Kansas historical quarterly

Section 283, Pages 8461 - 8490

The quarterly journal of the Kansas Historical Society from 1931-1977, the Kansas Historical Quarterly succeeded the Kansas Historical Collections, 1875-1928, (also available as unit 221606) and preceded Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains, 1978 - present.

Creator: Kansas State Historical Society

Date: 1931-1977

Callnumber: SP 906 K13q

KSHS Identifier: DaRT ID: 221562

Item Identifier: 221562

www.kansasmemory.org/item/221562

blankets and wagon rugs, with wild, unkempt hair and beards, and bright, resolute eyes, almost all well-looking, but wild and strange as denizens of another world.

The women looked tired and sad, almost all of them, and were queerly dressed, in gowns that must have been old on their grandmothers, and with handkerchiefs tied over their heads in place of hats; the children were bundled up anyhow, in garments of nondescript purpose and size, but were generally chubby, neat and gay, as they frolicked in and out among the boxes, baskets, bundles, bedding, babies'-chairs, etc., piled waist high on various parts of the platform. Mingling with them, and making some inquiries, we found that these were emigrants bound for the Black Hills, by rail to Cheyenne and Sioux City, and after that by wagon trains.[37]

Although Mrs. Leslie may have had her geography slightly mixed (she probably meant Sydney rather than Sioux City) her description as well as the sign in the illustration, "Lunch Baskets Filled For 25 Cents Take Notice Black Hillers" (*between* pp. 120, 121), recalls the ever recurring and frequently changing part that mining—especially of those seductive metals, silver and gold—has had in the development of the West. In the spring of 1877 the discovery of immense deposits of gold bearing quartz, coupled with earlier discoveries in the Black Hills, had set a wild stampede under way toward Deadwood, and the Leslie party was in excellent position to observe the migration. The two most important stations on the Union Pacific making stage connections for the Black Hills—some 250 miles north of the railroad—were Sydney and Cheyenne. And Yeager and Ogden were busy with their sketchbooks recording the incidents of the mining boom as the Leslie party traveled on west from Omaha. Particularly notable are the illustrations, "A Fitting-out Store for Black Hills Emigrants, at Sydney" and "A Party of Gold Miners Starting For the Black Hills [from Cheyenne]." (The last illustration is reproduced *facing* p. 120.)[38]

The visitors found Cheyenne to be particularly interesting, and their interest, aroused by frequent descriptions of "Hell-on-Wheels,"

37. *Mrs. Leslie*, pp. 39, 40. The illustration will be found in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, August 18, 1877, pp. 404, 405.

38. The two illustrations, in the order listed above, will be found in *ibid.*, September 29, 1877, p. 53, and October 6, 1877, pp. 72, 73. Actually the Leslie party stopped at Sydney on the return trip.—*See Mrs. Leslie*, p. 285. A poorly reproduced illustration, "A Street of 'Dug-Outs,' on the Hillside in Sydney," appeared in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, September 22, 1877, p. 37. The Omaha newspapers, of course, were filled with Black Hills news at that time. The Omaha *Weekly Bee*, April 25, 1877, p. 3, had a good account of Sydney and the Black Hills trade and a still better one was given in the Omaha *Daily Heraid*, July 6, 1877, p. 2. *See* G. Thomas Ingham, *Digging Gold Among the Rockies* (Edgewood Publishing Co., 1882), Ch. 5, for an account of the mining development in the Black Hills from 1875 to 1880. Contemporary information on the early stages of the Black Hills gold rush will also be found in *Report on the Mineral Wealth, Climate, and Rain-Fall and Natural Resources of the Black Hills of Dakota* (Washington, 1876), Walter P. Tenney. A review of the history of this interesting period is Harold E. Briggs' "The Black Hills Gold Rush," *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, Bismarck, v. 5 (1931), January, pp. 71-99. Briggs stated that the peak of the gold rush occurred in the spring of 1877, so it was practically coincident with the arrival of the Leslie party.

was in no way diminished when they stepped off the train and into the celebrated frontier town:

> And now, not without some little excitement [wrote Mrs. Leslie], we arrived at Cheyenne, at it is styled upon the maps, the Magic City of the Plains, the City on Wheels, the Town of a Day, as romancists call it, or in yet more vigorous vernacular, H-ll on Wheels, which latter is, perhaps its most popular name among its own inhabitants. In view of this reputation, our conductor strongly advised against any night exploration, at least by the ladies of the party, of the streets and shops of Cheyenne, stating that the town swarmed with miners *en route* for, or returing from, the Black Hills, many of them desperadoes, and all utterly reckless in the use of the bowie-knife and pistol; or, at the very least, in the practice of language quite unfit for ears polite, although well adapted to a place which they themselves had dubbed with so suggestive a name. This opposition, was, of course, decisive; and the three ladies, as one man, declared fear was a word unknown in their vocabulary, that purchases essential to their comfort were to be made, and that exercise was absolutely necessary to their health.[39]

So the men went along. Not only did the ladies visit several frontier stores but they were invited to visit the town's leading theatre and gambling establishment—and not a man of the party was shot or a woman insulted!

> For two or three blocks [wrote Jack Harkaway] the main street of Cheyenne keeps up a character of solid respectability with neat brick buildings, a large hotel and an attractive show of shop-windows; but it soon drops such mimicry of the "effete East," and relapses into a bold disregard of architectural forms and proprieties. The oddest examples of this are in the two theatres, owned and "run" by an enterprising citizen, who also keeps one of the largest gambling establishments in town; and who, with the generous courtesy of a Western man, gave the ladies of our party a full exhibit of the same by daylight—the masculine members having studied it during the hours of darkness. The larger of the theatres—"variety shows" in the fullest sense of the term—connects with the gambling-rooms and bar, in a long, low brick building, which hangs out numerous flaming red signs under the moonlight. Entering the bar-room, the curious visitor is confronted by a glittering show of chandeliers, fresh paint, cheap gilding and mirrors, and some extraordinary frescoes, supposably of Yosemite views, which blaze in every conceivable gradation of color over the bar itself. Turning to the right, we enter a passage leading to the parquette, or pit, of the theatre; a narrow flight of stairs passes up to what, in the East, would be the dress-circle; but in the Cheyenne house is a single tier of small boxes, open at the back upon a brightly lighted passage-way. At the head of the stairs is another and smaller bar, from which the waitresses procure strong drinks, to be served to order in the boxes aforesaid; and over the staircase is posted a gentle hint, couched in the words; "Gents, be Liberal"— a hint not likely to be ignored in Cheyenne, we fancy.
>
> From these little boxes, gay with tawdry paintings and lace hangings, we look down upon as odd a scene as ever met critical New York eyes. The auditorium departs from the conventional horseshoe pattern, and is shaped

39. *Mrs. Leslie*, p. 45.

rather like a funnel, expanding at the mouth to the width of the stage. It is so narrow that we, leaning out of one box, could almost shake hands with our opposite neighbors. The trapezes, through which the wonderful Mlle. Somebody is flying and frisking like a bird, are all swung from the stage to the back of the house, so that her silken tights and spangles whisked past within a handsbreadth of the admiring audience, who can exchange civilities, or even confidences, with her in her aerial flight. Below, the floor is dotted with round tables and darkened with a sea of hats; a dense fog of cigar-smoke floats above them, and the clink of glasses rings a cheerful accompaniment to the orchestra, as the admiring patrons of the variety business quaff brandy and "slings," and cheer on the performers with liberal enthusiasm. The house, for all its cheap finery of decoration, its barbaric red and yellow splashes of paint, and *bizarre* Venuses and Psyches posing on the walls, is wonderfully well-ordered and marvelously clean; the audience, wholly masculine, is unconventional (let us put it courteously), but not riotous. As for the performance, it is by no means bad, and the trapeze feats are indeed exceptionally startling and well executed. The hours of entertainment are from 8 P. M. until 2 A. M., while the doors of the connecting gambling saloon are never closed.[40]

Illustrations of the Cheyenne theatre (*see* cover of this issue) and of "Bucking the Tiger" (*facing* p. 129) are real pictorial contributions to Western history—the West of a very real melodrama.[41]

Not so melodramatic but equally interesting is the view, "Scene in Front of the Inter-Ocean Hotel." The scene depicted was busy Central Avenue, then the principal east-west thoroughfare of Cheyenne, with the large hotel—a building of respectable proportions in any city—in the background. (The Inter-Ocean Hotel was one block west of the present day Plains Hotel, for many years another well-known landmark of Cheyenne.)[42]

The party left the main line of the Union Pacific at Cheyenne for side trips to Denver and Colorado Springs. A very elaborate reception was tendered the party at Denver by prominent Colorado citizens including Gov. John L. Routt and Ex-Governor Gilpin, but few if any illustrations of the side excursion appeared in *Leslie's*.[43]

One of the few illustrations, however, that was credited to Harry Ogden alone, was made on the trip to Colorado Springs. The Springs in 1877 was legally a temperance town but the thirsty traveler could

40. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, October 13, 1877, p. 85. The arrival of the Leslie party in Cheyenne "last evening" was reported in the *Wyoming Daily Leader*, Cheyenne, April 19, 1877.

41. The illustrations will be found in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, October 13, 1877, p. 85 (the theatre), and November 3, 1877, p. 133, title page; with an interesting comment on p. 139.

42. The illustration appeared in *ibid.*, October 6, 1877, p. 73. Information concerning the Inter-Ocean and Plains Hotels comes from Mr. Howard A. Hanson, present manager of the Plains Hotel. According to Agnes Wright Spring, *The Cheyenne and Black Hills Stage and Express Routes* (Glendale, Cal., 1949), pp. 50, 78 and 79, the Inter-Ocean Hotel was under construction in 1875 and was in operation by early 1876.

43. The arrival of the Leslie party in Denver, the Denver reception and the visit to Colorado Springs are reported in the Denver *Daily Times*, April 19, 1877, p. 4 (which stated that the party arrived "this morning in a special car from Cheyenne"); *Rocky Mountain News*, Denver, April 20, 1877, p. 4.

still satisfy his wants by ways that were devious if not direct and Ogden sketched the method and Jack Harkaway described it in words for the benefit of succeeding fellow travelers:

Close to the depot [wrote Harkaway] is a hostelry yclept the Pike's Peak House, where an announcement in English and German informs the wayfarer that meals can be had for the moderate sum of forty cents. Entering the house, one finds an empty room; a door in a wooden partition admits into an inner apartment, where four Hoosiers are playing the interesting game of the "devil amongst the tailors." Presently a German approaches and inquires what is wanted, and being informed that there exists a laudable desire for lager-beer, he replies: "Shust put a quarter in dot hole, and de beer gomes up quick!" Accordingly the tourist approaches a wooden wall, and perceives a slit in the board, dirty from use. He drops in a twenty-five cent piece and says, addressing no one in particular and speaking in a very sepulchral tone, "A quart of beer." With magic celerity a sliding panel is revealed, which goes up, and on a bracket there appears a jug of the foaming beverage. Taking it out, imbibing the contents, and replacing the jug and glass, the panel slides back into its place, and the truly Arabian Nights' entertainment is at an end. Subsequently the traveler is informed that anything in any quantity in the drinking line can be obtained in the same mysterious manner at this oasis for the thirsty traveler in the Temperance Desert.

President Barnard, of Columbia College, the Rev. Dr. Armitage, and a number of other gentlemen, left New York City on the 18th for a trip to the Rocky Mountains, stopping at Denver and Colorado Springs. This information will be valuable to them in case they should require any stimulants, as it will enable them to satisfy their thirst promptly and without embarrassing inquiries; for even their distinction will not secure them exemption from the Territorial liquor laws.[44]

Returning to Cheyenne, the westward journey of the party resulted in a considerable number of illustrations before reaching Ogden, when another side trip was made to see Salt Lake City and President Brigham Young. The towns of Sherman (at the top of the pass between Cheyenne and Laramie), Laramie itself, Carbon, Fort Steele, Rawlins, Green River, Hilliard and Evanston all sat briefly while the artists sketched them, and illustrations of each Wyoming town appeared in due time in the pages of *Leslie's*. One small illustration, "Emigrants Camping Out at Night, near Bryan [in western Wyoming]," is particularly appealing as it shows a group of overland travelers—the canvas-covered wagons still in use eight years after rails were joined—about a camp-fire, its smoke rising into a moonlit sky.[45]

44. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, July 7, 1877, p. 203. The illustration will be found in the same issue, p. 297. A. A. Hayes and W. A. Rogers were in Colorado Springs two years later and Rogers drew a somewhat similar sketch of the procedure for obtaining a refreshing draft when in the city; *see* A. A. Hayes, Jr., *New Colorado and the Santa Fe Trail* (New York, 1880), p. 56.

45. This illustration, along with sketches of Church Buttes, Pedmont and Aspen appeared in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, November 10, 1877, p. 160. The emigrant camp was apparently sketched on the return trip. Illustrations of other Wyoming towns will be found in the issues of *ibid.* for October 13, 20, 27, November 3, 17, 24, and December 1, 1877.

Utah illustrations appeared in considerable number but many are of familiar landmarks, including Echo and Weber canons, the Devil's Slide, Thousand-Mile tree and Lake Point on Great Salt lake. "The Arrival at Ogden Junction" is of interest as it calls attention to the fact that since 1869 the junction point of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific had been changed from Promontory Point to Ogden and that the Utah Central railroad had been completed from Ogden to Salt Lake City.[46] The real reason for the trip to Salt Lake City was to see Brigham Young, and Leslie soon had an interview arranged with the head of the Mormon organization. Mrs. Leslie took a spirited part in the interview. In fact, if we are to believe her, the discussion with Brigham would have amounted to nothing more than comments on the weather if she had not participated. As Mr. Leslie did not make much progress in conversation, Mrs. Leslie turned to Mr. Young and said, "Do you suppose, Mr. President, that I came all the way to Salt Lake City to hear that it was a fine day?" To which the astute president replied, "I am sure you need not, my dear, for it must be fine weather wherever you are." The ice thus being broken, Mrs. Leslie proceeded to ask the head of the Beehive house some exceedingly frank questions on Mormonism, including a question as to whether Mormon husbands did not prefer some wives over others. To which, the Mormon president replied with good humor: "Well, perhaps; human nature is frail, but our religion teaches us to control and conceal those preferences as much as possible, and we do—we do." [47]

Both the Leslies were greatly impressed with the Mormon organization and the marvels wrought by its members in transforming the desert. "Certainly, polygamy is very wrong," wrote Mrs. Leslie, "but roses are better than sage-brush, and potatoes and peas preferable as a diet to buffalo grass. Also school-houses, with cleanly and comfortable troops of children about them, are a symptom of more advanced civilization than lowly shanties with only fever-and-ague and whisky therein." Frank Leslie put it in even stronger terms when he said in an interview on his return to the East—"the thriftiest, most contented and happiest people west of the Mississippi are the Mormons, and I for one do not want to see them treated with injustice." [48]

46. Utah illustrations will be found in the issues of *ibid.* for December 1, 8, 15 (including that of Ogden Junction), 22, and 29, 1877.

47. *Mrs. Leslie,* pp. 97-102. No illustrations of the interview appeared in the *Newspaper,* but one is published in *Mrs. Leslie, facing* p. 102.

48. Mrs. Leslie's quotation will be found in *ibid.*, p. 71; the interview with Frank Leslie was secured on the return trip and is reported in the Omaha *Daily Herald,* June 3, 1877, p. 4.

If Mrs. Leslie was impressed with the Mormons she certainly was not with Indians of the West who began to appear at railroad stations through Nevada as the party continued their westward journey beyond Salt Lake City. Shoshones and Piutes were all the same to her and, as Chinese laborers in considerable number also made their appearance along the railroad as they traveled further west, it was almost inevitable that she should make a comparison of the two races. "Ill as their odor may be," wrote Mrs. Leslie of the Chinese, "in Caucasian nostrils, we must say that their cleanly, smooth, and cared for appearance was very agreeable in contrast with the wild, unkempt and filthy red man." [49]

A few illustrations of the Indians encountered through Nevada are recorded in the pages of *Leslie's*. Illustrations of other aspects of Nevada life are copious. Towns, scenery and a particularly exhaustive pictorial study of the silver mines of Virginia City are presented. Leslie must have been particularly fascinated by the silver mines, for not only is the pictorial reporting extensive but written description in abundance is provided. In fact, Leslie with one of the artists—whether it was Ogden or Yeager is not indicated—were the only two members of the party of 12 to descend the shafts of the mines at Virginia City to see mining operations at first hand. Mrs. Leslie, on the other hand, was greatly bored by the entire visit and so unfavorably impressed with Virginia City, itself, that there resulted the unfortunate comment in her account of the trip (*see* Footnote 32).[50]

The depiction of several incidents of travel from Wyoming westward along the main line of the transcontinental road reveal still other aspects of Western travel in 1877. One group of illustrations shows various phases of the long-continued war between railroads and those United States citizens who have long been known as "tramps." "Tramps Throwing Conductor From a Train," "A Night Camp of Tramps Near Bryan [Wyo.]," "Tramps Riding on the Trucks Underneath the Cars" and "Clearing the Rear Platform on

49. *Mrs. Leslie*, p. 108.

50. It was Frank Leslie's interest in the silver mines which undoubtedly was responsible for the relatively large number of such illustrations in *Leslie's*, every issue, beginning with that of March 2, 1878, through the issue of April 27, 1878 (nine issues), contained pictorial records of various aspects of mining in Virginia City; one of the issues (March 2, 1878) contained a four-page supplement, "Panorama of Virginia City," based on photographs by Watkins of San Francisco. From Mrs. Leslie's account, Virginia City was visited on the return.—*Mrs. Leslie*, Ch. 32. The Indian illustrations in *Leslie's*, mentioned above, included: "Indian Lodges Near Corlin, on the C. P. R. R." (January 5, 1878, p. 305), and "Winnemucca, Chief of the Piute Indians Engaged in an Annual Rabbit Drive" (January 26, 1878, p. 353). Some of the Nevada town illustrations included: Elko (January 5, 1878, p. 305), Battle Mountain (January 12, 1878, p. 321), Humboldt (January 19, 1878, p. 337), Carson City (February 16, 1878, p. 405) and a particularly good "View of the Main Street in Virginia City" (March 2, 1878, p. 445).

an Overland Train" were, with the exception of the first, reportedly observed by the artists of the Leslie party.[51]

For the protection of baggage and express against still more vicious customers, railroad highwaymen, it was customary to carry a stand of arms in the baggage car, and one of the observant artists sketched "A Baggage-Master's Armory" to record this phase of travel in the past. Cross-country excursion parties, too, were still in vogue nearly ten years after the completion of transcontinental rails, and one such excursion party—in addition to the Leslie party—had their special car which, for some of the journey at least, made up a part of the train which included the Leslie special car. "Nebraska Editorial Party Publishing a Paper on Board a Train," a half-page illustration, shows not only the professional classification of the Leslies' fellow travelers but is an unwitting comment on a profession, the members of which, doubtless more than any other, enjoy a bus man's holiday.

A type of illustration, however, which never fails to arouse interest is one depicting the ordinary occupations of ordinary people—like ourselves—and the Leslie artists secured it in "Weary Passengers Settling for the Night," or the illustration might better be called "Trying to Sleep at Night in a 'Day' Coach." The Leslie party in order to reach the Nebraska editors in the special car passed through three day coaches as the evening was well advanced. By the dull light, Mrs. Leslie noted "we could see the poor creatures curled and huddled up in heaps for the night, with no possibility of lying down comfortably; but men, women, bundles, baskets, and babies, in one promiscuous heap." [52]

The excursion train at last crossed the Sierra Nevadas, coasted across the Central Valley and eventually reached Sacramento and San Francisco. Many illustrations record the last stage of the overland trip, including a huge double-page one, "The Excursion Trail Rounding Cape Horn at the Head of the Great American Canon." [53]

Mrs. Leslie thought that this view from Cape Horn was the most impressive of all on the cross-country trip.

51. *Ibid.*, February 2, 1877, p. 373. According to the text accompanying the illustration, the first one was an imaginary sketch based on the story of the Leslie party conductor.

52. *Mrs. Leslie*, p. 284. The day coach is pictured and also described in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, February 9, 1878, pp. 389, 390, where will also be found the armory illustration. It was observed on the return trip as was the Nebraska editorial excursion; *see ibid.*, February 16, 1878, p. 405.

53. The illustration will be found in *ibid.*, April 27, 1878, pp. 128, 129. Among the more interesting illustrations of this part of the trip are "Snow Sheds at Summit Station" (same issue as above, p. 132); "A Street Scene in Sacramento" and "The Grand Hotel in Sacramento" (May 4, 1878, p. 141); "The Wharf at Oakland, The Terminal of the Central Pacific Railroad, Opposite the City of San Francisco" and "Crossing the Bay on the Ferry Boat from Oakland" (May 11, 1878, p. 165); "The Western Terminal of the Central Pacific Railroad" and "View of Market Street San Francisco, Looking Toward the Palace Hotel" (May 18, 1878, p. 181), and "A View of Montgomery Street, San Francisco" (June 15, 1878, p. 249).

But of all the scenery of the entire route [she wrote], nothing can compare with the Great American Canon, heralded by the rounding of Cape Horn, where the railway clings to the face of a precipice, with a thousand feet of crag above and two thousand feet below; a river winding dimly through the ravine, and giant pine trees dwarfed to shrubs as we look down upon their crests. No blood so sluggish, no eyes so dull, no heart so numbed and encrusted by worldliness but that they must be stirred and thrilled, as few things in this world can stir its favorite children, by the sensation of thus flying like a bird across this precipice, over the depths of this frightful abyss, suspended, as it were, between heaven and the inferno; . . .[54]

Still another wonder, however, was to confront them when they reached San Francisco, for the party immediately upon their arrival went to the newly completed Palace Hotel, according to one Californian at least, one of the seven wonders of the world. Even the blasé New Yorkers were forced to admit the hotel, with accommodations for 1,200 guests and with its three great courts occupying a city block, was "magnificent."[55]

In fact, Mrs. Leslie was so obviously impressed with California that she devoted over half her book to the subject, as well she might, for the Leslies were entertained by California royalty on a royal scale: by Ex-Governor Stanford; by Senator Sharon at his one and one-half million dollar country house, Belmont; by Mayor and Mrs. Bryant of San Francisco; by William T. Coleman, the owner of San Rafael valley, and by the famous "Lucky" Baldwin, who inveigled the party to travel south to Los Angeles, from which Baldwin took them to his wide-flung ranch at Santa Anita. All of the famous wonders of California were visited too, including the redwoods and the big trees, the geysers and Yosemite. San Francisco itself was explored for its famous sights, especially by many trips to Chinatown, to the Barbary Coast, to Cliff-House and to Seal Rocks.[56] About a month was spent in California, but, oddly enough, relatively few illustrations appeared for this part of the Leslie trip. Several illustrations of the Chinese of San Francisco were published in *Leslie's*, and several additional California views were used in Mrs. Leslie's book, but apparently Frank Leslie decided that mining in Nevada was of more

54. *Mrs. Leslie*, pp. 109, 110.

55. *Ibid.*, pp. 115-117. *The Overland Monthly*, v. 15 (1875), September, pp. 298, 299, has an account of the Palace Hotel upon its completion, which contains the statement, "We have seven big world-wonders now: the Bay of San Francisco, the Central Pacific Railroad, the Big Trees, the Bonanza, Yosemite, the Geysers, the Palace Hotel—and Assessor Rosenor." I hope some native son will write me explaining "Assessor Rosenor" and his inclusion as an eighth wonder.

Illustrations of the Palace Hotel appeared in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* for May 25, 1878, p. 197 ("The Main Entrance"), and June 29, 1878, p. 281 ("The Grand Court of the Palace Hotel," credited to "our photographer"). Five illustrations of Baldwin's Hotel, also newly completed, and, according to *Mrs. Leslie*, p. 192, visited by the party, appeared in *ibid.*, July 6, 1878, p. 301.

56. *Ibid.*, Chs. 11-21, 29, 30.

popular interest than the sights of California, or possibly he felt that California scenes were by 1877 better known than were those of silver mining.[57]

The return trip from California was begun about the last of May, for the party was in Omaha on June 2. It seems to have been largely anticlimax as neither Mrs. Leslie nor the *Newspaper* had much to say concerning it.[58]

The two artists of the party were both young men at the time the Leslie trip was made. Walter Yeager was 25 and had been on the Leslie staff for three years. He was a native of Philadelphia and had received training at the local Academy of Fine Arts. Shortly after the Western trip he accompanied Mrs. Leslie to Cuba and the Bahamas, and a number of his illustrations resulting from this trip appeared in *Leslie's*. About 1880, he left the Leslie staff and moved to Philadelphia where he became head of the art department of George W. Harris Co., lithographers. Still later he became a free lance artist and illustrated for a number of periodicals and books. He died in Philadelphia on April 17, 1896.[59]

Harry Ogden, the other artist of the Leslie team of 1877—in his later years known more formally as Henry Alexander Ogden—was a member of the Leslie staff from 1873 until 1881 and then resigned to become a free lance artist. He received considerable art training at the Brooklyn Institute, the Brooklyn Academy of Design and the Art Students League of New York and made a specialty of portray-

57. Six Chinese illustrations, credited to Yeager and Ogden, appeared in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, August 24, 1878, pp. 420, 421; September 7, 1878, p. 5. In *Mrs. Leslie*, California illustrations appeared *facing* p. 125 (Belmont); p. 128, "Salmon Fishing, Sacramento River"; p. 136 (Chinese theater); p. 142 (Chinese gambler); *facing* p. 145 ("Chinese Joss House"); p. 154 ("Chinese Barber"); *facing* p. 169 ("A Chinese Goldsmith"); *facing* p. 179 ("The Cliff House"); *facing* p. 180 ("Seal Rocks"); *facing* p. 205 ("The Witches Cauldron [geyser]"); p. 212 ("A Drive With Fosse of Fosseville"); p. 217 ("On the Road to The 'Big Trees' "); *facing* p. 227 ("Making a Night of It"); p. 231 ("En Route for the Yosemite"); *facing* p. 232 (Chinese cobbler); *facing* p. 244 ("Ascending the 'Fallen Monarch' "); p. 246 ("Cutting Down One of the Big Trees"); p. 276 ("Cutting Bark and Cones as Mementoes of the Mariposa Grove").

58. The return of the party to Omaha in the Palace car "Cataract" was reported in the Omaha *Daily Herald*, June 3, 1877, p. 4. Senator Connoyer of Florida was reported to be a member of the party on the return trip. It should be pointed out again that the side-trip to Virginia City, Nev., was made on the return trip.

59. I am indebted to Mrs. Mary Yeager Poole of Havertown, Pa., for the information concerning her father, Walter Rush Yeager, who was born in Philadelphia in April, 1852. Mrs. Poole wrote me that her father illustrated for *Harper's Magazine*, *Ladies Home Queen* and a number of religious publications in Mr. Yeager's free lance days. He is listed in the Philadelphia city directories as artist or designer from 1885 until 1896. The Library of Congress has a volume, *Art Studies in the Bible*, designed by W. R. Yeager, and published in Philadelphia in 1896. It was this volume that furnished the clue in tracing down the source of biographical information concerning Yeager as the art historians and lists again furnished me no biographical information. A brief death notice of Walter R. Yeager will be found in the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, April 18, 1896, p. 8.

Yeager illustrations for an article on the Bahamas by Mrs. Leslie appeared in *Leslie's*, June 21, 1879, pp. 268, 269. California illustrations by Yeager continued to appear for some time after those cited in Footnote 34. They were apparently based on Yeager's trip with the Leslies in 1877; *see ibid.*, May 24, 1879, p. 192; May 31, 1879, p. 201; June 7, 1879, p. 229; June 14, 1879, p. 248 (credited to both Yeager and Ogden); June 28, 1879, p. 281; July 19, 1879, p. 329; August 23, 1879, p. 416. *Leslie's*, January 31, 1880, p. 403, lists Becker, Yeager, Ogden, Berghaus and others as members of the art staff on that date.

ing historic costumes and uniforms. His illustrations appeared in many books and magazines, notably the military illustrations in the *Pageant of America*. He died at Englewood, N. J., on June 15, 1936, in his 80th year.[60]

60. For information on Ogden *see Who's Who in America*, v. 18 (1934-1935), p. 1801, and an obituary in the New York *Times*, June 16, 1936, p. 25. Ogden's labors as a painter of military costumes are given a thorough appraisal in the *Military Collector and Historian*, Washington, v. 1 (1949), April, pp. 4, 5, by George C. Groce. Ogden had other Western illustrations (Texas) in *Leslie's*, May 22, 1880, p. 196. He was also a member of a commercial expedition sent out by *Leslie's* to Mexico in 1879, and sketches on this trip appeared February 1, 1879, and succeeding issues through April 19.

A Review of Early Navigation on the Kansas River

EDGAR LANGSDORF

BEFORE the establishment of Kansas territory in May, 1854, little exact information about the Kansas river was available. Exploration in the 18th and early 19th centuries was concerned chiefly with following the upper Missouri, and the Kansas was hardly known above its mouth. Reports about the river were based, for the most part, on statements by Indians—who usually were reluctant to divulge details of their own country—and on observations of the early fur traders. Despite the handicap of describing and mapping a region which they had not seen, several of the early explorers were able to produce reports of surprising accuracy.

One of the earliest maps of the trans-Mississippi area, drawn by Father Marquette in 1673-1674, although it fails to show the Kansas river, does locate the Kansa and other tribes in approximately their true positions. This map, based upon information secured from Indians with whom Marquette could converse only in sign language, places the Kansa on the 39th parallel, directly south of the Omaha and Pawnee tribes and west of the Osage, thereby indicating that they were then living on the Kansas river. Joliet's map of the same date shows the Kansa in much the same relative position, though farther south, between the 36th and 37th parallels.[1]

The first map showing the Kansas river is Guillaume de l'Isle's "Carte de la Louisiane," which was drawn about 1718. On it the "Grande Riv[ière] des Cansez" flows into the Missouri at about the 40th parallel and a large village of "les Cansez" is located at a prominent fork in the river, perhaps the junction of the Smoky Hill and the Saline or the Solomon.[2] This map, with virtually no changes except for the translation of French into English, was published by John Senex, a London cartographer and engraver, in 1721.[3] One of

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1. These maps are reproduced in R. G. Thwaites, *Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France* (Cleveland, 1900), v. 59, *facing* pp. 86 and 108. Marquette's map is also reproduced in *Kansas Historical Collections*, Topeka, v. 10, *facing* p. 80. *Cf.* F. W. Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians . . . .*, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30 (Washington, 1907), Pt. 1, p. 653. For a list of early maps locating the Kansa nation *see* George P. Morehouse, "History of the Kansa or Kaw Indians," in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 10, pp. 344, 345.

2. Reproduced as the frontispiece in B. F. French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana . . .* (Philadelphia, 1850), Pt. 2. Delisle (1675-1726) was one of the most important French cartographers of the 18th century.

3. John Senex, "A Map of Louisiana and of the River Mississippi," from *A New General Atlas* (London, 1721), *facing* p. 248.

the earliest written references to the name of the river, other than on maps, is also found at this time. The French explorer Bienville in 1722 spoke of "las rivière des Canzés, qui afflue dans celle du Missouri," though he made no reference to its navigability.[4]

With the extension of trade among the Western tribes at the beginning of the 19th century, reasonably accurate reports of the river began to appear. In 1797 James Mackay, then an agent of the Spanish "Upper Missouri Company," compiled a "Table of Distances" along the Missouri river. In this table he noted the "Rivre des Cances," 100 ¾ leagues from the mouth of the Missouri, and described it as a "Beautiful river upon the south bank [of the Missouri], width of 100 fathoms at the mouth, navigable for canoes for more than 60 leagues at all times; but not for more than 20 leagues for large boats in the autumn when the waters are low; the village of the Kansas is 80 leagues from this river."[5] Another trader-explorer, François Marie Perrin du Lac, who traveled up the Missouri in 1802, spoke of the river of the "Kanees," which he said was "navigable at all seasons to the extent of 500 miles," and spent 12 days trading with the "Kanees" Indians in the vicinity of its mouth.[6]

Although the general course of the river was by this time well established, its tributaries and the capacity of its channel were still little known. A large-scale map of Louisiana, which included all of North America west of the Mississippi and north of the Gulf of Mexico, was published as part of an atlas in 1804, and showed the "Cansas R[iver]" with forks which presumably were intended to represent the Republican, Solomon and Smoky Hill.[7] Several traders and explorers also referred to the river in their journals and reports. Patrick Gass, a member of the Lewis and Clark expedition, recorded in his journal for June 26, 1804, that at its confluence with the Missouri the "Canzan or Kanzas, is 230 yards and a quarter wide, and navigable to a great distance."[8] H. M. Brackenridge, who traveled on the Missouri river in 1811, wrote that the Kansas "can be ascended with little difficulty, more than twelve hundred

4. Lemoine de Bienville to the Council of Regency, Fort Louis de la Louisiane, April 25, 1722, in Pierre Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements des Français* . . . (Paris, 1888), v. 6, p. 387.

5. Annie H. Abel-Henderson, "Mackay's Table of Distances," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, v. 10, p. 436.

6. M. Perrin du Lac, *Travels Through the Two Louisianas, and Among the Savage Nations of the Missouri.* . . . Translated from the French (London, 1807), p. 50.

7. A. Arrowsmith and S. Lewis, *A New and Elegant General Atlas* . . . (Philadelphia, 1804), Plate 55. M. Carey's *General Atlas*, published in 1814, apparently was the first in which the names of these tributaries appear.

8. Patrick Gass, *A Journal of the Voyages and Travels of a Corps of Discovery, Under the Command of Capt. Lewis and Capt. Clarke* . . . (Pittsburgh, 1807), p. 19.

miles."[9] In contrast, one of Long's exploring party in 1819, Edwin James, described it as navigable only in the spring season and then seldom far upstream because of shoals and rapids. He amplified this statement by explaining that it was navigable only in "high freshets for boats of burden, and on such occasions not more than one hundred and fifty or two hundred miles, the navigation being obstructed by shoals."[10] Another early traveler in the Western country was Paul Wilhelm, Duke of Württemberg, who made a brief trip on the Kansas in June, 1823. He noted that at its confluence with the Missouri it was 80 to 100 fathoms wide and very deep, and remarked that as far as 12 miles upstream he was able to distinguish the counter pressure of the faster flowing Missouri.[11]

The Indians, of course, had used the river as an avenue of transportation long before white men entered the region. Their canoes, and the pirogues of the French fur traders, adapted to use in extremely shallow water, were never seriously handicapped by natural obstructions in the stream. A white man who spent many years as a prisoner among the Indians during the early 19th century observed that they used the river and its tributaries at all seasons of the year. He remarked that they commonly descended in their canoes along the southern branch, presumably the Smoky Hill, and into the Kansas, which he interpreted as meaning that it was navigable for more than a thousand miles. "In its whole course," he wrote, "I have never heard of any considerable natural obstruction, nevertheless, many may exist; though as the Kansas Indians were in the habit of frequently descending it from their hunting excursions, it is probable I should have heard something of the causes if they had experienced much difficulty."[12]

Keelboats, covered freighters which were used extensively on the principal Western rivers until the 1820's and on the smaller rivers until after the Civil War, were also employed occasionally on the Kansas. These craft, 40 to 80 feet long and seven to ten feet or more

9. Henry Marie Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana; Together With a Journal of a Voyage Up the Missouri River, in 1811* (Pittsburgh, 1814), pp. 220, 221. In the second edition of the *Journal* (Baltimore, 1816), as reprinted in R. G. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846* (Cleveland, 1904), v. 6, p. 67, Brackenridge modified this statement to read: "The patron of our boat informs me, that he has ascended it upwards of nine hundred miles, with a tolerable navigation."

10. Edwin James, *Account of an Expedition From Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains . . . in the Years 1819 and '20, . . . Under the Command of Major Stephen H. Long. . . . Compiled by Edwin James . . .* (Philadelphia, 1823), v. 2, pp. 349, 355.

11. Paul Wilhelm, Duke of Württemberg, *First Journey to North America in the Years 1822 to 1824* (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1835). Translated from the German by Dr. Wm. G. Bek, in *South Dakota Historical Collections*, Aberdeen, v. 19, pp. 303, 305.

12. John D. Hunter, *Manners and Customs of Several Indian Tribes . . .* (Philadelphia, 1823), p. 164. The credibility of Hunter's account was attacked in *The North American Review*, Boston, v. 22 (1826), pp. 94-108. *Cf.* Henry R. Wagner, *The Plains and the Rockies . . .* (San Francisco, 1937), p. 25.

in beam, with a draught of about two feet, were designed especially for use in narrow and shallow channels. They were propelled by oars or poles, sometimes assisted by a sail or pulled by a cordelle or tow-rope, and were one of the most important means of transport during the period of the expansion of the frontier. The first keelboat on the Kansas probably was that belonging to Francis and Cyprian Chouteau, which they used in hauling goods and furs between their trading houses and the mouth of the river.[13]

With the development of the steamboat came the end of the keelboat era and the gradual revolution of river transportation. The first such boat to be used on Western waters was the *New Orleans*, built at Pittsburgh in 1811,[14] but Henry Shreve's *Washington*, constructed in 1816, is called the first "real" steamboat to be used on Western rivers. Three years later, in August, 1819, Maj. Stephen H. Long made the first steamer entry into the Kansas river with his little 30-ton boat, the *Western Engineer*. It had been constructed especially for his expedition to the Rockies, was 75 feet long, 13 feet in beam and drew 19 inches of water. The propelling wheel was in the stern in order to avoid snags, and in order to impress the Indians the steam was blown out of the figurehead, a large black serpent with mouth and tongue painted red. Long's account, describing this first steam voyage on the Kansas, stated that the "mouth of the Konzas river was so filled with mud, deposited by the late flood in the Missouri, as scarcely to admit the passage of our boat, though with some difficulty we ascended that river about a mile, and then returning dropped anchor at its mouth."[15] Another soldier-explorer, John C. Fremont, wrote in 1843 that he went by steamboat to Chouteau's landing, near the mouth of the Kansas river and about 400 miles by water from St. Louis, and thence went 12 miles to Cyprian Chouteau's trading house on the right bank of the Kansas, about ten miles above its mouth and six miles beyond the western boundary of Missouri.[16]

13. "Reminiscences of Frederick Chouteau," in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 8, p. 428. Albert R. Greene, "The Kansas River—Its Navigation," in *ibid.*, v. 9, p. 321. James Hall, *Notes on the Western States* (Philadelphia, 1838), pp. 218, 219. *Cf., also*, Z. M. Pike, *An Account of Expeditions to the Sources of the Mississippi . . .* (Philadelphia, 1810), p. 1. Pike's keelboat, in which he started from St. Louis in 1805, was 70 feet long and carried 21 men with provisions for four months.

14. [Robert Baird], *View of the Valley of the Mississippi . . .* (Philadelphia, 1832), pp. 48, 313.

15. Edwin James, *op. cit.*, v. 1, p. 109; Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 234, 262; *Missouri Gazette*, St. Louis, April 20, 1819, as quoted in Frederic L. Billon, *Annals of St. Louis in its Territorial Days from 1804 to 1821 . . .* (St. Louis, 1888), p. 97; Phil E. Chappell, "A History of the Missouri River," in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 9, p. 277.

16. *A Report on an Exploration of the Country Lying Between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains. . . .* To Col. J. J. Abert, Chief of the Corps of Topographical Engineers, March 1, 1843 (Washington, 1845), p. 9. Probably Fremont's journey to Cyprian's trading house was made by water, but he does not explain whether the boat used was a steamer.

The establishment of frontier military posts, with their network of connecting roads, made ferry boats necessary for crossing the rivers. On the Kansas, the first known ferry was operated by Moses Grinter about six miles east of present Bonner Springs and about eight and one-half miles west of the Missouri boundary. It was established in 1831 to provide a crossing for the military road between Cantonment Leavenworth and Fort Gibson, Okla.[17] Emigration to Oregon and California, much of which passed through Kansas, further stimulated the establishment of ferries.

Probably the most important encouragement to navigation on the Kansas prior to the organization of the territory was the establishment of Fort Riley as a permanent military post in 1853. This event resulted almost immediately in the first official examination of the river to determine its navigability.[18] The survey, although it was inconclusive in many respects, showed that boats of shallow draught, if handled skillfully, could be used on the river during the high-water season. The first attempts to use steamboats, in 1854, were successful, and the next year steamers began operating with some regularity from Kansas City to Lawrence, with occasional trips to Topeka and even as far upstream as Fort Riley. This traffic, which continued through the territorial period and the early years of statehood, falling off rapidly, however, after 1860, gave the Kansas legal status as a navigable stream in the eyes of the Federal government.[19] The trial steamer, which was also the first to make regular trips, was a 79-ton stern-wheeler, the *Excel,* which made her first run in April, 1854, carrying 1,100 barrels of flour from Weston to Fort Riley. In 1855 several other boats appeared on the river. All told, 34 steamboats are known to have plied the Kansas from 1854 to 1866, with cargoes of freight and passengers. The *Lightfoot,* said to be the first boat built in the Territory, was constructed expressly for the Kansas river trade by Thaddeus Hyatt of New York, but it was so unsuccessful that it was shifted to the Missouri river. The last steamer to travel the Kansas was the *Alexander Majors,* which was chartered in 1866 to run between Kansas City and Lawrence until the railroad bridge at the mouth of the river, which had been destroyed by floods, could be rebuilt.[20]

River traffic on a commercial scale was doomed by an act of the

17. George A. Root, "Ferries in Kansas," in *Kansas Historical Quarterly,* v. 2 (1933), p. 264.

18. *See* "The First Survey of the Kansas River," on pp. 146-158.

19. *House Doc. No. 195,* 73 Cong., 2 Sess. (1934), "Kansas River . . . ," pp. 194, 197.

20. Greene, *loc. cit.,* pp. 318-353.

state legislature which was approved on February 25, 1864. The railroad age was opening, and in its interest the act declared the river nonnavigable and authorized railroad and bridge companies chartered under state laws to bridge or dam the river without restriction.[21] This law remained in effect until 1913, when, after it had been characterized as "a crime against the public welfare of Kansas," [22] it was finally repealed and the river was thereby restored to its legal status as a navigable stream.[23] This status has not been changed since, although navigation has been confined largely to sand dredging operations.

Since 1879 the Federal government has taken occasional notice of the Kansas. In that year the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers made the first of a series of surveys, most of which resulted in reports that for purposes of practical navigation the river as a whole was unworthy of improvement by the government and that, further, there was no demand by responsible persons for such improvement.[24]

21. *The Laws of the State of Kansas . . . , 1684*, Ch. 97.

22. Greene, *loc. cit.*, p. 354.

23. *Kansas Session Laws, 1913*, Ch. 259, Sec. 10.

24. *House Ex. Doc. No. 243*, 52 Cong., 2 Sess. (1892-1893), pp. 1-3; *House Doc. No. 195*, 73 Cong., 2 Sess. (1934), pp. 193, 197. Other reports in the series are: *House Ex. Doc. No. 94*, 45 Cong., 3 Sess. (1878-1879); *House Doc. No. 82*, 58 Cong., 2 Sess. (1903-1904); *Senate Doc. No. 160*, 58 Cong., 2 Sess. (1903-1904); *House Doc. No. 94*, 62 Cong., 1 Sess. (1911); *House Doc. No. 584*, 63 Cong., 2 Sess. (1913-1914); *House Doc. No. 321*, 65 Cong., 1 Sess. (1917); Capt. Theodore Wyman, "Report Upon Improvement of Rivers and Harbors in Kansas City, Mo., District," in Engineer Department, *Report*, 1931, Pt. 1. Of these reports only the first, in 1879, recommended improvement of the river, and the surveys since 1911 have been concerned only with improving harbor conditions at the mouth.

10—2657

The First Survey of the Kansas River

EDGAR LANGSDORF

I. INTRODUCTION

ON MAY 17, 1853, Fort Riley was established as a permanent military post on the Kansas river, thereby making the navigability of that stream a question of immediate interest. The Army Quartermaster corps, which was responsible for moving materials and supplies to the site and for construction of the permanent barracks, was particularly concerned because the cost of transportation by water would be considerably less than hauling overland.

Before plans could be made for hauling freight by water an examination of the river was necessary to determine whether steamboats and keelboats could ascend as far as the new post.[1] Maj. David H. Vinton,[2] quartermaster at St. Louis, apparently took the initiative and with the cooperation of Brevet Brig. Gen. Newman S. Clarke, commanding Military Department No. 6 with headquarters at Jefferson Barracks, Mo.,[3] arranged for a survey. His objective, he explained in a letter of December 2, 1853, to Maj. F. N. Page, was "to obtain such information as would enable me to induce masters and owners of steamers to attempt the navigation of the river at such prices for freight, as would not throw the cost of the experiment upon the Quarter Master's Department. . . . Great expense will be saved if the necessary supplies shall be sent to Fort Riley by water transportation." [4]

Under the direction of Brevet Maj. E. A. Ogden,[5] quartermaster at Fort Leavenworth, the survey was made by Lt. Joseph L. Tidball,

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1. In the fall of 1826 Maj. Angus L. Langham, who was employed by the Indian Department to survey the boundaries of the Kansas Indian reservation and the Kaw half-breed lands, was instructed to "meander the . . . [Kansas river] up to a point twenty leagues [about 60 miles] on a straight line from the mouth. . . ." from which point he was to begin the survey of the reservation. This, so far as is known, was the first time that the course of the river was plotted by a trained surveyor, and this examination, of course, was not concerned with the navigability of the stream.—Letter of William Clark, superintendent of Indian Affairs, St. Louis, to Maj. A. L. Langham, dated July 9, 1826, from "Records of the Office of Indian Affairs" in the National Archives, Washington, D. C.

2. Major Vinton was a West Point graduate of 1822 who rose to the brevet rank of major general during the Civil War, retired in 1866 and died February 21, 1873.—Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*. . . . (Washington, 1903), v. 1, p. 988.

3. General Clarke, whose regimental rank was colonel, commanded the Sixth infantry regiment. He had been brevetted brigadier in 1847 for gallantry and meritorious conduct in the siege of Vera Cruz. His death occurred October 17, 1860.—*Ibid.*, p. 307; *Senate Ex. Doc. No. 1*, 33 Cong., 1 Sess. (1853-1854), p. 116.

4. Photostat of original letter in "Records of the War Department, Office of the Quartermaster General," in the National Archives. Page was assistant adjutant general at St. Louis.

5. Edmund A. Ogden held the regimental rank of captain. He was a member of the original board of officers appointed to locate a new military post near the forks of the Kansas river and subsequently was the officer in charge of construction. He died of cholera during the epidemic which decimated the population of Fort Riley in 1855.—*Official Army Register for 1855* . . . Adjutant General's Office, Washington, January 1, 1855; W. F. Pride, *The History of Fort Riley* (no publisher; copyright 1926), pp. 61, 63-68.

Sixth infantry, in August, 1853.[6] At that time the river was at a low stage and Tidball's examination was therefore not conclusive. Major Vinton, in his letter to Major Page, remarked that the survey was satisfactory so far as it went, "but it leaves to conjecture still, the depth of the Kanzas River and of its navigableness at the most favorable stage of its waters. . . . It still remains to ascertain the actual depth of the Kanzas, at high water, and of the duration of the season of its navigation, if it shall prove navigable. I have therefore to request that observation may be continued for that object and that an early report (after the next 'rise' of that stream) may be made. . . ."

General Clarke, transmitting Tidball's report to Col. Lorenzo Thomas, assistant adjutant general at Headquarters of the Army, New York, said that he had planned to make two surveys of the river, one when it was at its lowest stage and the other at its highest.

> Altho' it is not expected that the River is navigable for steamboats for any length of time during the year [he stated], yet I am satisfied that it is navigable at certain periods of the year sufficiently long to throw up a large amount of Supplies, and I reccommend that the Quarter Master & Commissary Depts be so instructed. The Quarter Master in St Louis might keep himself advised of the stage of water in the River—and save the Government a great deal by throwing up the supplies by water at such periods as might be deemed safe. The Commanding Officer at Fort Riley will be instructed to give information to the Quarter Master in St Louis when the river is at its highest stage.[7]

No record of the proposed examination during the period of high water has been found. However, one steamboat captain, Charles K. Baker, perhaps as a result of Major Vinton's persuasion, undertook to try the ascent and in April, 1854, successfully sailed his 79-ton stern-wheeler, the *Excel*, from Weston, Mo., to Fort Riley carrying 1,100 barrels of flour. During the next two months, before he left the Kansas for the Missouri river trade, Captain Baker made several such trips, on one of which he even dared a short excursion up the Smoky Hill.[8]

6. Tidball was a graduate of West Point in the class of 1849. He was promoted to the rank of first lieutenant on March 3, 1855, to captain on August 25 of the same year, and retired from the army November 1, 1861.—Heitman, *op. cit.*, p. 961.

7. Gen. N. S. Clarke to Col. L. Thomas, Jefferson Barracks, Mo., January 9, 1853 [1854]. Photostat of original letter in "Records of the War Department, Office of the Quartermaster General," in the National Archives.

8. Albert R. Greene, "The Kansas River—Its Navigation," in *Kansas Historical Collections*, Topeka, v. 9, pp. 321-324; George S. Park, "Notes of a Trip Up Kansas River . . . ," in *Organization, Objects, and Plans of Operations, of the Emigrant Aid Company . . .* (Boston, 1854), pp. 9-19. Park was editor of the *Industrial Luminary*, Parkville, Mo., a newspaper whose Free State tenets caused its destruction in 1855 by a mob of pro-slavery Missourians. His description of his journey up the Kansas was widely read, and was reprinted by several papers, including the first issue of the *Kansas Herald of Freedom*, Wakarusa, October 21, 1854.

Copies of Tidball's report to Major Ogden, with a map which he made to illustrate it, were sent to Headquarters of the Army at New York, to Headquarters of the Department of the West at Jefferson Barracks, and to the Quartermaster General at Washington. The copy to the latter is on file among the "Records of the War Department, Office of the Quartermaster General," in the National Archives.[9] The copy from which the text below is taken was received by the Historical Society on February 25, 1878, with other papers of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, from J. M. Forbes, president of the board of trustees.

II. LIEUTENANT TIDBALL'S REPORT

Fort Riley
Indn Terry Oct 10, 1853

Major:

The duty of prosecuting the survey of the Kansas river, ordered to be made under your supervision, having devolved on me, I have the honor to communicate the following report of my investigations.

As the principal object contemplated in this expedition was to determine the practicability of navigating the river by steamers or keel Boats, my attention was chiefly directed to collecting facts and obtaining information bearing on this point, and less particularly to other matters mentioned in your letter of instructions.[10]

The place selected for departure is a point of the river about two miles below the junction of the Smoky Hill Fork and Pawnee river, estimating the sinuosities of the river, and about a mile from, and nearly East of, this post.[11] It was not deemed important to commence operations higher up, as the place selected possesses as many advantages for a Steam Boat landing as any point above, and is more easy of access from the fort.

The turbid cast of the water rendering it next to impossible for my Steersman, in his position close to the surface, to determine where the main channel lay, to enable me to keep in it, I found it

9. Letter from E. G. Campbell, director, "War Records Division," The National Archives, Washington, D. C., December 19, 1947.

10. The instructions referred to have not been found either in the files of the Society or those of the National Archives.—*Ibid.*

11. The Smoky Hill and Republican rivers join at Junction City, near Fort Riley, to form the Kansas. The Republican took its name from a branch of the Pawnee confederacy known as the Kitkehahki or Republican Pawnees who lived along its banks until about 1815, but it was also called the Pawnee by several early explorers, including John C. McCoy, who performed many of the surveys of Indian reservations in present Kansas. He stated that the river was called Pa-ne-ne-tah or Pawnee by the Kansas Indians.—*See* John C. McCoy, "Survey of Kansas Indian Lands," in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 4, p. 305; Frank W. Blackmar, *Kansas, A Cyclopedia of State History. . . .* (Chicago, 1912), v. 2, p. 577; George A. Root, "Ferries in Kansas," in *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 3, p. 246; F. W. Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians . . . .*, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin 30* (Washington, 1907), Pt. 1, p. 707. Tidball's point of departure was at or near the point where One Mile creek enters the Kansas.

necessary, almost from the outset, to feel my way by having recourse to the sounding rod, the use of which, was seldom discontinued during a run, and only when the appearance of the water removed all doubt as to its considerable depth. This process, though vexatious and wearisome, was attended with the advantage of giving a more accurate knowledge of the general depth of the water than could have resulted from less frequent soundings. This system of soundings showed the general depth of water in the main channel, for a distance of fifty miles, or thereabout, to be from two to seven feet; that is, it varied between these limits, more frequently exceeding the greater than falling below the less; when the latter occurred, special mention is [made] of it, and the localities are, as nearly as possible, pointed out.

These I found to be quite numerous, nine such having been found above the mouth of the Blue Earth river.[12] The first is about one mile from the point of starting; the second, above a small island some four miles lower down; about three fourths of a mile above Clarke's Creek, again just above the mouth, and at distances of four and six miles below the mouth of this creek, there are bars. Severally, these are of little extent in the direction of the flow of water, not more, perhaps, than fifteen or twenty yards, but most of them traverse the river throughout its entire width, with a minimum depth of twelve inches of water. Four miles below the last mentioned point, is a bar of considerable magnitude, fifty or sixty yards across, with only eight inches of water. Two other bars were found above the mouth of the Blue Earth river; the first a small one, a little way above two small islands abreast; the other, opposite the mouth of a slough on the left shore, between six and seven miles lower down. The least depth of water on the first of these was one foot; on the second, about ten inches, though next the left bank, there was a narrow channel with eighteen inches water. The general width of the Kansas above the mouth of the Blue Earth river, is about eighty yards, seldom narrower, and occasionally widening to a hundred and twenty or more. It is comparatively free from flood wood and snags; a circumstance due most probably to the sparsity of timber in this region. In respect of flood wood and snags in this part of the river, I deem it necessary only to mention the mouth of Clarke's Creek, a point some ten miles lower down, and a point in the main channel,

12. The Big Blue, as it is known today, is the largest tributary of the Kansas. It was commonly called the Blue Earth river in earlier days, from the name "Mon-e-ca-to" or "Moh-e-ca-to" by which it was known to the Kansas Indians. The Indian name is used in Isaac McCoy's field notes of his survey of the Delaware lands and outlet in 1830 and on his plat of the north and south lines of the Kansas Indian lands.—*See* superintendency of Indian Affairs, St. Louis, "Records," v. 1, pp. 48, 58.

at an island about two miles above the mouth of the Blue Earth river.

Of these places the last two are the worst, though I do not regard any of them as considerable impediments. At the junction of the Blue Earth and Kansas there is a bar of considerable extent, formed most probably, in great part, by deposits from the waters of the former, the least depth of water on it, ten inches. It stretches almost entirely across the Kansas, and completely spans the mouth of the Blue. This is much the largest affluent of the Kansas; its width at the mouth from sixty to eighty yards, and its depth there was found to be from two and a half to four feet. Notwithstanding, however, it was discharging a considerable volume of water, there was no perceptible addition to the general depth of the Kansas, the increment of water being fully absorbed by the expansion in the width of the river commencing there, and with little variation continuing to prevail as far down as Soldier's creek.

Passing below the mouth of the Blue Earth river, there was an approach to uniformity in the general depth of the water, though it was by no means regular; bars and shoals were of less frequent occurrence, but many of them were of much greater extent than any yet mentioned. At a distance of five miles below, a bar was found stretching nearly across the river; and half a mile lower down a second; neither large, with a depth of one and a half feet, on each. Four or five miles farther on, there is a marked increase in the width of the river—which there flows between banks lower on both sides than usual—the water gradually becomes shallow, and for a distance of three or four hundred yards the prevailing depth was fourteen inches. There is no distinctly defined bar, but it seemed, rather, a shoaling of the water due to the expansion in the width of the stream. A little distance below this point there is a rapid, or a succession of rapids, for there are three, distinctly marked, at intervals of two or three hundred yards. These are caused by a flat reef of rock, no where visible, but first discoverable at the upper rapid, and thence continuing to form the bed of the river for some distance below the last. Loose water worn stones and fragments of rock are strewn over the bed of the river in places, in greatest abundance near the upper rapid. Individually, these rapids are but a few yards across. The Channel is straight, with a depth of one and a half feet, and the acceleration of current is about one half; but at the distance of twenty five or thirty yards below the several rapids, it resumes its usual velocity. Between this point and St. Mary's Mission there is little change in the general character of the river, except that, for

part of that distance, the limits between which the general depth of water varied, were somewhat different. This was first remarked a few miles above the mouth of Vermillion, and from the time my attention was drawn to the fact, until I had passed Uniontown ferry,[13] the prevailing depth was from eighteen inches to seven feet.

There are two other places, between the rapids mentioned and St. Mary's Mission, that require notice. About twelve miles above the mouth of the Vermillion is an island between which and the left bank, the great body of water pours. I found this place almost impassable for my skiff, in consequence of its being choked with a series of little bars, disposed like ribs across the channel, with not more than eight inches of water on some of them, while below and between them it was not unfrequently six or seven feet deep. I find it difficult so to designate the locality of this island that it may be distinguished from others very similar in appearance, and removed but little distances from it. It may suffice to state that it is the fifth above the mouth of the Vermillion.

A bend below the mouth of Phillip's creek, a small branch emptying in a short distance above the Mission, presented a collection of snags, not numerous, however, and the only point thus far below the Blue Earth river, which, in this particular, it is important to mention. Of course I would not be understood to say that that part of the river, or any other of considerable extent enjoys entire immunity from these ugly customers; but from the impossibility of defining [or] fixing positions, mention only is made of such as appeared to me likely to prove [provide?] difficulties in the way of navigation, or invest it with any degree of danger. In the vicinity of St. Mary's Mission the river widens beyond its usual limits, and is thereabout, for perhaps a mile, from one hundred and fifty to two hundred yards wide. Within this stretch, nearly opposite, perhaps somewhat below, the Mission, are two small islands close together, and still another, lower down. The whole distance embracing these islands, and extending a little above and below them, is a bar, seamed by narrow irregular gullies through which, with a variable depth of from eight to eighteen inches, the great volume of water finds its way. Some two miles below the Mission the river makes an abrupt bend, running in a westerly direction for one or two miles, when it sweeps away to the southward, gradually resuming its general course. It is somewhat narrower than usual between these el-

13. Uniontown crossing, just above the Uniontown rapids near the point where Cross creek flows into the Kansas, was about one and one-half miles above the old village of Uniontown and about five miles above Silver Lake. The ferry there was operated by L. K. Darling in 1853 and was known as Darling's ferry.—*See* George A. Root, *loc. cit.*, p. 20.

bows, both of which are receptacles of snags, most numerous and dangerous in the upper. Below an island, situated in the lower bend, the river again spreads out to a greater width than usual, the water becomes shoal, and [an]other stretch, not unlike that in the vicinity of the Mission, presents itself. The least depth of water found here was twelve inches, which may be regarded as that prevailing for the greater part of a mile, when the prevalent features as to depth were restored, and continued without interruption some eighteen or twenty miles farther. Eight or nine miles below the Mission, another nest of snags, numerous and ugly, was found. About a mile lower down there is a rocky developement in the right bank, from one point of which a spur, nearly perpendicular to the thread of the current, and extending about one third the width of the river, causes a partial rapid. Between this point of rock, and the left bank the channel was three feet deep; there was slight increase in the velocity of the water, so little, it is doubtful, if, at a higher stage, it would be distinguishable from the general current.

Of the rapids in this river, that usually known as the Uniontown rapid is the only one that fairly embodies the idea suggested by the term. It extends the entire width of the river, and is caused by a ledge of rock stretching diagonally across, presenting a general concavity down stream, its lower extremity resting on the right bank. I had not the means of determining the difference of level between the head and foot of the rapid, but the fall is sufficient to produce an increased velocity of current, extending through sixty or seventy yards. The depth of water was variable; the deepest on the crest of the rapid, was found between the middle of the river, and the right bank, and was from two to four feet, increasing somewhat below, the least depth, between the middle and left bank, but thirteen inches. The channel conforms pretty generally to the direction of the stream, and seems to cross the head of the rapid about one third the width of the river from the right bank. Detached masses of rock strew the bed of the rapid; only a few of these were visible, and those near the left bank, in the shoalest water. In respect of magnitude, this is much the [most] considerable rapid in the river, and, therefore, all else being equal, would be found a much more serious difficulty in the way of navigation. But the current is, as nearly as I could estimate it, about twice as strong as that of the river in general; the crest of the rapid is little, if any, more than a hundred yards above an abrupt curve in the river narrower there than above, so that, at a high stage, a stronger current than usual may be looked for throughout this curve.

These circumstances I apprehend may be found to render this point additionally difficult to pass. Another rapid, produced doubtless by a continuation of the same body of rock, in part forming the right bank between the two, occurs about a fourth of a mile below. It is unimportant as compared with the principal rapid; and as it appeared to me likely to offer no difficulty at a time when a boat may reach it, little more is necessary than to note its existence and position. On this, the deepest water, from eighteen inches to two feet, was found between the middle of the river and the left bank. Soon after leaving Uniontown rapids I again had occasion to observe a change in the general depth; and until I reached the vicinity of Soldier creek it ranged between fourteen inches and half as many feet. So frequently was it the former, that I am not sure a great error would be committed were much of this distance denominated a series of shoals. This extent, however, is not equally bad throughout. Between Weld's and Papan's ferries [14] the course of the stream is more direct, and the channel less irregular in depth. Except these general features, the only matters presenting themselves to my notice, in this part of the river, as bearing on the matter under consideration, were, the existence of numerous snags just below Pappan's ferry, and at intervals between that and the mouth of Soldier creek, and a bar, about midway between these points, on which, for perhaps a hundred yards, I found only ten inches of water,—A change in the breadth of the river is observable soon after passing the mouth of Soldier creek. It becomes narrower. And indeed the lower part of the river is, with occasional exceptions compressed within narrower limits than were found to characterize, as a rule, the portion between the Blue Earth river and Soldier creek; while for several miles above its junction with the Missouri, and at that point, it is even more contracted, a circumstance that may lead to an erroneous idea of its prevailing width. If that portion lying between Turtle creek and Cedar creek be excepted, abrupt curves in the stream, below the mouth of Soldiers creek, are comparatively few; as a whole, the channel was more distinctly defined; some improvement and less irregulartity were perceived in the general depth, which was from eighteen inches to six feet, until within a few miles of the Missouri, when it became more regularly deep, seldom less than five feet. This part of the river is not, however, exempt from those features that disfigure other portions of it. Bars of considerable mag-

14. Probably this should be Wells' ferry. Hiram Wells and John Ogee established a ferry service in 1853 at a point near the old Baptist Mission which became known as the "Great Crossing." Papan's ferry in that year was operating about four miles above the mouth of Soldier creek.—*See* George A. Root, *loc. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 365, 366; v. 3, p. 16.

nitude were found at intervals; while snags are of more frequent occurrence, and the collections of these in places are equal, if not greater, than any yet mentioned. A partial rapid, too, similar to that between St. Mary's Mission and Uniontown rapids, occurs between the mouth of Grashopper and Turtle creek, about six miles above the latter. A rib of the reef causing it, extends from the right bank about halfway across; but between it and the left bank is a smooth channel, of which the least depth, on the prolongation of the rib, was two feet.

Bars, in the order in which they occur, were found at a point about three miles above the mouth of Grasshopper; a mile above the mouth of Turtle creek; at the mouth of a little creek, emptying in from the south, between Turtle creek and Stranger; some three miles above the mouth of Cedar creek; opposite the mouth of Rock creek; at Delaware ferry;[15] and just below a small island from three to five miles lower down. Of these the largest are those situated at about equal distances above the mouth of Grasshopper and Cedar creek, and that at Delaware ferry;—the first at least half a mile in extent, without any discoverable main channel across it; the others traceable for a distance of two or three hundred yards. The minimum depth of water on the first two, was ten inches; on the last, one foot. The least depth of water on these, in the order in which they are enumerated, was, ten inches on the first, fourteen on the second, but eight on the third, and on the fourth ten inches. Of the portion of the river under consideration, that between the Grasshopper and Cedar creek is most plenteously supplied with snags. Few of the elbows in this interval but hold them in greater or less abundance. A sharp bend about six miles below Grasshopper, (river running northeasterly, for a little distance) the vicinity of the rapid last mentioned, and a bend in the river just above the mouth of Cedar creek, are repositories of the largest collections. The last of these surpasses in extent any other in the river, stretching along a distance of nearly or quite two hundred yards. Below Cedar creek there are comparatively few; two other points, however, one in the vicinity of Delaware ferry, the other a few miles above the mouth of the river, are worthy of mention in this connection.

Except in a few places to which allusion has been made, at the rapids and in their vicinity, the bed of the river is an easily yield-

15. Delaware or Grinter's ferry, known also as Military ferry and Secondine crossing, was the earliest ferry established on the Kansas river. It was about eight and one-half miles west of the Kansas-Missouri boundary, near the Indian village of Secondine, and was operated by Moses Grinter as a crossing on the military road between Cantonment Leavenworth and Fort Gibson, Okla.—*Ibid.*, v. 2, pp. 264, 265.

ing quicksand, and its surface broken. In descending, a gradual shoaling of the water was noticed in approaching the bars, which were found to terminate very abruptly, so that not infrequently a few feet only intervened between least and greatest depth of water. The banks of the upper portion of the river are formed almost entirely of sand, occasionally mingled with clay. Lower down, this is seen in somewhat greater abundance, sometimes in thin strata alternating with sand; occasional beds of gravel and in a few places, for short distances, rocky developements occur. But these last are rather exceptions to the general rule than a prominent feature in the geological character of the banks.

The river, as a whole, is quite crooked, varying of course in this respect in different parts, and some of the curves are very abrupt. This feature is perhaps more strongly marked in the portion between this post and the mouth of the Blue Earth river; in that lying between St. Mary's Mission and Weld's ferry; and in that between Turtle creek and Cedar creek. In the main, as was to be anticipated the greatest depth of water was found following the concave portions of the banks, and along the bluff shores; but not always, for in many places, and in straight portions of the river, where there was no apparent cause for a diversion in the channel, it was found to run in a zigzag course from bank [to bank?], crossing a right line three or four or half a dozen times in a distance of a few hundred yards; of course every salient point seems to give a new direction to the great body of the water; so that, numerous as are the curves of the river, the channel is even more tortuous.

The tributaries of the Kansas, below this point, though numerous are small. The Blue Earth river is the largest. It is not to be supposed that the discharge of water from these, singly, can at any time, in great degree, augment that of the river, but during the spring and early summer its volume is probably much swollen by their united supply.

It is needless to speculate as to whether the river is navigable at a low stage of water. Still, the facts elicited by no means, I think, definitely settle the question whether or not it is ever navigable. Throughout the entire course of the stream the evidences were abundant that the water had been from six to eight feet above its level when I descended. The water marks along the banks were satisfactory on this point; but if doubt could rest upon these, the accumulation of flood wood on the heads of islands and in other places, as indication of the height to which the river had risen was not to be

mistaken. Nor could it be supposed, as at first seemed probable, that that which lay highest had, in every instance, been forced above the surface by the accumulating drift wood above, for instances were numerous when that occupying the highest positions lay apart from the general collection, in places it could have reached through no other agency than the immediate action of the water, and where, that having subsided, it rested. These conclusions are strengthened by the concurrent testimony of persons of whom inquiry was made, at different points along the river. Touching the duration of the period of high water, the testimony is concordant.

At Uniontown ferry, I was informed that, for about two months preceding my arrival there, the water had been from six to seven feet higher than at that time; at Weld's ferry, that it had been from eight to ten feet higher, and all summer several feet above its stage then; at Delaware ferry, that from the tenth of April until the tenth of August it had been about five feet higher than I found it, but that high water had prevailed, it might be, a month longer this year than usual. Added to this, it is well known here, that from the time of the arrival of a battalion of the 6th Infantry at this place, about the 20th of May, until about the 10th of August, the river at this point was from five to ten feet above its level a month later.

I have too little experience in matters relating to navigation to form opinions concerning it in which I can rest entire confidence; yet, with all the facts and evidence before me, I am strongly impelled to the belief that there is a period of from two to four months of the year, dating from the first spring rise, during which boats can ascend to this point. I am gratified to be able to state that this opinion is also entertained by Capt. Lovell [16] of my regiment, who descended the river in the Autumn of last year, in a skiff. The effort to ascend, if made at the proper time, would at least be attended with such positive results as cannot be arrived at by any examination of the river, however carefully conducted, by parties descending in small boats.

The removal of the snags I conceive to be the only valuable improvement that could be made in the river. This might be affected by means usually available for such purposes; but I do not regard their removal as absolutely necessary. Their existence can only ren-

16. Capt. Charles S. Lovell, Sixth infantry, like Major Ogden was a member of the board of officers which selected the location for Fort Riley. This group first visited the site in the fall of 1852, and it is possible that Lovell's descent of the river was made on the return journey. On May 17, 1853, he established the first post, thus becoming Fort Riley's first commanding officer.—Pride, *op. cit.*, p. 61; *Senate Ex. Doc. No. 1*, 33 Cong., 1 Sess. (1853-1854), p. 116.

der transit in some degree hazardous, without interfering to effectually prevent it. No remedy suggests itself for the bars; they will always exist, if not where I found them, at other points; and during low water their presence must be an insuperable obstacle to navigation. Should any attempt at improvement of the rapids be contemplated, it suggests itself to me that it would be wisdom to institute, under the direction of a competent practical Engineer, or an officer of the Department to which such duties properly pertain, a more rigid examination than it was possible for me to make. I am of opinion that expenditure for their improvement is unnecessary; for it is clear to my mind that if a boat can ever reach them, it will find sufficient water to pass them without danger.

The nature of my duties was such that my investigations were necessarily confined within narrow limits. Hence I had little opportunity of acquiring information relative to the valley of the river, and the adjacent country. The valley is comparatively narrow, and is terminated on either side by a range of limestone bluffs, at distances varying from a few hundred yards to several miles; occasionally, however, approaching closely to the river; still more rarely, and for short intervals, forming its banks. As a whole, it is sparsely timbered. This is particularly true of the upper portion, throughout which timber exists only in clumps and narrow belts along the banks of the river, and in its immediate vicinity. Descending, a gradual increase is perceptible; but it is not until approaching the lower part of the valley, that it is found in any considerable abundance. There, too, the better qualities of forest trees, as the hickory, oak, ash, hackberry, walnut, &c. replace in some degree, the cottonwood, which is the prevailing growth in the upper region.

At only one of the places mentioned in your letter of instructions, was I enabled to obtain definite information of the existence of coal. This is found in a limestone cliff, within a few hundred yards of Welds' ferry. Where it was shown me, it exists in seams three or four inches in thickness. I was told it appears at different points along the face of the bluff. It is doubtful if it exists in great abundance.

Notwithstanding the scarcity of timber along the river, I think there is sufficient for the probable wants of steam navigation for years. The larger islands, which are numerous, are covered with a fine growth of cottonwood. This could be made available. Were there any demand, there is no doubt but the supply, at convenient points, would fully meet it.

The means placed at my disposal for inquiring into the feasibility of navigating the Kansas, were, you are well aware, insufficient for the prosecution of a minute and accurate survey. My researches do not pretend to that dignity. Only such facts as were to be obtained with those meagre means were sought after. In regard to the matter of distances, I may be somewhat at fault. Their calculation rests upon data that could not be relied on for positive accuracy; and, therefore, as laid down, they can only be regarded as approximate. The difficulty of determining them with exactness has, too, involved me, in making this report, in a deal of circumlocution that otherwise were unnecessary.

It may be well to state that this examination was commenced in the latter part of August, when the river was very low, and that is was constantly falling during the progress of the inquiry.

I am very respectfully,
Your Obt Servant
(signed) J. L. Tidball
2d Lieut 6 Infy

Brevet Major E A Ogden
A. Q. M.—U. S. A.
Fort Leavenworth
Mo.

The Renaming of Robidoux Creek, Marshall County

ROBIDOUX CREEK: a stream about 25 miles long heading near Summerfield and flowing generally southward to the Black Vermillion River 1.5 miles southwest of Frankfort; Marshall County, source in sec. 12, T. 1 S, R. 9 E, and mouth in sec. 20, T. 4 S, R. 9 E, sixth principal meridian, mouth at 39° 41′ 15″ N, 96° 26′ 30″ W. Not: Black Vermillion Creek, Robidoux Fork, Vermilion Creek, Vermillion Creek, West Fork.

THE above decision, appearing in a publication of the U. S. Board on Geographic Names[1] in May, 1947, officially restored to Robidoux creek the name by which early settlers of Marshall county knew it, and which was perhaps first applied to the stream by French fur traders. As far as can be learned, this is the first time the board has restored a geographic name in Kansas. The story of this stream, and its renaming, is worth recording.

One hundred and nine years ago this year, a 43-year-old fur trapper carved his name and occupation—"M Robidoux TRAPPER 1841"—on a large limestone rock near a ford on the west branch of the Black Vermillion river in present Marshall county.[2] Because he did so, this tributary of the river was later to bear his name.

The ford (later known as the lower Robidoux crossing) was on an Indian trail, used also by hunters and trappers in the 1830's and 1840's. In these decades the immediate area was Indian country not assigned to any particular tribe. A little to the east, and extending to the Missouri river, lay the Kickapoo reserve. Beyond, on the east bank of the Missouri, was the Blacksnake Hills trading post of Joseph Robidoux, where the town of St. Joseph, Mo., was founded in 1843.

The establishment at Blacksnake Hills had existed since the latter 1820's. Joseph Robidoux, oldest of six fur-trading brothers,[3]

Much of the material used in the preparation of this article was furnished by OTTO J. WULLSCHLEGER of Marshall county who was instrumental in re-establishing Robidoux as a geographic name in Kansas. The article was written by LOUISE BARRY, who is in charge of the Manuscripts division of the Kansas State Historical Society.

1. U. S. Board on Geographic Names, *Decision Lists, Nos. 4701, 4702, 4703, January, February, March, 1947* (Washington, D. C., May, 1947), p. 2.

2. The rock is on the SW ¼ of Section 6, Township 3 South, Range 9 East, on a farm belonging to M. L. Goin.

3. The Robidouxs were from St. Louis. Joseph Robidoux (b. 1750) arrived there in 1770 from Montreal. He married Catharine Rollet in 1782 and they had six sons and two daughters. Joseph (b. 1783), the oldest, and Michel (b. 1798), the youngest son, are mentioned above. Michel (also variously spelled Michael, Mitchel and Mitchell) married Susan Vaudry, of St. Louis, a sister of Angelique Vaudry, the second wife of his brother Joseph.—*The History of Buchanan County, Missouri* . . . (St. Joseph, Mo., 1881), pp. 392-396; Mrs. O. M. Robidoux's *Memorial to the Robidoux Brothers* . . . (Kansas City, Mo., 1924).