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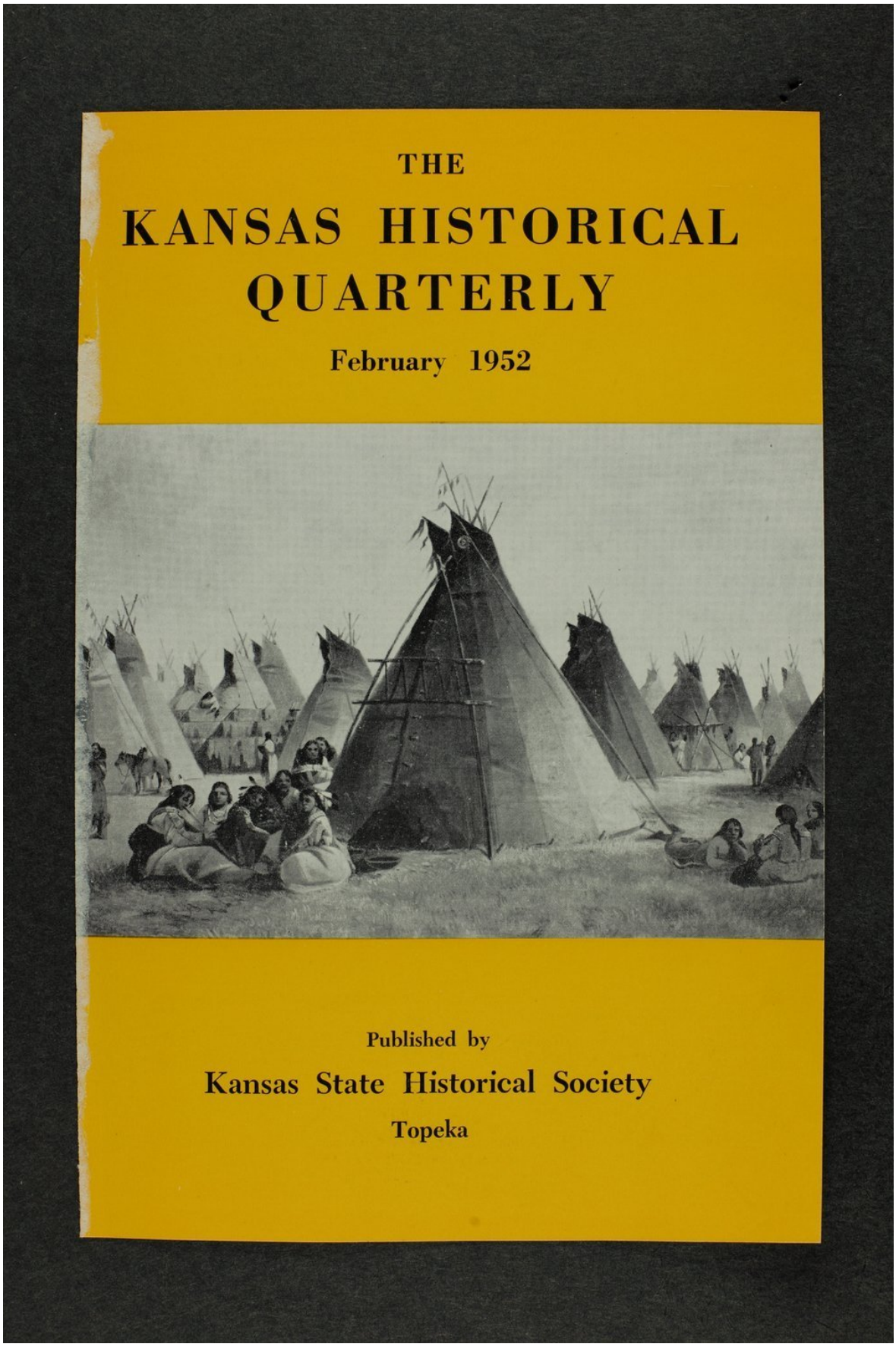

PLEASE NOTE A decreased printing appropriation will make it necessary to publish *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* with fewer pages for several issues. The same standards will be maintained. It is hoped that the situation which caused this reduction will be remedied in the next session of the legislature.

Volume XX, now being published, will consist of eight numbers, covering the years 1952-1953. The index for this volume will appear as part of the November, 1953, issue.

—The Editors.

KIRKE MECHEM, *Editor* — **JAMES C. MALIN**, *Associate Editor* — **NYLE H. MILLER**, *Managing Editor*

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The Cover

John Mix Stanley's "Prairie Indian Encampment."
Courtesy Detroit Institute of Arts.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Volume XX *February, 1952* Number 1

The Pictorial Record of the Old West

XV. John M. Stanley and the Pacific Railroad Reports

Robert Taft

IN the preceding number of this series, many of the illustrators of the Pacific railroad *Reports* were considered. Two, however, remain to be discussed, those who were present on Gov. I. I. Stevens' survey of the northern route.[1] The principal artist of this survey, John M. Stanley, deserves more than mere mention for at least two reasons: he is represented in the reports of the surveys by more plates than any other artist, and in the second place, no early Western artist had more intimate knowledge by personal experience of the American West.

Born in New York state in 1814, he spent his boyhood there. When he was 20 he moved to Detroit and the following year he began painting portraits and landscapes. No record of any artistic training exists, but from 1835 until 1839 he apparently made his living as an itinerant artist in Detroit, Fort Snelling (where he painted Indians), Galena and Chicago. He then moved East. No

Dr. Robert Taft, of Lawrence, is professor of chemistry at the University of Kansas and editor of the *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*. He is author of *Photography and the American Scene* (New York, 1938), and *Across the Years on Mount Oread* (Lawrence, 1941).

Previous articles in this pictorial series appeared in the issues of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* for February, May, August and November, 1946, May and August, 1948, May, August and November, 1949, February, May and August, 1950, August and November, 1951. The general introduction was in the February, 1946, number.

1. The survey of the 32d parallel under Capt. John Pope completed the survey on this route begun by Lieutenant Parke from Fort Yuma to Fort Fillmore. Captain Pope began his survey near the latter place on February 12, 1854, and traveled eastward across much country that was unknown. The survey was completed at Preston, Tex. (near present Denison), on May 15, 1854 (*Reports of Explorations and Surveys to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economic Route for a Railroad From the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean*, v. 2). As can be seen by an inspection of a map, most of Pope's route lay through Texas. No illustrations accompany Pope's report but a contemporary report by a private concern covered a somewhat similar survey of a route through Texas and west, and the report is accompanied by 32 interesting illustrations, *see* A. B. Gray, *Survey of a Route for the Southern Pacific R. R. on the 32nd Parallel for the Texas Western R. R. Company* (Cincinnati, 1856). The plates are by Carl Schuchard. Schuchard, a German, was born in 1827 and was a mining engineer who joined the '49 rush to California. Later he became a surveyor, settled in Texas where he lived for a number of years, but spent much of his later life in Mexico where he died on May 4, 1883. Schuchard's original sketches for the report cited above were destroyed in a fire in the Smithsonian Institution, apparently the same fire that destroyed a number of Stanley paintings (*see* p. 10). I am indebted to Llerena Friend of the Barker Texas History Center, University of Texas, for information concerning Schuchard.

definite record of his wanderings exists for the next few years, but in the early spring of 1842 an advertisement of the firm of Fay and Stanley appeared in Washington (D. C.) papers. Although positive proof that the Stanley of this firm was John M. Stanley is lacking, the circumstantial evidence is excellent. The advertisement announced that Fay and Stanley were prepared to take daguerreotype likenesses and would offer instruction and complete outfits for the practice of the art. Evidently in his three years in the East, Stanley —if it be granted that he was the Stanley of our interest—had acquired a knowledge of the new art, for it had been introduced into this country in the fall of 1839. Certain it is that Stanley later made use of daguerreotypy on one of his Western expeditions.[2]

Sometime during the summer or fall of 1842, Stanley decided to go to the Indian country with Sumner Dickerman of Troy, N. Y., for the express purpose of painting the American Indian of the West. Whether he was influenced by his predecessor, Catlin, who had achieved by 1842 a considerable reputation with his collection of Indian paintings, is unknown. Dickerman's part in the enterprise, too, is not known with certainty. He probably helped to finance the expedition and certainly he was the companion and helper of Stanley for several years.[3]

In the fall of 1842 the two arrived in Fort Gibson (in present

2. The information on Stanley thus far given in the text is based on an account given by Stanley's son, L. C. Stanley, and published by David I. Bushnell, Jr., in "John Mix Stanley, Artist-Explorer," *Annual Report Smithsonian Institution . . . 1924*, pp. 507-512, subsequent reference to this biographic material is indicated by *L. C. S.* Stanley's manuscript account of his father is said to be in the Burton Historical Collections, Detroit.

The advertisement of Fay and Stanley appeared in *The Independent*, Washington, on March 15, 1842, p. 3, and in many subsequent issues between this date and May 31, 1842. The same advertisement, with minor variations, also appeared in the *National Intelligencer*, Washington (*see*, for example, the issue of March 29, 1842, p. 3). The *Independent* of March 18, 1842, p. 3, had a brief comment on the firm of Fay and Stanley and identified Fay as one who had a "long and respectable connection with the Press of South Carolina" but made no direct comment on Stanley. Mention is made of "a competent artist" in the account which may or may not mean Stanley. Further circumstantial evidence that it was John M. Stanley who was concerned is borne out by the fact that the firm of Fay and Stanley became Fay and Reed in the advertisement of the firm for June 3, 1842, in the *Independent* (p. 4, c. 5). As will be pointed out shortly in the text, Stanley was in the Southwest in the year 1842 and the change in the firm may have arisen from Stanley's withdrawal for this trip. Comment and letters in *Diary and Letters of Josiah Gregg* (Norman, Okla., 1941), M. G. Fulton, editor, v. 1, p. 188, also suggest that Stanley, a friend of Gregg's may have had a knowledge of daguerreotypy in 1846; Stanley's subsequent use of the daguerreotype in 1853 will be discussed in the text which follows. For the introduction of daguerreotypy in the United States, *see* Robert Taft, *Photography and the American Scene* (New York, 1938), ch. 1.

3. *L. C. S.* identified Dickerman only by the two words "of Troy." W. Vernon Kinietz, *John Mix Stanley and His Indian Paintings* (Ann Arbor, 1942), p. 17 (Footnote 3), states that Stanley's will assigned Dickerman a one-fourth interest in Stanley's Indian Gallery to be described later in the text. Dickerman was born in 1819. He is listed as a resident of Troy in the city directories from 1836 to 1843. He was a Civil War veteran and lived in Maryland for some years after the war. He returned to Troy in 1881 where he died on July 21, 1882.—*See* Troy *Daily Times*, July 22, 1882. I am indebted to Fanny C. Howe, librarian, Troy Public Library, for this information. I have also corresponded with Kate L. Dickerman of Troy, who wrote me on March 21, 1951, that Sumner Dickerman was her uncle and that she remembered him relating stories of his adventures in the Indian country with Stanley. Miss Dickerman, age 90, also wrote me that Stanley painted portraits of her aunt and other members of the family which hung for many years in the Dickerman home. Miss Dickerman, the last of her family, stated that no records of Stanley or Dickerman in the Indian country were available in the family.

Oklahoma) and Stanley immediately set up a studio. Fort Gibson, established in 1824, was an important post on the early Southwestern frontier and in many respects an ideal one for Stanley's purpose. Through it passed an almost continuous stream of frontiersmen, border characters, and Indians of many tribes. Located in the Cherokee country it was easily accessible to Seminoles, Creeks, Osages, Chickasaws, many of whom had been forced to migrate by the government in the years preceding Stanley's first visit. Visits, too, from the native Plains Indians farther west were also frequent and Stanley never lacked for subjects. Four of these visitors, two Pawnee Pict chiefs and the wife and child of one of them, were among Stanley's early subjects. Stanley wrote concerning them:

> On the arrival of the two chiefs and this woman at Fort Gibson, we took them to our studio for the purpose of painting their portraits. They very willingly acceded to my wishes, and manifested by signs that they wanted something to eat. We accordingly had as much meat cooked as would appease the appetite of six men, which they ate in a short time, and then asked for more. We again provided about the same quantity, which, to our astonishment, they also devoured. It was the first meat they had eaten for some five or six days.[4]

But Stanley's great opportunity came the following spring when a grand Indian council was called to convene at Tahlequah by the celebrated Cherokee, John Ross. Tahlequah, the capital of the Cherokee Nation, was only some 20 miles from Fort Gibson, but Stanley moved his studio to the Indian town and during the four-weeks' session of the council and the succeeding summer months, was exceedingly busy recording the scenes and the participants of the Indian gathering.

By June 1, 1843, several thousand Indians from a wide circle of the Indian country were present, and an observer of the scene has left us the following interesting account of the events witnessed:

> Every variety of dress can be seen here from the well dressed person down to the almost naked Osage. Plumes and feathers are worn with profusion and in every shape that can be imagined; hand kerchiefs of every color, silver bands for the arms, head and breast; medals, beads and hunting shirts of every shape and color; in truth, I cannot give you anything like a correct idea of the great variety of dress worn by the tawny sons of the forest. We have almost as great a variety in the color of persons as we have in dress. Where nature has not given the color, paint is used to supply the deficiency. Besides the various Indian Tribes there are persons from almost every nation. Here are Germans, Scotch, Irish, English, Spanish and various other nations. I have no doubt if strict inquiry was made, not excepting some of the sable sons of Africa.[5]

4. *Catalogue of Pictures in Stanley and Dickerman's North American Indian Portrait Gallery; J. M. Stanley, Artist* (Cincinnati, 1846), pp. 21, 22.

5. *Arkansas Intelligencer*, Van Buren, June 24, 1843, p. 2. Van Buren, located only some half-dozen miles from Fort Smith, which in turn was only some 50 miles below Fort

Stanley painted one such meeting of the council, the painting being one of the few surviving Stanley pictures. It is now owned by the National Museum and has been called by one authority "one of the most valuable and important Indian pictures in existence." [6]

Late in the fall of 1843, Stanley accompanied Gov. P. M. Butler, the U. S. agent to the Cherokees, to a council held for the Comanche and other "wild prairie Indians" who had been for some years a source of trouble near the boundary of the Texas Republic and the United States. Texas commissioners were supposed to be present but failed to appear, but the council was held on "the head-waters of the Red River" (probably near the present southwestern corner of Oklahoma) and Stanley was able to secure a number of Comanche Indian portraits and landscape views.[7]

It seems probable that from the fall of 1842 until late in April, 1845, Dickerman and Stanley lived continuously in the Indian country. In the fall of 1845 they were in Cincinnati where Stanley was

Gibson on the Arkansas river, was thus an important post near the early Southwestern frontier; its newspaper is an invaluable source of information on the early history of this region.

Mention is made of the presence of Stanley and Dickerman in the Indian country in the *Arkansas Intelligencer* a number of times, including issues of July 15, 1843, p. 2; September 23, 1843, p. 2 (which stated that Stanley had just returned from the Creek Busk which he painted, the painting being listed in the Stanley catalogue); October 28, 1843, p. 2, and other issues specifically cited later.

The observer of the council stated that when his account was written (June 1) the number of persons present for the council were estimated at "two to five thousand." In Stanley's catalogue, *Portraits of North American Indians,* published by the Smithsonian Institution, December, 1852 (usually found as part of *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections,* v. 2, 1862), p. 18, the number present at the council is estimated at 10,000. I have seen other estimates as high as 20,000. In this catalogue Stanley has dated the painting of most of his pictures. It is apparent from these dates he was busy with the painting of the council and with portraits of visitors to the council during June, July, August and September of 1843. On p. 18 of this source, Stanley states that the council was in session for four weeks during June, 1843. Stanley's painting of the council, "International Indian Council." is now in the National Museum. Reproductions may be found in the Bushnell article cited in Footnote 2 and in the Kinietz book cited in Footnote 3.

6. Bushnell, *loc. cit.,* p. 511.

7. In the "Preface" to the proposed Indian portfolio by Stanley now in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York City (for a discussion of this portfolio *see* F. W. Hodge, *Indian Notes,* v. 6, No. 4, Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York, October, 1929), the statement is made that Stanley accompanied Butler on two expeditions to the prairie tribes of Texas. The first was probably made in the early spring of 1843 as brief mention is made on Butler's return from this council in the *National Intelligencer,* April 27, 1843, p. 3 (reprinted from the Shreveport *Red River Gazette* of April 12). The second trip of Stanley with Butler to the headwaters of the Red river is identified in the same "Preface" as taking place in the winter of 1843-1844 for Butler was reported as preparing to meet the Prairie Indians on the Red river on November 25, 1843, in the *National Intelligencer,* November 18, 1843, p. 3, and later his return from the council is reported in the *Arkansas Intelligencer,* December 30, 1843, p. 2, and January 6, 1844, p. 1.

In both of these accounts mention is made of Stanley's presence at the council. In fact, Stanley made badges, at the suggestion of Butler, to designate each of the tribes presented, a courtesy which greatly pleased the Indians. One Comanche woman thought so much of Stanley that she gave him her prized riding whip. Additional information on this council will also be found in *Niles Register,* Baltimore, January 13, 1844, p. 306, and January 27, 1844, p. 339. Stanley's paintings (in his catalogue of 1852) of the Comanche Indians which were undoubtedly secured on this expedition are dated "1844" which must mean that Stanley completed them at Fort Gibson after his return from the last expedition in December, 1843.

P. M. Butler received his title of governor from the fact that he was governor of South Carolina from 1836 until 1838. He was agent to the Cherokees from 1838 to 1846 and was killed in battle in the Mexican War in 1847.—*See Dictionary of American Biography* v. 3, pp. 365, 366.

actively engaged in finishing some 83 paintings preparatory to public exhibition.[8]

The gallery was opened for public exhibition on January 19, 1846, and the Stanley portraits were on display in Cincinnati until February 14. Advertisements of the event announced "Season tickets admitting a gentlemen and one lady $1, can be procured at the door. —This collection can be seen by gas light as well as day light."[9]

It was but natural that the gallery should be compared with Catlin's. Comment on this comparison is not extensive but the Cincinnati *Gazette*, January 21, 1846, stated: "Of the artistic merits of these pictures, in our judgment, they are fully equal to any of that class we have ever seen—not excepting those by Catlin; nor are we alone in our estimate in this respect" (*see, also*, p. 9).

Stanley soon became restless after his gallery was completed and leaving its future exhibition to Dickerman, he again started west. He was in St. Louis in the spring of 1846, and a few weeks later was in Independence, Mo., ready to start out over the Santa Fe trail for new scenes.[10] He joined Col. S. C. Owen's train which included the famous Josiah Gregg, whose *Commerce of the Prairies* published in

8. The departure of Stanley and Dickerman from the Indian country of the Southwest is reported in the *Arkansas Intelligencer*, May 3, 1845, p. 2, and the *Arkansas Banner*, Little Rock, May 21, 1845, p. 3. In the first of these reports it was stated that the partners were leaving for "the mouth of the Yellowstone on the Upper Missouri, where they were to continue their painting of Indian portraits and scenes." I have found no evidence that this contemplated plan was carried out. In fact, the reference which follows, if correct, would seem to be good evidence against such a possibility.

The Cincinnati *Gazette*, January 21, 1846, reported: "Messrs. Stanley & Dickerman the proprietors of these pictures, are already most favorable known to many of our citizens, by a residence of some months in our city, during which time they have been elaborating these pictures from the numerous sketches and *materiel* gathered during their three years residence and travel among the tribes of the 'far West.'" I am indebted to Prof. Dwight L. Smith of the department of history, Ohio State University, Columbus, who searched the *Gazette* and *Cists' Western General Advertiser* for January and February, 1846, seeking items concerning the first exhibition of Stanley paintings. The Cincinnati catalogue cited in Footnote 4 was used in connection with this exhibition and lists 100 paintings and 34 sketches. One of the paintings was "John M. Stanley, the Artist, Painted by Mooney." The copy of the catalogue I have used (in the New York Public Library) bears evidence that the last two pages were inserted after the original publication in 1846. Several of the paintings, for example, are of incidents in the Northwest in 1847, and the last two pages are unnumbered while the remaining pages (34) are numbered. The first 34 pages catalogued 83 paintings, and an advertisement in the Cincinnati *Gazette* January 26, 1846, stated there were 83 paintings in the gallery. It is obvious then that the New York Public Library copy of this catalogue was one used for exhibitions after 1846.

9. Cincinnati *Gazette*, January 20, 26, 1846; February 14, 1846. The *Cherokee Advocate*, Tahlequah, of March 12, 1846, p. 3, noted the various comments in the Cincinnati papers on the Stanley and Dickerman gallery and was moved to make their own comment: "We perceive from Cincinnati papers that Messrs. Stanley and Dickerman have been exhibiting recently in that city their extensive collection of Indian portraits and it will afford pleasure to their numerous friends in this country, to learn that they are receiving the meed of praise from an intelligent public, which their merit as artists and gentlemen so richly deserves."

10. *Cist's Western General Advertiser*, Cincinnati, January 28, 1846, stated that Stanley "proposes in April next to resume his interesting employment in other and yet unexplored fields of labour" and in *Diary and Letters of Josiah Gregg* (Norman, Okla., 1941), edited by M. G. Fulton, v. 1, p. 188, is a letter of Gregg's dated April 17, 1846, which mentioned Stanley and indicates that Gregg was expecting Stanley to be in St. Louis at or before the time Gregg's letter was written. An editorial note (p. 188) states that Gregg and Stanley were fellow-residents of Independence, Mo. If Stanley was a resident of Independence it could not have been a matter of more than a few months.

1844 has become a Western classic. Gregg continued with the train only a hundred miles or so and then turned back to join another venture but the train also contained another writer whose diary many years later also became well known. Susan Magoffin's diary, like Gregg's *Commerce of the Prairies,* is among the most valued written records of the Santa Fe trail. Susan, a young bride of 19, noted in her diary on June 20, 1846, that Stanley was a member of the same train, after wishing that an artist could portray the many interesting and novel scenes as the train lay encamped at Council Grove (in present central Kansas).[11]

Unfortunately, if Stanley made any sketches along the Santa Fe trail, they have been lost. Before he started on the overland expedition, however, he had made an excursion from Independence to the Kansas river where he painted Keokuk, the celebrated chief, and others of the Sac and Fox tribe.[12]

Owen's train reached Santa Fe on August 31, 1846. The Mexican War was then only several months old and Col. Stephen W. Kearny and his troops, who reached Santa Fe at about the same time as the Owen train, promptly took over the city from the Mexican government and planned to go on to California to aid in its conquest. Reorganization of Kearny's troops was made at Santa Fe and a scientific staff was added which included Stanley as the artist of the expedition.[13]

Kearny's troops left Santa Fe on September 25 for the long overland trip to California, which was reached in December. On December 6 a pitched battle between the troops and Mexicans some 40 miles east of San Diego caused severe casualties, hardships and sufferings, but reinforcements appeared at an opportune moment and the goal of San Diego was reached on December 12. Stanley managed to retain his sketches during the six days of battle and hardship and was taken abroad the U. S. sloop *Cyane* at San Diego where he was able to prepare some of them for publication and to finish others in oils. A number of his sketches were doubtless among those reproduced lithographically in the official report of

11. *Down the Santa Fe Trail and Into Mexico—The Diary of Susan Shelby Magoffin* (New Haven, 1926), edited by Stella M. Drumm, p. 19. For Gregg's departure with Owen's train, *see Diary and Letters of Josiah Gregg* (previously cited), v. 1, pp. 192 (footnote), 197 and 202 (Footnote 7).

12. Stanley's catalogue of 1852, pp. 35-40.

13. *National Intelligencer,* November 14, 1846, p. 3, reported that Kearny left Santa Fe for California on September 25, and that the scientific staff of the expedition included "Mr. Stanley employed at Santa Fe as the artist of the expedition." W. H. Emory's official report of the Kearny expedition (*House Ex. Doc.* No. 41 [serial No. 517], p. 45, 30 Cong., 1 Sess. [1848]) stated that the party as organized at Santa Fe included "J. M. Stanly, draughtsman."

Kearny's long march to the sea.[14] The plates in general are very crudely done in black and white, the most interesting one being "San Diego from the Old Fort." The *Cyane* with Stanley aboard arrived in San Francisco in the early spring of 1847, and here Edwin Bryant, the author of the well-known *What I Saw in California*, included Stanley's sketches in the California sights that came before his eyes. Writing in 1848, he stated:

> Mr. Stanley, the artist of the [Kearny] expedition completed his sketches in oil, at San Francisco; and a more truthful, interesting, and valuable series of paintings, delineating mountain scenery, the floral exhibitions on the route, the savage tribes between Santa Fe and California—combined with camp-life and marches through the desert and wilderness—has never been, and probably never will be exhibited. Mr. Stanley informed that he was preparing a work on the savage tribes of North America, and of the islands of the Pacific, which, when completed on his plan, will be the most comprehensive and descriptive of the subject, of any that has been published.[15]

These paintings, valuable in their time and day, would now be priceless but apparently with two exceptions they all have disappeared, most of them in a fire which in 1865 destroyed some 200 of Stanley's paintings. The exceptions noted above are "Indian Telegraph" (smoke signal) and "Black Knife" (Apache) both portraying incidents of Kearny's overland march to California.[16]

After finishing the sketches and paintings of the Kearny expedition in 1847, Stanley spent the next several years in further wanderings making sketches for his proposed Indian portfolio. He was in

14. Twenty-three plates of scenery and Indian portraits in black and white, three of natural history and Indian hieroglyphics, and 14 botanical plates appear in the official report. Apparently all were after sketches by Stanley although nowhere is there direct statement of this fact save in the case of the 14 botanical plates. Both senate and house printings of the report exist: W. H. Emory, *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance, From Fort Leavenworth, Missouri to San Diego, California* (Washington, 1848), 30 Cong., 1 Sess., *Senate Ex. Doc. No. 7* (serial No. 505), and 30 Cong., 1 Sess., *House Ex. Doc. No. 41* (serial No. 517). The lithography of the plates in both printings I have examined were by C. B. Graham although Charles L. Camp, *Wagner's the Plains and the Rockies* (San Francisco, 1937), p. 112, reports that in the senate edition he examined the plates of scenery were lithographed by E. Weber and Co.; a point which illustrates the fact made previously that general conclusions on plates cannot be based on the examination of single volumes.

There is, of course, the possibility that some of the views in the Emory report were not based on Stanley's original sketches. Ross Calvin in *Lieutenant Emory Reports* (Albuquerque, 1951), states (pp. 3, 4) that some of the illustrations "are so inaccurate as to make it clear that the draughtsman never beheld the scenes he was attempting to depict" but does not explain the discrepancy further. Calvin's statement still does not preclude the possibility that all the original drawings were made by Stanley as has already been observed in the text, the plates reproduced in this report are extremely crude. The lithographer may well have been the cause of the inaccuracies.

15. Edwin Bryant, *What I Saw in California* (New York, 4th ed., 1849), pp. 435-436. Bryant had ample opportunity to observe "the desert and wilderness" for he made the overland crossing himself and was made alcalde of San Francisco in the spring of 1847 by General Kearny. Bryant's book is one of the most interestingly written of all the early accounts of the overland trail. Bryant (1805-1869) lived in California for some time but spent his last years in Kentucky. For an obituary, *see* San Francisco *Bulletin*, January 3, 1870, p. 2.

16. The "Indian Telegraph" was either repainted or painted for the first time in 1860 (Kinietz, *op. cit.*, p. 33) and therefore was not one of the paintings seen by Bryant. It is now owned by the Detroit Institute of Arts. "Black Knife" was among the original paintings of 1846 and was one of those that escaped the disastrous fire of 1865. It is owned by the National Museum. Both of these paintings are reproduced in black and white in the Kinietz book.

Oregon by July 8, 1847, and was busily occupied for some months making portraits of the Northwestern Indians. Late in November, he started for the famous Whitman Mission to paint the portraits of Dr. and Mrs. Whitman. When within six miles of the mission, he was met by two friendly Indians who informed him of the Whitman massacre and warned him that his own life was in danger. With the aid of an Indian, he made his way with great caution to Fort Walla Walla where he was one of the first to report the massacre.[17] Stanley continued in the Northwest until the summer of 1848 and his extensive Indian gallery acquired many additions.

About August 1 he took ship for the Hawaiian Islands—the Sandwich Islands. His painting career was again resumed on the Islands where portraits of Kamehameha III and his queen were made and which are still on display in the Government Museum, Honolulu. Stanley lived in Honolulu for over a year but on November 17, 1849, he sailed for Boston.[18]

Upon Stanley's return to the United States, his Indian gallery was enlarged and he seems to have spent most of 1850 and 1851 in displaying the gallery in a number of Eastern cities.[19] Early in 1852 he took his collection of Indian paintings to Washington where he made arrangements with Joseph Henry, secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, for their free display in the library room of the

17. For an extended account of Stanley in the Northwest, *see* Nellie B. Pipes, "John Mix Stanley, Indian Painter," *The Oregon Historical Quarterly,* Salem, v. 33 (1932), September, pp. 250-258.

18. In *The Polynesian,* Honolulu, August 19, 1848, p. 55, there was record of the arrival of the American brig *Eveline* at the port of Honolulu "13 days from Columbia River"; *George* M. Stanley was listed as one of the passengers. I believe that this is a record of John M. Stanley's arrival in Honolulu for in a succeeding issue of this paper there is an account of John M. Stanley's artistic activities with the comment that he "recently arrived from Oregon."—*Ibid.,* September 16, 1848, p. 70. Additional comment on Stanley's activities in the Islands will be found in the *Sandwich Island News,* Honolulu, August 21, 1848, p. 187; *The Polynesian,* April 14, 1849, p. 190.

Stanley left the Islands for the United States on November 17, 1849, for a letter from one Charles Jordon Hopkins of King Kamehameha's retinue, written November 16, 1849, stated that Stanley was to sail on the following day and directed that Stanley be paid $500 for his portraits of the king and queen. The letter bears the receipt of Stanley for this sum. A copy of a letter in the Hawaiian archives, dated February 4, 1850, is directed to Stanley in Boston, expressing the hope he had a pleasant return voyage. I am indebted to Mrs. Dean Acheson of Washington, D. C., Stanley's granddaughter, for copies of these letters.

19. In the New York *Tribune,* November 28, 1850, p. 1, there appeared for the first time the advertisement:

"INDIANS—Will be opened at the Alhambra Rooms, 557½ Broadway, on THURSDAY EVENING, November 28, STANLEY'S NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN GALLERY, containing 134 Oil Paintings consisting of Portraits, life size of the principal Chiefs and Warriors of fifty different tribes roving upon our Western and South-wessern [sic] Prairies, New-Mexico, California and Oregon, together with landscape views, Games, Dances, Buffalo Hunts and Domestic Scenes, all of which have been painted in their own country during eight years travel among them, the whole forming one of the most interesting and instructive exhibitions illustrative of Indian life and customs ever before presented to the public.

"Descriptive Lectures may be expected at 3 P. M. on Wednesday and Saturday; also, each Evening at 7½ o'clock. Open at 9 A. M. to 10 P. M.

"Single Tickets 25 cents. Season Tickets $1. Can be obtained at the principal Hotels and at the Door. STANLEY & DICKERMAN, Proprietors."

This advertisement ran for a week but comment and other small advertisements indicated that the gallery was on exhibit in New York for at least two months and probably longer.—*See* New York *Tribune,* January 21, 1851, p. 5, January 23, p. 5, January 24, p. 1.

institution. Here they remained for over a dozen years, the gallery being gradually enlarged by Stanley until it numbered some two hundred paintings. The gallery attracted considerable public interest, not only among visitors to Washington but among residents of the city and among members of congress.[20]

Stanley's purpose in bringing his gallery to Washington for free display was primarily to interest members of congress in its purchase and thus to establish a national gallery. He had spent ten years of his life in travel, adventure, toil and labor in securing the 150-odd paintings that made up the collection at the time of its first display in the capitol. The private exhibition of the gallery, although it may have given him a living, did not return him anything on the investment he had made, which in 1852, Stanley estimated was $12,000. This sum included nothing for time and labor, but had been spent for materials, transportation, insurance and traveling expenses.

Catlin had urged the purchase of his Indian gallery by congress without success and had taken it abroad where it was rumored it was to stay. Stanley felt that his collection was more representative of the Western Indians and certainly he had traveled far more extensively in the American West than had Catlin. Capt. Seth Eastman, himself an Indian artist of note, saw Stanley's gallery when it was brought to Washington in 1852 and wrote Stanley "that I consider the artistic merits of yours far superior to Mr. Catlin's; and they give a better idea of the Indian than any works in Mr. Catlin's collection."

With such encouragement, Stanley was able to bring his gallery to the attention of the senate committee on Indian affairs, who recommended its purchase for $19,200. The question of its purchase was debated in the senate and although strongly urged by Senator Weller of California and Senator Walker of Wisconsin, the purchase bill was defeated 27 to 14 when it came to a vote in March, 1853.[21]

20. The first notice I have found of Stanley's gallery in Washington occurs in the *National Intelligencer*, February 24, 1852, p. 1, which stated that the gallery had been "recently brought to this city." Henry reported to the board of the Smithsonian on March 22, 1852, that Stanley had deposited his gallery of Indian portraits in the institution and that they "had attracted many visitors" (32 Cong., 1 Sess., *Senate Misc. Doc.* No. 108 (serial No. 629), p. 108. *See, also,* Henry's comment on Stanley's gallery in 32 Cong., 2 Sess., *Sen. Misc. Doc.* No. 53, p. 27. Henry stated here that there were 152 paintings in the collection which is the number listed in the catalogue of 1852; note the comment of Senator Weller, however, as given in Footnote 21. *L. C. S.* mentions the display of the gallery in Eastern cities during 1850 and 1851.

21. For Eastman's comment, *see* letter of Eastman's dated January 28, 1852, and quoted by Kinietz, *op. cit.*, p. 17. For Eastman (1808-1875) as a painter of the American Indian, *see* David I. Bushnell, Jr., "Seth Eastman, Master Painter of the North American Indian," *Smithsonian Misc. Collections*, v. 87 (1932), April, 18 pages.
Senator Weller of California introduced the matter of the purchase of the Stanley gallery to the senate on December 28, 1852, where the matter was referred to the committee on Indian affairs, *The Cong. Globe*, 32 Cong., 2 Sess. (1852-1853), p. 158. Weller

Stanley continued to urge the purchase of the gallery even after the initial defeat of the first measure and apparently it was discussed in congress a number of times but all such attempts failed. The Smithsonian itself was asked to buy this collection but lack of funds prevented such a move. Stanley added to the gallery, however, and by 1865 it numbered some 200 portraits. A fire on January 24, 1865, in the wing of the institution which housed the gallery caused the destruction of all but five of the paintings. Not only did Stanley suffer a heart-breaking loss but the nation suffered an irreparable loss in its historical portraiture.[22]

Stanley's career before 1853 has been described in some detail to show his importance as a Western illustrator and to show that he was by far the best equipped both by ability and experience, of any of the artists that accompanied the Pacific railroad surveys.[23]

Early in 1853 Isaac I. Stevens, an army engineer and assistant in charge of the coast survey office in Washington, applied to President Franklin B. Pierce for the governorship of the newly organized territory of Washington, which had been formed from the northern half of Oregon territory. In his application to President Pierce, Stevens stated that if the President could find anyone better qualified for the place, it was the President's duty to appoint that person. Evidently Pierce thought Stevens the best qualified, for one of his first acts as President was to send Stevens' name to the senate for

stated that there were 154 paintings in the collection, 139 in substantial gilded frames. The committee to whom the matter was referred examined the exhibit and were very favorably impressed but they failed to arouse enough enthusiasm among the rest of the senators when the matter came to a final vote on March 3, 1853, *ibid.*, p. 1084. Senator Weller apparently quoted Stanley when he reported Stanley's investment as $12,000 "in addition to time and labor."

The *National Intelligencer* item cited in Footnote 20 stated Stanley's hope when it reported that the gallery "may become the foundation of the great national gallery."

22. The annual reports of the Smithsonian Institution from 1852 to 1866 contain frequent mention of the Stanley gallery and the facts stated above come from this source. That Stanley was hard pressed financially is all too evident in his request of the institution for an allowance of $100 a year to pay the interest on money that Stanley had borrowed so that he would not have to sell the gallery privately (*Annual Report of the Smithsonian Inst. for 1859* [Washington, 1860], p. 113). The destruction by fire and the fact that the gallery had grown to 200 paintings is reported in the *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1864* (Washington, 1872), p. 119.

23. Some idea of Stanley's method in the field can be gathered from a memorandum which he prepared for Stevens on plans for the work of the artists of the surveys (*see Reports*, v. 1, Stevens report, pp. 7 and 8). Stanley stated in part: "Sketches of Indians should be made and colored from life, with care to fidelity in complexion as well as feature. In their games and ceremonies, it is only necessary to give their characteristic attitudes, with drawings of the implements and weapons used, and notes in detail of each ceremony represented. It is desirable that drawings of their lodges, with their historical devices, carving &c, be made with care."

That Stevens was more than satisfied with his selection of Stanley is indicated in a letter of October 29, 1853, after Stanley's part in the survey was virtually complete. The letter reads in part: "The chief of the exploration would do injustice to his own feelings if he omitted to express his admiration for the various labors of Mr. Stanley, the artist of the exploration. Besides occupying his professional field with an ability above any commendation we can bestow, Mr. Stanley has surveyed two routes—from Fort Benton to the Cypress mountain, and from St. Mary's valley to Fort Colville over the Bitter Root range of mountains—to the furtherance of our geographical information, and the ascertaining of important points in the question of a railroad; and he has also rendered effectual services in both cases, and throughout his services with the exploration, in intercourse with the Indians."—*Reports*, v. 1, Stevens report, p. 67.

confirmation as governor of the new territory. Stevens' commission was issued March 17. The duties of the position were arduous enough, for, in addition to the governorship, Stevens was also superintendent of Indian affairs for the territory. Not satisfied with his dual role of governor and Indian commissioner, Stevens also applied to Secretary of War Jefferson Davis for the position as head of the northern railroad survey, and received the commission for this task on April 8.[24]

Such combined responsibilities would have given pause to most men but not to Governor Stevens. Stevens was exceedingly energetic, able and ambitious and doubtless would have become a figure of greater national importance had it not been for the bullet which ended his life when, as major general, he personally led a charge against Confederate forces at the battle of Chantilly, September 1, 1862.

However, as soon as Stevens' appointment as head of the northern survey was confirmed, he started with characteristic thoroughness and vigor to make his plans for the survey. His chief assistant was Capt. George B. McClellan, who achieved greater prominence than his chief in the Civil War, and who was directed to start the survey from the Pacific coast side. Stevens organized his own party to begin the survey at the eastern terminus of St. Paul and on May 9, 1853, left Washington for the West. His companion as he left Washington was John M. Stanley whom Stevens with good judgment had selected as the artist for the expedition.

How extensive Stevens had made his plans and carried them through since he received his appointment on April 8, can be judged by the comment of the St. Paul correspondent to the New York *Tribune*. Writing on May 25, two days before Stevens and Stanley arrived in the frontier town, he stated:

> Gov. Stevens is said to be a regular go-ahead man and so far the work shows for itself. His men, baggage, and about 150 mules have already arrived, and the work has been going on for over a week. How he has managed so to expedite his affairs is a problem.
>
> The shipments of merchandise and emigration to St. Paul this spring have been enormous; so that many of our merchants, who purchased even in the winter, have not yet received their supplies. The Governor has crowded them off and hurried his effects along. It is not easy to define how much the people of the West admire such a character. Ten years is a lifetime here, and twenty, time out of memory.[25]

24. In the above discussion I have followed Hazard Stevens, *The Life of Isaac Ingalls Stevens* (Boston, 1900), v. 1, ch. 15. For his appointment as survey head, *see* v. 12 of the *Reports*, p. 31.

25. New York *Tribune*, June 3, 1853, p. 5.

Stevens and Stanley arrived in St. Paul on the evening of May 27. The camp established by Stevens' vanguard was about an hour's ride from St. Paul. Some idea of the drive and intensity of the survey's commanding officer is revealed when he recorded in his official diary: "Starting from St. Paul at 3½ a. m. on the 28th, I reached our camp in about an hour, and had the pleasure of rousing the gentlemen of the expedition from their sleep." [26]

Completion of organization for the start of the survey required over a week and in that interval Stanley was busy. A sketch of St. Paul (reproduced *between* pp. 16, 17) and one of the celebrated "Minne-ha-ha, or the Laughing Water"—made immortal by Longfellow—are among Stanley's efforts which have survived as illustrations in the official report.

At St. Paul, too, an assistant artist, Max Strobel, was employed to aid Stanley. Before the expedition started, a St. Paul reporter saw some of Strobel's efforts and wrote: "I have already seen some of the Artist's work, and can promise the public when Gov. Steven's Report is made up and given to the world, there will be something as pleasing to the eye as to the mind." [27] Strobel, however, could not stand the intense pace and effort upon which Stevens insisted and turned back from the expedition before it was long on its way westward.[28] Little else is known about Strobel, although one of his sketches (a view of St. Paul) is known in lithograph. A comment, "Mr. Strobel is a very accomplished artist and on his return [from the Stevens survey] has rendered valuable service to Minnesota by his sketches of the Minnesota river from Lac qui Parle to Traverse des Sioux," shows that he is worthy of inclusion in our group of Western artists. In the fall of 1853, he joined Fremont's expedition at Westport and apparently withstood the hardships of that winter overland journey. None of his work on this expedition, or that made subsequently, is known at present.[29]

Stevens had his organization of the survey completed by June 6 and his command started the westward journey in various groups. The general route of the expedition was that made famous by their

26. *Reports*, v. 12, p. 36.

27. New York *Tribune*, June 3, 1853, p. 5. This account lists Stanley and Strobel as artists and although in the quotation above the plural artists' is employed, it must apply to Strobel's work as it was written before Stanley reached St. Paul.

28. *Ibid.*, August 3, 1853, p. 5. Strobel was not the only one who turned back as a result of Stevens' drive and insistence upon his way of doing things. This same account stated that there were over 25 who had returned and Stevens' official account also described his difference of opinion with members of the survey resulting in withdrawal from the expedition. Stevens mentions Strobel's discharge because he was "inefficient," *Reports*, v. 12, p. 55.

29. For the comment on Strobel *see* New York *Tribune*, August 3, 1853, p. 5; for a reproduction of Strobel's view of St. Paul, *see* I. N. Phelps Stokes and Daniel C. Haskell, *American Historical Prints . . .* (New York, 1933), plate 85a with comment on page 111; for Strobel with Fremont, *see* S. N. Carvalho, *Incidents of Travel and Adventure in the Far West* (New York, 1859), p. 29.

predecessors 50-years earlier, Lewis and Clark; a route which has been concisely summarized as "up the Missouri and down the Columbia." It is true that little of the journey was by water—as of necessity it could not be from the nature of the survey—and the starting point, St. Paul, was some distance from the Missouri river.[30] The expedition, however, headed westward across Minnesota territory and into present North Dakota where the route of the expedition roughly paralleled the Missouri.

Much of the country traversed was mapped for the first time and even after Lewis and Clark's trail was actually picked up, the only guide to the region were the notes of those classic early explorers. Fort Union, the famous frontier outpost on the Missouri, and 715 miles distant from St. Paul, was reached on August 1.

Stanley has left us some notable illustrations of a number of the incidents in the seven or eight weeks of this part of their Western journey, some 13 plates in the official report representing his work. Three of these illustrations are of particular interest: "Herd of Bison, Near Lake Jessie" (reproduced *between* pp. 16, 17), "Camp Red River Hunters," "Distribution of Goods to the Assiniboines" (reproduced *between* pp. 16, 17).

The first of these illustrations is particularly important as it is one of the few pictures still extant made by an actual observer of the enormous number of buffalo on the Western plains before the day of the railroad. A writer to whom Stanley talked concerning this picture recorded Stanley's comments in this paragraph:

> The artist in sketching this scene, stood on an elevation in advance of the foreground, whence, with a spy-glass, he could see fifteen miles in any direction, and yet he saw not the limit of the herd.
>
> Who can count the multitude? You may only look and wonder! Or, if you seek to estimate the "numbers without number," what sum will you name, except "hundreds of thousands?"

And Stevens who, unlike Stanley, had never seen the buffalo in their natural range, was also greatly impressed.

> About five miles from camp [he wrote] we ascended to the top of a high hill, and for a great distance ahead every square mile seemed to have a herd of buffalo upon it. Their number was variously estimated by the members of the party—some as high as half a million. I do not think it is any exaggeration to

30. Actually Stevens instructed one group of his expedition to ascend the Missouri from St. Louis to Fort Union and to make meteorological, astronomical and topographical observations above St. Joseph, Mo. Nine of the survey made the river trip, *see Reports*, v. 12, pp. 79-82. The general course of the Stevens party through present North Dakota was such, as one of the party stated, "to turn the Great Bend of the Missouri, and to cross its tributaries, where the least water was to be found."—New York *Tribune*, September 13, 1853, p. 5. Roughly it would correspond to a route that would follow north of U. S. 52 from Fargo to Minot and then U. S. 52 westward. Jessie lake (Griggs county), for example, which is mentioned later in the text was on the Stevens route as was the Butte de Morale, of which Stanley made a sketch which was reproduced in the *Reports*. The Butte de Morale is some seven miles from Harvey, N. D., almost in the center of the state.

set it down at 200,000. I had heard of the myriads of these animals inhabiting these plains, but I could not realize the truth of these accounts till to-day, when they surpassed anything I could have imagined from the accounts which I had received. The reader will form a better idea of this scene from the accompanying sketch taken by Mr. Stanley on the ground, than from any description.[31]

The party at the time these vast herds of buffalo were first encountered was traveling westward through present east-central North Dakota (Griggs county) and were approaching the Missouri river country proper.

A few days after Stanley sketched the buffalo (July 10), the survey encountered a large train of Red river hunters who were coming southward on a hunting and trading expedition from their settlement, Pembina, almost on the Canadian border. The Red river hunters were Europeans: Scotch, Irish, English, Germans, with Indian wives and their half-breed children. Over thirteen hundred persons were in the train and they carried their belongings in the well-known Pembina carts, two-wheeled affairs, and housed themselves at night in over a hundred skin lodges.

The men dress usually in woollens of various colors [wrote Stevens]. The coat generally worn, called the Hudson Bay coat, has a capot attached to it. The belts are finely knit, of differently colored wool or worsted yarn, and are worn after the manner of sashes. Their powder horn and shot bag, attached to bands finely embroidered with beads or worked with porcupine quills, are worn across each shoulder, making an × before and behind. Many also have a tobacco pouch strung to their sashes, in which is tobacco mixed with kini-kinick, (dried bark of the osier willow scraped fine,) a fire steel, punk, and several flints. Add to these paraphernalia a gun, and a good idea will be formed of the costume of the Red river hunter.

The women are industrious, dress in gaudy calicoes, are fond of beads and finery, and are remarkably apt at making bead work, moccasins, sewing &c.[32]

Stanley's sketch shows their camp but only a few of the hunters and one of their carts although Stevens noted that there were over 800 of the carts in their train. The camp was visited with interest by the members of the survey and at evening when the two expeditions camped together a band of Chippewa Indians who were traveling with the hunters entertained the whites with a prairie dance. The caravans passed on, the survey forging northwestward, the hunters, in part at least, going on to St. Paul for trade.[33]

31. The first quotation on the buffalo is from *Stanley's Western Wilds* (*see* Footnote 46), p. 8; Stevens' comment from *Reports*, v. 12, p. 59.

32. The date was July 16; Stevens in *ibid.*, pp. 65, 66.

33. The St. Paul correspondent of the New York *Tribune* reported the arrival of 133 carts of the hunters in that frontier town on July 20, *see* New York *Tribune*, August 3, 1853, p. 5. Mention is made of their meeting with the Stevens party.
An excellent description of the Pembina carts and of the Red river colonists may be found in a letter to the New York *Tribune*, July 27, 1857, p. 5.

The survey was now nearing Fort Union and four days before their arrival at the post, they reached an encampment of some 1,200 Assiniboines. Stevens, in his role of Indian commissioner, met them in council, heard their speechs and complaints and distributed to them supplies from his store of goods carried for such purpose. Stanley was one of the group selected by Stevens to the council and he took the opportunity to add to his store of sketches.[34]

As the survey neared the famous frontier outpost of Fort Union, Stevens ordered a dress parade of his forces as they marched upon the fort. A Philadelphia Quaker, who was a member of the survey, wrote home the day after their arrival (August 2). Unfortunately Stanley made no sketch of the event but the Quaker's lively account still conveys after nearly a hundred years, some of the color and interest of the grand entry.

> We arrived here yesterday afternoon [he wrote] and were received with a salute of 13 guns. During the march in, the Governor took his horse, the first time in several days, and rode at the head of the column. An American flag, made on the way, to the manufacture of which I contributed a red flannel, was carried in the forward rank, and flags, with appropriate devices, representing the parties carrying them, were respectively carried by the various corps. The Engineer party, a large locomotive running down a buffalo, with the motto "Westward Ho!" Our meteorological party—the Rocky Mountain, with a barometer mounted, indicating the purpose to measure by that simple instrument, the hight of those vast peaks, with inscription "Excelsior." The astronomical party had a device representing the azure field dotted with stars, the half-moon and a telescope so placed as to indicate that by it could these objects be entirely comprehended. Teamsters, packman, hunters, &c, also carried their insignia, and thy brother acted as "aid" to the Governor in the carrying of orders.[35]

The survey remained at Fort Union for over a week while animals were rested, supplies added, and plans made for the weeks ahead. Stevens offered any member of his party an honorable discharge at this post and a return to St. Louis but so interested had they become and so accustomed to Stevens intensity, that not a man took up the offer. Here at Fort Union, too, we have the first direct statement of Stanley's activities with the daguerreotype. "Mr. Stanley, the artist," wrote Stevens, "was busily occupied during our

34. Stevens, *Reports*, v. 12, pp. 73-76. Included in the panorama of *Stanley's Western Wilds* (*see* Footnote 46), p. 10, was a painting of the Assiniboine council; the illustration in the text depicts the distribution of goods. Another member of Stevens' party also wrote an interesting account of the Assiniboine council, *see* New York *Tribune*, September 13, 1853, p. 5.

35. *Ibid.* Stevens, *Reports*, v. 12, p. 78, also makes brief comment on the entry to Fort Union. The writer of this letter was probably Elwood Evans, as he was a native of Philadelphia and accompanied Stevens' expedition.—*See* Hubert H. Bancroft's *Works*, v. 31, p. 54.

stay at Fort Union with his daguerreotype apparatus, and the Indians were greatly pleased with their daguerreotypes." [36]

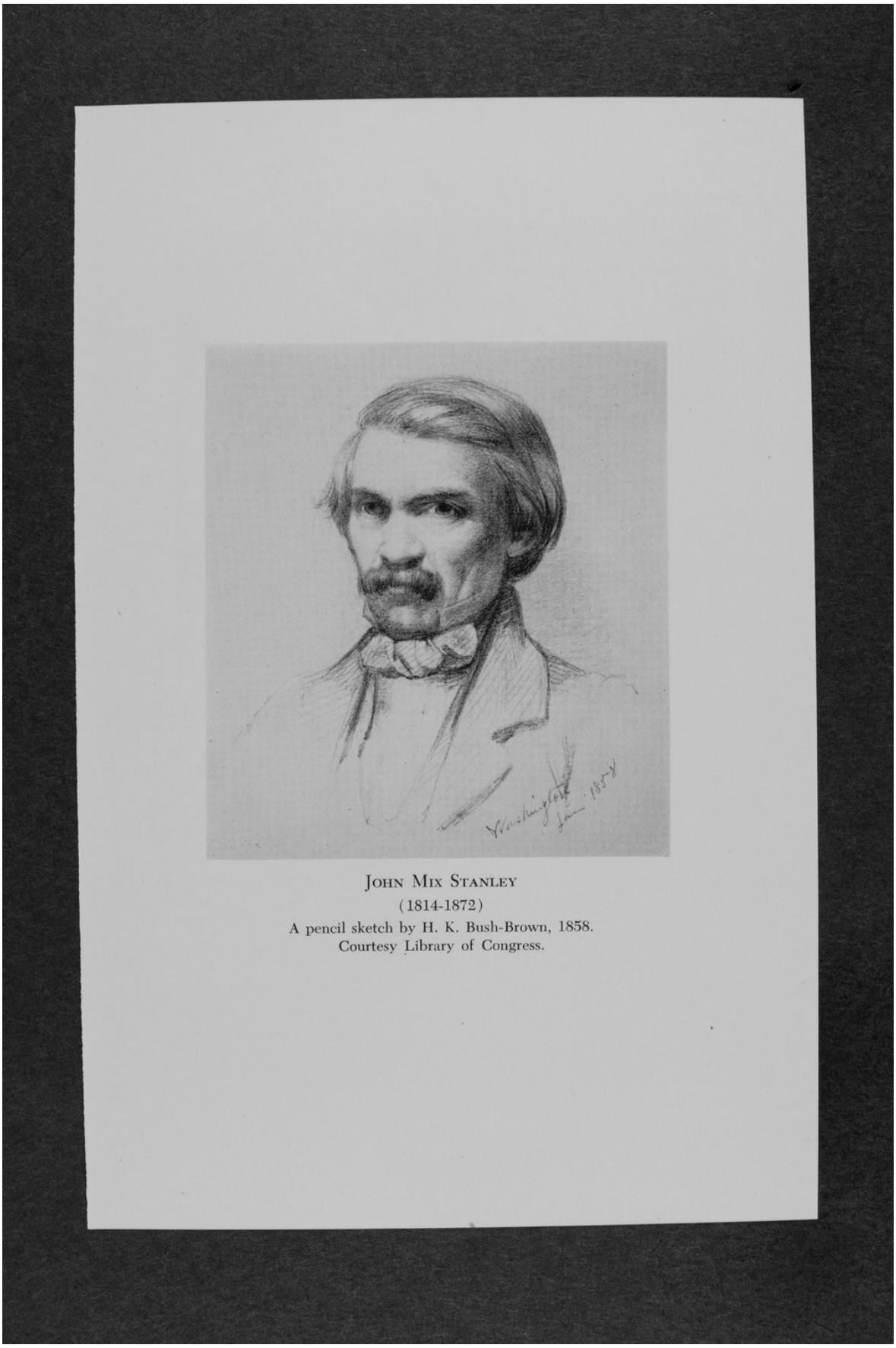
Doubtless he made daguerreotype views of the fort itself but no record of these—or of his original sketches—is now available. The fort itself appears in the background of one of Stanley's illustrations of the official report and is among the few views of this famed outpost now extant (reproduced *between* pp. 16, 17).

Fort Benton, also on the Missouri, the next stopping place on the route of the survey, was reached on September 1, some three weeks being required to make the trip from Fort Union. Stanley's activities in this interval are represented by nine illustrations, including several Indian councils, and a view of Fort Benton. The last view shows the general character of the country around Fort Benton. Indian tepees beyond the fort, however, are drawn taller than the fort itself—possibly an error of the lithographer—so that the fort suffers by comparison. (A much more interesting view of Fort Benton itself was made by Gustav Sohon (reproduced *between* pp. 16, 17), who also contributed to the Stevens report, but whose work we shall discuss later.)

It was at Fort Benton, however, that Stanley's most interesting experience of the entire trip was begun. Stevens continually stressed the importance of satisfactory relations with the Indians through whose country the railroad might pass. To this end, the many councils and distribution of goods with the tribes encountered had been made. At St. Louis he had induced Alexander Culbertson who had lived in the Indian country for 20 years, to accompany him and had appointed him special agent to the Blackfoot Indians.[37] The move was an exceedingly fortunate one in several ways, for Culbertson's experience and the fact that his wife was a Blackfoot saved the survey several times from difficulties with the Indians. Stevens, Stanley, Culbertson and others left the main command at Fort Benton to visit the Piegans, one of the tribes of the Blackfoot confederacy, who were reported encamped some 150 miles north of the fort. They had not gone far when a messenger from the fort overtook them to announce that an advance party from the Pacific coast detachment had arrived from the west. Stevens and Culbertson turned back to arrange further plans for the survey but Stanley

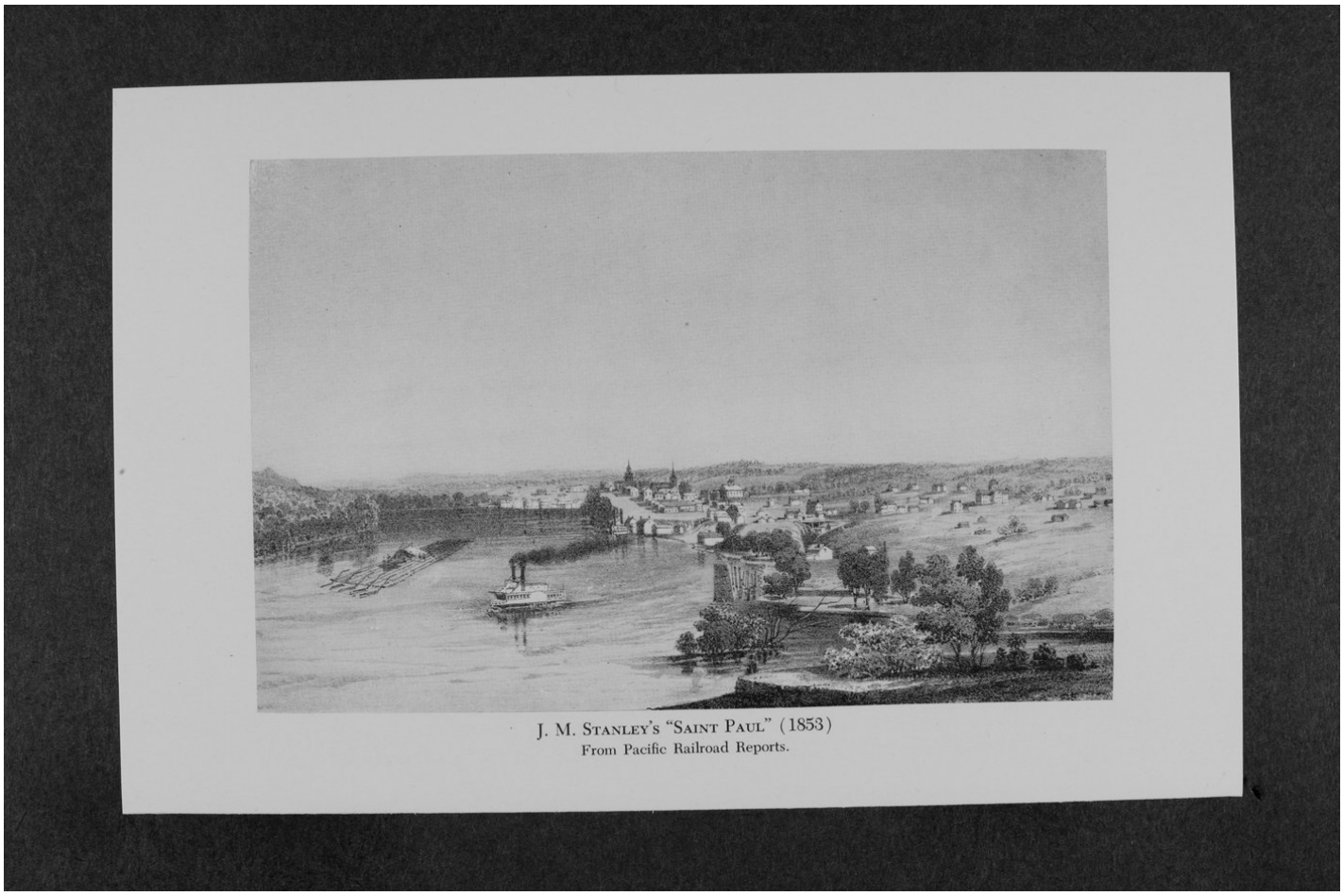
36. *Reports*, v. 12, p. 87. Another comment on Stanley's use of the daguerreotype will be found in this same volume, p. 103.

37. Letter of Stevens dated "Fort Benton, Upper Missouri, September 17, 1853," and published originally in the Washington *Union* for November 23; *see, also*, New York *Tribune*, November 24, 1853, p. 6.

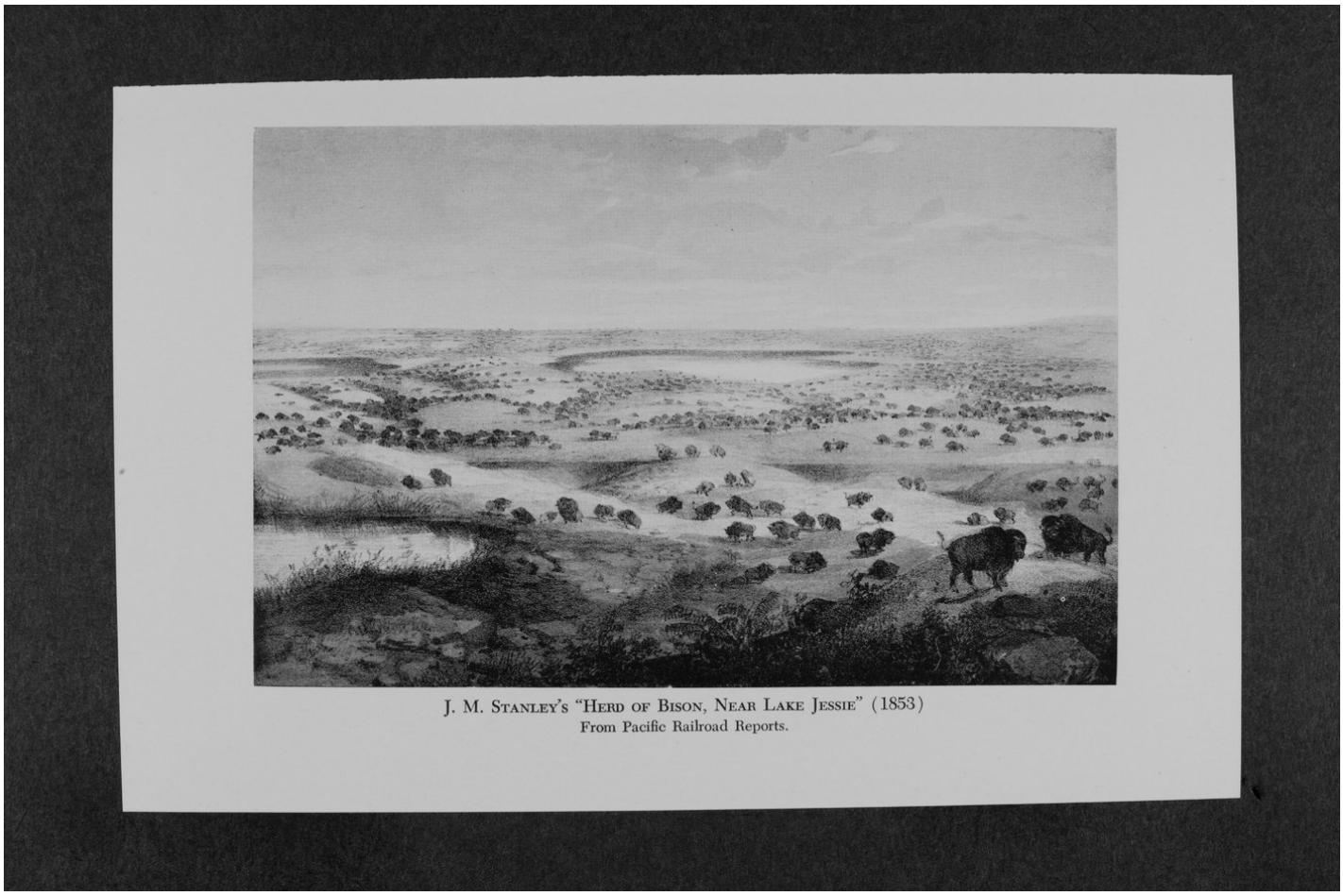


JOHN MIX STANLEY
(1814-1872)
A pencil sketch by H. K. Bush-Brown, 1858.
Courtesy Library of Congress.

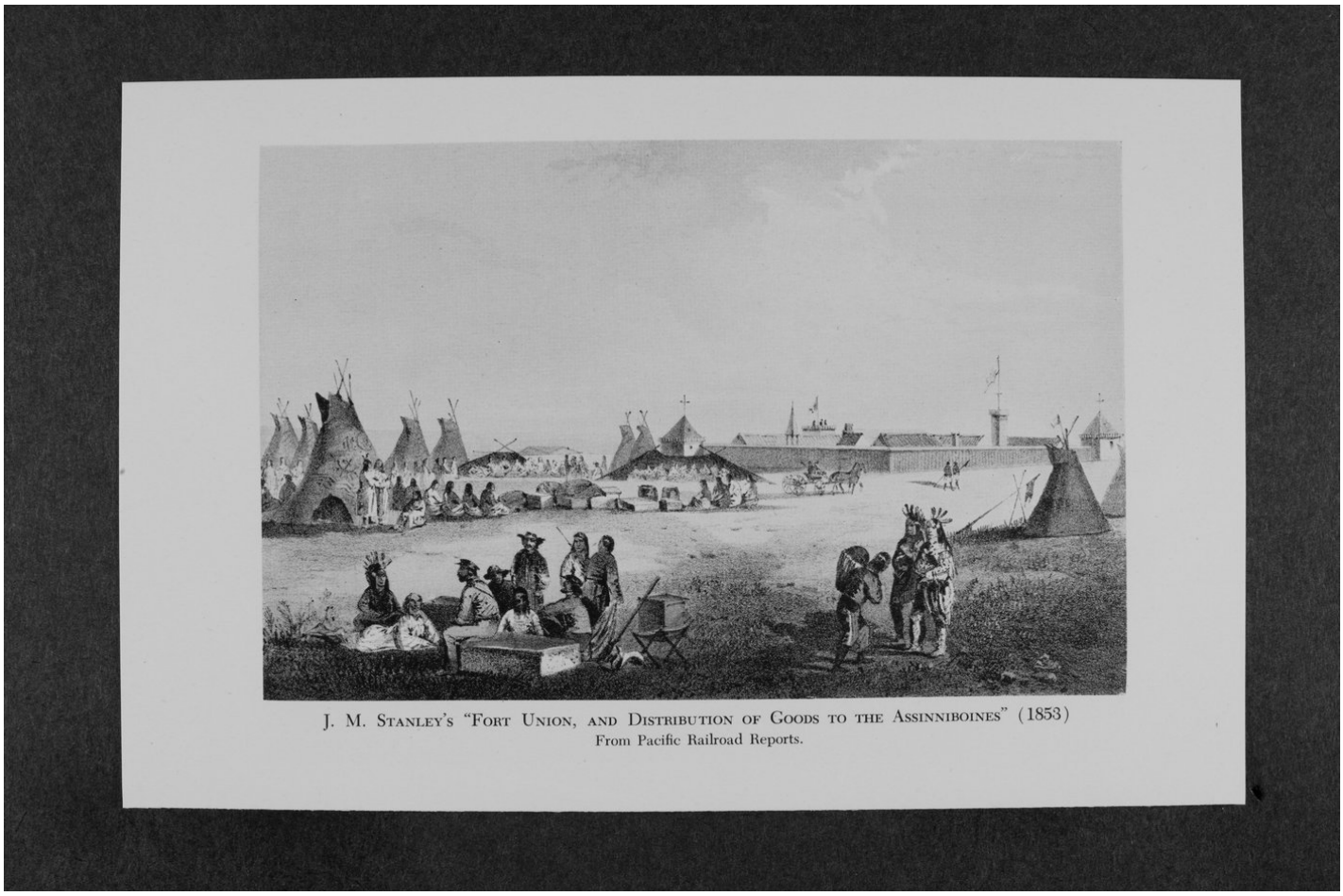
Kansas historical quarterly



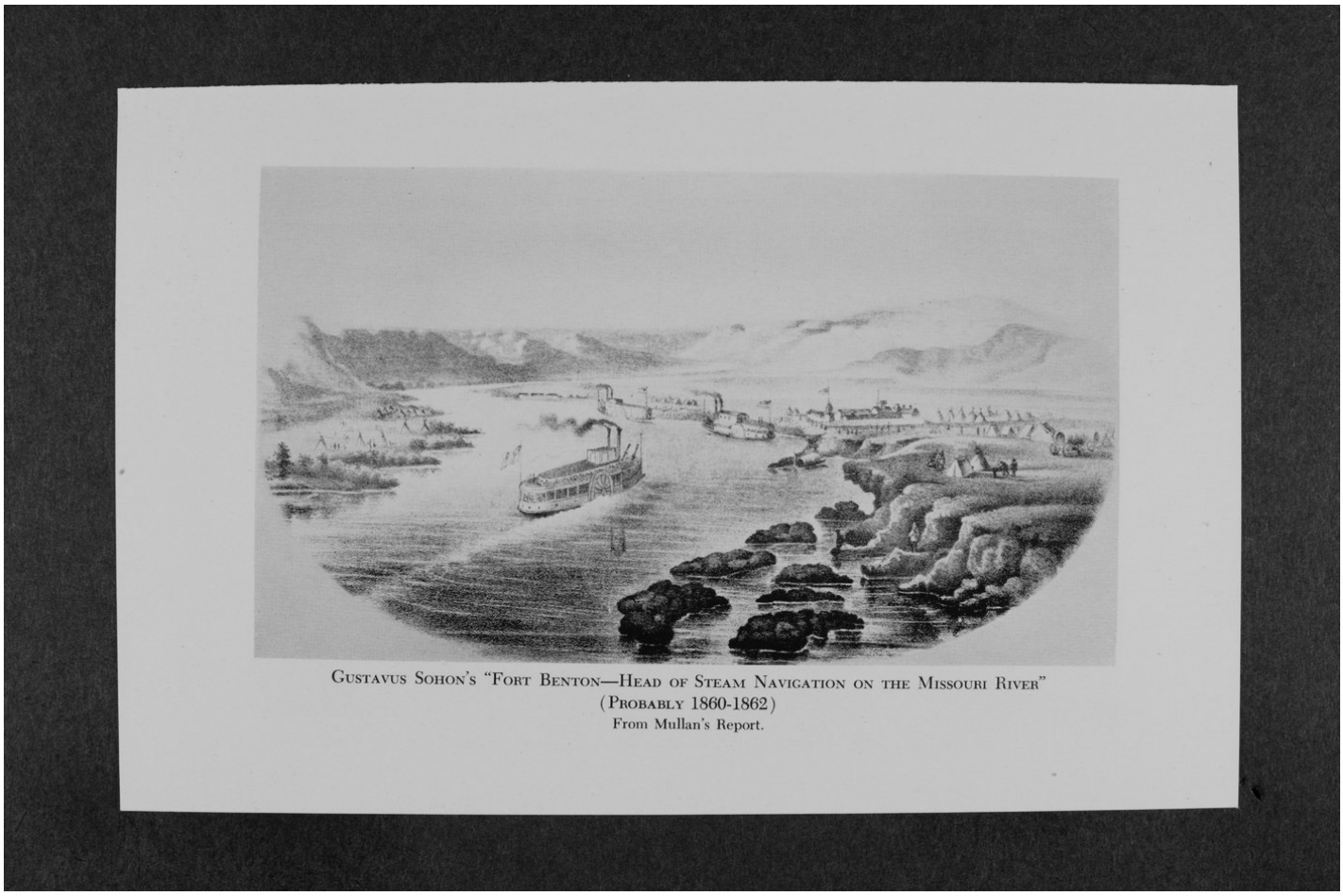
J. M. Stanley's "Saint Paul" (1853)
From Pacific Railroad Reports.



J. M. Stanley's "Herd of Bison, Near Lake Jessie" (1853)
From Pacific Railroad Reports.

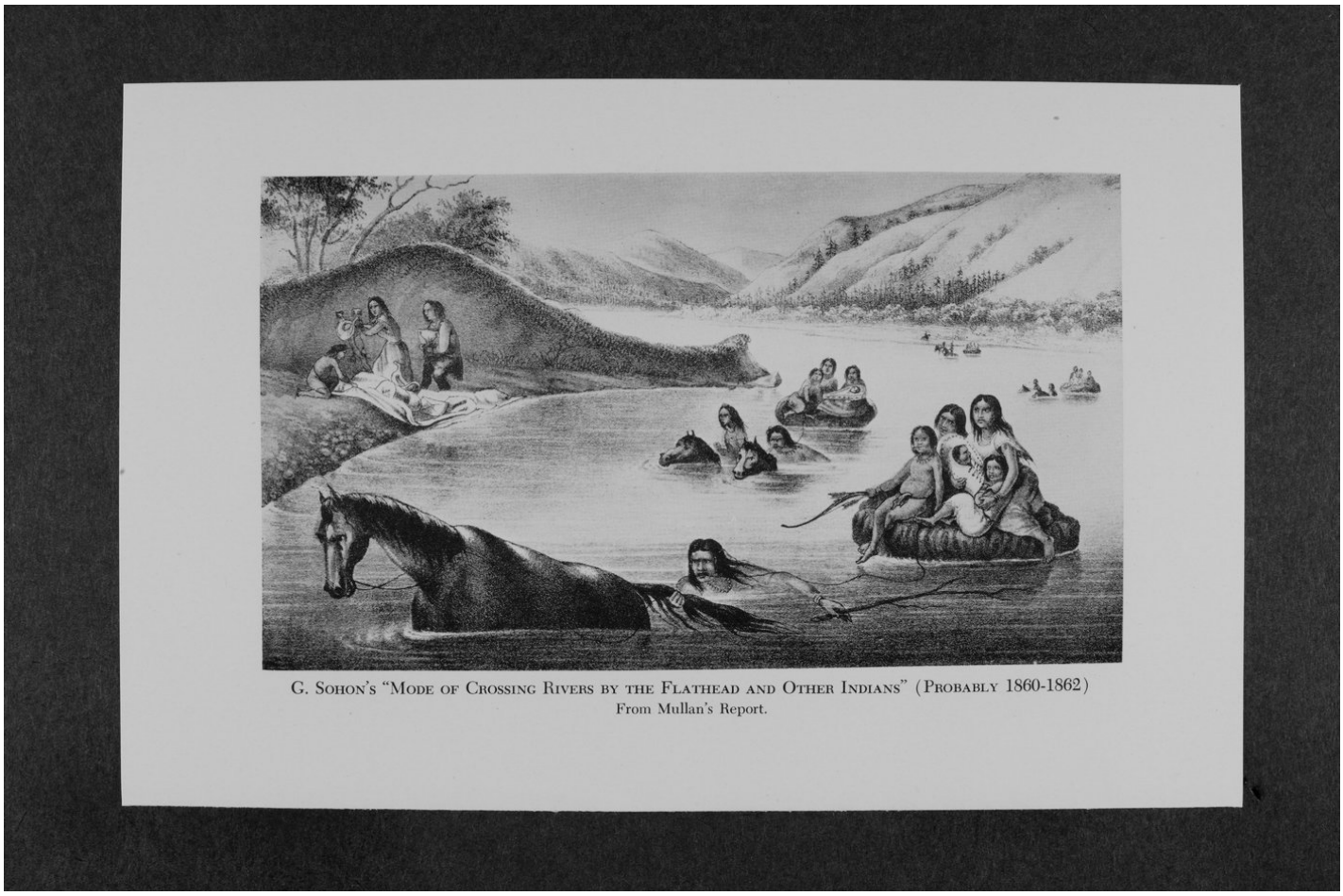


J. M. Stanley's "Fort Union, and Distribution of Goods to the Assinniboines" (1853)
From Pacific Railroad Reports.

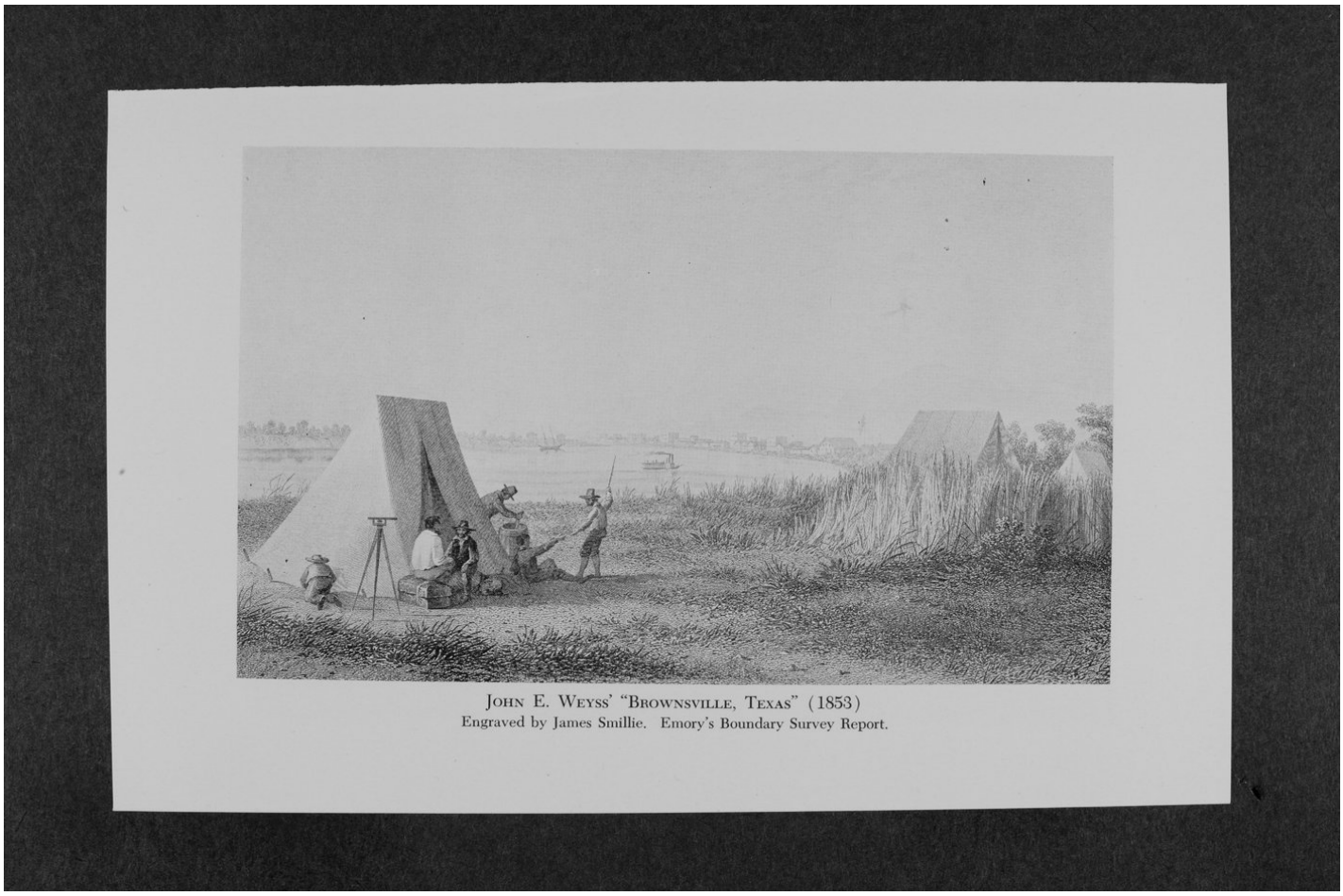


GUSTAVUS SOHON'S "FORT BENTON—HEAD OF STEAM NAVIGATION ON THE MISSOURI RIVER"
(PROBABLY 1860-1862)
From Mullan's Report.

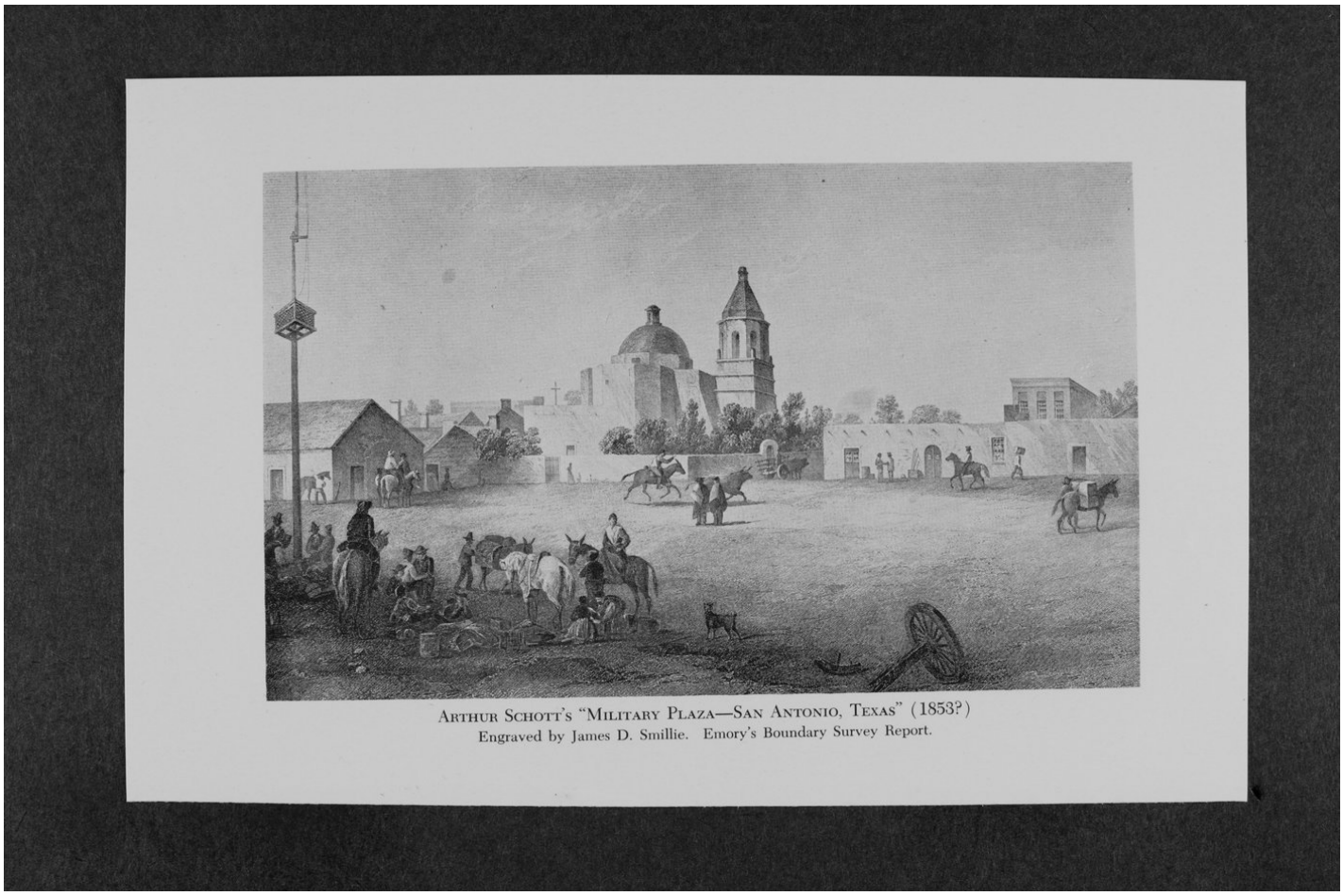
Kansas historical quarterly



G. Sohon's "Mode of Crossing Rivers by the Flathead and Other Indians" (Probably 1860-1862)
From Mullan's Report.



JOHN E. WEYSS' "BROWNSVILLE, TEXAS" (1853)
Engraved by James Smillie. Emory's Boundary Survey Report.



ARTHUR SCHOTT'S "MILITARY PLAZA—SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS" (1853?)
Engraved by James D. Smillie. Emory's Boundary Survey Report.

volunteered to proceed to the Piegan village as Stevens was intent on inviting all the Blackfeet to a grand council at Fort Benton.

With an interpreter, three voyageurs, and a Blackfoot guide obtained at the fort, Stanley pressed further north in search of the Indian camp. On the third day after leaving Stevens, Stanley wrote in his report:

> The first rays of the sun found us in the saddle, prepared for a long march. But one day more remained for me to find the Piegan camp. The night had been clear and cold, silvering the scanty herbage with a light frost; and while packing up, the men would stop to warm their fingers over a feeble fire of buffalo-chips and skulls. After a short march of twelve miles, we reached the divide between Milk and Bow rivers.
>
> At 1 o'clock I descended to a deep valley, in which flows an affluent of Beaver river. Here was the Piegan camp, of ninety lodges, under their chief Low Horn, one hundred and sixty-three miles north, 20° west, of Fort Benton.
>
> Little Dog conducted me, with my party, to his lodge, and immediately the chiefs and braves collected in the "Council Lodge," to receive my message. The arrival of a "pale face" was an unlooked for event, and hundreds followed me to the council, consisting of sixty of their principal men.
>
> The usual ceremony of smoking being concluded, I delivered my "talk," which was responded to by their chief saying, "the whole camp would move at an early hour the following morning to council with the chief sent by their Great Father." The day was spent in feasting with the several chiefs, all seeming anxious to extend their hospitality; and while feasting with one chief, another had his messenger at the door of the lodge to conduct me to another.[38]

Early the next morning, the Piegans broke camp and "in less than one hour the whole encampment was drawn out in two parallel lines on the plains, forming one of the most picturesque scenes I have ever witnessed," wrote Stanley. Stanley reported, too, that he had been able to secure a number of sketches while on the northern trip, the most interesting of those surviving being "Blackfeet Indians [hunting buffalo]—Three Buttes."[39]

38. *Reports*, v. 1, Stevens report, pp. 447-449. The portion quoted has been condensed somewhat. Stevens also described Stanley's excursion, *see ibid.*, v. 12, pp. 107, 114, 115. The location of the Piegan camp given by Stanley would indicate that he went well north of the U. S.-Canadian border into present Alberta.

39. *Ibid.* Evidently this sketch was also used in the Stanley panorama (*Stanley's Western Wilds*, p. 15), and Stanley had also apparently planned to use it in his projected portfolio (letter press of portfolio p. 8, *see* Footnote 7). Other views included in the panorama which belong to the same group of sketches were a view of Fort Benton, "Cutting Up a Buffalo," and "A Traveling Party [of Blackfeet]."

Stevens, in a letter dated "Sept. 16, 1853, Fort Benton, Upper Missouri" (reprinted from the Boston *Post* in the *National Intelligencer*, November 26, 1853, p. 2), wrote a friend that Stanley was at the time of writing in the midst of the Blackfeet and went on to say: "We have traversed the region of the terrible Blackfeet, have met them in the war parties and their camps, and have received nothing but kindness and hospitality." Stanley, too, reported concerning the Blackfeet: "During my sojourn among them I was treated with the greatest kindness and hospitality, my property guarded with vigilance, so that I did not lose the most trifling article."—*Reports*, v. 1, p. 449.

Evidently Stevens' employment of Culbertson and his Blackfoot wife was a master stroke, for the Blackfeet usually gave trouble to whites entering their territory. The liberal distribution of goods and presents, in one case amounting to a value of $600, to Indians encountered, was also no doubt a contributing factor to amicable relations.

Stanley was gone for 11 days on this side excursion, and shortly after his return to Fort Benton the survey again started westward. The detailed description of the remaining journey becomes complex, as there were many side excursions and a number of divisions made of the party. Stevens, too, was anxious to assume his territorial duties, so with several of his party, including Stanley, he left the main command and pressed on to Fort Vancouver (present Vancouver, Wash.) which was reached on November 16. As they left Fort Benton on September 22, the last thousand miles of the journey were covered in about seven weeks. Their route in general from Benton was southwest to Fort Owen (present Stevensville, Ravalli county, western Montana), northwestward to the Coeur D'Alene Mission (present Cataldo, Idaho, on U. S. 10), northward to Fort Colville (near present Colville, Wash.) and then down the Columbia to Fort Vancouver, Stevens and Stanley descending the Columbia in a canoe from Fort Walla-Walla (some 25 miles west of the present city of Walla-Walla) to Vancouver. Captain McClellan's party working eastward was met on October 18 at Fort Colville where Stevens remained several days discussing and planning with McClellan the future work of the survey. Several days had also been spent at the Coeur D'Alene Mission just before McClellan was met. One of the most attractive of the many illustrations in the official reports is Stanley's sketch of the mission.[40]

The last stage of the survey is illustrated by some 30 Stanley sketches in addition to the sketch of the mission.[41] Among the more interesting of these views are"Fort Owen," "Fort Okinakane," "Hudson Bay Mill," "Chemakane Mission," "Old Fort Walla Walla" and "Mount Baker."

Very shortly after the arrival of Stevens and Stanley at Fort

40. The site of the Coeur D'Alene Mission was established by Father De Smet about 1845; it was designed and built by Father Anthony Ravelli, S. J., and opened for services in 1852 or 1853; its use was discontinued in 1877 but the old mission was restored in 1928. It is known locally at present as the Cataldo Mission.—*See* the Rev. E. R. Cody, *History of the Coeur D'Alene Mission* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1930). I am also indebted to the public library of Coeur D'Alene, Idaho, for information about the mission.

41. The number varies depending upon whether one is using the 1859 or 1860 printing of the final Stevens' report. Some of the differences to be noted are: (1) the lithography in the 1859 printing (Supplement to v. 1) was by Julius Bien of New York in the two copies I have seen; in the 1860 printing (v. 12, pt. 1), the lithography was by Sarony, Major and Knapp; (2) the plate numbers and page insertions of the plates are different, in general, in the two printings; (3) "Crossing the Hell Gate River Jan. 6, 1854," is credited to Stanley in the 1859 printing; to Sohon (as it should be) in the 1860 printing; (4) "Main Chain of the Rocky Mountains as Seen From the East . . . .," is credited to Stanley in the 1859 printing; to "Stanley after Sohon" in the 1860 printing; (5) "Source of the Palouse," is uncredited in the 1859 printing; "Source of the Pelluse," is credited to "Stanley after Sohon" in the 1860 printing; (6) "Big Blackfoot Valley," is credited to Stanley in the 1859 printing; to Sohon in the 1860 printing.

As is to be expected since the plates for the Stevens' report were lithographed by two firms, the same title will show illustrations differing more or less in detail. In the copies I have seen the coloring is superior in the Sarony, Major, and Knapp printings but even lithographs from the same house will differ in brilliance of color depending upon how much the stones were used and inked.