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The Pictorial Record of the Old West

XII. WILLIAM ALLEN ROGERS AND MARY HALLOCK FOOTE

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WILLIAM Allen Rogers joined the art staff of Harper & Brothers in 1877, at practically the same time as Charles Graham, and the two were associated for many years. In 1877, the head of the Harper’s art department was that wise, farsighted and insistent taskmaster, Charles Parsons, about whom no less an authority than Joseph Pennell wrote, “his name will never be forgotten as one who helped greatly to develop American Art.”

In 1877 all hands in the art department had a very active share in transferring original sketches, drawings or photographs to the wood block—more exactly wood blocks—preparatory to the making of the engraving from which a final illustration was to be printed. Edwin Austin Abbey, drew in the foreground figures, for example; Rogers the middle distance figures and background, and T. R. Davis the architectural features; all drawings being reversed, as compared

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1. Joseph Pennell, Modern Illustration (London and New York, 1895), p. 114. So frail, however, are human memories that no adequate account of Parsons’s life and work has ever been made. His name isn’t even listed in the Dictionary of American Biography. It is not surprising, of course, that art historians have overlooked Parsons for they are notoriously deficient in any labor involving the drudgery of genuine research.

Accounts of the art department of Harper’s by various members of its staff when Parsons was in charge all refer to the esteem and affection in which Parsons was held; see the Rogers autobiography and Abbey biography cited in Footnote 2 and Howard Pyle (Charles D. Abbott, New York, 1928), pp. 56 and 77; J. Wesley Harper in The House of Harper (New York and London, 1912), pp. 294, 295, also pays real tribute to Parsons.

Parsons, born in England in 1821, was in the United States by 1851, as he is listed in the Exhibition Records of the National Academy of Design (to which he was elected an associate in 1862) as an exhibitor in the latter year with a New York address. According to Henry Mills Alden (Harper’s Weekly, v. 54 [1910], November 19, p. 21), Parsons joined Harper’s staff in 1881 and left it in 1889. After his retirement in 1889 and until his death in 1910 Parsons lived the life of a free-lance artist in oil and water color. His death occurred at his home in Brooklyn on November 9, 1910. See death notice in the New York Daily Tribune, November 10, 1910, p. 7. I am indebted to the secretary of the National Academy of Design (New York) and to Charles Baker of the New York Historical Society for information concerning Parsons.

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to the original drawings, from right to left. On a large illustration, to hurry the process along, the wood block was divided into as many as 36 pieces, and after the general outline had been drawn in on the undivided block, separation was made into the individual pieces and they were passed from one artist to another. Team work of a high order was necessary, especially at the edges where the blocks joined. When all 36 were complete they were bolted together in one piece and sent to the engravers, who cut away all but the lines of the drawing. The engraved wood block then went to the electrotype room where a wax impression of the wood engraving was made. Finally, from the wax mold, the metal printing block carrying the reversed image of the original sketch or drawing, was electrotyped. A far cry from the high-speed optical processes of producing illustrations in the modern magazine!

With such extensive individual work needed in the preparation of illustrations, a large staff of artists was constantly employed by a publishing firm such as Harper's, and on their staff in the 1870's and 1880's there appeared many names notable in American art. In that goodly company besides those already mentioned were A. B. Frost, C. S. Reinhart, Howard Pyle, W. P. Snyder, Thomas Nast and others, all of whom were Rogers' associates in his early days at Harper's.

Rogers' claim to fame rests largely on his ability as a cartoonist. He was, in fact, the successor of Nast after Nast broke relations with Harper's in the 1880's. Relatively early in his career, however, Rogers made several Western trips, and the sketches and illustrations resulting from these trips give him a place in this series.

Rogers was born in Springfield, Ohio, in 1854. His father died at an early age leaving the family more books than money. The books fascinated young Rogers and he poured over them by the hour taking special delight in those that were illustrated. At 13 he went to work as a railroad check clerk, keeping a daily record of empty freight cars as they passed through the yards. Here he found Mike Burke, the fireman of the switch engine in the yards, and a friendship was soon struck up between the two. Mike, previous to his railroad days, had been employed as an artist to paint scrolls and small land-
scapes on the headboards of threshing machines, and it was not long after his friendship with Rogers was formed that he was instructing the youngster in this craft. These impromptu lessons with "red chalk" were all the art training that Rogers received, according to an account in his autobiography. His mother, however, an enthusiastic amateur painter, doubtless played an important part in directing his boyhood activities. Under the direction of his mother and Burke, he had made sufficient progress by the time he was 14 that he had published a series of cartoons in a Dayton, Ohio, newspaper, and when 16 his skill had developed sufficiently to secure professional employment in an engraving house in Cincinnati. From this time (1870) until he joined Harper's staff in 1877, he was employed as engraver or artist in several Western cities and toward the end of this period, he was in New York, where for a time he worked on the celebrated but short-lived Daily Graphic.3

Rogers' first important out-of-town assignment with Harper's came in the fall of 1878 when he was sent "to cover" the visit of President Hayes to the Minnesota State Fair at St. Paul and the Northwestern Fair in Minneapolis. While in St. Paul he made the acquaintance of a "grizzled old soldier" whom he does not name but who may well have been Gen. John Gibbon, commander of the Department of Dakota, who then had his headquarters in St. Paul.4

Gibbon, assuming that he was Rogers' new-found friend, suggested that a trip to the Northwest would reveal a land he had never seen and far different than any he had ever imagined. The trip would not only be valuable to Rogers, Gibbon argued, but its pictorial representation in Harper's would be valuable to the new country just opening for settlement. The "Northwest" of Gibbon's day was Dakota territory—present North and South Dakota.

The West had become so much a part of the national consciousness by this time—it was two years after Custer's defeat on the Little Big Horn—that the opportunity gave Rogers "visions of the wild life of the plains" that dazzled his imagination. He had no authorization from Harper's to make any such trip but the temptation became too great and he wired Harper's that he was going.

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3. This biographical material will be found in Rogers, op. cit., Chs. 1 and 4, and is supplemented with the Rogers sketch in Who's Who in America, v. 10, p. 2322, and a brief biographical sketch in Harper's Weekly, v. 38 (1884), December 22, pp. 1210, 1211.

4. Report of the Secretary of War, House Ex. Doc. No. 1, pt. 2, 45 Cong., 3 sess. (1878-1879), pp. 65-72. Rogers' illustrations of these fairs will be found in Harper's Weekly, v. 23 (1878), September 28, p. 777, and October 5, p. 788. The group of illustrations included in the first reference contained a view of Dr. Carver, the celebrated rifle shot of the West, as he appeared at the Minnesota State Fair. Rogers also had a most interesting group of illustrations in Harper's Weekly, October 5, 1878, p. 789, depicting field trial of dogs (pointers and setters) near Sauk Centre, Minn., and held on September 10-12 of that year. The illustration is accompanied by a note from Rogers on p. 788.
Gibbon provided letters to commanders of military posts, to owners of stage routes and to post traders, and went over the map of the region with him in such detail and enthusiasm that Rogers did not wait for a reply to his wire. It came after he had left and said, “come back at once.”

The Northern Pacific railroad had advanced by 1878 as far as Bismarck, Dakota territory, and after a stop at Fargo on the Red river, the boundary between Minnesota and the territory, Rogers went on to Bismarck.

Bismarck was then a frontier town, the outfitting point for overland stage and freighting lines going north and west, and particularly for the Black Hills country, to which there had been a mad rush after the discovery of gold three years earlier.

Rogers spent some time in Bismarck taking in the novel sights. He noted the freight trains of as many as ten prairie schooners coupled together and drawn by many yoke of oxen; Indians trading buffalo robes on the streets; and especially the frontier theatre. An acquaintance took him to the evening performance and Rogers described a number of the patrons:

A couple of men came in who seemed to be bosom-friends. One was small and light, the other a tall, burly fellow. The little man is under sentence of hanging, the other was the sheriff. Near by, on the other side, sat “Chang,” a noted desperado, who has killed several men about here when he had nothing else to do. As the acting is not remarkably interesting, the audience furnish a part of their own amusement. One of the small lads of the town is pasting a notice of next week’s opening of the regular season on the proprietor’s back. When performers are scarce, the leading lawyer of the town performs on the trapeze. It is due to his influence that the condemned man has the liberty of the place.

At Bismarck, Rogers was fortunate enough to secure passage on an army ambulance going to the Standing Rock Indian agency some 65 miles south and across the Bad Lands. The agency (Sioux) was located near the site of present Fort Yates, N. D., and Rogers spent three weeks here viewing the activities of the army post and those of the tribesmen. Some of his best Western illustrations resulted from this visit: “Shooting Cattle at Standing Rock Agency,” “In-


6. The first Northern Pacific locomotive crossed the Missouri river at Bismarck on February 12, 1879, and the rails were being laid on the first 100 miles west of Bismarck at that time—*Harper’s Weekly*, v. 28 (1879), March 15, pp. 265 and 267.

dian Dance, Standing Rock Agency, After Distribution of Rations,” “An Indian Village, Near Standing Rock” (a group of seven illustrations on one page), and best of all, “A Barber’s Shop at Standing Rock, Dakota Territory — An Indian Chief Having His Hair Dressed,” the dressing being done in the white man’s barber shop (see cover of this issue). 8

Rogers undoubtedly made many other sketches at this time which were never reproduced. The only original drawing of this period which I have located is in the Library of Congress. It is a portrait-wash and pencil drawing with the inscription “Kill-Eagle-Wam-ble Kte. Standing Rock. D. T. Oct. 78.” It appears to be the same individual depicted in the barbershop illustration.

Rogers returned to Bismarck by stage and if the novelty of the new country was wearing off, his return trip was enlivened by the fact that the only other passenger was an insane man! After considerable difficulty, Rogers and the driver were able to deliver their charge to the railhead at Bismarck where he was being taken for treatment.

But Rogers’ Western “leave” was not yet over. Returning by rail to Fargo, he attempted to obtain transportation down the Red river to Fort Garry (present Winnipeg, in the province of Manitoba). He spent some days in Fargo waiting for a river boat and during that time his pen was busy. “Fargo, Dakota-Head of Steamboat Navigation on the Red River” (reproduced between pp. 292, 233) published several years after his return, belonged to this period, and the particularly striking “Forest Fire on the Banks of the Red River,” were among the results of his stay at this pioneer outpost, “the jumping off point for the Canadian Northwest.” 9

The northern flowing Red river had so little water in it that steamboats could not reach Fargo, and Rogers was forced to take a branch line railroad to Grand Forks where he was able to get passage on a small and dilapidated old craft which eventually made Winnipeg.

The experiences already accumulated by Rogers hadn’t prepared him for his Canadian encounter. He was soon in a state of mind

8. In the order listed these appeared in Harper’s Weekly, v. 23 (1870), February 22, pp. 148, 149; April 19, p. 804; July 19, p. 564, and March 15, p. 265. One other illustration in this group, “Standing Rock, the Sacred Stone of the Sioux,” in Harper’s January 23, p. 78, is of interest only because it shows the “Standing Rock” for which the agency was named. Rogers gave some of the recollections of his visit at Fort Yates in his book, pp. 72-93.

9. The two illustrations will be found in Harper’s Weekly, v. 25 (1881), August 27, p. 588, and v. 22 (1876), December 7, p. 978. His experiences at Fargo, Rogers records in his book, pp. 96-101. Strictly speaking the last illustration above belongs on the down-river trip to Fort Garry.
like that of Alice in Wonderland. "From the nineteenth century I had dropped as from clouds, into the seventeenth or eighteenth," he wrote. 10

For here at Fort Garry, or Winnipeg, was one of the great depots of the Hudson Bay Company. The turrets and towers of the fort looked down on a motley array of voyageurs, Indians and traders in strange and fantastic garb. In front of a store, in place of barrels of potatoes and cabbages, were heaped a great pile of moose heads with their huge and spreading antlers. Rogers was not long in recording the scenes before him. Much of this material was used in illustrating an article on "The Honorable Hudson Bay Company" in Harper's Magazine, although the most interesting of the group appeared in Harper's Weekly, "Traders at Fort Garry, Manitoba" 11 (reproduced between pp. 232, 233).

By this time winter was rapidly coming on, the telegram from Harper's "come back at once" had finally caught up with him, and Rogers decided that his three-months' vacation had come to an end. Return was made to Fargo by stage, river boat and branch rail, where the reality of Northern Pacific rail lines again assured him that he was back in civilization.

Upon arrival in New York, Rogers went immediately to Harper's where he was met by Parsons who greeted him in a most doleful manner. Fletcher Harper apparently had taken the "leave of absence" in none too kindly a manner. Parsons agreed, when Rogers walked in, to make a last plea for their wandering illustrator. In Parsons' absence, Rogers spread his three-months' accumulation of sketches around the office on tables, chairs and desks, and when Parsons returned with a still more melancholy look upon his face, Rogers' one-man exhibit was ready. Parsons paused on the threshold and his mouth dropped open. The melancholy air disappeared as if by magic as eager and interested examination of the sketches began. The day was saved for Rogers and his position on the Harper's staff was no longer open to question. 12

The following fall, as the result of this Western trip, Harper's sent Rogers and A. A. Hayes, an illustrator and writer team, on a fully authorized Western excursion, a trip which took them to Colorado and New Mexico. Part of the time they traveled together and part of the time separately. Hayes wrote pleasantly and extensively of

11. The Harper's Magazine illustrations, 14 in number, will be found in v. 59 (1879), June, pp. 18-22; the Weekly illustrations in v. 25 (1879), January 25, p. 73.
their joint trip and Rogers has left an account of some of his own experiences. 13

The westward journey of the pair was made from Kansas City to Pueblo, Colo., over the newly-constructed Santa Fe railroad which had been completed over this distance only two years at the time of their trip. The railroad lines paralleled in part the old Santa Fe trail and the contrast of these two trails and the rapid development of southern Colorado were factors which caused Harper's to send out their representatives to "New Colorado." Then, too, the booming mining developments around Leadville were matters of public interest in the late 1870's, and before the two returned, Leadville and the mines were visited.

At Pueblo, Rogers ran into so real a Western difficulty that he bought himself a six-shooter for protection, with results that might have been tragic but which actually turned into a comedy of errors. The Denver and Rio Grande railroad that ran from Pueblo to Denver was the center of a struggle between rival factions of trainmen. Rogers was spied at the Rio Grande station by one of the groups who thought they had been ill-treated by the Denver papers. With his sketchbook under his arm, he was mistaken for a reporter on the offending paper. The irate trainmen immediately started for him with the yell: "Here's that damned reporter for the Denver News. Let's get him." His notebook was snatched from him as he made a hurried departure on the train; and this experience led him to buy the six-shooter upon his arrival in Colorado Springs, the shopkeeper obligingly loading the weapon for him.

Two days later he returned to Pueblo with the gun in his pocket and ready for any trouble. Sure enough the same gang was out and the man who had stolen his sketchbook recognized him. Rogers had some difficulty getting to his gun as he beat a hasty retreat across the tracks but was followed by only the one man. As he dodged around a freight car the gun was out, and Rogers undoubtedly felt as if he were making "Custer's Last Stand." His pursuer called "Don't shoot" and explained haltingly and brokenly that he

13. Rogers, op. cit., Ch. 13; A. A. Hayes, Jr., New Colorado and the Santa Fe Trail (New York, 1880). Of the 15 chapters in this book, ten are reprinted from articles appearing originally in Harper's Magazine and are the chapters that contain Rogers' illustrations as they appeared in the Magazine. The Magazine articles appeared as follows: v. 59 (1879), November, pp. 877-896 (chapters 2 and 3 of Hayes' book); v. 60 (1880), January, pp. 193-210 (chapters 4 and 5); February, pp. 289-297 (chapters 6 and 7); March, pp. 442-457 (chapters 8 and 9); July, 1880, pp. 185-196 (chapters 10 and 11). (The last chapter contained several additional pages of text not in the Magazine version but contained the same Rogers illustrations.) Hayes was a popular writer of his day contributing frequently to both Harper's Magazine and Harper's Weekly. In addition to New Colorado and the Santa Fe Trail he wrote a novel, The Jesuits Ring. His death was announced in Harper's Weekly, v. 36 (1892), April 89, p. 411.
had found out his error and was simply attempting to return the stolen sketchbook. Rogers shakily accepted the book, shuddering at the nearness of his escape from tragedy. The real comedy in the situation was delayed for several days when, on visiting a ranch, Rogers and several of his friends decided to have target practice. His six-shooter was brought out, aimed and the trigger pulled, but the report was only a dull click. The obliging shopkeeper in Colorado Springs had loaded his rim-fire gun with center-fire cartridges!  

In Hayes’ entertaining account of the Colorado experiences of the two, he always referred to Rogers as the “Commodore,” and not to be outdone in military titles, referred to himself as the “Colonel,” although both admitted with some regret that they had no troops, no regiment, no staff.

From Pueblo, Hayes and Rogers set out, first on burro-back, but later and more thankfully in a buckboard, for a cattle ranch in the foothills of the Front range, a ranch belonging to one “Uncle” Pete Dotson. Here Hayes acquired statistics to show the profit that could be made in the cattle business—for the era of the huge cattle ranches of the early 1880’s was based in part on reports such as Hayes made—and Rogers had his first opportunity to sketch cowboys and range cattle. The results are none too good, for Rogers was not adept at drawing animals and his horses and cattle are poorly proportioned in relation to background and are usually clumsy and awkward in appearance. In other life around the ranch, however, there are some quite acceptable illustrations. “Old Antonio,” a Mexican foreman on the ranch is most interesting. In several of these and in succeeding illustrations, especially those that depict the activities of the two visitors, the latent talent of Rogers as a caricaturist becomes quite apparent. “Crossing the Huerfano,” for example, shows the two clinging to a nearly submerged vehicle in the swollen river, Hayes in cutaway coat, top hat and eyeglasses, and Rogers with his sketchbook under his arm, arrayed in English tweeds and derby.

Somewhat later a sheep ranch on the plains near Colorado Springs was visited, and in the illustration “Supper with the Herder,” Hayes and Rogers appear in these same costumes, with Rogers sporting a monocle in the one-room kitchen and living room of the sheepherder. “Morning at the Ranch,” however, is realism of a high order for it.

15. The Illustrations, 14 in number, will be found in Harper’s Magazine, v. 59 (1879), November, pp. 677-696.
Illustration and the two that follow are from Harper's Weekly.

Rogers, "Traders at Fort Gary, Manitoba" (1879).
Rogers, "Prairie Dakota—Head of Steamboat Navigation on the Red River" (1881)
shows the dilapidated shack of the herder against the bleak and forsaken background of the High Plains.\textsuperscript{16}

Their journey to the mines and mountains of Colorado took them first to the small town of Rosita, west of Pueblo, on the eastern side of the famed Sangre de Cristo range. Here with considerable misgiving they were lowered by means of a huge iron bucket 500 feet to the bottom of a bonanza silver mine.

After safely making the descent and the ascent from the mine, their path led by other small and curious mining towns. Then they turned north, where by train they eventually reached Red Hill, one end of the Leadville stage line. Here transportation was provided in the form of a spring wagon drawn by four mules which kept in advance of the heavier stage coaches. They went past Fairplay, even in 1879 an old mining camp, to the foot of Mosquito pass. Their ascent to the pass was over a road which even the stage drivers acknowledged to be extra hazardous, "a fact which the passengers were willing to admit as they started the descent toward Leadville."

Leadville itself, following an important silver discovery the year before, in 1878, was found to be "not a city, or a town, or a village, but an overgrown mining camp." Hayes wrote:

Let the reader picture to himself a valley, or gulch, through which runs a stream, its banks rent and torn into distressing unshapeliness by the gulch miners of old days. Close around are hills, once wholly, now partially, covered with trees, which, having been mostly burned into leafless, sometimes branchless, stems, furnish surroundings positively weird in their desolation. Around, at a greater distance, rise lofty mountains, and between the town and one of the ranges flows the Arkansas. Along a part of the length of two streets (six inches deep in horrible dust, which one of the local papers declares will breed disease) are seen rows of the typical far Western buildings, some large, some few of brick, one or two of stone, very many small, very many of wood. Outside of these are mines and smelting-works, smelting-works and mines, stumps and log-cabins, log-cabins and stumps, \textit{ad infinitum.}\textsuperscript{17}

Unfortunately Hayes did better with his pen in describing Leadville than did Rogers with his pencil, for the four illustrations of the overgrown mining camp are disappointing. In one, Rogers let his puckish humor get away from him as he depicted a story current

\textsuperscript{16} The second set of illustrations, 14 in number, will be found in \textit{ibid.}, v. 60 (1880), January, pp. 195-210.
\textsuperscript{17} \textit{ibid.}, February, pp. 380-397; Hayas, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 94-108; 12 illustrations by Rogers. An extensive account of silver and gold mining in Colorado at a time nearly contemporary with the Hayes-Rogers trip will be found in G. Thomas Ingham's \textit{Digging Gold Among the Rockies} (Edgewood Publishing Company, 1882). A considerable part of this account is based on personal experience in 1881 (and possibly earlier) in the Black Hills as well as in Colorado. The book contains a number of illustrations, most of which are not credited, although three bearing the characteristic signature of Thomas Moran are readily recognizable.
at the time, "A Wall Street Man's Experience in Leadville," and the remaining three only meagerly portray the life of Leadville in 1879.\footnote{18. Edwin Jump in Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper had a number of contemporary Leadville illustrations of considerably greater interest than those of Rogers. They will be found in Leslie's for 1879 as follows: February 8, p. 416; April 15, pp. 81, 89; April 26, p. 129; May 3, p. 146; May 17, p. 169 (two illustrations); May 24, pp. 181, 187, 188; May 31, pp. 205, 216; June 7, pp. 217, 235; June 14, p. 255; June 21, p. 261. Not all of these are credited to Jump, several being credited to "our special artist." As they form an obvious series I believe that Jump was responsible for all. Several were redrawn by Albert Berghaus. I have made a number of attempts to secure information on Jump but so far such information has been elusive. He is credited with several illustrations in A. D. Richardson's Beyond the Mississippi which was published in 1897, and Joseph Becker, for many years head of the art department of the Leslie publications, listed E. Jump as a one-time leading staff artist of Leslie's—Leslie's Weekly, v. 101 (1905), December 14, p. 576. Jump also had a California sketch in Leslie's, October 10, 1874, p. 77; the last illustration I have found credited to him is a St. Louis scene in Leslie's Newspaper, October 14, 1882, p. 117.}

If the illustrations of Leadville are not all that can be desired, Rogers atones for his omissions by his somber and striking view, "Freighting on Mosquito Pass," and by two illustrations appearing later in the Hayes series of articles, "Manitou-Pike's Peak" (a night-view) and "Mountain of the Holy Cross."\footnote{10. Harper's Magazine, v. 60 (1880), March, pp. 542-557; 11 illustrations.} In fact, it is in this kind of work that Rogers appears to the best advantage—a distant and striking view with foreground detail that lends added interest and value to his illustrations.

In the last of the Hayes' articles return is made to the Santa Fe trail itself, and Hayes reviews various stages in the development of the trail during the early 1800's until the completion of the rail in the late 1870's. Like the four other articles it is illustrated by Rogers.\footnote{20. Ibid., v. 61 (1880), July, pp. 185-199; 9 illustrations.} All but one of the illustrations, however, are imaginary, most of them having been drawn to represent the episodic development of the trail as given by Hayes. The one exception is "First Store in Lakin," a dugout in the small town of Lakin in southwestern Kansas. Other sketches on the plains were made by Rogers but were not reproduced. For example, Hayes states that the partners stopped at Fort Dodge, and farther west we went down to the bank of the river [Arkansas] to get a sketch of Bent's Fort—a famed post in the old days. The main structure was one hundred and eighty by one hundred and thirty-five feet, and the walls were fifteen feet high and four feet thick. It is now deserted and in ruins; and the only information which we had to guide us in our search for a fortification (it cannot be seen from the train) which was in its glory when the Army of the West marched to Mexico, was the statement that it was near the 549th mile-post on the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad.

Although no sketches of Fort Dodge or Bent's Fort appear among the published illustrations of Rogers, his Western illustrations continued to appear several years after his return. "The Settler's First Home in the Far West," while idealized and probably imaginary,
was the result of his Colorado trip, for this illustration shows a settler, his family and his home against a background of mountains in the distance. 21

"Among the Cow-Boys—Breaking Camp," however, Rogers identified as an actual scene, which took place at a roundup on the Cuchara river in southern Colorado. The note accompanying the illustration read:

Probably few persons who are not immediately interested in the subject have any idea of the enormous proportions to which the cattle trade of our Great West has grown. The tendency to go into business seems to be also growing. The amount of capital represented in some of the herds is sufficient to supply a national bank. 22

Three other cowboy illustrations appeared in Harper's Weekly, "Life in a Dug-Out," "Betting on the Bull Fight" and "Lassoing and Branding Calves," with the prefix "The Cowboys of Colorado," and are also to be attributed to Rogers' Western trip of 1879. The note accompanying the second of these illustrations used the term "cowboy" somewhat uncertainly as if the writer were not quite sure his readers would understand, and the note with the last of these illustrations stated: "The 'cow-boys' of the Rocky Mountain regions are a race or a class peculiar to that country. They have some resemblance to the corresponding class on the southern side of the Rio Grande, but are of a milder and more original type." 23

As Rogers had established himself as a Western artist by 1882, it was but natural that when a cowboy sketch drawn by Frederic Remington came in, the task of redrawing it was assigned to Rogers. As we have pointed out previously in this series, this illustration, "Cow-Boys of Arizona—Roused by a Scout," was captioned to fit events transpiring in Arizona at the time of publication, for neither Remington nor Rogers had been in Arizona by 1882. 24

The last of the illustrations resulting from Rogers' Colorado trip were four sketches, "Mining Life in Colorado," which depicted

21. The full-page illustration will be found in Harper's Weekly, v. 24 (1880), September 11, p. 581.
22. The full-page illustration will be found in ibid., October 2, p. 686, and the accompanying note on p. 657.
23. The first illustration appeared in Harper's Weekly, v. 26 (1882), November 18, p. 729. The note accompanying it does not identify the locality other than "along the railways in the far west and southwest." The second of these full-page illustrations appeared in Harper's November 27, 1880, p. 756, with the accompanying note by A. A. Hayes, Rogers' friend, on p. 759; the third illustration in the Weekly, October 9, 1883, p. 686, with the note on p. 685. Another Western illustration of Rogers, probably imaginary, had also appeared in Harper's, January 20, 1883, p. 44, "Emigrants in Midwinter—Making Camp for the Night," half-page.
24. The redrawn illustration was in ibid., v. 25 (1882), February 25, p. 120. The previous discussion of the illustration will be found in No. 5 of this series, The Kansas Historical Quarterly, v. 16 (1948), May, p. 120. Rogers' version of the redrawing of the sketch will be found in his book, p. 245.
prospectors in the spring leaving their winter camp for excursions into the hills.  

After this group of sketches, no further Western illustrations by Rogers appeared for a number of years, but in 1890 one of the best of all Rogers “Westerns” was published. Apparently Rogers made a trip West again, this time on the Northern Pacific, for the illustration, “Harvest Hands on Their Way to the Wheat Fields of the Northwest” was made at Castleton, just west of Fargo, N. D. The illustration (facing p. 233) records the fact that the wheat farm was taking over the buffalo range. Since Rogers’ visit in 1878 to the same country, many great bonanza wheat farms—some of them containing single fields as large as 13,000 acres—had developed, and the annual migration of workers to the wheat fields had been established.  

Still later, the discovery of gold at Cripple Creek, Colo., led to a series of illustrations. The silver mining sketches in and around Leadville made earlier by Rogers had established him as the mining expert on Harper’s staff and he was delegated to cover the latest developments of the 1890’s. Of the six resulting illustrations, the most entertaining is “In the Lobby of the Palace Hotel, Cripple Creek,” as it shows a wide diversity of types and personalities. Reaching Cripple Creek was still a task in 1893, for the final stretch had to be made by stage, either from Divide, Colo., the nearest point to Cripple Creek some 18 miles away, or from Colorado Springs, where the stage route covered the 25 miles of the magnificent—it is still magnificent—Cheyenne road.  

26. The illustration (full page) will be found in Harper’s Weekly, December 13, 1890, p. 975, with an accompanying note on p. 975, giving a brief review of wheat developments in Dakota in the 15 years preceding.  
There is a remote possibility that this illustration of Rogers was based on his 1878 trip and on photographs taken subsequent to 1878. The great Dakota wheat boom occurred between the years 1879-1886, according to Harold E. Briggs (North Dakota Historical Quarterly, Bismarck, v. 4 (1930), January, pp. 78-108). Land taken by settlers rose from 213,000 acres in 1877 to a record 11,000,000 acres in 1885. The Casselton project, however, was begun in the spring of 1874 (James B. Power, Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, Bismarck, v. 3 (1910), pp. 337-349) and the famous Dalrymple wheat farm began its operations in the summer of 1875 although the first wheat crop was not planted until the following year (John Lee Coulter, ibid., pp. 869-883). A letter from a Minnesota correspondent to the New York Daily Tribune (November 16, 1875, p. 2) called attention to the rising tide of wheat farms and estimated the Red River valley wheat crop of that year (1875) at four million bushels. This correspondent further stated that the first furrow for a wheat field in the Red River valley was turned in 1871. Still another contemporary account of the beginnings of the wheat industry in “the Northwest” was written by W. G. Moody who visited Minnesota and Dakota in the summer of 1879, “The Bonanza Farms of the West,” The Atlantic Monthly, Boston, v. 42 (1890), January, pp. 33-44.  
27. The illustrations were: “In the Colorado Gold Fields,” five illustrations on one page, Harper’s Weekly, v. 27 (1893), December 23, p. 1224; the “Lobby of the Palace Hotel,” full page, is in the Weekly, v. 36 (1894), January 6, p. 17. The note accompanying the full group of illustrations stated that the gold camp at Cripple Creek was “a town over a year old,” p. 1251. Also made on the same trip was the full-page illustration, “Open-Air Bathing at Glenwood Springs, Colorado, in Mid-Winter,” ibid., March 17, p. 263. The note accompanying the illustration, p. 234, called Glenwood Springs “a new rendezvous in the heart of the Rockies” and described the huge swimming pool fed by hot springs.
Several years later Rogers made still another Western excursion. The only illustrations resulting from this trip, as far as I know, were a group of five, "Sketches in Santa Fe, New Mexico," which Rogers, in a brief note accompanying the group, stated were made "one afternoon." 28

As the century approached its end, the West—especially the Great Plains West—felt that it had achieved maturity, a feeling that found expression in the Trans-Mississippi Exposition at Omaha in the fall of 1898. Fifty years prior to the exposition, the West had been largely a trackless waste; in a half century the new agricultural problems presented to the ingenious settler had been at least partly solved, and a number of new states had been added to the union; states which formerly had been the home of the buffalo and the red man. 29

The exposition, however, as far as our story goes, is of interest because Rogers, "the special artist of Harper's Weekly for the Exposition" was able to record its activities and especially its contrasts. The most notable of these contrasts appeared in the Rogers' illustration, "Scene at the Indian Congress," where braves in paint and feathers, some of whom undoubtedly not many years prior to the exposition had been on the warpath against the whites, are seen mingling with the crowds of other visitors in conventional dress, all against the background of the elaborate exposition buildings. 30

The trip to the exposition, however, was but the beginning of a greatly extended tour of the West made by Rogers in 1898-1899. Continuing on from Omaha, Rogers visited eastern Oregon and the newly-developed mining regions of the Sumpter and John Day country, California, and then returned east by way of Arizona, Texas and Colorado. The resulting illustrations show Rogers at his technical best. Illustrations by this time, 1899, were reproduced in facsimile by halftone and are therefore exact copies, as far as form goes, in black and white. Most of the illustrations of this period were reproductions of water colors. Among the more notable and

28. Ibid., v. 40 (1896), February 29, p. 201; the note is on p. 207.
29. In 1848, the only states west of the Mississippi were Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri and Iowa. Among the states added by 1898 were: Colorado, Kansas, Nebraska, Wyoming, Montana, North and South Dakota, and Minnesota.—See Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States, Charles O. Paullin, (New York and Washington, 1932), plates 63 and 65.
30. Harper's Weekly, v. 42 (1898), October 8, p. 962 (full page). Other Rogers illustrations of the exposition will be found in the same issue of the Weekly, pp. 986, 988 and 989. A full page of descriptive text by Rogers will be found on p. 987 of this issue.
James Mooney, the Indian expert, stated that the Indian congress at Omaha was "the most successful ever held in this country from the Centennial down, not even excepting the World's Fair [of 1893]."—American Anthropologist, New York, N. S. v. 1 (1899), pp. 126-149. Mooney reported that 400 to 550 Indians, representing about 20 tribes, were present during the congress.
interesting of these, the last Rogers Western illustrations, were: “Conquering a Desert in Southern Arizona,” “A Faro Game at El Paso,” and “A Winter Stage-Route in the Mining Regions of Eastern Oregon.”

After 1900, Rogers' work was devoted almost exclusively to cartooning. His activities, friendships and a philosophical consideration of this period will be found in his cheerful, if rambling, autobiography, A World Worth While. He died in Washington on October 20, 1931.

MARY HALLOCK FOOTE

When Rogers and Hayes were in Leadville in the summer of 1879 they made a “pilgrimage to a long, low cottage that stood on rising ground in the outskirts of the town.” The cottage was the home of Mary Hallock Foote whom Rogers called “one of the most accomplished illustrators in America.”

Mrs. Foote, however, was not at home, for she had accompanied her husband, a mining engineer, on a two-weeks' prospecting trip. The pair of visitors had to leave without paying their respects to the talented lady, who was not only an illustrator but a well-known novelist as well.

As the circumstances described above suggest—her home in a mining camp and her prospecting trip into the mountains with her husband—this feminine artist got her material for both novels and illustrations at first hand; she was known for her Western novels and her Western illustrations. Indeed, in the period which we are considering, she is the only woman who can claim company among the men in the field of Western picture.

Mary Hallock was born in Melton, N. Y., in 1847, and as a young woman received art training at Cooper Institute in New York City. She began a professional career as an illustrator shortly after the close of the Civil War. She did some work for Harper's but the first illustrations I have found credited to her were in A. D. Richardson's Beyond the Mississippi, published in 1867. Oddly enough her illustrations in this volume were of Western scenes, although she did not go west until she married Arthur De Wint Foote, a young

31. These will be found (all full page) in the order listed above in Harper's Weekly, v. 43 (1899), June 17, p. 594; June 24, p. 618; v. 44 (1900), Supplement, March 17, facing p. 258. Identifying notes by Rogers will be found in each of the respective issues on p. 609, and p. 633, 1899. Still other notes that served to verify the outlines of Rogers' extensive Western trip given in the text above will be found in Harper's, March 4, 1899, pp. 221 and 225. There were some three or four of his California illustrations in the Weekly for 1899 as well. These as well as many other Rogers illustrations and writings will be found listed in 19th Century Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, 1899-98, (New York, 1944), v. 3, pp. 860-862.


33. Rogers, op. cit., p. 188. Both quoted lines above are from this source.
mining engineer, in 1876. After her marriage her life was spent almost completely in the West, moving with her husband from one mining location to another; first to California, then to Colorado, then to Mexico (where on a summer visit she traveled on horseback a distance of 250 miles in six days), then to Idaho, and finally back to California. Here Mrs. Foote spent nearly a third of her long life—she lived to be 91—in the town of Grass Valley. She therefore had a more intimate knowledge of the West and its many aspects than it was the fortune of most women to possess.

Her first Western experiences are reported in two articles appearing in *Scribner's Monthly*, both written and illustrated by Mrs. Foote, which described the life at the California town of New Almaden—a center of mercury mining—and the coast town of Santa Cruz.

As might be expected, homely incidents of life among the Mexican and Cornish miners, among the “every-day” residents of a California coast town, of picturesque and contrasting scenery and surroundings, were the burden of these articles and illustrations. She wrote:

The East constantly hears of the recklessness, the bad manners, and the immorality of the West, just as England hears of all our disgraces, social, financial and national; but who can tell the tale of those quiet lives which are the life-blood of the country,—its present strength and its hope of the future? The tourist sees the sensational side of California—its scenery and its society; but it is not all included in the Yo Semite guidebooks and the literature of Bret Harte.

From California, the Footes moved to the lead and silver mining camp of the rough and boisterous Colorado town of Leadville. Helen Hunt Jackson, the celebrated pleader of the Indian cause, heard that Mrs. Foote was there and she and her husband went from Denver to pay their respects.

From Mrs. Foote’s Colorado experiences there followed a number of illustrations and three novels. The first of the Colorado illustrations appeared in “The Camp of the Carbonates,” a factual article


35. “A California Mining Camp,” *Scribner’s Monthly*, v. 15 (1878), February, pp. 480-490 (14 illustrations); “A Sea-Port on the Pacific,” *ibid.*, v. 16 (1878), August, pp. 449-460 (10 illustrations). In the first of these articles, as Mrs. Foote made mention of personal experiences of the four seasons, her California life undoubtedly began with the spring of 1877. Her experiences in Mexico mentioned above were described in a series of three articles in *The Century Magazine*, N. S. v. 1 (1881-1882), November, pp. 1-14; January, pp. 321-333; March, pp. 643-656.

36. In 1922, Mrs. Foote described her Leadville experiences briefly in two letters to Thomas F. Dawson, curator of the State Historical Society of Colorado. These letters were published by L. J. Davidson, “Letters From Authors,” in *The Colorado Magazine*, Denver, v. 19 (1945), July, pp. 122-125.
on Leadville by Ernest Ingersoll published in *Scribner’s Monthly*. Of the 17 illustrations, six were drawn by Mrs. Foote and the remaining 11 were by J. Harrison Mills, at that time an artist of Denver. Mrs. Foote's three novels, all of which appeared serially in *The Century*, used the mining country of central Colorado as a back-


38. Mills’ presence in Leadville in connection with the Ingersoll article is noted in the *Leadville Daily Chronicle*, May 29, 1879, p. 1. Mills probably warrants a more extended discussion as a Western artist than the mere mention we have given him in the text above. He achieved a considerable reputation during his lifetime not only as an artist, but as a poet and sculptor as well. Nowhere have I found an adequate account of his life, but through the courtesy of Mrs. Carl E. Krele of the reference department of the Buffalo (N. Y.) Public Library, there has been secured a brief autobiographical account of Mills’ life which he wrote several years before his death but which was published posthumously in the *Buffalo Express*. Now, neither accessible and little other biographical information on Mills is available, I have included it in this note. Mills’ autobiography reads:

“John Harrison Mills, No. 491 Elmwood avenue, Buffalo, painter, sculptor, engraver, illustrator, writer. Born on a farm near Buffalo, on January 11, 1842.

“I began study of art in that city under John Jamison, banknote engraver, in 1857. In summer of 1858, to relieve eye strain from over-application, changed to modeling and marble work under William Lauts, and continued experiments in color begun at home in childhood.

“I was first in Buffalo and Lockport portraits in Buffalo and Lockport, 1859, under influence and encouragement of L. C. Sellstedt and William H. Harte, attempting also landscape and animals in 1860. Enlisted in April, 1861, upon Lincoln’s first call, in 21st regiment, New York State Voluntary infantry. Portrait of Captain E. L. Hayward, painted in camp at Upton’s Hill after first Bull Run, is in hall of Hayward post, G. A. R., in Buffalo. Wounded at second Bull Run, returned to Buffalo on crutches in 1863. Morgenroth, a sunrise on yesterday’s battlefield, bought by Dr. Rochester first night of its exhibition at the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy, winter of 1864, still in possession of that family.

“Bronze medal of New York State Agricultural society for best animal painting in oil by American artist awarded in 1864 for picture of Hotspur, a Durham short-horn bull, and a heifer, Lucille, owned by Ezra Cornell of Ithaca.

“Bust of Abraham Lincoln from studies before and during the war and while guarding the body during the stay in Buffalo, exhibited at Academy, winter of 1865, and copies in plaster widely published in the following summer.

“While publishing Chronicles of the 21st Regiment, a history with illustration of the campaign of 1861-2 in Virginia, became regular contributor to the columns of the Buffalo Morning Express; made the first illustrations for Mark Twain’s Sketches, engraving them upon wood in 1869.

“Removed to Denver and Middle Park, Col., in 1872, doing portrait, mountain, hunting, animal and figure subjects; also magazine articles with illustrations on wood: among these: ‘Hunting the Mule Deer’, in *Scribner’s* for October, 1878. Taught in Colorado Academy of Fine Arts; president of same in 1881-2; same year collected and managed first art exhibition in Colorado for the Mining and Industrial exposition, bringing a large number of pictures from New York and Philadelphia.

“Returned east to New York city in 1882. In 1888 elected secretary and manager of the New York Art Guild, an association organized in 1865 for the protection of artists in their relations with exhibition throughout America, it having happened that often through financial failure, pictures had to be recovered with trouble and expense. Inaugurated and conducted a system of circuit exhibitions; active in same until 1898, but finding time to continue painting and modelling, being one of the 67 sculptors having work accepted and exhibited at the World’s Columbian exhibition, Chicago, 1893.

“Received the award of prize for eight statues on the Battle of Gettysburg, published with full page colored illustration in the New York Sunday Herald, on July 8, 1893, the judges being Edward Eggleston, Edwin Markham and Daniel E. Sickles, of nearly 1,000 poems submitted.

“Member American Federation of Arts, Washington, D. C., New York Water Color club, Buffalo Society of Artists, Buffalo Guild of Allied Arts and honorary membership of Denver Art club. Commissioned for services to art in the early days of Denver.

“Works in many private collections, the Albright gallery and Guild of Allied Arts, Buffalo, Panama-Pacific, San Francisco, memorial in bronze to 21st regiment; Hutchinson memorial in bronze with portraits in medallion, Central High School; portraits in City hall, Historical Museum and Academy of Fine Arts, Buffalo.

“A somewhat more detailed account of his Colorado life is available in a 16-page letter written in March, 1916, and now in the State Historical Library of Colorado, Denver (Accession No. 10,158). Mills died in Buffalo on October 22, 1916. Obituaries appeared in the *Buffalo Commercial*, October 24, 1916, and *Buffalo Express* and *Buffalo Courier* of the same date.

“Additional information bearing on his work as a Western artist will be found in *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper*, October 35, 1873, p. 101, where a Mills illustration, “Buying Outfits for the Mountains and Mines at Denver,” is reproduced. Mills also wrote and illustrated the article “Hunting the Mule-Deer in Colorado” in *Scribner’s Monthly*, v. 16 (1878), September, pp. 65-72. A further article, by Ernest Ingersoll, “The Heart of Colorado,” *Cosmopolitan*, v. 8 (1888), September, pp. 417-435, October, pp. 471-488, was also illustrated by Mills. Possibly his most important Western painting (his later reputation was achieved largely as a landscape artist) was “A Frontier Justice of the Peace,” which is described in some detail in the *Rocky Mountain News*, Denver, August 27, 1882, p. 8.”
Foot's "The Sheriff's Posse" (1889)

(Note: This woodcut and the one on the succeeding page are from The Century Magazine.)
ground. Only the first, however, The Led-Horse Claim, was illustrated by Mrs. Foote. All of these novels were romances and were highly popular in their day. Mrs. Foote, in 1922, correctly estimated their worth when she stated that they were written "from the woman's point of view, the protected point of view." Cecil was the heroine of her first novel, but "What a silly sort of heroine she would seem today [1922]. Yet girls were like that, 'lots of them' in my time." 40

Forced from Colorado by ill health, the Footes returned East for a year or so, but in 1883 they moved to Idaho, where Mr. Foote served as engineer on an irrigation project. The next ten years were spent in the "Gem" state. 41

Here again, as a result of her Idaho life, Mrs. Foote produced illustrations, short stories and novels with a local background. Her most notable novel of this period was Coeur D'Alene. 42

It was from her Idaho experiences, too, that her most notable contribution to Western illustration arose. During 1888 and 1889, The Century published a series of 11 full-page illustrations, "Pictures of the Far West," each accompanied by a brief note, both by Mrs. Foote.

These illustrations were beautifully engraved woodcuts, for this period marks the golden age of American woodcut illustration; a period which produced magazine illustrations which have never been excelled, and The Century was the leader of its field. By title, this notable group of Mrs. Foote's illustrations included:

"Looking for Camp."
"The Coming of Winter."
"The Sheriff's Posse." [Reproduced facing this page.]
"The Orchard Wind-Break."
"The Choice of Reuben and Gad."

39. The Led-Horse Claim, appeared in five installments in The Century, N. S. v. 3 (1882-1883). Her other novels of Colorado were John Bedwin's Testimony (The Century, N. S. v. 9 [1886-1886], six installments) and The Last Assembly Ball (The Century, N. S. v. 15 [1886-1889], two installments, and N. S. v. 19 [1889], two installments).

40. See Mrs. Foote's letters referred to in Footnote 36. Literary History of the United States (New York, 1948), v. 2, p. 899, mentioned Mrs. Foote in the chapter "Western Record and Romance" and indicated that although there are fine passages and fine single stories by Mrs. Foote, her reputation as a writer is more likely to dwindle with the passage of time than to revive.

For contemporary comment on Mrs. Foote's popularity as a writer, see Charles F. Lummis' "The New League for Literature and the West," The Land of Sunshine, Los Angeles, v. 8 (1898), April.

41. The movements of the Footes can be followed with some precision by examining the biographical record of Arthur DeWint Foote and Mary Hallock Foote in Who's Who in America, v. 16 (1928-1929), p. 788.

42. Coeur D'Alene, as the name suggests, had an Idaho background. It appeared serially in The Century, N. S. v. 25 (1896-1894), three installments, and N. S. v. 26 (1894), one installment. All of the novels of Mrs. Foote mentioned in the text were published in book form after the serial publication. An extensive list of her novels will be found in the Who's Who in America reference given in Footnote 41.
“Cinching Up.”
“The Irrigating Ditch.”
“The Last Trip In.” [Reproduced facing p. 240.]
“Afternoon at a Ranch.”
“A Pretty Girl in the West.”
“The Winter-Camp—A Day’s Ride From the Mail.”

Of these 11 illustrations, the three that have the greatest appeal are “The Coming of Winter,” “The Choice of Reuben and Gad,” and “The Last Trip In.” The first depicted a settler’s cabin and the family, father, mother and child; in the second, resorting to the use of Biblical names, Mrs. Foote showed a small group of settlers arriving at the promised land, a mountain valley; and in the third, she portrayed wagons reaching the home camp with the final supplies for the winter’s stay; all scenes which Mrs. Foote had ample opportunity to observe.

Those described so far do not constitute Mrs. Foote’s sole contributions to Western illustration. There were many others, chiefly illustrations for her novels or short stories, of which there were quite a number. Some of these illustrations are of considerable interest, however, and one in particular is quite striking, “On the Way to the Dance” which accompanied a short story written by Mrs. Foote.

As far as I have been able to determine, none of Mrs. Foote’s original Western sketches are in existence at present. In 1940, Arthur B. Foote, a son, wrote me that

Quite a number of her drawings appear in the two volumes Proofs from Scribners Monthly and St. Nicholas, published by Scribner’s & Co., 1880, and Selected Proofs from Scribner’s Monthly and St. Nicholas published by the Century Co. in 1881. There are very few original sketches in existence. Most of her drawings were made directly on the wooden blocks that were engraved, and the later ones reproduced by photogravure were not returned by the publishers.

Mrs. Foote lived for over 30 years in Grass Valley, Cal., but several years before her death on June 25, 1938, she went to live with a daughter at Boston, Mass.

43. The illustrations appeared in The Century, N. S. v. 15 (1888-1889); N. S. v. 16 (1889); N. S. v. 17 (1889-1890).
44. An extensive bibliography of Mrs. Foote’s illustrations and writings during the 1890’s will be found in 19th Century Readers’ Guide to Periodical Literature, 1890-99, v. 1, p. 962. It should also be pointed out that Mrs. Foote’s illustrations were not all confined to the Western scene, for during the 1870’s, 1880’s and 1890’s, illustrations of a considerable number of other subjects by Mrs. Foote appeared in the periodical literature. For example, another group of subjects of which she had first hand knowledge was in John Burroughs’ article “Picturesque Aspects of Farm Life in New York,” Scribner’s Monthly, v. 17 (1878), November, pp. 41-54.
45. The Century, N. S. v. 21 (1891), December, p. 201.
46. Arthur B. Foote to the writer, September 6, 1940. That Mrs. Foote was an accomplished artist on the wood block is borne out by the comment of that severe critic W. J. Linton who called her “the best of our designers on the wood”; see American Art, Walter Montgomery (Boston, 1889), v. 1, p. 464.
47. Information from Jane Whelan, librarian of Grass Valley (Cal.) Free Public Library, in a letter to the writer August 28, 1940.