Everyone interested in twentieth-century Native American history or the understudied field of Native American architectural history will find *Dance Lodges of the Omaha People* a rewarding read.

JAMESON R. SWEET, *Department of History*  
*University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN*

**WITH GOLDEN VISIONS BRIGHT BEFORE THEM: *Trails to the Mining West, 1849–1852***, by Will Bagley (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012), 464 pp., \$45.00 hb.

*With Golden Visions Bright Before Them* is the second volume of a projected four-volume history and follows *So Rugged and Mountainous: Blazing the Trails to Oregon and California, 1812–1848*. As with the first volume, Will Bagley's makes liberal use of hundreds of contemporary journals, letters and newspaper accounts.

This volume covers the first three years of western migration following the discovery of gold in California. Tens of thousands of emigrants, eager to tap into the wealth that awaited them in the goldfields, started out from Missouri and Iowa in the spring of 1849. Few had any experience to aid them with the journey before them and the discarded cargo that littered the trails soon evidenced its difficulty.

The journey was constrained in time, having to start late enough for the spring growth of grass to sustain the animals, but early enough to make it over the Sierras before the autumn storms. The stock animals were pressed hard. The first half of the trip, up to South Pass, was relatively easy but, as the emigrants entered the Great Basin, grass and water became scarce and the trail was soon lined with dead oxen and horses and the abandoned wagons they once hauled. The greatest obstacle, the Sierras, awaited the travelers at the end of their weary, five-month ordeal. Many turned back during the trip or soon after finding that the dreams of quick and easy wealth came true for a very few.

Bagley does a superb job of weaving his many sources together to form a coherent narrative, providing a rich and detailed description of the migrants and the ordeal they faced. The daily discomforts of the trail, the dangers of disease, the violence among the emigrants and the reactions of Native Americans were all part of our nation's relentless western migration. From preparing in St. Joseph to straggling into the

gold fields, Bagley provides a vivid picture of the experience in the words of those who undertook the challenge.

STEVEN C. HAACK  
*Lincoln, NE*

**POLITICS, LABOR, AND THE WAR ON BIG BUSINESS: The Path of Reform in Arizona, 1890–1920**, by David R. Berman (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2012), 376 pp., \$49.50 hb.

Large corporations buying off politicians, workers invading local government offices to protest labor conditions, radicals being rounded up by the police and forced to leave town — such events, seemingly ripped from today’s headlines, create the backdrop of David Berman’s *Politics, Labor, and the War on Big Business*. During the Progressive Era, simmering tensions between radical labor factions, large development-minded corporations, and reforming local officials boiled over, creating a divisive political discourse. Berman contends that this polarization typified Arizona from the late territorial period, through the quest for individual statehood, to the eventual ensconcing of conservative officials in Phoenix during and after World War I. While this process does mirror the national movements taking place at the same time, Berman makes it clear that Arizona’s access to natural resources, population composition, and path towards statehood engendered a unique political environment within the greater context of Progressive reform.

The central figure towering over Berman’s narrative (at a not-so towering 5’ 9”) is George W. P. Hunt — progressive politician, member of the Arizona legislature and Constitutional Convention, and the state’s first governor. Hunt worked to build an electoral coalition during the 1910–1911 fight over Arizona’s Constitution, pulling disparate labor groups, semi-Socialists, and former Populists under his umbrella of progressive Democracy. He also composed a powerful political narrative of corporate control of the Republican Party, painting them as corrupt stooges for outside enterprises that wanted to subjugate workers and move profits out of the just-then forming state. As governor, he oversaw legislation that expanded local democracy and guaranteed worker’s rights. These political gains did not save Hunt from the scathing criticism that followed from his proposals for prison reform and women’s suffrage, and when combined with a nationwide assault on radicalism during World War I, served to rend his coalition asunder and depose him, temporarily, from the governorship. The forced deportation of radical labor members from the mining town of Bisbee on July 12, 1917, acts as the book’s climax, allowing Berman to tie Arizona into a national narrative of reform and decline, while still showing how the state retained elements unique to itself. *Politics, Labor, and the War on Big Business* supplies a crucial description of Progressive Era Arizona and contextualizes our image of the same period, not only in the West, but also within the nation.

ANDREW J. FORNEY, *Department of History*  
*United States Military Academy, West Point, NY*

**THE MORMON REBELLION: America’s First Civil War, 1857–1858**, by David L. Bigler and Will Bagley. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011) 364 pp., \$35.00 hb.

Bigler and Bagley tell us in their introduction to *The Mormon Rebellion* that the Mormon migration to Utah, the

establishment of the State of Deseret under Brigham Young, and President James Buchanan’s insisting that Utah was actually a U.S. territory, did not go quite as we have been told. They fill in newly learned details and tell us of some of the less glorious, even horrifying, history of the movement by availing themselves of sources that had been sequestered for perhaps 150 years by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

In 1847, after suffering years of persecution, the Saints, as they called themselves, began their migration to Utah Territory, where Young established the Kingdom of God, an independent theocracy, with himself as head of the Church, as well as superintendent of Indian affairs, governor and absolute ruler who made or approved all governmental and judicial appointments, laws, and generally ran things as he saw fit. He drove all federal appointees out of the land. Anyone who disagreed with him might be killed or just disappear. President Buchanan, in 1857, appointed a different governor and set of officials and judges and sent them west with the U.S. Army’s Utah Expedition Force to enforce his will. Young replied by raising the Nauvoo Legion to fight them off. Neither side really wanted to shed blood in this very unequal battle, and time passed until winter snows came and shut maneuvers down. By spring, the sides had negotiated a settlement, and the federal appointees were able to travel to Great Salt Lake City under armed guard and assume their positions, though Young and his followers were less than welcoming and cooperative.

The actual space that the “war of rebellion” takes in the totality of *The Mormon Rebellion* is relatively small, with the rest setting the background for the battle that never was. The book is interesting reading, though it gets a bit detailed at times. The authors include eighteen pages of illustrations.

CHRISTOPHER BANNER  
*Senior Specialist in Music Emeritus*  
*Kansas State University, Manhattan, KS*

**COMPARATIVE INDIGENEITIES OF THE AMERICAS: Toward a Hemispheric Approach**, by M. Bianet Castellanos, Lourdes Gutierrez Najera, and Arturo J. Aldama, eds. (Tucson: University of Arizona, 2012), 376 pp., \$37.95 pb.

*Comparative Indigeneities of the Americas* is an anthology of essays and as the title suggests, it is a hemispheric look at indigenous peoples almost exclusively of the Western Hemisphere. The editors claim that a hemispheric look is needed now more than ever, because lines between ethnic groups are becoming increasingly blurred. The editors also contend that peoples of mixed race should be included as Indigenous. Many of the authors believe (and wrote) that the concepts of race, boundaries, and other ideas of identity are concepts foisted upon indigenous peoples by their European conquerors, some false ideas even codified into national laws and constitutions.

The editors, Professors M. Bianet Castellanos, Lourdes Gutierrez Najera, and Arturo J. Aldama are all active researchers and writers in the field of Ethnic or American Studies. They have edited a work that is wide ranging and thought provoking, which some will find provocative. The articles are well written, edited, and generally reflect a high level of scholarship. The idea for the book came from a



series of discussions held at various universities followed by a series of research seminars held at the University of Minnesota, which culminated in an international symposium, "Sovereignty and Autonomy in the Americas," in 2008. Some of the articles in *Comparative Indigenities of the Americas* were papers read at the symposium.

The book is made up of 21 chapters authored by 23 scholars from a variety of backgrounds, but dominated by scholars in Ethnic or American Studies. The essays deal with migration, displacement, sovereignty, spirituality, healing, and self-determination. The essays predominately concern natives of Mexico, including Mexican-Americans, although indigenous peoples of Brazil, Canada, the Caribbean, and Hawaii are examined somewhat. There is only one essay by an historian.

Because this is a work of ethnology the authors use novels, movies, poetry, folksongs, and stories as their primary sources. Some historians may find the use of works of fiction troubling. But these "purist" are missing the point. The authors and editors of *Comparative Indigenities of the Americas* have presented a new way of studying indigenous history, which is long overdue, and needs more attention from historians. A new area of historical investigation is called for — broader and less provincial than histories of the past.

JOHN T. "JACK" BECKER

*TTU Libraries*

*Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX*

**BIRCH COULIE: The Epic Battle of the Dakota War**, by John Christgau. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012) 137 pp., \$16.95 pb.

This new account of the U.S. Dakota War of 1862 emphasizes the Battle of Birch Coulie as the central event of the conflict. The war was the largest and most destructive Indian war in United States history but is often overlooked by both earlier and later Indian wars and overshadowed by the Civil War which absorbed most of the nation's attention. The heart of John Christgau's *Birch Coulie* is an effective retelling of the battle itself based on accounts of some of the soldiers who were there. Author Christgau also provides a poignant epilogue on later commemorative efforts by survivors in the years following the conflict.

Nevertheless, as a history of the U.S. Dakota War the book is problematic. Birch Coulie was not the most important battle of the war. Although surely epic for the participants it was hardly the war's most dramatic battle and was largely irrelevant to the outcome of the fighting. By later admission of Dakota leaders, the struggles at Fort Ridgely and New Ulm closed the central Minnesota River Valley to the Indians and frustrated their strategy of ethnically cleansing the valley of its white inhabitants. The discussion of the war's causes, the early history of Minnesota, and relations between settlers, Dakota, and the government is simplistic. Indeed, prior to the outbreak of the conflict relations between many settlers and the Indians had been quite good. Despite the simmering resentments, the Dakota were quite capable of distinguishing among the various whites they encountered — the relatively inoffensive settlers vs. the often rapacious Indian agents — and the government whose incompetence and bad faith lit the spark for the war. In fact, the settlers' good relations with the Dakota led many to disbelieve early reports of violence, probably leading to a higher death toll. Dakota strategy, the deep divisions among different Dakota fac-

tions, and weak leadership shown by Little Crow are also given short shrift. Some details are also confusing, such as referring to all mobile artillery as "mountain guns," or describing Dakota as fighting in ranks. A lack of maps makes some sections unnecessarily hard to follow. In summary, this is a solid account of the Battle of Birch Coulie, but existing works such as Duane Schulz's *Over the Earth I Come* remain better for the war as a whole.

JOHN RADZILOWSKI, *Department of History*  
*University of Alaska Southeast, Ketchikan, AK*

**THE WORLD, THE FLESH, AND THE DEVIL; A History of Colonial St. Louis**, by Patricia Cleary (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2011), 357 pp., \$40.00 hb.

Any history of the American west must pay homage to St. Louis at some point. With the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers providing access from the east and south and the Missouri River reaching into the Great Plains, St. Louis was a major conduit for trade goods and the starting point for thousands of journeys into the frontier. While the recognition of St. Louis generally begins with the Lewis and Clark Expedition of 1804, Patricia Cleary's history ends at that point. *The World, the Flesh and the Devil* looks back over the forty years before Lewis and Clark to the city's inception as a trading settlement and its subsequent growth.

In 1763, Pierre de Laclède arrived from New Orleans to establish a post for trade along the Missouri River, ten miles south of its confluence with the Mississippi. As the population grew, St. Louis became an important economic outpost of Europe. Due to its isolation, its inhabitants were little aware that ownership had been transferred from French to Spanish hands in 1762. Spanish administrators did not actually arrive to take control until 1770. In the meantime, the settlement grew rapidly, its institutions reflecting the influence of both the French and Spanish inhabitants. With the addition of Native American influences as well as those from Colonial America, St. Louis became a unique mélange of cultures and languages.

Cleary's book provides a deeply detailed picture of the early growth of the city. Always chaotic, sometimes violent, the seedling planted on the banks of the Mississippi in 1763 was sustained by the dreams of those seeking to make their stand on the western frontier and grew into a great American city.

STEVEN C. HAACK

*Lincoln, NE*

**BLAZING A WAGON TRAIL TO OREGON: A Weekly Chronicle of the Great Migration of 1843**, by Lloyd W. Coffman (Lincoln, NE: Caxton Press, 2012), 184 pp., \$12.95 pb.

This interesting narrative about the 1843 overland migration from Independence, Missouri, to the Oregon Country is a re-issue of a book privately published in 1993. The author, Lloyd Coffman, teaches classes on Oregon Trail history through the department of continuing education at Eastern Oregon University and is well-versed in his subject. The book consists of two introductory chapters relating to travel preparations, 22 chapters offering a week-by-week account of the progress and setbacks experienced by the Oregon Emigrating Company on the Oregon Trail (May 21 to October 22), a conclusion, an epilogue, notes, and a bibliography.

The intrepid travelers of 1843 were not the first group to set forth for Oregon. Previous pioneer wagon trains had gone as far as Fort Hall and the Hudson's Bay Post in 1841 and 1842 respectively; but the Great Migration of '43 was the first to make it all the way, some two thousand miles over terrain without roads or bridges to a land that they could only vaguely and hopefully envision. The weekly progress and daily routines of the 900 pioneers; myriad ways in which hardship was overcome; occasional births, sicknesses, and deaths; and attempts to organize themselves are all carefully recounted. We learn, for example, that provisions costing \$1000 were typically needed, but that poorer emigrants could accompany more prosperous families as employees on the trip. Impassable mud, choking dust, treacherous fords, management of livestock, cooking with buffalo chips, and encounters with explorers, trappers, and Native Americans are described in fascinating detail. The relative merits of oxen, mules, and horses are judiciously compared. The "tenacity of the American emigrants" (p. 171) led in due course to the state of Oregon becoming part of the United States. (Britain also had a convincing claim on the land).

The narrative is nicely supplemented by extensive quotations from letters, diaries, and memoirs. Unfortunately, the book's appearance is marred by soft-focus, computer-generated maps, often fuzzy illustrations, and an abundance of misprints. Chapter 17, for example, ends abruptly in mid-sentence. In a number of passages, italic letters "h" and "b" are used interchangeably, and many additional typographical errors make the volume seem more than a little amateurish. It is surprising that neither the author nor the University of Nebraska Press paid adequate attention to the final preparation of this otherwise important book.

JEFFREY MIFFLIN, *Archivist and Curator  
Massachusetts General Hospital, Boston, MA*

**ATOMIC FRONTIER DAYS: Hanford and the American West**, by John M. Findlay and Bruce Hevly (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011), 368 pp., \$24.95 pb.

Taking a regional and topical approach, Findlay and Hevly explore the development of the Hanford Nuclear Reservation in Washington State from the 1940s to the 1990s. Chapter One recounts Hanford's original and primary role as a plutonium "factory" rather than a research facility (p. 51). Chapter Two examines the impact of Hanford on the Tri-Cities communities, especially Richland, shaping their identities and differentiating them socioeconomically. Chapter Three portrays how Tri-Cities boosters and state politicians successfully lobbied to maintain the flow of federal dollars to Hanford even as most of its reactors were shut down by the early 1970s, repurposing the facility for electrical generation and hitching their regional wagon to the controversial breeder reactor program. Finally, in Chapter Four, the authors trace how the Hanford environs has become a "hypercompartmentalized" region typical of the modern West, the local ecosystem fragmented incongruously into urbanized, agricultural, and wilderness areas, and all abutting the most polluted industrial site in America, Hanford (p. 203).

*Atomic Frontier Days* is at its best depicting local attitudes toward what went on at Hanford, from the early postwar sense of pioneering to the final fatalistic pivot to environmental cleanup by the 1980s. The book is effective in nesting Hanford within the overlapping regional contexts of the Tri-Cities,

eastern Washington, Columbia Basin, and greater West. In their discussion of the antinuclear movement, the authors miss an opportunity to mention Karen Silkwood, who was involved in preparing fuel rods for Hanford when she died. Exhaustive in most other respects, *Atomic Frontier Days* should become a standard work on Hanford's history.

ROBERT L. DORMAN, *Dulaney-Browne Library  
Oklahoma City University, Oklahoma City, OK*

**QUILTS: California Bound, California Made 1840–1940**, by Sandi Fox, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013), 199 pp., \$40.00 hb.

In 2002, Sandi Fox, Curator of Quilts at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, staged an exhibition of thirty-nine quilts, bed covers, and comforters from the period 1840–1940 that had been made in the East and carried by migrants to California, or had been made in California. "Quilts" tells their stories and shows them to us in 204 color and black and white illustrations. The text accompanying each quilt tells us of its provenance and maker, if known, of the lives of the makers, of California history related to it, and of its intellectual and artistic content.

The difference between a quilt and a bed cover or comforter was that quilts had fine, patterned stitching holding the front and back together, which was a part of their artistry, whereas the other two did not. Unfortunately, Fox does not tell us much about stitching patterns. For convenience sake, we will refer to them all as quilts.

Quilts tops were made in many patterns. We probably are more aware of the geometrically patterned ones, many of which had names, but they also had free-forms, such as crazy quilts, and had pictorial representation and writings. Some were only pieced, but others were appliquéd or embroidered. Many used a combination of these techniques and we see them all. Quilts were usually made of cotton, but wool, velvet, silk, flannel, plush, and sateen were also used. These latter fabrics generally came into use after the pioneer days. Quilts had the utilitarian value of keeping a sleeper warm. Fox tells us they also recorded history, showed the quilter's values and interests, were gifts to relatives, were sold as fund-raisers for churches and other groups, and were used for other functions as well.

The illustrations show gorgeous examples of the quilter's craft. The texts are well researched and interesting. The reader can only wish for more.

CHRISTOPHER BANNER  
*Emeritus Senior Specialist in Music  
Kansas State University, Manhattan, KS*

**FEVERED MEASURES: Public Health and Race at the Texas-Mexico Border, 1848–1942**, by John McKiernan-Gonzalez, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012) 417 pp., \$26.95 pb.

Disease knows no borders, and attempts to restrict its movement across frontiers are largely futile. In the late nineteenth century, a newly created public health service attempted during several outbreaks of contagious diseases, to prevent yellow fever, typhus, and other contagions from crossing the Mexico-U.S. border. *Fevered Measures* is the story of the effort, but it is more. The work describes techniques the service used to contain disease but emphasizes the use of disease containment methods to define Mexican and

Mexican American residents of the border region as diseased if not a disease in the Anglo state of Texas.

The health service used disease control as a means of asserting white dominance over those they regarded as inferior. Quarantines and degrading delousing, vaccination, and kerosene baths targeted specific classes and ethnicities, serving as methods of racial control as much as if not more than regulators of disease. The era was blatantly racist, with white doctors and officials defining disease as a racial characteristic, treating whites and dark skinned individuals differently, invading the barrios of the lower economic classes, disregarding human rights and dignity as they sought to control the alien, whether germ or person.

This work is significant in that it draws attention to a neglected aspect of border history, another instance of life disregarding arbitrary lines set for human convenience, of humans using one tool, the quarantine, for another purpose, racism.

JOHN H. BARNHILL  
*Houston, TX*

**COAL CREEK CANYON, COLORADO: Tales from Times Past**, by Vicki Moran, ed. (Golden, CO: Moss Rock Press, 2011), 180 pp., \$22.95 pb.

The Coal Creek community lies spread out along the length of a canyon in the Front Range of the Rockies northwest of Denver. The canyon gives it identity. The book offers an informal miscellany of family reminiscences going back to the 1870s forward — residents' memories of childhoods and of homesteading settlers, of early road, cabin and house construction, of sheep and cattle drives through the canyon to reach higher summer pastures, of forest fires, of notable local tragedies such as an especially foul murder and an unrelated mysterious suicide. The book also records a sampling of local humor. Humor can be vital to neighborliness and the sense of community and place the editor wants to convey. Jokes, then, can be more than simply jokes told for a laugh. It seems that Coal Creek Canyon was known for its strong winter winds, and one concocted yarn has it that a log chain fixed to an upright crosstie was necessary to gauge the true strength of Coal Creek's winds. If, during a blow, the piece of chain was wind-lifted and stood straight out from its crosstie anchor post, the wind was pretty high. However, a heavy chain had to be used because it was learned that a lighter chain would wear thin and break from constant flexing and friction after two or three Coal Creek windy seasons.

On the whole, the book is enjoyable if perhaps haphazard and without much plan to its informal presentation. Only an academic quibbler and hard-liner would criticize it for this. Included are 155 historic photos of individuals and local scenes.

JAMES T. BRATCHER  
*San Antonio, TX*

**THE GRAND CANYON READER**, by Lance Newman, ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 245 pp., \$19.95 pb.

This well-received anthology reprints twenty-seven essays selected from the vast body of writing devoted to the canyon since Pedro de Castaneda's 1540 report of its discovery by conquistadors as Coronado's expedition searched for the

cities of gold. Reactions to the canyon by modern visitors such as Edward Abbey and Terry Tempest Williams are represented here, as are earlier descriptions by familiar writers like Joseph Wood Krutch and Wallace Stegner, and by the aesthete Harriet Monroe, one-time editor of *Poetry* magazine, whose article first appeared in 1899. A small group of undatable Indian accounts of the canyon and its mysteries, preserved in retrieved Hopi and Hualapai myths, round out the collection.

In his Introduction the editor writes that his selections "offer the widest possible range of human feelings about the Grand Canyon" (2). His selections fulfill this promise. Most often the feelings have been of experienced awe, majesty, and a sense of otherworldliness in viewing the canyon's glories. And yet, practical-minded reporters like the Spaniard Castaneda and U.S. Army reconnoiterer Lt. Joseph Ives, who encountered the canyon in 1854, regarded it as a curious but useless impediment and a waste. To Castaneda it stood in the way of untold booty, a nuisance. Centuries later, Lt. Ives assured his superiors and the Congress that it was valueless and that "Ours has been the first, and will doubtless be the last, party of whites to visit this profitless locality" (196). Theodore Roosevelt, who visited canyon in 1903 and 1918, urged its preservation without undue human meddling. At the same time, Roosevelt was passionate in the manly pursuits, and when it came to the rim country bordering the canyon, the hunter in him took over. He advised that the rim country was especially suitable for running down and eradicating unwanted cougars that preyed on other wildlife.

Readers of this journal will welcome this diverse and enriching anthology.

JAMES T. BRATCHER  
*San Antonio, TX*

**THE PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITY: A History of the California State University**, by Donald R. Gerth (Berkeley: Berkeley Public Policy Press, Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 2010), 664 pp., \$35.00 pb.

The California State University system spans 23 campuses and enrolls more than 400,000 students. Donald Gerth's *The People's University: A History of the California State University* traces the development of the university from its origin as several separate and independent normal schools and teachers colleges established in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These schools grew dramatically (both in enrollments and campus ambitions) during the post-World War II era. In 1960, the new California Master Plan for Higher Education brought the state colleges and universities together into a system. The California State University System focused on teaching, paralleling and complementing the research-oriented University of California system. Gerth explores the expansion of the system through the addition of new campuses, and the changing leadership of the system's various chancellors, from Glenn Dumke to Charles Reed.

*The People's University* is more of a comprehensive narrative overview of the CSU's history than a work of analysis and interpretation. Still, it is a useful guide, helpful in understanding the university's development over time. The book is organized into sections focusing on the early history and development of the system; the organizational divisions

and functions of the CSU; the students, faculty, and staff; and a concluding section assessing the universities' successes, shortcomings, and future prospects.

Gerth, a political scientist who served as president of two CSU campuses, has written a book that exhibits both the strengths and weaknesses of a history written by former member of the organization. It offers many of his unique insights and insider perspectives, but has a strong tendency toward excessive detail and repetition. However, it is a useful and exhaustive chronicling of the nation's largest public university system and will be of special interest to anyone associated with the CSU or higher education in California.

DOUGLAS W. DODD

*Department of History*

*California State University, Bakersfield, CA*

**THE HOUSE ON LEMON STREET: Japanese Pioneers and the American Dream**, by Mark Howland Rawitsch (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2012), 388 pp., \$29.95 hb.

Mark Rawitsch has written the compelling story of the Harada family, Japanese immigrants who came to California in pursuit of the American Dream. Jukichi Harada and his wife Ken operated the Washington Restaurant in Riverside, California. In looking for a better home in a nice neighborhood, the Haradas purchased a house on Lemon Street in 1915. Ineligible for U.S. citizenship and unable to buy a house under the state's Alien Land Law of 1913, the Haradas bought it in the names of their American-born minor children. This resulted in the landmark case *People of California v. Jukichi Harada*, a victory for the Harada family. The children grew up in a neighborhood with both friendly and unfriendly neighbors. However, Riverside, especially under the civic leadership of Mission Inn founder Frank Miller, was a more tolerant community to Issei and Nisei families than most other California towns.

World War II traumatized the Harada family. Forced to leave their home, Jukichi and Ken, in poor health, died at the Topaz concentration camp even as son Harold fought in Italy in the 442nd Regimental Combat Team. After the war daughter Sumi lived alone in the Lemon Street home that had been cared for by a Caucasian family friend. Rawitsch met Sumi when he was a graduate student, beginning a thirty-year friendship with the Haradas that resulted in the successful campaign to place 3356 Lemon Street on the National Register of Historic Places. Rawitsch skillfully combines the Harada family story with an excellent narrative of how Japanese immigrants and their American-born children dealt with prejudice, persevering in their loyalty to the United States.

ABRAHAM HOFFMAN

*Department of History*

*Los Angeles Valley College, Valley Glen, CA*

**OUTSIDE PASSAGE: A Memoir of an Alaskan Childhood**, by Julia Scully (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2011) 233 pp., \$15.95 pb.

This re-issued autobiographical account casts Alaska as the land of opportunity, in economic and personal development terms. Julia Scully's mother, a Jew born in Austria-Hungary, left San Francisco for Nome with her husband to own and operate a coffee shop. Before her husband committed

suicide upon the loss of a fair income earned there, Julia's mother returned to San Francisco in hopes of an easier life with her two daughters. Struggling there, she gladly accepted an invitation back to Nome as a cook but, in 1939, happened upon the chance to manage the Taylor Creek Roadhouse northeast of Nome. She left her daughters behind in orphanages while she established herself in the new land. Julia worked her way through several years of imagined ailments which uncertainty and stern, unfeeling caretakers induced. Life improved vastly in that roadhouse.

This reviewer values the book most for its novel contribution in the detailed ethnography of one roadhouse. Travelers were rare. Out of the nearby gold camps nightly came the miners to revel in the spring through the fall. Julia and her family participated. At season's end, several nights of partying earned profits greater than the rest of the season. Julia still found opportunities for privacy. Nome, described at length in the author's gifted prose capturing sites, sounds, smell, weather, the surrounding landscape and the feel of life, gains equal attention with the roadhouse.

After the roadhouse's closing due to World War II, Julia's memory of Alaska dwells on her emotional survival and eventual return Outside. Scholars and general readers may not enjoy the memoir's emotional wrenchings but they can learn from it an unvarnished true story.

KEITH A. SCULLE

*Retired Head, Research and Education*

*Illinois Historic Preservation Agency, Springfield, IL*

**DELIVERANCE FROM THE LITTLE BIGHORN: Doctor Henry Porter and Custer's Seventh Cavalry**, by Joan Nabseth Stevenson (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012) 213 pp., \$24.95 pb.

Throughout the annals of history the events surrounding the Battle of the Little Bighorn have largely been viewed and told through the eyes of soldiers, generals, and even Native American participants; yet, missing from the historical record are the perspectives of medical personnel who "contracted" with the army to accompany military expeditions in the field. Thus, in adding her own thread to the tapestry of this most famous battle in the American West, author Joan Nabseth Stevenson allows readers to peer through the pale blue eyes of twenty-eight-year-old surgeon Henry Porter with vivid vicariousness. Of the three surgeons riding with Custer's Seventh Cavalry on June 25, 1876, only Porter managed to stay alive and was therefore responsible for the care of more than 350 soldiers as they attempted to fight off thousands of warriors from Major Marcus Reno's hilltop position. In this way, then, *Deliverance from the Little Bighorn* offers readers a new prism through which to evaluate the Battle of the Little Bighorn in particular, and the greater American West in general.

Stevenson utilizes more than a hundred books and articles, along with several manuscript collections housed in various archives, to successfully illustrate and juxtapose the utility of such contract surgeons like Porter with the overall lowly treatment afforded them by the United States Army and Congress. As such, Stevenson offers new insight into the efficacy and role of nineteenth-century contract surgeons, while simultaneously allowing readers to probe and analyze the Battle of the Little Bighorn from a different angle. Although not offering a complete history of the battle,

*Deliverance* has greatly contributed to the scholarship on the topic and will serve to inform both trained historians and general audiences alike.

ROSS HUXOLL, *Department of History*  
*University of Nebraska, Kearney, NE*

**LAST STAND: George Bird Grinnell, the Battle to Save the Buffalo, and the Birth of the New West**, by Michael Punke (Lincoln: Bison Books, 2007), 286 pp., \$18.95 pb.

This well-written, engaging book combines a biography of Grinnell with a brief natural and cultural history of the Great Plains, the fur trade, and westward migration — all with bison as the focal point. It documents the sad history of Indian displacement and the loss of both their way of life and sovereignty as the buffalo were decimated, especially in the aftermath of the transcontinental railroad.

Punke provides excellent context, describing the nascent 19th century American conservation movement. As a young, well-educated adventurer in the west, Grinnell was deeply moved even as he participated in the Pawnee's last buffalo hunt. Later, as editor of the influential *Forest and Stream*, Grinnell rallied sportsmen to the cause of wildlife and land conservation, and had a major influence in the 1880s on future president Theodore Roosevelt.

One of the most interesting storylines of the book follows the early history of Yellowstone National Park, the nation's first, established in 1872 as little more than a concept. By the 1890s, Yellowstone was home to the nation's last remaining wild buffalo herd. Grinnell played a pivotal role in the dramatic political battle that finally established federal enforcement power to protect the park's wildlife from poaching.

Punke sums up his subject succinctly: "Grinnell's genius was his ability to see the future before it was too late, and then to act, and then to act with great effect."

ROBERT J. KRUMENAKER  
*National Park Service, Bayfield, WI*

**THE INDIANIZATION OF LEWIS AND CLARK**, by William R. Swagerty. 2 vols. (Norman, OK: Arthur H. Clark Company, 2012), 778 pp., \$90.00 hb.

The last sentence in the conclusion of these volumes succinctly says it all: ". . . this national epic was made possible by Indians, and by Lewis, Clark, and their Corps of Discovery's willingness to learn and adapt Indian ways." (p. 681). In twelve fact-filled chapters, Swagerty explains, and surveys the material aspects of the expedition and how the men adapted their own customs and material culture to that of the Native Americans they met on their way to the Pacific. Chapter topics include clothing and foot wear, medicines and healthcare, food, everyday/useful items needed by the Corps and made by Native Americans, smoking, language, diplomacy, and geography, including maps.

The men of the expedition, coming from frontier environments in the eastern and southern United States, adapted well to the cultural and material world of the peoples they met. The author references and quotes many well-known Lewis and Clark authorities and his extensive footnotes are presented at the bottom of each page — a most welcomed feature of Arthur H. Clark books. There is also an all-embracing selective bibliography. Readers are left to ponder the lasting impact of the indianization upon the men of the expedition — for example Clark's role in many treaties that did not favor the Native Americans. This is a fascinating, challenging study and a must-read for all Lewis and Clark enthusiasts.

PATRICIA ANN OWENS, *Department of History*  
*Wabash Valley College, Mt. Carmel, IL*

# INDEX

## — A —

abolition terrorism, 16  
 abolitionist, 23, 43  
*Action Before Westport*, 46, 53  
 Afghanistan, 70  
 Africa, 16  
 African, 8  
 African American, 18, 26, 29  
 Agassiz, Louis, 30–31  
 Alabama, 61  
*Albany Inquirer* (OR), 23  
 Alexander, Edward Porter (Lieutenant), 20  
 Allen, James, 18–19  
 Alta California (San Francisco), 62  
 America, 18, 30, 42, 56, 68, 94  
   East, 16–17, 21, 23, 25, 40, 44, 64, 67, 86, 88, 92, 100  
   East Coast, 3, 31, 62  
   Far West, 10–12, 14, 16, 21, 25, 62–65, 85  
   North, 10, 18, 27, 41, 56, 60, 66, 68  
   Northwest, 16–18, 20–23, 25, 44, 76, 78  
   Pacific Coast, 10, 20, 23, 44, 62  
   Pacific Northwest, 8, 16, 18, 20–21, 25–26, 100  
 Plains, 31, 62  
 South, 8, 18, 20–21, 23, 27, 34, 41–44, 56, 60–61, 63–64, 66, 85  
 Southwest, 8, 10  
 Trans-Mississippi, 62, 99  
 West, 7–9, 16, 20–22, 27, 29–32, 34, 40–41, 60, 66–69, 83, 87, 99–100  
   common lands, 60  
   expanse, 64–65  
   migration, 66  
   opening of, 56  
   settlement of, 8  
   white expansion, 66  
   West Coast, 8, 16, 18, 21–22, 43  
 Wild West, 90, 97  
 American, 10–14, 16, 18, 22, 27, 29, 31, 33, 44, 62–64, 67, 83, 91  
 borders, 10–11  
 emancipation, 27  
 expansion, 27, 70  
 government, 11–12, 83  
 history, 66, 88  
 law, 14  
 military, 63  
 neutrality policy, 10–14, 16, 20, 22, 44, 64  
 politics, 8  
 social relations, 8  
 states' rights, 17, 60  
 "American Progress," 69  
 Americas, 11  
 Anderson, Robert (Major), 60  
 Anglo-American, 63, 99  
 anti-coercion policy, 43  
 anti-rent association, 59  
 Anti-Rent Farmers  
   *see* farmers, Anti-Rent  
 Anti-Rent Movement, 56  
 Anti-Rent Party, 56, 60  
 Arends, Friedrich, 33

Arizona  
 Flagstaff, 4  
 Fort Mojave, 63  
 Hillside, 3  
 Kaibab Cliffs, 5  
 Kaibab Plateau "Siwash," 4, 6  
 Lee's Ferry, 4  
 Toroweap Formation, 5  
 Arizona Exploring Expedition, 14  
 Arkansas, 51, 61  
   Little Rock, 46  
 Armigo, Governor, 34  
*Army and Navy Journal*, 10  
 Asia, 21  
 Atlantic Ocean, 20–21  
 Austrian, 10, 64

## — B —

Bache, Alexander Dallas, 33  
 Bagley, Clarence, 25  
 Bailey, Francis, 29  
 Baker, Edward (Colonel), 40, 44, 100  
 Bancroft, Hubert, 25  
 Bandelier, Adolph Francis Alphonse, 27, 33  
 barometer, 27, 29–35  
 barometric  
   leveling, 30  
   measurement, 31  
   pressure, 27, 29  
 barometrical observations, 32  
 Barton, Edward H. (Dr.), 33  
 Bates, Edward (Attorney General), 44  
 Battle of Ball's Bluff, 40  
 Battle of Little Bighorn, 87  
 Battle of the Big Blue, 8, 47–48, 51  
 Battle of Westport, 8  
*Battle of Westport, The*, 46, 51–52  
 Battle of Wolf Mountain, 87  
 Beale, Edward F., 13  
 Bear Paw Mountains, 75  
 Beauregard, General, 61  
 Beck, Glenn, 70  
 Bell, John, 18, 60  
 Bennett, Lyman G., 49, 51–52  
 Benteen, Frederick W. (Captain), 94  
 Bergman, Gil, 51  
 Bigelow, John Milton, 32–33, 35  
 "Big Four," 41  
 black, 8, 16, 18, 20, 22, 43  
   civil rights, 25  
   economic rights, 24  
   emancipation of, 34  
   equality, 24–25  
   political rights, 24–25  
   right to vote, 18, 24, 60  
   social rights, 24  
   troops, 46  
 Black Hills War, 91  
 black republican army, 44  
 Blair, Frank, 34  
 Blattner, Jacob, 30, 34  
 Bleeding Kansas, 17–18  
 Boone, Daniel, 67  
 botany, 31  
 Boughton, Smith "Big Thunder" (Dr.), 59–60  
 Bowie, George (Colonel), 64  
 Bozeman Trail, 83  
 Braun, Alexander Carl Heinrich, 34

Breckenridge, John, 18, 21, 42, 60  
 Brendel, Friedrich, 33  
 British, 18–19, 22, 29, 57–58, 63–64  
   Crown Colony, 16, 18, 22  
   law, 19  
   neutrality, 64  
   Possessions, 20  
*British Clumbia Historical Quarterly*, 26  
 Brown vs. Board of Education, 81  
 Bryan, Jerry, 92  
 Buchanan, James (President), 17–18, 23, 56, 60–61, 68  
 Bull, William, 58  
 Buresch, Lumir, 54  
 Burke, M. L. (Chief), 13  
 Bush, George Washington, 18

## — C —

Calamity Jane, 90  
 California, 8, 11–14, 17–18, 20–21, 25–26, 40–44, 62–64, 66  
   Los Angeles, 42  
   Sacramento, 41, 43  
   San Bernardino, 42  
   San Francisco, 10–14, 18, 21–22, 40–42, 62–64  
   Amador Quartz Mine, 41  
   San Rafael, 34  
 California Legislature, 42  
 California-New Mexico Territory  
   border, 64  
 California, Northern, 42  
 California Press, 42  
 California, Southern, 42, 62–63  
 Canada, 3, 20, 63–64, 87  
   British Columbia, 8, 63  
   Vancouver Island, 63–64  
   Victoria, 16, 18–20, 22, 25–26, 63–64  
 Canadian-American boundary, 63  
 Carpenter, Horace W., 40  
 Carrington, Henry B. (Colonel), 84  
 Cass, Lewis (Secretary of State), 19  
 Castel, Albert, 53–54  
 Catlin, George, 30  
 Cazotte, Charles Ferdinand, 12–13  
 Central America, 30  
 Chapman, Alvan Wentworth, 34  
 Chapman Affair, 63  
 Charbonneau  
   Sacagawea, 29  
   Toussaint, 29  
*Chicago inter-Ocean*, 91  
 China  
   Macao, 29  
 Christian, 87  
 chronometer, 30  
 civil rights, 81  
 Civil War, American, 8–9, 11, 14, 16–17, 20–27, 29, 34, 40, 43–44, 46, 48, 51, 54, 61–65, 67–68, 83, 88, 99–100  
 Civil War Era, 8, 27, 47, 65–66  
 Clark  
   Monroe "Bridger," 4, 6  
   William, 29–30  
 clean deed, 56, 58  
 Clermont Manor, 57  
 Colorado, 3, 74  
   Grand Canyon, 3–4, 7  
   Crazy Jug Canyon, 6  
   Esplanade Trail, 6

Colorado (*continued*)  
   Grand Canyon (*continued*)  
     Crazy Jug Point, 4  
     Esplanade, 4  
     North Rim, 3–7  
     *see also* Grand Canyon  
   Pagosa Springs, 3  
   common school, 41  
 Confederacy, 20–21, 34, 41–42, 61–62  
   Pacific, 23  
*Confederacy of Ambition: William Winlock Miller and the Making of Washington Territory*, 25  
 Confederate, 8, 11, 16, 21–22, 25, 31, 34, 43–44, 46–48, 51, 53–54, 62–64  
   Army, 24, 27  
 Confederate States of America, 21–22  
 Connor, Patrick E. (General), 83  
 Constitutional Union Party, 18  
 Copperheadism, 24  
*Corvallis Weekly Union* (OR), 23  
 Cox, Secretary of the Interior, 87  
 Crocker, Charles, 41  
 Crofutt, George, 69  
 Crook, George (General), 77, 87–88  
 Cuba, 21  
 Curtis, Samuel (Major General), 47–48, 53–54  
 Custer, George Armstrong (General), 66–67, 76–78, 87, 90–91, 94  
 Custer's "Last Stand," 66–67  
 Custer's Expedition (1874), 90, 94

## — D —

*Daily Alta California* (San Francisco), 41  
*Daily Evening Bulletin*, 23  
*Daily Journal*, 96  
*Daily Missouri Republican* (St. Louis, MO), 44  
*Daily Pioneer* (SD), 92–94, 96–97  
 Davis  
   Jefferson (Honorary Secretary of War), 22, 24, 34, 44, 61  
   Will, 18  
 Dawes, Henry, 87  
 Dawes Act, 68, 72  
 Deadwood (SD)  
   recreation, 95–96  
   baseball, 94–95  
   bowling, 95  
   boxing, 96  
   dancing school, 95–96  
   ring fights, 96  
   skating rink, 96  
 gambling, legalized, 90, 97  
 horse racing, 96  
 Knights of Pythias, 93–94  
 Melodian, 94  
 prostitution, 94  
 saloon, 92, 97  
 Gem Theatre, 94  
   Alcazar Opera Company, 94  
   Baby McDonald, 94  
   Girotle-Girolfa, 94  
   Mazeotte and Olivette, 94  
   New York Symphony Club, 94  
   Vaidis Sisters, 94  
 Deady, Matthew (Judge), 44

- DeBow's Review*, 17  
Democracy, 13  
Democrat, 17–18, 20–24, 41–44, 60, 100  
    Breckinridge Democrat, 42  
    Copperhead Democrat, 24  
    Douglas Democrat, 41–42, 100  
    Peace, 25  
Democratic Party, 18, 24–25, 41, 60  
Denny  
    Arthur, 24–25  
    John, 24  
Douglas, Stephen Arnold (Senator), 18, 56, 60  
Douglass, Sir James (Royal Governor), 63–64  
Downey (D), John G. (Governor), 8, 41–43  
Dred Scott decision, 17–18  
Druggs, B. S., 94  
Dutch, 29, 56, 58
- E —
- Ellison, Joseph, 25  
Emancipation Proclamation, 23, 34  
*Empire of the Columbia: A History of the Pacific Northwest*, 25  
Enlightenment cooperation, 29  
Engelmann, George Julius, 8, 27, 29–35  
England, 11, 63–64  
    London, 29, 63  
    Colonial Board of Trade, 58  
    Lords Commissioners of Trade, 57  
English, 10, 33, 56, 64  
English Manors system, 56  
Etulain, Richard W., 25–26, 99–100  
*Eugene City Review* (OR), 16  
*Eugene Democratic Register* (OR), 23  
Euro American, 67  
Europe, 11, 16, 21, 29–31, 34  
European, 10–11, 14, 29, 34, 64  
    forces, 10  
    power, 8, 10
- F —
- farm, 68  
    Anti-Rent, 56  
    family, 81  
    tenant, 56, 59  
    revolt, 56  
family farm, 9  
Fetterman, Willaim J. (Captain), 85  
Fetterman Massacre, 84–85  
Ficken, Robert E., 25  
Field, Stephen J. (California Chief Justice), 40  
First Bull Run, 43  
First California Infantry Regiment, 62  
Fitzhugh, Edmund, 20, 24  
Florida, 34, 61, 78  
Ford, Gerald R. (President), 81  
Forsyth, James (Colonel), 88  
France, 8, 11–13, 29, 57, 64  
    Paris, 13, 29  
    French Foreign Office, 13  
Francis, Alan (American Consul), 64  
Francis, Simeon, 100
- Franklin, Benjamin, 33  
free labor, 18, 68  
free land, 56  
free men, 18  
free press, 23  
free speech, 18, 23  
free state, 18  
free territory, 18  
Freeman  
    Daniel, 61  
    James, 61  
Frémont  
    Jessie (Benton), 30  
    John C. (General), 8, 30–32, 34, 44  
French, 8, 11–14, 30–31, 33, 64  
    bribes, 13  
    conquest, 10  
    gold, 13  
    military, 11  
    occupation, 10  
French and Indian War, 58  
*Frontier Politics and the Sectional Conflict: The Pacific Northwest on the Eve of the Civil War*, 25  
Fugitive Slave Act, 17–18  
Fuller, Jonathon, 47
- G —
- Gates, Charles M., 25  
*General Sterling Price and the Civil War in the West*, 53–54  
Georgia, 20, 61  
    Georgia, 29  
German, 29–31, 33–34  
Germany, 8  
    Berlin, 30, 34  
Gholson, Richard Dickerson (Governor, WA), 18, 21  
Gibbon, General, 77  
Gibbs, Mifflin, 26  
*Go Do Some Great Thing: The Black Pioneers of British Columbia*, 26  
gold, 21, 41–42, 62–64, 66–67, 75, 82–83, 85–88, 90–92, 97, 99–100  
Gold Rush, 18, 42–43, 64  
    Black Hills, 90–92, 97  
Gordon Party, 91  
Grand Canyon  
    cougar, 3–5  
    lassoing lions, 3, 5–6  
    mountain lion, 3–7  
    Kitty, 6  
    Old Tom, 3–7  
Grand Canyon Game Reserve, 6  
Grant  
    Fred, 66  
    Ulysses S. (Colonel, President), 13, 35, 44, 64, 66–67, 86, 90  
Great Britain, 16, 22  
Great Sioux Reservation, 82, 88  
Great Sioux War of 1876–1877, 82, 87–88  
Greeley, Horace, 56  
Greenwich Mean Time, 30  
Grey, Zane, 3–7
- H —
- Hallenbeck, Michael, 58  
Hansen, David Kimball, 25  
Harding, Benjamin F., 43  
Harney, General, 85
- Harvard University, 30  
Hawaiian Islands, 16  
Hayes, Rutherford B. (President), 76, 81  
Hayfield Fight, 85  
Henry, Anson G. (Dr.), 4  
Hickok, Wild Bill, 90  
Hispanic population, 14  
Hogeboom, Sheriff, 59  
Hopkins, Mark, 41  
Homestead Act of 1862, 8, 25, 56, 60–61, 66–69, 71, 81  
    citizens rights, 59  
    effectiveness, 9  
Homestead National Monument of America, 61  
Houston, Sam, 67  
Howard  
    Alex, 18  
    Rebecca, 18  
Howard, General, 75  
Hudson's Bay Company (HBC), 22  
*Huffington Post*, 70  
Humboldt, Alexander von, 8, 29–30  
Hunter, David (Brigadier General), 44  
Huntington, Collis P., 41  
hypsometrical measurements, 32  
hypsometry, 30
- I —
- Iceland  
    Reikiavik, 29  
Idaho, 99  
Illinois, 30, 44, 46, 61, 100  
    Chicago, 34, 69, 91  
    Highland, 33  
    Peoria, 33  
Illinois Volunteer Infantry, 23  
    Ninth Regiment, 23  
*Illustrated Historical Atlas of Jackson County*, 48  
*In Search of the Racial Frontier: African Americans in the West*, 26  
Indian, 16–17, 22, 31, 42–44, 57–59, 67, 69, 72–78, 81, 83–88, 92, 99–100  
    American, 8, 29, 66–67, 69–70  
    extinction, 66  
    Apache, 14  
    Cherokee, 74  
    Cheyenne, 83–85  
    Chickasaw, 74  
    Choctaw, 74  
    Crazy Horse, 82  
    Creek, 74  
    Crow, 77, 82, 84  
    Foxes, 74  
    Hin-mah-too-yah-lat-kekht, 76  
    Iroquois, 86  
    Looking Glass, 75  
    Miamies, 74  
    Modoc, 76  
    Native American, 82, 99  
    New York Indians, 74  
    Nez Perce, 68, 75  
    Alikut, 75  
    Chief Joseph, 68, 75–76  
    Osage, 74  
    Pauite, 87  
    Wavoka, 87  
    Pawnee, 82
- Indian (*continued*)  
    Peorias, 74  
    Plains, 16  
    Sacs, 74  
    Seminole, 74  
    Seneca Nation, 74  
    Sioux Nation, 74, 77–78, 82–88  
    American Horse, 85  
    Bad Faces (Smoke People), 83  
    Big Foot (Chief), 87–88  
    Brule, 84, 86, 88  
    Spotted Tail, 84  
    Bull Bear, 83  
    Crazy Horse, 84–85, 87  
    Koya, 83  
    Lakota, 66–67, 90–92, 97  
    Standing Bull, 90  
    "Laramie Loafers," 84  
    Oglala, 82–84  
    Bull Bear, 90  
    Lone Man, 82  
    Mahpiya Lúta, 82  
    Walks-As-She-Thinks, 82  
    Old Smoke, 82–83  
    Pretty Owl, 83  
    Red Cloud (Chief), 82–88  
    Teton, 83  
    Sitting Bull, 67, 77–78, 82, 87  
    Snake, 77  
    Southern Ute, 74  
    Spotted Tail (Chief), 84, 86–88  
    Standing Elk (Chief), 84  
    Swift Bear (Chief), 84  
    Tu-hul-hil-sote, 75  
    Two Strike, 88  
    Ute, 82  
    Yellow Bull, 75
- Indian  
    Christianizing, 66  
    Ghost Dance movement, 88  
    Ghost Dance religion, 87  
    hunting rights, 86  
    land, 16  
    land cessions, 84  
    Red Cloud Agency, 87  
    reservation system, 66–67, 72–75, 77, 82, 85–88  
    rights, 86  
    Stronghold, 88  
    unceded Indian Territory, 86  
    Indian Territory, 62, 73–74, 86  
    Indiana, 43  
    Industrial United States, development of, 67  
    interracial marriage, territorial law forbidding, 25  
Iowa  
    LeClaire, 61  
Irish-Catholic, 42
- J —
- James, Charles, 13  
Jefferson, Thomas (President), 30, 57  
Jenkins, Paul B., 46–47, 51–53  
Jennison, C. R. "Doc" (Colonel), 47–48, 51  
Jerome, William, 18  
Jesuit, 29–30, 35  
Johannsen  
    Dorothy, 25  
    Robert W., 25  
Johnson, Andrew (Representative, President), 56, 81, 85

- Johnston, Albert Sidney, 41–42  
 Jones, Charles “Buffalo,” 3–6  
 Jourdan, Jackson, 18  
 Juarez, Benito (President), 10, 12–14  
   government, 10, 14  
 Juarist troops, 12–14
- K —
- Kansas, 17, 29, 43, 46–47, 68, 73, 100  
*Kansas City Times*, 51  
 Kansas militia, 47  
 Kansas-Missouri border, 46–47, 49  
 Kansas-Nebraska Act, 17  
 Kentucky, 18, 20–21, 41, 43  
   Boonesboro, 67  
   Columbus, 44  
 Killian, Crawford, 26  
 King  
   Henry, 31  
   John (Sheriff), 59  
 King’s grant, 59  
 Knights of the Golden Circle (KGC), 16, 21, 25, 63  
 Koning, Peter, 8, 27–29  
 Ku Klux Klan, 25
- L —
- land  
   eviction, 59  
   quitrent, 57  
   revolt, 59  
   rights to, 57  
   title to, 57  
   morality of, 9  
 landscape  
   influenced the outcome of battles, 8  
 Lane, Joseph, 18, 20, 23–24  
 Lang, William L., 25  
 Laplace, Pierre, 29  
 Larson, Robert, 85, 88  
*Last of the Plainsmen, The*, 4–6  
 Latham, Milton S. (Governor), 42  
 Latimer, George “Cook, the Kid,” 96  
 Latin, 33  
 Lee, Robert E., 61, 64  
 Lever, Edward, 14  
 Lewis, Meriwether, 30  
 Lewis and Clark Expedition, 30, 75, 99  
 Limbaugh, Rush, 70  
 Lincoln  
   Abraham (President), 18–20, 22–26, 34, 40–43, 56, 60–62, 70, 81, 99–100  
   inauguration, 41  
   Mary Todd, 24  
*Lincoln and Oregon Country Politics in the Civil War Era*, 99  
 Lincoln assassination, 24  
*Lincoln Looks West: From the Mississippi to the Pacific*, 26, 99  
 Lindheimer, Ferdinand, 34  
 Livingston  
   John, 59  
   Mary, 59  
   Robert, 57–59  
   Robert R., Jr., 57–58  
 Livingston Manor, 58–59  
 Livingston Papers, 58  
 Logan, David, 100
- Loomis, Josiah, 58  
 Lords of Livingston Manor, 56–57  
 Los Angeles Mounted Rifles, 42  
 Los Angeles *Star* (CA), 42  
 Louisiana, 61  
   New Orleans, 44, 57  
 Louisiana Purchase, 29  
 Low, F. F. (Governor, CA), 13  
 Lunemann, John, 29
- M —
- Madeira Island  
   Funchal, 29  
 Mahan, Alfred Thayer (U.S. Admiral), 68  
 Manifest Destiny, 16, 35  
 manor house, eastern, 8, 56  
*Map of the Hydrographical Basin of the Upper Mississippi River*, 31  
 March to the Sea, 85  
 Marr, Johnny “The Belfast Chicken,” 96  
 Maryland, 18  
   Baltimore, 30  
 Massachusetts, 34, 57–58  
   Ancram, 58  
   Cambridge, 29  
   Claverack, 57  
   Copake, 57, 59–60  
   Smoke Hollow, 59  
   Sweets Tavern, 59  
 Massachusetts Bay Colony, 56  
 Massachusetts, Colonial, 56  
 Massachusetts militia, 58  
 Maximilian, Prince, 10–11, 13, 64  
   puppet regime, 11  
 Maynadier, Colonel, 84  
 McClellan, George B., 44  
 McDougall, James (Senator, CA), 10–11  
 McDowell, Irvin, 11–13  
 McMullin, Fayette, 18  
 McNeil, John, 53–54  
 Meany, Edmond, 25  
 Meteorological Observations, 28–29, 33  
 meteorological phenomena, 31  
 meteorologist, 27  
 meteorology, 31  
 Mexican, 10–14, 34, 64  
   border, 8  
   government, 10–11  
   military, 64  
   national guard, 14  
   sovereignty, 8  
 Mexican Cession, 29  
 Mexican Clubs, 13–14  
 Mexican War, 17, 22, 99  
 Mexico, 8, 10–14, 63–64  
   Chihuahua, 32  
   Mazatlan, 12  
   Mexico City, 10  
   Sinaloa, 12  
 Miles, Nelson (General), 75–76, 87–88  
 military divisions  
   Fifth California Infantry, 64  
   First Oregon Cavalry, 64  
   Second California Infantry, 64  
   7th Cavalry, 90, 94  
   H Company, 94  
   7th Missouri State Militia, 51  
 Military Order of the Loyal Legion, 64
- Miller, Sheriff, 59  
 mining camp population, 92  
 Minnesota  
   Fort Snelling, 30  
*Mississippi Valley Historical Review, The*, 25  
 Missouri, 8, 31, 35, 43–44, 46, 51, 54  
   Belmont, 44  
   Brush Creek, 47–48, 54  
   Byram’s Ford, 47–48, 51–54  
   Fort Scott Road, 51–52  
   Harrisonville Road, 51–52  
   Hart Grove Creek, 53  
   Hickman Mills, 51–53  
   Hinkle’s Farm, 51  
   Hinkle’s Ford, 47–48, 50–51  
   Huntsville, 33  
   Independence, 47, 51–53  
   Jackson County, 47–48, 50–51, 54  
   Kansas City, 46–47, 49–51, 54  
   Big Blue Battlefield, 50  
   Little Santa Fe, 47, 51–53  
   Little Santa Fe Road, 51–52  
   Military Road, 51  
   Pleasant Hill Road, 51  
   Raytown, 52  
   Russell’s Ford, 47, 52  
   Shiloh, 48  
   Simmon’s Ford, 47, 50–51  
   State Line Road, 51  
   St. Louis, 8, 27, 29–35  
   Academy of Science of St. Louis, 31–32  
   St. Elizabeth, 29  
   St. Louis Mercantile Library, 30, 33, 35  
   Westport, 47–50  
 Missouri Botanical Garden, 31  
*Missouri Republican*, 30  
 Mitchell  
   Charles, 18–20, 22–23, 25–26  
   O. M. (General), 31  
 mixed race, 8  
 Monnett, Howard N., 46–47, 51, 53  
 Monroe Doctrine, 8, 10–11  
 Montana, 77, 83, 86, 99–100  
   Bitter Root Valley, 76  
   Last Chance Gulch (Helena), 100  
   Rosebud Creek, 77  
 Moonlight, Thomas (Colonel), 47, 51  
 Mormon, 40, 99  
 Morrill Act, 25  
 mulatto, 18–19  
 Mumford, Esther, 26
- N —
- Napoleon III, 10, 13, 34, 64  
 National Academy of Sciences, 31  
 national weather data, 33  
 National Weather Service, 27  
 Nebraska, 17, 74, 82, 86  
   Beatrice, 61  
   Blue Creek, 82  
   Brownville, 61  
   Fort Robinson, 87  
 Nevada, 12, 14, 62, 99  
 Nevada Territory, 62  
 New Mexico, 41, 99  
   Santa Fe, 34  
 New Mexico Territory, 62
- newspaper, 16–24  
   Oregon, 16, 23  
   Republican, 18, 20, 22–23  
   Secession Democratic, 23  
 New York, 56, 58, 59, 74  
   Albany, 41, 59  
   Albany County, 59  
   Ancram, 59  
   Berne, 59  
   Cazenovia Seminary, 41  
   Columbia County, 59  
   Delhi, 59  
   Hillsdale, 59  
   Ithaca, 41  
   Clinton Liberal Institute, 41  
   Mohawk Valley, 41  
   Watervliet, 41  
   New York City, 3, 87, 91  
   Central Park, 87  
   Fifth Avenue, 87  
   Port Washington, 41  
   Syracuse, 24  
 New York (Colonial)  
   Boston Bay Colony, 56  
 New York State Constitution, 56  
*New York Times*, 68, 70, 76, 91–92  
*New York Tribune*, 56  
 Nicolai, M. M., 29  
 Nicolle, John Nicholas, 8, 29–32, 34  
 Noble, Robert, 58  
 North America, 33  
 North Carolina, 20, 61  
 North Dakota  
   Bismark, 91  
   Standing Rock Reservation, 87  
 Northern Hemisphere, 30
- O —
- Obama, Barack (President), 81  
*October 25 and The Battle of Mine Creek*, 54  
*Official Military Atlas of the Civil War*, 46, 49, 51  
 Ohio  
   Cincinnati, 29, 31  
 Onstott, Frank, 5  
 Order of American Knights, 25  
 Oregon, 8, 17–18, 20–21, 25, 40–44, 62, 99–100  
   Eugene City, 25, 43  
   Salem, 43  
 Oregon Country, 99–100  
*Oregon Democrat*, 23  
*Oregon Herald*, 23  
*Oregon Historical Quarterly*, 25–26  
 Oregon Historical Society, 26  
 Oregon House of Representatives, 43  
*Oregon State Journal*, 25  
*Oregon Statesman*, 21, 23–24, 44  
 Oregon Territory, 100  
*Oregonian*, 18  
 Overland Mail Route, 43  
 Overland Telegraph Company, 40  
 Overland Trail, 42–43, 64  
 Owens, Jim “Uncle,” 5–6
- P —
- Pacific Ocean, 8, 10, 16, 21–22, 30, 34, 40, 63–65  
 Pacific Republic, 16–17, 21, 25, 41–42







# New in Western History

FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA PRESS

## Birch Coulie

The Epic Battle of the Dakota War

JOHN CHRISTGAU

\$16.95 paperback

## Virginia City

Secrets of a Western Past

RONALD M. JAMES

\$16.95 paperback

HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY OF  
THE AMERICAN WEST SERIES

## Montana Memories

The Life of Emma Magee in the Rocky  
Mountain West, 1866–1950

IDA S. PATTERSON

with a biography of the author by

Grace Patterson McComas

\$10.95 paperback

## Voices of the American West

ELI S. RICKER

Edited and with an introduction by

Richard E. Jensen

### Volume 1

The Indian Interviews of Eli S. Ricker,  
1903–1919

\$34.95 paperback

### Volume 2

The Settler and Soldier Interviews  
of Eli S. Ricker, 1903–1919

\$34.95 paperback

\*For complete descriptions  
and to order, visit us online!

UNIVERSITY OF  
**NEBRASKA** PRESS

WWW.NEBRASKAPRESS.UNL.EDU  
800-848-6224 • publishers of Bison Books

## — STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION —

1. **Publication Title:** Journal of the West.
2. **Publication Number:** 0022-5169.
3. **Filing Date:** 10-30-2013.
4. **Issue Frequency:** Quarterly.
5. **Number of Issues Published Annually:** 4.
6. **Annual Subscription Price:** \$80.
7. **Complete Mailing Address of Known Office of Publication:** 130 Cremona Dr., Santa Barbara, CA 93117. Contact person: Vicki Moran, 805-880-6848.
8. **Full Names and Complete Mailing Addresses of Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor:** Publisher: ABC-CLIO, 130 Cremona Dr., Santa Barbara, CA 93117.
9. **Editor:** Steven Danver, P.O. Box 1045, Washougal, WA 98671. Managing Editor: Steven Danver, P.O. Box 1045, Washougal, WA 98671.
10. **Owner:** ABC-CLIO, P.O. Box 1911, Santa Barbara, CA 93117.
11. **Known Bondholders, Mortgages, and Other Security Holders Owning or Holding 1 Percent or More of Total Amount of Bonds, Mortgages, or Other Securities:** None.
12. **Tax Status. The purpose, function, and nonprofit status of this organization and the exempt status for federal income tax purposes:** Has Not Changed During Preceding 12 Months.
13. **Publication Title:** Journal of the West.
14. **Issue Date for Circulation Data Below:** 7-1-2013.

### 15. Extent and Nature of Circulation:

	Average No. Copies Each Issue During Preceding 12 Months	No. Copies of Single Issue Published Nearest to Filing Date
a. Total No. Copies	900	800
b. Paid Circulation		
(1) Mailed Outside-County Paid Subscriptions Stated on PS Form 3541	748	625
(2) Mailed In-County Paid Subscriptions Stated on PS Form 3541		
(3) Paid Distribution Outside the Mails Including Sales Through Dealers and Carriers, Street Vendors, Counter Sales, and Other Paid Distribution Outside USPS		
(4) Paid Distribution by Other Classes of Mail Through the USPS	28	24
c. Total Paid Distribution	748	649
d. Free or Nominal Rate Distribution		
(1) Free or Nominal Rate Outside-County Copies included on PS Form 3541		
(2) Free or Nominal Rate In-County Copies Included on PS Form 3541		
(3) Free or Nominal Rate Copies Mailed at Other Classes Through the USPS		
(4) Free or Nominal Rate Distribution Outside the Mail		
e. Total Free or Nominal Rate Distribution:	65	117
f. Total Distribution:	813	747
g. Copies not Distributed:	87	53
h. Total:	900	800
i. Percent Paid:	92%	87%

### 16. Total circulation includes electronic copies.

17. **Publication Statement of Ownership.** If the publication is a general publication, publication of this statement is required. Will be printed in the 12-30-2013 issue of this publication.

I certify that all information furnished on this form is true and complete. Vicki Moran, Sr. Editor, ABC-CLIO. 11-15-2013

