The Pictorial Record of the Old West

IX. ALFRED R. WAUD AND THEODORE R. DAVIS

ROBERT TAFT

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ALFRED R. Waud and Theodore R. Davis were doubtless the most prolific illustrators of Civil War scenes. Both began as field artists for Harper's Weekly at the beginning of the war and both covered the war for its entire duration. At the war's close in 1865, the Weekly in a brief article paid tribute to its staff artists, naming Waud first and Davis second as the principal illustrators of that tragic period in the nation's history. Even today there exist in the Library of Congress nearly 2,300 original Civil War field sketches of A. R. Waud and his brother William, many of which were redrawn on wood and published in Harper's Weekly during the period of 1861-1865.

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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, and May and August, 1949. The general introduction was in the February, 1946, number.

1. "Our Artists During the War," Harper's Weekly, New York, v. 9 (1865), June 3, p. 339. This account listed a number of artists who had "gone through all the long and stirring campaigns of this war." In the opening year of the war (1861) the Weekly did not credit by name its staff artists, usually crediting them to "our staff artist," or "our special artist," so that it is not often possible to identify the illustrator. However, several accounts of T. R. Davis were printed during the year which enable some of his illustrations to be attributed; see the Weekly, v. 5 (1861), June 1, p. 341, and June 22, p. 397. Harper's Weekly (see the citations just listed) claimed that Davis accompanied W. H. Russell, the well-known English war correspondent, on a tour of the South which started just before the beginning of hostilities. According to Russell, however, there was no formal agreement with Davis about this trip. In fact, Russell presented a story that is almost a direct contradiction to the Weekly's claim; see William Howard Russell, My Diary North and South (London, 1863), v. 1, pp. 47, 50, 114, 115, 187, 256, 286, 288, 289. Russell in describing his experiences with Davis does not even mention him by name; see, also, the counterclaim of Harper's Weekly in the issue of July 20, 1861, p. 246.

2. Beginning in 1862, the Weekly credited the illustrator in most cases. Davis, it becomes apparent from his illustrations, traveled more extensively than Waud, and was present in the campaigns of the south and west (see, also, p. 358); Waud's illustrations, on the other hand, were perhaps largely restricted to the operations of the Army of the Potomac and to Washington scenes.

2. The Library of Congress received these sketches by gift in 1919 from the late J. Pierpont Morgan. The Waud material also includes six letters and two photographs. With the exception of J. G. Randall, in The Civil War and Reconstruction (New York, 1937), this treasure trove of pictorial material has been scarcely used by historians. William Waud contributed extensively to the war illustrations in Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, New York, in the first two years of the war but toward the end, his illustrations began appearing in Harper's Weekly. In addition to William Waud, Edwin Forbes, F. H. Schell, Henry Lovie and W. T. Crane were important Civil War illustrators for Leslie's.

Biographical data on William Waud is meager. There is a very brief sketch of his life in Harper's Weekly, v. 22 (1875), November 30, p. 947, which noted his death in Jersey City on November 10, 1875, and stated that Waud was a gifted writer and architect as well. Inquiry directed to the Jersey City Public Library brought the reply that no obituary of William Waud could be found in three Jersey City papers for the period November 11-16, 1875.
Unfortunately, examination of these original sketches revealed that none deals with Alfred Waud’s later experiences which included several Western trips. As a result of these trips, however, there were published in the years after 1865 a very considerable number of Western illustrations signed “A. R. Waud” or, more frequently, “A. R. W.” Many were probably imaginary, some were probably based on photographs or on sketches of other artists, but several of the illustrations are important, and as his name appeared so many times in the field of Western illustration in the period 1865-1875, he rightfully occupies a place in this series.

Of striking personal appearance, Waud attracted comment wherever he went. An English correspondent, G. A. Sala, who visited the Army of the Potomac in January, 1864, saw Waud in action and the picture he presented so impressed Sala that he described Waud in some detail. He wrote:

There had galloped furiously by us, backwards and forwards during our journey, a tall man, mounted on a taller horse. Blue-eyed, fair-bearded, strapping and stalwart, full of loud, cheery laughs and comic songs, armed to the teeth, jack-booted, gauntleted, slouch-hatted, yet clad in the shooting-jacket of a civilian. I had puzzled myself many times during the afternoon and evening to know what manner of man this might inwardly be. He didn’t look like an American; he was too well dressed to be a guerilla. I found him out at last, and struck up an alliance with him. The fair-bearded man was the “war artist” of Harper’s Weekly. He had been with the Army of the Potomac, sketching, since its first organization, and doing for the principal pictorial journal of the United States that which Mr. Frank Vizetelly, in the South, has done so admirably for the Illustrated London News. He had been in every advance, in every retreat, in every battle, and almost in every reconnaissance. He probably knew more about the several campaigns, the rights and wrongs of the several fights, the merits and demerits of the commanders, than two out of three wearers of generals’ shoulder-straps. But he was a prudent man, who could keep his own counsel, and went on sketching. Hence he had become a universal favorite. Commanding officers were glad to welcome in their tents the genial companion who could sing and tell stories, and imitate all the trumpet and bugle calls, who could transmit to posterity, through woodcuts, their features and their exploits, but who was not charged with the invidious mission of commenting in print on their performances. He had been offered, time after time, a staff appointment in the Federal service; and, indeed, as an aide-de-camp, or an assistant-quartermaster, his minute knowledge of the theatre of war would have been invaluable. Often he had ventured beyond the picket-lines, and been chased by the guerillas; but the speed and mettle of his big brown steed had always enabled him to show these gentles a clean pair of heels. He was continually vaunting on this huge brown horse, and galloping off full split, like a Wild Horseman of the Prairie. The honors of the staff appointment he had civilly declined. The
risk of being killed he did not seem to mind; but he had no relish for a possible captivity in the Libby or Castle Thunder. He was, indeed, an Englishman,—English to the backbone; and kept his Foreign Office passport in a secure side-pocket, in case of urgent need.  

In April, 1866, Harper's Weekly announced that it was sending artists through the South to depict the results of war and to show "the rising of a new world from chaos."  

The artists sent, it soon became apparent, were none other than A. R. Waud and T. R. Davis. They did not travel together, but before they returned to the source of their pay checks both crossed the Mississippi and made pictorial exploration of the West. Davis went south through the Atlantic coastal states and then turned west; Waud headed for the Mississippi by way of the Ohio river and then went further south and west. 

Both artists were allowed a freedom in reporting their travels that makes their work, at this late date, of particular value to the historian; for they were allowed to publish descriptive and signed notes in addition to their illustrations. In these notes they frequently identified the actual locality where sketches were made, or contributed information that throws considerable light on their activities and upon their illustrations. If such a practice had been universally employed, it would have saved much research and guess work for historians of the present day. 

Waud's first group of illustrations on this Western trip were of Cincinnati, Louisville and Nashville. Although not Western towns according to present-day definition, they were "the West" of 1866. Concerning Louisville, Waud had the interesting comment:

A stranger from the East naturally wonders at the extensive interest which whisky holds in countries bordering on the Ohio. Here the people that distill the liquor are not at all ashamed of their business. The denizens of the more Eastern States have a sneaking consciousness that the distilling business is not compatible with respectability, and evince a cowardly spirit in fabricating excuses for their indulgence in the fiery juice. Now in the West a man takes his whisky "like a man" without reference to his doctor, a stomach-ache, or a cold. As churches are the prominent institutions in an Eastern town, so here the still-house overshadows all its neighbors and proudly takes the first rank. . .  

Waud also noted, and the comment has a most familiar ring, that

3. George Augustus Sala, My Diary in America in the Midst of War (London, 1865, 2d ed.), v. 1, pp. 302, 396. Sala does not mention Waud by name but the identity is proved from the description. This description of Waud is also used in an account of Waud and his work appearing in American Art and American Art Collections (Boston, 1889), Walter Montgomery, editor, v. 2, p. 886.  
5. Ibid., May 5, p. 296.
as a result of the war, Nashville and Louisville were “troubled with heavy rents and a scarcity of houses.”

Waud continued down the Ohio to Cairo where the steamer Ruth, “one of the finest river boats,” was taken to Memphis and there, after crossing the river, a journey was made to Little Rock, Ark. The trip into Arkansas—which was really in the trans-Mississippi West, be it noted—resulted in several interesting illustrations: a view of Little Rock itself; another was made of a group of colored volunteers of the Union army being mustered out and was sketched “standing before the office of Colonel Page, Quartermaster” in Little Rock (the volunteers created quite “a furor among the resident colored females, . . .”). Waud observantly noted); and, of course, the series included an illustration of the famed “Arkansas Travelers,” who were shown, Waud noted with some regret, without their fiddles.6

It is possible that on this trip Waud traveled into Texas and certainly he was in central and western Louisiana, as is shown by his notable illustration depicting the Acadians of Louisiana whom he sketched from life. They were, of course, the descendants of French Canadians immortalized by Longfellow in Evangeline. Other illustrations also are identified as western Louisiana. The illustration which is most typically “Western,” however, is his “A Drive of Texas Cattle Crossing a Stream”7 (reproduced with this article). Unfortunately, the illustration was not accompanied by the comments of Waud himself as it was published some time after his return to New York.8 The note accompanying the illustration (the author is not credited) identified the locality as western Louisiana or Texas. Its importance lies in the fact that it is the first Western cattle drive illustration which I have found.9 The cattle drives

6. The illustrations noted above will be found in ibid., May 26, p. 328; May 19, p. 358; November 10, p. 705. The notes by Waud on his illustrations of this trip appeared in ibid., for the following dates: May 13, p. 269; May 19, p. 318; May 26, p. 327; June 2, pp. 345, 349; June 23, p. 398; June 30, pp. 411, 412; July 14, p. 442; July 21, p. 443; August 4, pp. 485, 486; August 11, p. 508, 509; August 15, p. 526; September 8, p. 566; September 15, p. 601; October 13, p. 634; October 20, p. 670, and November 10, p. 706. There are, of course, Waud illustrations in all of the issues listed.
7. Ibid., v. 11 (1867), October 19, p. 665. The Acadian illustration will be found in the Weekly, October 20, 1866, p. 657; see, also, the issue of December 8, 1866, pp. 769, 781. There is also an illustration specifically titled, “A Storm on the Prairies—A Scene in Western Louisiana,” ibid., October 6, 1866, p. 636.
8. Waud was back in New York by October 25, 1866, at least, for there is an illustration depicting an event of that date in Brooklyn in ibid., v. 10 (1866), November 10, p. 719. Waud’s Southern and Southwestern illustrations appeared, however, for several years after his return.
9. This illustration of Waud’s and one of James E. Taylor, “Branding Cattle on the Prairies of Texas,” in Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper, June 29, 1867, p. 322, which appeared shortly before Waud’s, are the first of the illustrations on the Western cattle industry to be painted in the national illustrated press. Taylor doubtless deserves more than mention in a footnote in this series and I hope that enough material will be accumulated about him to make a more extended account possible. The chief source of information concerning him is an obituary in the New York Tribune, June 29, 1891, p. 9, which stated that he was born in Cincinnati on December 15, 1839, graduated from the University of Notre Dame at 16, painted a
from Texas, as is well known, had been carried on for some years but they did not begin to attract wide attention until after the Civil War. The note which accompanied this illustration is also important for the reason that the description, probably furnished by Waud, reads:

Vast numbers of these cattle are driven on foot to the Mississippi River, and, after crossing it, into the interior of the cotton States. . . . A drove of five hundred cattle is usually accompanied by a dozen men, drivers, cook, etc., mounted upon mustang ponies, a wild set, who plunge in and out of rivers, or rush in among stampederes in the most reckless way. . . .

Notice that no mention of cowboys is made, for that word, with the connotation it now carries, was nearly a generation away from popular use.

Another illustration, in somewhat the same class as that of the cattle drive, is "'Creasing' Mustangs in Texas." Here the locality is identified as an area east of the Sakatcho mountains.

The sketches described above in the text and notes included the important contribution made by Waud to the field of Western illustration in the several years following the close of the war. Most, if not all, were the result of direct observation. Waud continued to publish, however, in the years following his return from the South and West a considerable number of illustrations, based upon his familiarity with the region he had visited and supplemented by his imagination. One of the most interesting of this group was the illustration, "Pilgrims of the Plains." It depicted a large group of emigrants with their ox-drawn wagons pulling up into the familiar circle for the evening encampment. T. R. Davis, however, had an

Revolutionary War panorama by the age of 18, and enlisted in the Union army at the age of 21. He became a war correspondent and artist for Leslie's in 1863 and in 1867 went to the plains with the Indian Peace Commission. Some of his illustrations of the Medicine Lodge council (of the Peace Commission) appeared in Leslie's for November 19, 1867, p. 339, and November 23, 1867, p. 158. He must have painted many Indian pictures, probably in water color, for, according to the American Art Annual, v. 4 (1905), p. 146, he became known as "the Indian artist." He severed his connection with Leslie's in 1883 and became a free-lance illustrator. His death occurred in New York City on June 22, 1902.

11. Ibid., v. 12 (1868), November 21, p. 741. The note accompanying the illustration is on p. 742.
12. Although I have examined several Texas maps that are nearly contemporary with this Waud illustration, I have not found the Sakatcho mountains. A letter directed to the State Geological Survey at Austin brought the reply that they were unfamiliar with Texas mountains of this name. If we may judge from Waud's travels, the "mountains" would have to be located in eastern Texas.
13. Waud made several illustrations of steamboating on the Mississippi which at least should be mentioned. One of the best of these was "A Mississippi Steamboat Making a Landing at Night," Harper's Weekly, v. 10 (1866), December 22, p. 801. Mention should also be made of his Texas illustration depicting a view across the Rio Grande river from the American side at Brownsville (ibid., November 17, p. 732). The note accompanying this illustration is not by Waud and it seems doubtful if he ever got as far west as Brownsville. Not many issues after this sketch appeared, another illustration of the same general character, credited to a photograph, appeared in the Weekly and it may be that Waud used a similar photograph in preparing his illustration; see ibid., v. 11 (1867), January 5, p. 12.
Davis drawings of Kansas scenes from Harper's Monthly, July, 1867.

"Pond Creek" [Wallace County]

"Here They Come" [Logan County]

"Fort Fletcher" [Ellis County]

"Departure From Atchison"
illustration with the same title and theme and which on the whole is more pleasing than is Waud’s sketch and Waud may have used the Davis illustration as the basis for his effort. Waud did show a colored teamster in his illustration which suggests that Waud may have observed some such scene on his Southwestern tour.

In possibly somewhat the same category as “Pilgrims of the Plains,” is Waud’s excellent sketch, “Building the Union Pacific Railroad in Nebraska,” which appeared in A. D. Richardson’s well-known book, Beyond the Mississippi.

It is probable that Waud did not sketch this view “on the spot” but redrew it from photographs. The John Carbutt photographs, made along the Union Pacific railroad in the fall of 1866, were available to Waud and much of the detail in the illustration checks with that shown in the photographs. Waud, however, has produced a much more interesting and inclusive view than is shown in any of the photographs and it is the best view of early Western railroad construction that I have examined. (Reproduced between pp. 344, 345.)

Waud used this same material apparently to prepare another illustration that appeared in Harper’s Weekly a few years later, “Railroad Building on the Great Plains.”

The note which accompanied the illustration discussed only the building of the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific but Waud has the legend “Northern Pacific” drawn on one of the freight cars. In many respects it is like the illustration in the Richardson book save that the observer sees the work at a somewhat different angle in the latter illustration.

It is possible that this last sketch was based in part upon direct observation. Waud was one of a number of artists employed in the

15. The Davis illustration will be found in ibid., v. 13 (1869), June 13, p. 377.
16. Beyond the Mississippi (Hartford, Conn.) was published first in 1867; it was republished in many subsequent editions or printings. I have seen a printing as late as 1875 but the one I have used is dated 1869, “New Edition Written Down to Summer of 1869.” The Waud illustration referred to above appears facing p. 367. The book is profusely illustrated and strangely enough for that day, each illustration is credited in the index to both artist and wood engraver. The list of illustrations reads like a roll call of the field artists of the Civil War: A. R. Waud, Wm. Waud, Edwin Forbes, F. H. Schell, J. Becker, J. R. Chapin, Thomas Nast and others. Forty of the 215 illustrations were by A. R. Waud. It is doubtful if any of the illustrations in the book were original (in the sense that they were sketched by the artist on the spot) but were redrawn from photographs or earlier illustrations appearing in the illustrated press. The topics included in the illustrations (all, of course, Western) range in time from 1857 to 1869 and from the Mississippi river to the Pacific coast.
17. For discussion and reproduction of some of the Carbutt photographs of 1866, see Robert Taft, Photography and the American Scene (New York, 1939), ch. 15.
preparation of the elaborate two-volume work, *Picturesque America*, edited by William Cullen Bryant and published in the early 1870's.\(^{19}\)

Waud had a number of illustrations in this publication of the “Lower Mississippi” and also of the “Northwest” (Wisconsin, Minnesota and the Dakotas). One account of his work stated that the material for these illustrations was obtained on a trip to the South and to the West in 1872.\(^{20}\)

As the first volume of *Picturesque America* was published in 1872 it seems probable that the material for the “Lower Mississippi” illustrations was obtained before this date. The “Northwest” illustrations might well have been secured at this time. Still another trip to this region may have been made by Waud, for there appeared in 1880 and 1881 a number of his illustrations of Dakota territory, although here again he may have supplemented his first-hand knowledge of this region with photographs.\(^{21}\)

After 1882, Waud’s illustrations in *Harper’s Weekly* and *Harper’s Magazine* virtually disappear. In fact, the last decade of his life seems to have been spent in an effort to regain his health. He died at Marietta, Ga., on April 6, 1891, where he had gone to recuperate his failing strength.\(^{22}\)

**Theodore R. Davis**

Davis had already acquired a considerable knowledge of the West by the time he and Waud were sent on their Southern tour of 1866. Not many months after the surrender of the last Confederate troops in the spring of 1865, Harper’s sent Davis to Denver to report on the activities on the plains and in the mountains. The ambitious

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19. *Picturesque America*: . . . (New York, v. 1, 1872, and v. 2, 1874). Among the artists who contributed to this interesting work, in addition to Waud, were Harry Penn, R. Swain Gifford, James D. Smillie, Thomas Moran, F. O. C. Darley and Worthington Whitfield. Smillie is the only one of the group whose written description of his work appeared in this publication. He spent several weeks in Yosemite sometime between 1869 and 1872. Most of the illustrations—principally of scenery—are reproduced as wood engravings; a few are steel engravings.


22. Obituaries and biographical notes at Waud’s death will be found in *ibid.*, v. 35 (1891), April 18, p. 279; Marietta (Ga.) *Journal*, April 6, 1891; *Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution*, April 8, 1891, p. 7; Orange (N. J.) *Chronicle*, April 11, 1891, and others. The biographical material given in these accounts varies considerably. One stated that he had no survivors; another that he had three daughters; several said that Waud was buried at South Orange, N. J., others in Marietta. A headstone in the Episcopal cemetery in Marietta settles the question, however, for it is marked, “Alfred R. Waud, Oct. 2, 1828-Nov. 6, 1891.” The *Harper’s Weekly* account stated that Waud was born in London and came to this country when 30 years of age. The first of his illustrations in the *Weekly* that I have been able to identify with certainty is in the issue of July 3, 1858, p. 429. Frank Weitenkampf, in his *American Graphic Arts* (New York, 1912), mentioned Waud and his brother, William, and stated that A. R. Waud also illustrated for Demoient’s *New York Illustrated News* during its life (1840-1864). A brief biographical account of Waud is also given in *The Cyclopaedia of American Biographies* (Boston, 1903), v. 7, p. 329.
attempt of D. A. Butterfield to establish rapid stage transportation from the Missouri river (the end of the railroad) to the bustling mining districts of Colorado territory, and the rumors of a rising tide of Indian troubles as Western immigration mounted and railroads advanced, were doubtless among the factors responsible for Davis’ assignment.

Davis arrived in Atchison, the eastern terminal of the Butterfield Overland Despatch, in mid-November, 1865, and at 8 a.m., November 17, left Atchison in company with three other passengers who, with himself, as Davis said, were “four persons entirely ignorant of any knowledge of the plains...” (See picture facing p. 345.)

The members of this party included Gen. W. R. Brewster, vice-president of the Butterfield company; Lawrence Hasbrouk of Kingston, N. Y., and apparently Davis’ traveling companion, and William M. Calhoun, probably a resident of Atchison.

The greenhorns of the plains rapidly became initiated to its wonders. Davis, the cook of the party, discovered that buffalo chips made a wonderful fuel; in fact, he affirmed “that there is no better broiling fuel than a perfectly dry ‘buffalo chip’.” Davis, too, although inured to the hardships of campaign life during the Civil War, found his ingenuity taxed in sleeping on top of the Concord coach, but this method he preferred to the cramped quarters inside the coach. He did not disclose, however, how he prevented himself from rolling off the top of the swaying coach as it lumbered along across the plains at night. His real test, however, was yet to come.

Two days before Davis and his party had started, a B. O. D. coach with L. K. Perrin, a correspondent of the New York Times, and one Fred Merwin, the company messenger, had left Atchison. The third day out from Atchison, the Davis party met Perrin who,

23. T. R. Davis, “A Stage Ride to Colorado,” Harper’s Magazine, v. 33 (1867), July, pp. 337-340. Davis says that the party left at sunrise on November 17, 1865, and The Daily Free Press, Atchison, November 18, 1865, recorded the fact that the B. O. D. coach “left yesterday morning at 8 o’clock, for Central City (Colorado territory), with the following passengers: L. Hasbrouck, T. R. Davis, Gen. W. R. Brewster, Wm. M. Calhoun.” The coach with these passengers reached Junction City at four o’clock the next morning, thus making about 120 miles in 20 hours, according to the Junction City Union, November 26, 1865, which identified Brewster as the vice-president of the B. O. D. The Butterfield service to Denver and Central City (in the heart of the mining district) had been under way scarcely two months when Davis made his trip, for the first coach had left Atchison on September 11 and had reached Denver September 22, being 12 days on route over approximately 600 miles; see Atchison Daily Press, September 25, 1865.

24. The identification of Brewster is made in Footnote 23; of Hasbrouk in the Rocky Mountain News, Denver, December 1, 1865, and the Central City (Colo.) Daily Miners’ Register, December 13, 1865; Calhoun was back in Atchison by December 5, see Atchison Daily Press, December 5, 1865.

25. Atchison Daily Press, November 15, 1865. The identification of Perrin (also spelled Perine and Perrine) as the correspondent of the Times is made through Harper’s Weekly, v. 10 (1866), January 27, p. 85, which quoted from Perrin’s account of the fight (described later in the text) in the Times.
with others, had escaped when the Indians attacked the coach at Downer station still farther west. The messenger had been killed and the stock driven off.26

After finding that the Indians were on the warpath, the Davis party returned to the nearest station, sent back to nearby Fort Fletcher (southeast of present Hays—see picture facing p. 345) for a guard and then camped for the night. A detail of five cavalrymen and a company of infantry joined them later that night. The next day the party and their escort passed Downer station and saw that the other coach and the station had been completely destroyed. About a day later the infantry turned back but the party was joined by a surgeon and four soldiers in an ambulance.

As the coach, ambulance and cavalrymen reached another of the plains stations, Smoky Hill Spring, the quick eye of Davis detected a band of Indians charging down upon them. (See sketch facing p. 345.) But let Davis tell the story in his modest way:

The coach containing Gen. Brewster, Mr. Hasbrouk, Mr. Perrin and Mr. Davis, of Harper’s, was within a few moments drive of the Station (Smoky Hill Spring) when Mr. Davis saw a band of Indians charging on the coach, less than sixty yards distant. . .

Mr. D., the moment that he gave the alarm, picked up his rifle and sent its contents at the most gaudily gotten up Indian, who not liking the dose ran off. On the other side of the coach, Gen. Brewster was peppering away at a white man, who seemed to be the leader of the party [possibly Bob Brent, a half-breed]. . .

This reception the Indians did not like, so ran off. We had by this time reached the station with the coach, when we saw that another band of “red skins” had gone for the stock. Seeing this, one of the stock herders, a brave man, had made an effort to drive the stock toward the station. While doing this, one of the Indians had charged on him, driving arrows at him meantime. The Indian was within a few paces of the stock herder when Mr. Davis sent the interior arrangements of his Ballard rifle into Mr. Indian’s back, causing a series of very curious gyrations on the part of the Indian who was tied to his horse, so saved his scalp. By this time there was not an Indian within a half mile of us, so we were at liberty to look about to discover what the next move was to be. . . .27

26. The locality of the fight was at Downer station, one of the 59 stations of the B. O. D. between Atchison and Denver, which was in present Trego county, Kansas. A table of stations and distances west of Junction City on the B. O. D. will be found in the Leavenworth Daily Conservative, September 23, 1865. The Atchison Daily Press, July 22, 1865, gave the first six stations west of Junction City. Frank A. Root and William E. Connelley, The Overland Stage to California (Topeka, 1891), p. 398, also listed the B. O. D. stations west of Junction City, varying somewhat from those given in the Leavenworth Conservative. In the discussion which followed their table, Root and Connelley became inconsistent. As these sources seem to be all that are available upon the subject, the exact distances and stations are uncertain. The total distance from the Missouri river to Denver is given as 588 miles in one account and 592 in the other. Accounts of Marvin’s death will be found in the Atchison Daily Press, November 30, 1865, and in Davis’ own story in Harper’s Magazine, July, 1867.

27. The Weekly Rocky Mountain News, December 6, 1865. This account, only a small part of which is reprinted above, is dated "Denver Dec. 2, 1865," and is the continuation of a description of the early part of the trip by the occupants of the coach which Davis had described for the Daily Rocky Mountain News but is reprinted in the same issue of the
They soon discovered that the ambulance and four occupants, which had become separated from the coach, was in need of aid and the cavalymen went to their rescue. The ambulance was abandoned and the Indians soon had the mules and swiftly put fire to the vehicle. The combined party retired to the adobe station where they were besieged overnight by the redskins. The siege continued well into the next day but the travelers were finally reinforced the next noon by a large army detachment. The Indians fled and under strong guard the coach eventually arrived in Denver after 15 days on the plains. "Cooper might have his Indians; we did not care for their company," was Davis' dry comment on his experience.

With such a wealth of experience, the sketchbook of Davis was well filled upon arrival in Denver and a number of these experiences found their way into pictures in Harper's Weekly and Harper's Magazine. Unfortunately, the originals of all of these sketches save one have disappeared. In a small pocket notebook carried by Davis on this trip of 1865, there is the faded outline sketch of the "Interior of the Adobe Fortification at Smoky Hill Station." Davis made Davis his headquarters for the next several months, taking side trips during his stay to the mining districts of Colorado in the neighborhood of Central City and to Santa Fe in New Mexico territory. He met with a ready and hospitable reception from the newspaper fraternity of the mountain West. Possessed of a buoyant and sunny disposition, he made friends wherever he went. No journey was too fatiguing to allay his interest in new sights and

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28. This earlier part is headed "HEADQUARTERS IN A 'DORP' (Indians on every side), SMOKY HILL SPRINGS, Nov. 26, '65." Both accounts are signed "D." Davis also has a story of the fight in Harper's Magazine, July, 1867, and Perrin apparently wrote his own account (which is in agreement with the Davis accounts) for the New York Times which Harper's Weekly reprinted in part in its issue of January 27, 1866, p. 58.

29. The Smoky Hill station, the scene of this fight, was in present Logan county, Kansas.

30. In 1940 I secured from Mrs. Cullen W. Parmelee of Urbana, Ill., a daughter of Theodore R. Davis, a collection of letters, notes, photographs, etc., bearing on the Western trips of Davis. Reference to this material is hereafter made by the notation "Parmelee Collection." I am indebted to Mrs. Parmelee and her sister, Mrs. W. D. Penneyacker of Madison, Wis., not only for the privilege of examining this material but for personal recollections and other information concerning their father.

The sketch noted above is the only original Western drawing of Davis that I have so far found. The sketch appeared on adjacent sides of a notebook carried by Davis on his first Western trip; the notebook measured approximately 2 x 4 inches.
new experiences, and any danger lent added zest to all his numerous enterprises.

It was not long before the newspapers were referring to "our gay and festive friend," "a gentleman of an extremely happy turn of mind," and when he left Central City, a paper stated—"he has made hosts of friends, we are assured, and that his charming manners entitle him to them, we will not gainsay. He goes, and with him a full share of public esteem." 31

With such winning ways to aid him, Davis had only to ask and the sights of the Western world were opened to him. The mines and ranches and many of the novel sights were recorded in picture and shortly these sketches were appearing in the weekly issues of Harper's.

Views of Denver, including one of Blake street (practically contemporary with the view of Mathews discussed in a previous number of this series), of Central City, of Santa Fe, of Navahoes weaving a blanket on the famous Maxwell ranch and others appeared in print. 32 Probably there were many in Davis' sketchbooks that were never published.

Davis left Denver for "the States" on February 18, 1866. The return trip was again made over the Butterfield route but this time without the wild excitement of the out-going trip and only "five days and four hours" were necessary to make the crossing of the plains. 33

The next major assignment that concerns us was the Southern and Southwestern tour already mentioned in connection with Waud; a tour to determine the effects of war and the recovery from war. As already pointed out, Davis started his assignment by visiting Southern states along the Atlantic seaboard, but the part of the journey that is of interest to us comes from the fact that he turned

31. Comments on Davis' character will be found in Harper's Weekly, v. 38 (1864), November 24, p. 1114; Rocky Mountain News, January 17, 1866, and December 1, 1865; Central City Daily Miners' Register, December 18, 1865.

32. "Banking-House, Denver City, Colorado—Miners Bringing in Gold Dust" and "The Overland Coach Office, Denver City, Colorado (Blake Street)." in Harper's Weekly, v. 10 (1866), January 27, p. 57; "Central City, Colorado" and "A Gambling Scene in Denver City, Colorado." February 17, p. 97 (cover page); "Street View in Santa Fe, New Mexico," April 21, p. 249; "Indian Squaws Weaving a Blanket," September 15, p. 655. Probably the "Overland Mail-Coach," ibid., v. 12 (1869), February 8, p. 88, also belongs to this period as a note on p. 87 of this issue identifies the locality as Guy's Gulch, "about thirty miles west of Denver." Davis made but two other Western trips (those of 1866 and 1867) and on neither of these is there any evidence that he reached Denver.

33. Davis' return to Atchison is noted in the Atchison Daily Champion, February 24, 1866, which reported that he arrived in Atchison on the 22d. He left Denver on the 18th (Rocky Mountain News, February 19, 1866). Other mentions of Davis made in the Colorado papers and not already cited will be found in the Rocky Mountain News, December 12, 1865; January 18, 1866; February 3, 1866 (comment on the first Davis illustrations on the Smoky Hill route to appear in Harper's Weekly); February 13, 1866 (notes Davis' return from Santa Fe the evening before; he had left for Santa Fe on January 17); Davis, in an account signed "Russel"—his middle name—described some of his New Mexico experiences in the Weekly Rocky Mountain News, February 21, 1866; Central City Daily Miners' Register, December 13, 15, 16 and 18, 1865.
west when he arrived in the deep South, stopped at New Orleans and then went on into Texas. The Western illustrations included views of the cities of Houston and Galveston, and one particularly interesting, "The Dry-Goods Drummer on His Travels.—Scene on the Galveston and Houston Railroad.—'Here's Jeff, Fellows!'" It depicted a bar with an unreconstructed rebel lifting a drink to the defunct Confederate president—doubtless a sight particularly irritating to Davis, who had undergone the vicissitudes of a four-year campaign with the Union army.

Davis was given a breathing spell for a few months after returning from his Southern trip. But one day—April 2, 1867, according to Davis—he met Fletcher Harper on Broadway who, without further ado, asked, "Why are you not with General Hancock's Indian expedition?" Davis needed no other direction and inside half an hour—if we can believe Davis—he had gathered his "sketchbook, pet 'Ballard,' and a few minor necessaries" and was on his way West.

Indian troubles on the plains of Kansas and Nebraska were gradually becoming worse as the last half of the 1860's advanced. The westward tide of migration was rapidly rising as the railroads slowly but steadily forged their way into the hunting grounds of the Indians. Depredations on settlers, on stage lines and on railroad construction parties became more numerous as the Indian resisted

34. The first of these Southern illustrations to appear will be found in Harper's Weekly, v. 10 (1866), May 5, p. 283; and June 2, p. 345, and dealt with Virginians. Succeeding issues also contained other Southern illustrations. New Orleans sketches by Davis in considerable number appeared in the issue for August 25, pp. 585, 587, and then in the issue of September 1, p. 656, was a note from Davis in New Orleans.

35. The views of Houston and of Galveston (four in number) appeared in ibid., October 27, p. 683. A descriptive note by Davis appeared on p. 686. The Galveston and Houston railroad view will be found in the issue of October 5, p. 637, with descriptive comment on p. 681.

36. The quotations are from Davis' article, "A Summer on the Plains," Harper's Magazine, v. 36 (1868), February, pp. 292-307. Actually there must have been some previous discussion and correspondence on the subject for in the Pardee collection is a letter of General Hancock's dated, "Headquarters Department of the Missouri, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas March 10, 1867," to Davis advising him that he was "only waiting for a proper condition of the roads to enable me to transport my supplies to the proper points, before starting on a tour of a month or six weeks in the Indian Country.

"I propose going in the direction of the Arkansas and Smoky Hill, with 1200 men—possibly a few hundred more. I had intended to redress some outrages but the late action of Congress has been such that I shall now go for the purpose simply of displaying some sufficient force. To show the Indians that we are now ready for peace or war.—Leaving to the Indian Bureau the duty of investigating the facts and indicating the course to be pursued in reference to outrages of past date. Our visit may prevent an outbreak. If one is intended, it may precipitate it. The Indians threaten to stop travel over the Overland and Pacific R. R. We will demand peaceful dispositions and also will punish aggressions or hostile acts coming under our notice.

"I expect to be absent six weeks. You will best know whether it will afford you sufficient interest to accompany us. You will have time to join me by rail and overland at Fort Harker (Fort Ellsworth) after you see in the papers that I have started from here."

Davis' reference to Fletcher Harper is made as "the Commander-in-chief of Harper's"; as is well-known, Fletcher Harper was the directing officer of Harper's Weekly; see Dictionary of American Biography, v. 8, p. 281; Harper's Weekly, v. 51 (1907), January 5, p. 11, Henry Mills Alden, "Recollections of an Early Editor," Alden stated: "The man who originated the Weekly [Fletcher Harper] really conducted it as long as he lived. Every Monday morning he brought me the scheme of the illustrated pages of the next number of the paper, leaving to me the supply and adjustment of the text for all the other pages, except the portion occupied by Mr. Curtis's [George William Curtis] editorials."
this encroachment. The newspapers of the West clamored for greater and greater aid from the army and for the extermination of every redskin. "... Lo, his squaws and papooses, and his relatives and tribe, [will be found to be] a set of miserable, dirty, lousy, blanketed, thieving, lying, sneaking, murdering, graceless, faithless, gut-eating skunks as the Lord ever permitted to infect the earth, and whose immediate and final extermination all men, except Indian agents and traders, should pray for" was doubtlessly the nearly universal, if not humanitarian, opinion of the frontier on the Indian question. 37

Urged by the press and state officials, the army decided to send Gen. W. S. Hancock, commander of the Department of the Missouri, upon the plains early in 1867 with so large a force that it would either awe the Indians or precipitate an immediate Indian war. It was this expedition which Hancock invited Davis to accompany as already described in Hancock's letter of March 10 (see Footnote 36). 38

Since the Davis trip of 1865 to Kansas, the railroad had advanced to Junction City, about a third of the way across the state. In early April, 1867, he was in this town but found that Hancock was already out on the plains and reported to be camped near Fort Larned (near the present town of Larned). The Santa Fe stage was about to leave Junction City as Davis arrived and as it would take him

37. The quotation is from the Topeka Weekly Leader, June 27, 1867. A correspondent in the Leader a few months earlier (September 20, 1866), however, had written, "The Smoky Hill valleys [of central and western Kansas] were the Indians' paradise, and to yield this great and glorious hunting grounds up to the pale faces without a struggle would be asking too much of the poor red men." How lo, an interjection, came to be used as a proper noun, a synonym for Indian (as it is in the text above) has always intrigued me. Dictionaries ascribe it to Pope's famous lines in his Essay on Man with the sentence beginning "Lo, the poor Indian! whose untutored mind Sees God in clouds, or hears him in the wind." I have no fault to find with this ascription for it is undoubtedly correct, but who first started using Pope's introductory Lo for Indian is entirely a different matter and for some years I have been jotting down notes when I found Lo used in this manner. Horace Greeley was apparently one of the first to suggest its use in this manner in the United States as far as my researches on this notehill in the path of history go. In the New York Weekly Tribune, December 30, 1848, p. 2, is a column devoted to the discussion of Indian affairs headed, 'Lo! The Poor Indian!'; and a number of times in the Tribune between this date and the early 1850's I have found it thus used, including a heading for one of Greeley's own letters (Daily Tribune, July 19, 1859, p. 6).

On the frontier itself it seems to have appeared in the press about 1865 in the shortened form, Lo. Possibly the casual reference of Edwin C. Manning in his paper, "The Kansas State Senate of 1865 and 1866" (Kansas Historical Collections, v. 9 [1905-1906], p. 563), to D. W. Houston, a member of the senate in 1865, may explain it. Manning wrote that Houston's name by stating, as if it were common knowledge, that Houston made a famous phrase of Pope's lines in the state senate (presumably in 1865) which read

"Lo, the poor Indian, whose untutored mind
Clothes him before and leaves him bare behind."

Undoubtedly such a statement would tackle the liabilities of a generation well versed in the ordinary dress of the Indian and this circumstance may well have given the impetus to the very common usage of Lo for Indian in the frontier press. D. W. Wilder, however, in his Annals of Kansas (Topeka, 1888), p. 628, under date of December 31, 1873, stated "The word Lo, meaning an Indian, and in general use, Prof. Dunbar claims originated with Sol. Miller [editor of the Kansas Chief, of White Cloud and Troy]."

Davis’ “Shooting Buffalo From the Trains of the Kansas Pacific Railroad” (1867)

Davis’ “Interior of the Adobe Fortification at Smoky Hill Station [Kansas]” (1866)
to his destination, he secured transportation as the only passenger. The company messenger and the driver were the only other occupants of the stage but many mail bags containing public documents filled most of the available space. In fact so weighted was the vehicle with “Pub. Docs.,” as Davis called them, that it soon stuck fast in fording the Smoky Hill river near Fort Harker. Help from the fort got them out but they had scarcely started on their way before a heavy late snow set in. By nightfall they were stuck in a snowdrift with the thermometer rapidly falling. After a council of war, it was decided that the driver should unhitch his mules and attempt to make the next station, leaving Davis and the messenger “to guard the treasure and the Pub. Docs.” “On leaving us,” reported Davis, “the driver gave vent to the longest, most emphatic, and unsurpassable bullwhacker oath that it has ever been my bad fortune to listen to. Coming, as it did, from a man who had nine chances out of ten of freezing to death before morning, it was simply horrible.” The oath must have been a gem of its kind if Davis, after four years of war and several years of extended travel, could classify it as the “most emphatic” he had ever heard.

The two—Davis and the messenger—passed a bleak night alone in the coach with the only food “corn in two states: the liquid extract, bottled; and one single hermetically-sealed can of the corn in a solid state, half-cooked.” Aid did reach them in the morning, however, and in due time Davis reached Hancock’s command encamped near Fort Larned. Here a fruitless Indian council led to the decision to break camp and to march west some 25 or 30 miles until they were near a large Indian village. At this locality General Hancock with Generals A. J. Smith and G. A. Custer, who, with the Seventh cavalry, had joined Hancock’s command, met Roman-Nose, the celebrated war-chief of the Cheyennes and halted near their village. Again the council with the Indians was unsatisfactory and Custer was ordered the next day to surround the village but found that most of the Indians had fled during the night. Upon receipt of news, however, that one of the stage stations had been burned and station men killed by Indians, Hancock had Smith destroy the village by fire.

Moving on, Hancock had further councils with the Kiowas and Arapahoes but all proved elusive or made unsatisfactory promises. The command was finally marched to Fort Hays (near present Hays) where Hancock left the Seventh cavalry under Custer to protect the frontier and the stage stations in this neighborhood.

Davis had been with Hancock during all these marchings and
counter-marchings and when Hancock left, Davis remained with Custer, his pencil continually busy.

Custer's command was called north early in June to stem further Indian depredations, and marches to Fort McPherson (about 100 miles west of present Kearney, Neb.) and up the Platte river were made.

On this trip Davis witnessed several Indian skirmishes with the Sioux under their chief Pawnee Killer, and he was with the command when they found the remains of Lt. L. S. Kidder and ten men who had been sent from Fort Sedgwick (in present northeastern Colorado) with orders from General Sherman to Custer. Kidder's detachment had been surrounded by Indians (in present Sherman county, Kansas) and destroyed. Custer reached Fort Wallace (in present Wallace county, Kansas) early in July where he decided to allow his troops a few days' rest after their extended campaign on the plains. He, himself, with a considerable detachment, left Fort Wallace and pushed east to Fort Hays, Davis accompanying the detachment. Any decisive Indian engagements seemed unlikely and as cholera had made its appearance in frontier posts, Davis decided to give up the Indian campaign and early in August left Fort Harker by rail, which the Union Pacific, "Eastern division," had reached during his travels on the plains. 39

The campaign, as far as settling the Indian problem went, was a failure and the frontier press was not reticent in calling attention to this state of affairs. "Gameless, scalpless, and ... a stupendous imposition" the Westernmost newspaper proclaimed it. 40

The frontier was obviously expecting too much of our small regular army which had its own problems in plenty. There is little

39. In this resume of the Indian campaign of 1867 I have followed Davis' own account which, in general, is in agreement with the standard accounts (such as that given by Garfield, cited in Footnote 35). It will be found as "A Summer on the Plains," Harper's Magazine, v. 36 (1868), February, pp. 292-307. Davis also had several earlier notes in Harper's Weekly written from the field during the campaign. They will be found in the Weekly, v. 11 (1867), May 11, pp. 561, 592; May 18, pp. 623, 629; June 22, pp. 645, 646; July 6, p. 647; September 7, p. 654. In the last citation there is quoted in part a letter from Davis written at Fort Harker, August 3 (1867). The Union Pacific Railway, Eastern division, was opened as far as Ellsworth and Fort Harker by July 15, 1867, according to "Report of the Condition and Progress of the Union Pacific Railway, Eastern Division", for the Year Ending September 30, 1867.

40. In Speeches of Senators Yates: ... on the Pacific Rail Road Question, p. 72, and the Topeka Weekly Leader, November 7, 1867 (adv.).

For the location of army posts, I have used Garfield, "The Military Post as a Factor in the Frontier Defense of Kansas, 1855-1869," in The Kansas Historical Quarterly, v. 1 (1931-1932), p. 50-62. A useful map of army posts in the West will be found in Harper's Weekly, June 15, 1867, p. 372. The Pacific railroad lines on this map, however, mark only the proposed routes. Additional light on the Hancock campaign is also furnished by the letters of H. M. Stanley in the Missouri Democrat, St. Louis, and reprinted in his My Early Travels and Adventures (London, 1885), v. 1.
doubt, however, that their tactics might have been improved. “H—l,” a plainsman is reported to have said, “talk about regulars hunting Indians! They go out, and when night comes they blow the bugle to let the Indians know that they are going to sleep. In the morning they blow the bugle to let the Indians know they are going to get up. Between their bugle and great trains, they manage to keep the redskins out of sight.”

Whatever the military value of the campaign, Davis had secured a first-hand knowledge of Western warfare as it was then practiced; an opportunity for observation that was almost unique in the annals of American illustration. From his summer’s experience on the plains—nearly four months in the saddle, extending over a distance which Davis estimated as some 3,000 miles—there resulted many, many illustrations which appeared both in Harper’s Weekly and in Harper’s Magazine. Among the more notable of these illustrations we may list “The Coach in the Storm,” “Lodges of the Chiefs in the Indian Village Captured by General Hancock,” near Fort Larned; “Sutler’s Store at Fort Dodge, Kansas” (reproduced on the cover of this issue), “The Indian War—General Custer’s Scouts,” “Buffalo-Hunting on the Plains by Officers of the United States Army” (some of the sketches in this group, Mrs. Custer related, were drawn in General Custer’s tent at Fort Hays), “Camp Pets of the Seventh United States Cavalry,” and a sketch of Davis himself in his buckskin uniform dated, “Fort Harker, August 3d ’67.”

41. Junction City Weekly Union, July 13, 1867.
42. These illustrations and many others not listed will be found in Harper’s Magazine, February, 1868 (15 illustrations, although in general not as interesting as those which appeared in the Weekly); Harper’s Weekly, v. 11 (1867), May 11, p. 301 (three illustrations), May 25, pp. 328, 329 (six illustrations, two of Fort Dodge reproduced in this issue), June 8, p. 357 (four illustrations, two possibly are after photographs), June 29, p. 406 (two illustrations), July 6, pp. 494, 495 (nine illustrations of buffalo hunting), August 3, p. 484 (four illustrations), August 17, p. 513 (two illustrations) and p. 516 (three illustrations), September 7, p. 564 (four illustrations); oddly enough a number of these illustrations have already been reproduced in the Kansas Historical Collections. Only two are credited to T. R. Davis, however, and no information at all is supplied concerning him; see Mrs. Frank C. Montgomery, “Fort Wallace and Its Relation to the Frontier,” Kansas Historical Collections, v. 17 (1926-1928), pp. 190-283.

It should also be pointed out that illustrations by other artists than Davis were published concerning the Indian war of 1867 in Harper’s Weekly. Chief among these were several illustrations by Philip D. Fisher. They will be found in the Weekly, v. 11 (1867), April 27, p. 298 (shows the Hancock expedition encamped at Fort Harker on April 2, 1867, before Davis reached it); July 27, p. 418 (four illustrations along the newly-constructed Union Pacific, Eastern division (through Kansas), in the issue for June 15, p. 373. Fisher was a civil engineer employed by the railroad and his name occurs frequently in Kansas newspapers of the late 1860’s. He was apparently a Civil War veteran and a native of Ohio; see mention in Topeka Leader, April 25, 1867; Junction City Weekly Union, July 27 and August 3, 1867.

The illustrations of J. D. Howland at the Indian peace treaty at Medicine Lodge in the fall of 1867 should likewise be included in the pictorial record of Indian wars. I hope to consider Howland later in this series.

The illustrations after photographs and sketches of A. H. Calhoun and William A. Bell of the Indian war appeared in Harper’s Weekly, July 27, 1867, p. 463. Calhoun and Bell were members of a surveying party of the Union Pacific. Calhoun was said to be an artist and correspondent for the Philadelphia Press; for Bell, see his book, New Tracks in North America (London, 1869). Mrs. Custer’s reference to the Davis sketches at Fort Hays will be found in her book, Tenting on the Plains (New York, 1889), p. 619.
Five other illustrations, not connected with the Indian war, were undoubtedly made by Davis on his trip to the plains in the summer of 1867. One of these was a picture of a beaver dam on the Pawnee fork of the Arkansas river which Davis viewed on his travels of that summer; another was a sketch of buffalo shooting from the trains of the Union Pacific railroad (reproduced facsimile, p. 352) which Davis may have seen near Fort Harker; still another was the full-page illustration, "Prairie-Chicken Shooting in Kansas," also witnessed after Davis' return to eastern Kansas, and lastly, two farming scenes—plowing on the plains of Kansas.43

In the next few years after Davis' return to the East, however, many Western illustrations continued to come from his pen. Not only did illustrations appear but Davis contributed two more articles on the West to Harper's Magazine: "The Buffalo Range" and "Winter on the Plains."44

There is no evidence that Davis made other trips west of the Mississippi than those already described. Nevertheless, a number of illustrations of Indian troubles on the plains in 1868 credited to Davis appeared in Harper's Weekly. These must be regarded as fictitious for Davis was simply using his imagination and his past experience in producing them. These illustrations centered primarily on Custer's Indian campaign of late fall, 1868, and particularly on the battle of the Washita, which occurred on November 27, 1868. It is quite certain that Davis was in the East during this campaign and the notes which accompanied all of these illustrations carefully refrained from mentioning that the scenes were drawn by an eyewitness.45

To my mind one of the most interesting of all of Davis' Western illustrations is his full-page view, "Pilgrims on the Plains." Although

43. In the order listed above these will be found in Harper's Weekly, v. 11 (1867), August 10, p. 500; December 14, p. 792; December 21, p. 805; v. 12 (1868), March 23, p. 106; May 9, p. 292. Davis also had an extremely interesting plowing illustration (locality identified as Illinois, however) in the Weekly for September 28, 1871, pp. 900, 901. The illustration depicting the buffalo shooting from the trains was atrociously engraved, in fact, the engraving in general of all of Davis' illustrations was poor; as a result, this illustration (buffalo shooting) does not possess the interest that is in a similar scene I have attributed to Henry Worrall (see No. 3 of this series) and which appeared in Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, June 9, 1871, p. 198.

44. The first will be found in Harper's Magazine, v. 38 (1869), January, pp. 147-165, and the second, v. 39 (1869), June, pp. 22-34. The first contained 16 illustrations and the second 11.

45. The illustrations referred to above will be found in Harper's Weekly, v. 13 (1868), December 20, p. 825; v. 15 (1869), January 16, p. 41, and March 27, p. 204. In the Weekly for December 12, 1868, p. 788, is an illustration of a Philadelphia locality which is identified as the scene of a murder occurring on November 22, 1868. Davis made the illustration and made it after November 22 and before (several days to a week before) December 12. As the battle of the Washita occurred on November 27, 1868, I believe that the Philadelphia illustration rules out any possibility that Davis was on the Custer campaign. Still better evidence on this point is the lack of any positive statement that Davis was present. If he had been, the Weekly would have stated it. I take some time to labor this point as these illustrations have been used in "histories" of the Custer campaign as actual scenes in the campaign.
doubtless it depicts no actual event, Davis undoubtedly viewed similar scenes on his Western trips of 1865 and 1867. In fact, in his article, "A Stage Ride to Colorado," he stated: "Long trains of 'prairie schooners'—a name by which the plainsman designates the huge canvas-covered wagons used for the transportation of freight across this ocean of land—were passed so frequently as to become too familiar to occasion remark. The trains give a picturesqueness to the plains that greatly enhances the journey across." 46

True, Davis was here discussing the freight trains but undoubtedly emigrants and emigrant trains which his illustration depicted were seen many times. The illustration itself appeared shortly after the ceremony of the joining of the rails of the Central and Union Pacific railroads and supposedly called attention to a mode of travel that would soon be a thing of the past, once the transcontinental railroad began its regular operation. It was many years, however, before horse, mule or ox-drawn emigrant trains were to disappear from the plains.

One of the last of the Davis Western illustrations was his "Slaughter of Buffaloes on the Plains." 47 Here again, he was using his observations of earlier travels to draw the picture.

Davis continued to contribute to Harper's Weekly for some years after the buffalo illustration mentioned above but few, if any, were Westerns. His contributions to the Weekly ceased about 1884 and from this date until his death in 1894 he was engaged in free-lance work. About 1880 he moved to Asbury Park, N. J., and his studio on the beach became well-known. His Western experiences continued to interest him during his remaining years and in the last few years of his life he attempted to work up into two articles some of his recollections of those years.48

His early career had indeed been adventurous. It is unfortunate that a complete biography of Davis has never been written. Even


47. Harper's Weekly, v. 16 (1872), February 24, p. 164. There were a few Davis Western illustrations even after this date. For example, "Young Bucks on the War-Path" and "Young Bucks Returning With Spoils" in ibid., v. 17 (1873), May 17, p. 416. Both of these were redrawn by Sol Eytinge, Jr.

48. Manuscript material in the Parmeele collection included two unfinished and unrevised pieces by Davis. These have recently been published in The Westerners' Brand Book 1846-1946 (Chicago, 1947), as "Henry M. Stanley's Indian Campaign in 1867," pp. 101-114, and "With Generals in Their Camp Homes: General George A. Custer," pp. 115-120. As is evident from their content both were written late in life; in the first he referred to the disappearance of Editor S. S. Comant (of Harper's Weekly). Comant disappeared in 1886 (New York Tribune, January 29, 1886, p. 1; February 9, 1886, p. 1) and therefore the article was written probably in the late 1880's. In the second article he specifically dated it in the text as "1890." It is well to remember therefore that both of these articles were recollections colored by the lapse of time and by the happenings of the years intervening between their writing and the occurrence of the events described by Davis.
in 1867 Harper's Weekly was able to give this brief resume of his career:

Mr. Davis has been a traveling correspondent of the Weekly since March, 1861. His first trip in our service, through the South with Mr. W. H. Russell, was made a short time before the commencement of the war, and is considered by Mr. Davis as the most dangerous journey he ever made. During the war Mr. Davis witnessed the capture of Port Royal; the battle between the Monitor and Merrimac; the conflict at Shiloh; the capture of Corinth; the first bombardment of Vicksburg by Porter; the battle of Antietam; the surrender of Vicksburg; the seizure of Morris Island; the battle of Chickamauga; the siege and battle of Chattanooga; the Atlanta campaign and the Grand March to the sea, and thence through the Carolinas. He was present at the laying of the Atlantic Cable; rode 2000 miles in a stage-coach across the plains; and for the last six [four] months has been roving over the plains with General Custer after the Indians.49

And this brief summary of six most active years of Davis' life does not state that during the war he was twice wounded. On one of these occasions he is reported to have held off surgeons at the point of a pistol from amputating a leg!

Small wonder then that as the years advanced Davis cared to travel less and less. The effort of intense living in these six years may well have contributed to a relatively early death, for he died in 1894.

About his skill as a draftsman and artist we do not know a great deal as his original work is almost nonexistent. Many of the woodcut reproductions of his work are extremely crude but he, of course, was not responsible for the final appearance of his illustrations. He had some art training, according to one brief account of his life, under Herrick, presumably of Boston or New York. The work of American art historians, however, has been so meager and so poor that we have no knowledge of Herrick. Possibly he was H. W. Herrick, an illustrator whose work will be found occasionally in the 1860's.

It is probable, too, that Davis received informal art instruction from James Walker with whom he became well acquainted very early in his career. Walker, Davis' senior by some 20 years and familiarly called "Pop" by Davis, was achieving a considerable reputation as a battle painter when Davis first met him. A veteran of the Mexican war, Walker depicted on canvas the storming of Chapultepec, a painting which received wide acclaim in its day. Later he became still better known for two Civil War canvases,

“The Battle of Lookout Mountain” and “The Third Day of Gettysburg.” It seems reasonable to suppose, considering the mutual interests of the two men, together with Walker’s more extensive experience in the profession, that Walker would be an important influence on the younger man’s career.50

Davis was connected with at least one Civil War panorama, “The Battle of Missionary Ridge,” either as designer or adviser. Late in life he wrote an account of “How a Great Battle Panorama Is Made.” Born in Boston in 1840, he crowded into his 54 years experiences that few other American artists and illustrators could equal in number and variety.51

50. James Walker’s connection with Davis was called to my attention by Mrs. Penny-packer, a daughter of Mr. Davis, now deceased. Information on Walker (1819-1889) has been secured from obituaries following Walker’s death on August 29, 1889, and which appeared in the Watsonville (Cal.) Pajaroonian, September 5, 1889, and the San Francisco Call, August 30 and September 4, 1889. I am indebted to the Watsonville Public Library and the California State Library for these accounts. A brief sketch of Walker will also be found in Appleton’s Annual Encyclopedia, 1889, p. 651.

51. Davis died in Asbury Park, N. J., on November 10, 1894. The biographical notes given in the concluding paragraphs come from obituaries in the New York Tribune, November 11, 1894, p. 7, and a clipping from the Asbury Park (N. J.) Shore Press, November 10, 1894, furnished by Mr. Davis’ daughter. Some biographical data is also given in The White House Porcelain Service (New York, 1879). (Davis designed this service in the spring and summer of 1879.) Letters from Davis also appeared in Harper’s Weekly during the war and extend somewhat our knowledge of his life (see especially the Weekly, June 22, 1861, p. 397; June 20, 1863, p. 395; September 26, 1863, pp. 621, 622). He is also mentioned early in his career in the New York Tribune, July 31, 1861, p. 4.

The Civil war panoramas Davis described in an article in the magazine St. Nicholas, New York, v. 16 (1886), December, pp. 99-112.