The Pictorial Record of the Old West

XI. The Leslie Excursions of 1869 and 1877: Joseph Becker, Harry Ogden and Walter Yeager

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One of the most important of all events in the history of the Trans-Mississippi West was the completion of the first coast-to-coast railroad and the attendant ceremony and celebration at Promontory Point, Utah, on Monday, May 10, 1869. Not only was there celebration as the ceremony of driving the golden spike was completed, but the nation breathlessly followed the event as each stroke of the silver mallet was flashed by wire to all the cities of the country.

The final “Done!” was received in the East at 2:47 P. M. and Mayor A. Oakley Hall of New York City shortly thereafter ordered a hundred-gun salute fired in Central Park. A thanksgiving service at Trinity church attended by huge crowds was a feature of the New York festivities. In Philadelphia a battery of “steam” fire engines was assembled in front of Independence Hall and as the final word was received a bedlam of steam whistles, ringing bells and wild cheers spread over the city. In Buffalo, crowds sang “The Star-Spangled Banner.” In Chicago an impromptu parade seven miles in length, which the Chicago Tribune estimated contained “1626 horses and 3252 human beings,” soon got under way on that happy day. At night the “new” Tribune building was ablaze with lights to cap the city’s jubilation.

Omaha staged a day-long celebration. An elaborate and carefully planned parade was held in which nearby towns participated by sending members of gayly attired fraternal orders and fire com-

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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 in each issue since May, 1949. The general introduction was in the February, 1946, number.
panies. Probably the fire company—beg pardon, H. & L. Co. No. 1—of Fremont would have been awarded the prize, if a prize had been given for the most colorful group, for their uniforms consisted “of black broadcloth pants—blue opera flannel shirts, with black velvet collars and facings—the whole trimmed with gold lace with, also, a gold star on either side of the collar, a handsome red and white morocco belt and fatigue cap.” In the evening an elaborate display of fireworks was capped by a grand ball in the capitol building. Visitors came from miles around, the city streets were overflowing to celebrate the great event, but the Omaha Republican in reporting the happenings of the day thankfully remarked that there was no rowdism and drunkenness, usual to American celebrations, “and we have to chronicle no accident with its harrowing details, no melee with its sickening consequences, no lists of crime; and we may well be proud of so commendable a fact.”

If the occasion was one for rejoicing in the East and the Middle West, the citizens of California could scarcely contain their joy. In fact, so eager was the desire to celebrate that San Francisco and Sacramento held their jubilation two days before the rest of the country, and on Saturday, May 8, the day was ushered in for San Franciscans by salvos of artillery, booming of cannon and the terrific screeching of whistles. The same day, Sacramento celebrated so thoroughly that the Daily Union could do little but report “the affair was very Magnificent.”

Not since Lee’s surrender, four years earlier, had the nation been so profoundly moved. “At noon today,” stated the New York Tribune in its editorial columns, “the last rail is to be laid on the great National railway that unites the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and marks the crowning triumph over the Continent that the Puritan and the Cavalier entered three centuries ago.”

1. The nation-wide interest in the event is recorded in the extended and frequent accounts in the newspapers of the day. The New York Tribune, for example, devoted to the event over three columns on page one in the issue of May 10, 1869; four columns on page one in the issue of May 10, including a poem for the occasion by George W. Bungay, “Rivet the Last Pacific Rail”; two columns on page one of the issue of May 11, which described the telegraphic report of events at Promontory Point and gave news of the celebration in other cities. In Omaha, practically the entire first page of the Omaha Weekly Republican, May 19, 1869, was devoted to accounts of the local celebration and those occurring elsewhere. The quotations in the text (concerning Omaha) are from this source. The plans and celebration in San Francisco are reported in the Daily Alta California, San Francisco, May 6, p. 1, May 8, p. 1, May 9, p. 1, May 12, p. 1, 1869. The Alta in the issue of May 9 published a poem by W. H. Rhodes, written for the occasion. The Alta in the issue of May 20, 1869, p. 1, reprinted an account from the Chicago Tribune of May 11, describing the celebration in Chicago. The accounts in the Sacramento Daily Union also published a poem for the occasion by L. E. Crane (May 10, 1869, p. 8). Since we have taken the trouble to mention poems resulting from this historic occasion we should not, of course, leave out the best known of all, “What the Engines Said,” by Bret Harte. This poem appeared originally in The Overland Monthly, San Francisco, v. 2 (1869), June, p. 577.


“The crowning triumph” was viewed by many representatives of the press, but curiously enough, the two leading pictorial papers of the day, Harper’s Weekly and Leslie’s, had no
With the eyes of the nation thus so acutely focused on the great national railway, it is not surprising that newspaper and magazine editors hurriedly sent out reporters and writers to describe for their "artists on the spot," so that the pictorial records of the event upon which we are dependent today are the well-known photographs of C. R. Savage and the lesser-known ones of A. J. Russell.

Not until the issue of May 29, 1869, did Harper's Weekly take recognition of the completion of the railroad. A double-page spread of wholly imaginative and decorative pictures (pp. 344, 345) pays their respects to the event (with description note on p. 344). Leslie's was still later in recording the event. In the issue of June 5, 1869, there are reproduced several of the A. J. Russell photographs of the event. For information on the Savage and Russell photographs, see Robert Taft, *Photography and the American Scene* (New York, 1889), pp. 272, 280, 283. The California Alta, May 12, 1869, p. 1, stated that A. A. Hart of Sacramento, also photographed the ceremony of May 10, 1869.

Doubtless the best-known picture of the ceremony of the joining of the rails is Thomas Hill's "The Last Spike." (current called "The Driving of the Last Spike"). This huge oil painting (eight feet, two inches by eleven feet, six inches) was begun by Hill about 1867 and is based on photographs of the event and of the celebrities who participated. One account has it that the painting was commissioned by Leland Stanford who never paid for it and acquired it. It was finally bought in the late 1890's by Paul Tietszen, who presented it to the state of California in 1937. It now hangs at the end of the north corridor of the first floor in the California state capitol, Sacramento. Hill first exhibited the painting in San Francisco on January 29, 1881, according to an account in the San Francisco Alta California, January 29, 1881, p. 1. This account states that the painting was "the consummation of nearly four years of arduous labor" and continued:

"In painting his picture, Mr. Hill selected the moment of the most serious feeling, when the old-time electrician, Prov. Dr. Todd, of Pittfield, Massachusetts, has just concluded his invocation to the Almighty and the electricians were about connecting the golden spike, presented by Mr. David Hewes, with the Transcontinental telegraph line, that was to ring out the glad tidings of "the last spike driven" on the rail of the Capital at Washington, and the cannon that woke the echoes of the Golden Gate. The view is eastward, along the track of the Union Pacific Railroad, toward the horizon, bounded by the snowy summit of the Wallowa Mountains. The commanding figure of Governor Stanford, leaning on the iron hammer, arrests the eye, which, after a moment's pause, glances beyond to the locomotive, half hidden by figures, and then on to the plains dotted with sagebrush and suffused with the golden rays of the sun, upon an almost cloudless afternoon. There are some four hundred figures on the canvas, seventy of whom are portraits in full face, and diversified and harmonious colors, with flowing grace of outline and freedom of individual treatment. The characteristics of the men, many of whose names are familiar on both spheres, are as well shown in pose and outline as in feature, presenting a rare combination of strong faces and manly forms. The plates bear the signatures of well-known characters of the plains, and several incidents contrasting the old life and the new civilization. To the left is presented an old-fashioned stagecoach, while beyond is a wagon train that had left the Missouri months before; and a race is in progress between mustangs, to whose drivers gambling was paramount to matters of national concern.

"Other features are a straw-game, poker-playing on a barrel-head, a couple of saloons improvised for the occasion, a few Indians in their native attire, a few Indians in the party of soldiers that came to present, all of which give variety of detail and relieve the more formal groupings. At the feet of Governor Stanford, adjusting the wire leading off through the crowd to the telegraph pole on the right, is F. L. Vandenburg, the chief electrician of the occasion. To the left is J. H. Strobridge, General Superintendent of the work of construction. The leading lights of the Central Pacific Railroad—C. P. Huntington, Mark Hopkins, E. B. Crocker, Charles Crocker, and T. D. Judah—are represented in characteristic attitudes, with features accurately portrayed. Near Governor Stanford are the President and Directors of the Union Pacific—Oakley Ames, Sidney Dillon, Dr. Durant and John DuUff. The wives of the officers commanding the troops in the vicinity, who were present, add to the canvas a picturesque quality. The Wallowa Mountains, five or six miles distant, trend away to the north, diminishing in height until they become a low range of blue hills bounding the grayish-green expanse of plains, while the foreground is bathed with warm light, lending to the pile of ties, the kegs of spikes, the grading implements, and even the fresh earth, a glow radiance that invests them with a portion of the interest attached to the scene. Although Mr. Hill dealt with four hundred figures in almost perfect rest, and the landscape in which they stand, except for a lovely quality in the atmosphere and a certain enhancement of distance, is without extraordinary features, the unerring material yielded to the skillful hand of the artist, and the picture is complete."

I am indebted to Miss Beza Snow, information clerk at the California state capitol, and to Miss Caroline Wenzel of the California State Library, Sacramento, for the above information. Hill's famous painting was reproduced in color in *Fortune*, February, 1940, and in *Life*, July 4, 1942.

Thomas Hill (1829-1908) is one of the best-known of California painters of mountain scenery. For a biographical sketch, see *Dictionary of American Biography*, v. 9, pp. 45, 47. For further material on American Art (Stanford Univ., 1931), pp. 84, 87, has an undocumented account of his work. Thad Welsh, another California painter, characterized Hill as "an amiable Englishman, who said he painted the Yosemite, not as it is, but as it ought to be."—*Overland*, v. 22 (1924), April, p. 161.
readers the wonder of travel from coast to coast on iron rails. One of the best-known of the writing fraternity to draw this assignment was A. D. Richardson of the New York Tribune, and in less than ten days after the rails were joined, he left New York City for San Francisco. In a lengthy series of articles to the Tribune he described in considerable detail his experiences as he traveled from coast to coast. According to Richardson, the distance he covered was 3,313 miles (from New York to San Francisco) and the fare on this early transcontinental tour was $193.82.

Less than 50 California-bound passengers were on the train as they left Omaha. Emigrants, Richardson pointed out, were waiting for lower fares. The trip from coast to coast could be made in six days but nine days was the more usual time when the through road was first opened. Moreover the rails really weren’t continuous, for at Council Bluffs, because of the lack of a bridge across the Missouri river, the passengers disembarked on the eastern shore of the river and were loaded into twelve mammoth omnibuses, and express and baggage wagons. The two mail wagons are so piled with sacks of letters and papers that they look like loads of hay. All these huge vehicles are crowded upon one ferry boat; we drop down half a mile, rounding the great, flat, naked sand-bank; then land, a drive along a plank road, with water on each side, into the just-now muddy streets of Omaha. The through passengers are transferred to the Union Pacific train, and in half an hour are again whirling Westward.

Although the rails were continuous through Promontory Point, the “town” was the end of the Union Pacific and the beginning of the Central Pacific and passengers were forced to change cars in Richardson’s day. Travelers were advised to be wary of Promontory. It was, as Richardson described it, “30 tents upon the Great Sahara, sans trees, sans water, sans comfort, sans everything.”

3. The articles (eight in number) appeared under the general heading “Through to the Pacific” and will be found in the New York Tribune of 1869 as follows: May 26, pp. 1, 2 (this first one is dated “Chicago, May 21”); June 5, p. 1; June 22, p. 2; June 25, pp. 1, 2; June 26, p. 14; July 12, pp. 1, 2; July 19, p. 1; July 28, pp. 1, 2. The series was concluded by a column headed “Back From the Pacific” (describing Richardson’s experiences as far east as Omaha and Atchison) in the issue of August 2, 1869, pp. 1, 2. All nine articles are signed with Richardson’s initials “A. D. R.” This series was reprinted in a greatly condensed version in a compilation of Richardson’s writings prepared by his wife, Mrs. A. D. Richardson, Garnered Sheaves... (Hartford, 1871), pp. 238-222. Other contemporary accounts of travel over the transcontinental railroad in the first few months of use will be found in W. L. Humphrey’s From the Atlantic Surf to the Golden Gate (Hartford, 1869), a very poor and inadequate description as far as actual travel experiences go; a more satisfactory account will be found in W. F. Rae’s Westward By Rail (New York, 1871), 2nd ed. Rae made the trip across the continent in September, 1869.

4. Richardson gives a nine-day time table from New York to San Francisco in the New York Tribune, June 26, 1869, p. 3, reporting that the first through car from Sacramento arrived in New York City on July 24. It had left Sacramento on July 17 and made the trip in “a trifle over six days.”

5. Ibid., June 5, 1869, p. 1.

Other contemporaries condemned it in still harsher terms:

Sodom [wrote the editor from a neighboring town] had its few, peculiar besetting sins; Promontory presents a full catalogue, with all the modern improvements, dips, spurs, angles, and variations. The low, desperate, hungry, brazen-faced thieves there congregated would contaminate the convicts of any penitentiary [sic] in the land. —It would be a mercy to the traveling public, especially that portion coming west, and a relief to the honest mechanics of Promontory, and the moral sentiments of the age, if the cleansing element of fire would sweep the God-forsaken town from the face of the earth.⁷

If the traveling public read at all, they would have reason to make their stay in Promontory as short as possible. The final discomfort in traveling from coast to coast in 1869 was encountered at the western end of the line, for rail reached only to Sacramento. The remainder of the trip could be made to San Francisco by steamer down the Sacramento river or by rail to Vallejo and then by ferry across the bay. The Vallejo railroad, however, was a private affair not connected with the Central Pacific and although it was the shortest and quickest way to San Francisco, its existence was not disclosed to transcontinental passengers.⁸

Despite these difficulties of travel, Richardson was quick to assure his readers that the combined roads were as safe to travel as any in the United States and that passengers taking sleeping cars would have a comfortable trip.⁹ In fact, as another traveler pointed out, "the Pullman saloon, sleeping and restaurant cars of the West,—as yet unknown in the Atlantic States . . . introduce a comfort, even a luxury, into life on the rail, that European travel has not yet attained to. . . ." ¹⁰

Richardson was no new observer of the West, for he had a first-hand acquaintance with it, not only from previous travel but from actual frontier life and one of the most moving passages of his overland account was written when he recalled his earlier travels:

Memories of seven journeys in bye gone years, and from the Missouri to three mountains—on horseback and in vehicles—usually occupying a week, and always full of adventure. The wagon-train, the coach, the pony-expresses, the buffalo-hunt, the Indian panic, the camp-fire, the reading aloud in the tent by flaming candle of a chilly evening, the sleeping upon the ground under the blue sky through many a pleasant night—all these belong to a faded past. Instead, we hear [have?] the palace car in its purple and fine linen; the conductor with his pouch demanding our tickets; the black porter with his clothes-brush,

⁸. Richardson, New York Tribune, July 12, 1869, pp. 1, 2.
⁹. Ibid., June 26, 1869, pp. 1, 2.
¹⁰. Samuel Bowles, The Atlantic Monthly, Boston, v. 23 (1869), April, p. 496.
waiting for our "quarter," the railway eating-house with its clattering dishes, and the smooth running train for one night and one day [Richardson was referring to the trip from Omaha to Cheyenne]. The gain is wonderful in time and comfort; the loss irreparable in romance and picturesqueness.\textsuperscript{11}

**Joseph Becker**

All of which sets the stage for Joseph Becker. Although writers in considerable number made the Western journey shortly after the joining of rails, pictorial reporters were few and far between, or at least the record of their work is extremely meager.\textsuperscript{12}

Probably there was no publisher who was as sensitive to public demand and tastes as Frank Leslie; his policy was based on the maxim: "Never shoot over the heads of the people." If such a policy led to no improvement in public taste, its record, at least, reflected the common level of achievement and culture during the years that Leslie published his numerous periodicals. The great public interest aroused by the completion of the transcontinental railroad was Leslie's signal to send a staff artist to picture events along the line of travel, and in the fall of 1869 Joseph Becker started west on an assignment from Leslie.

Becker, born in 1841, joined Leslie's staff as an errand boy in 1859, at the age of 17. In constant contact with the pictorial reporters on the staff, he became interested in sketching and was taught the rudiments of the art by staff members. Leslie himself, a skilled engraver, took an active interest in the youngster and encouraged him to practice long and hard. By 1863, he was an artist on Leslie's staff and as the demand for field artists was insatiable, he was sent with the Army of the Potomac and followed the campaigns from Gettysburg to Appomattox. Many of his war drawings were, of course, reproduced in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, but in 1905 Becker stated that he had many original Civil War sketches and studies that had never been published.\textsuperscript{13} Becker continued for many years after the close of the war on the Leslie staff, and from 1875 until 1900 he was head of the Leslie art department.

Becker left New York City on his Western trip about the middle of October, 1869, some five months after the joining of rails, so that

\textsuperscript{11} New York Tribune, June 22, 1869, p. 2.

\textsuperscript{12} Richardson reported (\textit{ibid.}) that "within thirty days" many artists and writers were going west. Already he had met Ed. F. Waters of the Boston \textit{Advertiser}, Gov. Bross of the Chicago \textit{Tribune}, J. W. Simonson of the Associated Press, and Wm. Swinton of the New York \textit{Times}, but he did not mention by name any of the artists. I have found no other illustrator until Becker's work is reported, although the photographers mentioned in Footnote 2 should not be overlooked.

some of the early difficulties of transcontinental travel had disappeared, but the journey was unique in its kind. The enterprising George Pullman had prevailed upon the managements of the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific to permit a through Pullman train to run from Omaha to San Francisco without the necessity of changing trains at the junction point of Promontory. The Central Pacific had completed their line from Sacramento to San Francisco so that with the innovation of the Pullman car, rail service had been considerably improved in five months. The *Alta California* of San Francisco described the new service as follows:

After Tuesday next a Pullman special train, with drawing-room and sleeping cars, will leave San Francisco at 7:30 a. m. every Monday, and Omaha every Tuesday, at 9:15 a. m., stopping only . . . [for necessary] fuel and water. The fare, including double berth in sleeping car, will be $168 in currency between San Francisco and Omaha. Meals will be served on the train as follows: Breakfast, from 7 to 9, $1; lunch, from 11 to 2, at card prices; dinner, from 4 to 6, $1.50. Passage tickets, drawing-rooms, sections and berths can be secured at the Pacific Railroad offices at either end, by telegraph, letter, or personal application.

One of these special trains, which left Omaha on the 18th (actually October 19), will reach this city to-day, and will leave on the return trip for Omaha on Monday next, arriving there on Thursday, and connecting with Eastern trains due in New York on Sunday. The trip across the Continent will, according to this schedule, be made in six days.14

Becker was on the first of these special trains, the one which left Omaha on October 19th. The train arrived in San Francisco on the evening of October 22, making the run in 81 hours.15

The pictorial records of Becker's trip began their appearance in *Leslie's* with the issue of November 13, 1869.16 It is a sentimental drawing with the legend "Good-Bye" and shows a mother holding her baby up to be kissed by a be-whiskered engineer in the locomotive cab. The illustration bears the sub-title, "An Incident on the Union Pacific Railroad at Omaha."

Very few of these Western illustrations were credited directly to Becker. In a few, to be cited later, Becker is specifically men-

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15. The arrival of the first Pullman special from the East is reported in *ibid.*, October 23, 1869, p. 1, in an article which included a resolution signed by a number of the passengers. Included is the list of names of that of "Joseph Becker, New York City." The article stated that the train left Omaha "at a quarter past nine o'clock in the morning on Tuesday last," Tuesday of that week was October 19. A group of travelers on a special train from New York City which left New York October 16 was supposed to have made the trip west from Omaha on the same special train; owing to storms they failed to make connections (the above citation and the *Omaha Weekly Republican*, October 20, 1869, p. 3). This fact would establish that Becker left New York City prior to October 16.

In the Becker reminiscences of 1866 (*loc. cit.*), he stated that the Western trip was made in 1872; an obvious slip of memory for not only did the name of Becker appear in the *Alta California* of 1869 (cited above) but there are no Western illustrations of Becker in *Leslie's* for 1873 or 1876 whereas there are such illustrations for 1869 and 1870.

16. Frank *Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, v. 29 (1869), November 13, p. 145 (full page).
tioned in the legend. In two, his initials appeared. After the series was under way, individual illustrations appeared under the general title, "Across the Continent," followed by the specific title of the illustration and the credit line "From a sketch by our special artist." Occasionally in the series, an illustration will be found which bears the signature of some other artist. Thus the signature "Bghs" (Albert Berghaus) appeared on several, however such signatures but indicate the fact that the original sketch was redrawn, probably on the wood block itself, by the second artist. A few of the illustrations belonging to the general series, "Across the Continent," were credited to photographs by A. J. Russell but the others to "our special artist." I have assumed that all, with the exception of the photographs, are to be credited to Becker. 17

Becker spent some time in California working on still another aspect of life in 1869. Leslie was greatly interested in the Chinese question as were many other Americans of that day. The importation of Chinese laborers into California beginning in the middle 1860's was producing a social and economic problem as the wave of Chinese immigration advanced eastward. Leslie's feeling about the Chinese is doubtlessly reflected in the general title of a series of illustrations appearing in his Newspaper, "The Coming Man." Here again the illustrator was Becker, for Leslie had instructed him to make the Chinese a matter of special study when he reached California. 18

After spending six weeks in California, Becker returned east over the transcontinental route but took time out to leave the main line

17. The record of Becker's Western trip as given in the Alta California reference (see Footnotes 14 and 15) and the subject matter of the Western illustrations as listed in the text which follows, is good evidence for crediting Becker with the series of illustrations. But there is more positive evidence. In the issue of Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper for February 5, 1870, p. 346 (v. 99), there is editorial comment on a two-page illustration (one of the series "Across the Continent") issued as supplement, "The Snow Sheets on the Central Pacific Railroad, in the Sierra Nevada Mountains." The editorial goes on to state: "The numbers of Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper since the commencement of the publication in its pages of scenes and incidents met with by our artist [italics are by the writer] in his journey to San Francisco, are especially valuable, and should be purchased and carefully filed for future reference by all who have an intelligent idea of the future of this continent." The illustration referred to in this issue bears the legend, "From a Sketch by Joseph Becker." The identification of our artist with Joseph Becker and with the series "Across the Continent" completes the proof.

18. Becker's illustrations of Chinese life in California appeared in ibid., beginning with the issue of May 7, 1870, where (p. 114) editorial comment is made on them and there is included as a supplement to the issue a large two-page illustration, "Scene in the Principal Chinese Theatre, San Francisco, California, During the Performance of a Great Historical Play" with the legend "From a Sketch by Joseph Becker." Other Chinese illustrations appeared in the issues of May 14, 21, 28, June 4, 11, 18, 25, July 2, 16, 23, 30, 1870. In the issue of July 30 (p. 316) is the statement that "with this number we close the interesting series of engravings illustrating the Chinese as they are seen today in our chief maritime city on the Pacific coast." Curiously enough, Becker in his reminiscences (see Footnote 13) stated that the chief object of his Western trip was to depict the Chinese and that he "spent six weeks among the Chinese." Other contemporary comment on the Chinese question will be found in the report on a national discussion of the Chinese labor question held at Memphis, Tenn., in 1869 (New York Tribune, July 14, 1869, p. 5) and in A. D. Richardson's lengthy discussion of the Chinese problem in "John," The Atlantic Monthly, v. 24 (1869), December, pp. 740-751.
OCEAN AND YACHTS "A PARTY OF GOLD MINERS STARTING FOR THE BLACK HILLS FROM CHEYENNE" (1877)
at Ogden for a side trip to Salt Lake City, for the Mormons were also a subject of general and extreme American interest. As a result, many Utah sketches appeared among the Becker illustrations. It is possible, too, that Becker made a hasty side trip from the main line of the Union Pacific at Cheyenne to Denver. 19

Altogether, if we exclude the Chinese illustrations (cited in Footnote 18), there resulted from Becker’s trip some 40 Western illustrations with the following titles (starred items have the series title, “Across the Continent”):

1. “Sunday in the Rocky Mountains” (full page).
2. “On the Plains—A Station Scene on the Union Pacific Railway” (full page). [Reproduced between pp. 120, 121.]
3. “Dining Saloon of the Hotel Express Train” (about full page).
4. “Drawing-Room of the Hotel Express Train” (Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7 on two pages). [No. 4, reproduced facing p. 121.]
5. “Kitchen of the Express Train.”
6. “Gambler and Gambling—Table in the Street at Promontory Point.”
8. “Passing Through the Great Salt Lake Valley” (double page).
9. “Salt Lake Branch Railroad in Course of Construction” (full page).
10. “Scene in Salt Lake Valley—Fortified House on the Plains” (Nos. 10, 11, 12 on one page).
11. “Utah—Transporting Railway Ties Across Salt Lake.”
12. “Utah—Mormons Hauling Wood From the Mountains.”
14. “A Prairie Dog City Near the Pacific Railroad” (Nos. 14 and 15 on one page).
15. “Brigham City, and Old Water-Marks, as Seen from Corinne, on the Line of the Pacific Railroad.”
16. “Mormon Converts on Their Way to Salt Lake City—The Halt on the Road at a Watering Place” (full page).
17. “A Mormon Farmer and His Family in the Streets of Salt Lake City” (Nos. 17, 18, 19 on one page).
18. “Street Scene in Salt Lake City.”
19. “The Fish Market, Salt Lake City—Members of Brigham Young’s Family Buying Fish.”
20. “View of Echo City, and Entrance to Echo Canon, Looking East” (full page and contains the signature, lower left, “J. B.”).
21. “A View in Echo Canon” (Nos. 21 and 22 on one page).
22. “A Mormon Farmer and Family Returning From Salt Lake City.”

19. That the trip to Salt Lake City was made on the return from California is so stated by Becker in his reminiscences (see Footnote 13); in fact, even without his comment it would appear obvious that Salt Lake City would have to be visited on the return trip as the out-bound trip from Omaha to San Francisco in 81 hours would preclude any side trips.
*24. "Salt Lake City—The Reserved Circle in the Mormon Theatre for the children of Brigham Young" (Nos. 24 and 25 on one page).
*25. "Salt Lake City—The Interior of the Great Mormon Temple."
*26. "Salt Lake City—The Reserved Circle for the Wives of Brigham Young in the Mormon Theatre" (Nos. 26 and 27 on one page).
*27. "Salt Lake City—Mormon Leader with His Last 'Seal' in the Mormon Theatre."
*28. "Entrance to the Great American Desert" (Nos. 28 and 29 on one page).
*30. "Wood Shoots in the Sierra Nevada—Pacific Railroad" (about ½ page).
*31. "Hauling Lumber in the Sierra Nevada" (Nos. 31 and 32 on one page).
*32. "Humboldt River and Canon."
*33. "The Post-Office at Promontory Point" (small).
*34. "In the Sierra Nevada, on the Line of the Pacific Railroad" (about ½ page).
*35. "Scene on the Road to Salt Lake City—A Mormon Adobe Dwelling" (about ½ page).
36. "View on Truckee River in Sierra Nevada" (about ½ page).
*37. "Laborers on a Hand-Car of the Pacific Rail road, Attacked by Indians—Running Fight, and Repulse of the Assailants" (full page).
38. "Monuments on Monument Creek, Colorado, Near the Line of the Pacific Railroad" (about ½ page).
39. "On the Plains—Early Morning at Fort Laramie" (about ½ page).
40. "An Exciting Race Between a Locomotive and a Herd of Deer on the Line of the Pacific Rail road, West of Omaha" (about ½ page).20

Of all the illustrations listed above, the most interesting and most revealing of the times is No. 2, "A Station Scene on the Union Pacific Railway" (reproduced between pp. 120, 121). The station may be Omaha or—more probably—it is a composite view of several scenes witnessed by Becker, for here are portrayed the bustle, confusion and interests of many and varied individuals. Emigrants, pleasure-seeking travelers, soldiers, plainsmen and prospectors, Indians, card sharps, mining speculators, Chinese coolies, a Jewish peddler (When will the fascinating story of the Jew on the frontier be told?), a Negro caller and many others not so easily identified carry on their roles against the background of the station, a hastily constructed water tower and a billowing canvas "Hotel and Dining Room." The opening of the railroad made easier access to the

20. These illustrations appeared in ibid., as follows: In v. 29 (1869), No. 1, December 4, p. 198; No. 2, December 11, pp. 208, 209. In v. 29 (1870), No. 3, January 15, p. 297; Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, January 15, pp. 304, 305; No. 8, January 15, supplement; No. 9, January 22, p. 321; Nos. 10, 11, 12, January 22, p. 322; No. 13, January 22, p. 325; Nos. 14, 15, January 26, p. 336; No. 16, January 29, p. 337; Nos. 17, 18, 19, February 5, p. 349; No. 20, February 6, p. 352; Nos. 21, 22, February 6, p. 353; No. 23, February 6, supplement; Nos. 24, 25, February 12, p. 372; Nos. 26, 27, February 12, p. 373; Nos. 28, 29, February 19, p. 389; No. 30, February 26, p. 401; Nos. 31, 32, February 26, p. 404; No. 33, March 6, p. 409; No. 34, March 5, p. 417; No. 35, March 12, p. 436. In v. 30 (1870), No. 5, March 19, p. 12; No. 37, March 26, p. 29; No. 38, April 2, p. 44; No. 39, April 20, p. 108; No. 40, May 28, p. 178.
mining regions of the West and every new discovery brought a rush of passengers intent on making sudden fortunes.21

Others of particular interest in the series include those showing the equipment of the first Pullman special, “the Hotel Express Train” (Nos. 3, 4 and 5), those of Promontory Point (Nos. 6, 7, 33 and probably No. 13) which do nothing to relieve its reputation as “a God-forsaken town” and the two large illustrations, “Snow Sheds on the Central Pacific Railroad, in the Sierra Nevada Mountains” (No. 23) and “Passing Through the Great Salt Lake Valley” (No. 8) which bears as an addition to the legend, “The Country as Seen From the Observation Car of the Pacific Railroad Hotel Express Train.” The “Observation Car” was simply the rear platform of the last coach but Becker later claimed that the desire of travelers to observe scenery on this trip suggested the idea of an observation car. “I furnished designs,” wrote Becker in 1905, “for this to Mr. Pullman, which afterwards were utilized. I may therefore fairly claim to have been the inventor of what is now a feature on all great railways.”22

The illustration showing snowsheds in the Sierra Nevadas is of additional interest as Becker later made a painting based on the illustration. In 1899, the painting was on exhibit at the Metropolitan Museum of Art under the inconceivably stupid title of “The First Transcontinental Train Leaving Sacramento, in May, 1869.” An examination of the two pictures shows that they are but little different.23

The last two in the list above (Nos. 39 and 40) do not have the series title, “Across the Continent,” but from the subject matter and the accompanying text clearly belong with the group. The title of No. 39 is in error, however, for it should read “Early Morning at Laramie [not Fort Laramie].” The failure to distinguish between Laramie, Wyo., and Fort Laramie is an error that has been made innumerable times since 1870.

21. The White Pine silver mines of Nevada were probably attracting the most interest at the time of Becker’s trip. The New York Tribune in August and September of 1869 ran a series of five long articles on these mines (No. 1 in the series appeared on August 16, 1869, pp. 1, 2, and No. 3, August 24, 1869, pp. 1, 2) the railroad station for which was Elko, Nev. I have examined the Omaha papers of the period (in the Byron Reed collection of the Omaha Public Library) i. e., the summer and fall of 1869, and both the Omaha Weekly Republican and the Omaha Weekly Herald devoted many columns to mining news, not only of the White Pine region but to regions in Montana (the freight station for the Montana mines on the line of the railroad was Corinne, Utah—Omaha Weekly Herald, November 24, 1869, p. 4), Wyoming and Colorado.

It will be noted that this illustration bears, lower left, a signature which appears to be a composite of several, but the initials “J.” “B” and “D” are discernible. “D” probably is the signature of J. F. Davis, the wood-engraver as his signature appeared on at least one other of Becker’s Illustrations, Leslie’s, v. 30 (1870), May 7, supplement.

22. In Becker reminiscences (see Footnote 13).

23. For the exhibition of the Becker painting in 1939, see Life in America (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, N. Y., 1939), pp. 157, 158.
After Becker became head of Leslie's art department in 1875, his opportunities for travel were greatly reduced and, as far as I have been able to determine, his Western illustrations were confined solely to his experiences of 1869.\textsuperscript{24}

\textbf{HARRY OGDEN AND WALTER YEAGER}

The practice of newspapers and magazines in sending artists and illustrators on long excursions to the West has resulted in some of our most important pictorial records of this region. In addition to those of Joseph Becker, the travels of A. R. Waud and T. R. Davis in 1866 and 1867, and the extremely valuable series of illustrations secured by Frenzeny and Tavernier, have already been described in this series.

Doubtless there were many others in the decades of the 1860's and 1870's. For example, the Southwestern illustrations of T. Willis Champney made for \textit{Scribner's Magazine} in 1873 at least deserve mention in our review. But illustrators sent by newspapers and the lesser-known magazines must have made the transcontinental tour in considerable number, though their work today is not readily accessible. Much of it, I hope, will through the continued work of myself and others, eventually come to light.\textsuperscript{25}

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The most elaborate, the plushiest, the \textit{ne plus ultra} in the way of pictorial excursions to the West, however, was that of no less a person than Frank Leslie himself in the spring and summer of 1877. By 1877 Leslie was a person of real consequence in these United States.

\textsuperscript{24} The only other Western illustrations that I have found credited to Becker are two appearing in \textit{Leslie's} many years after his trip of 1869. In the issue of August 17, 1869, p. 21, is the Becker illustration "Forest Fires in Montana" and in the issue of March 21, 1871, p. 121, is the Becker illustration "The Invasion of the Cherokee Strip." As no information in the text appears concerning these illustrations, I presume that Becker drew them from photographs or from the sketches of other artists.

Reproduced with Becker's reminiscences (Footnote 13) was a photograph of a group of Leslie artists of the early 1870's. Included in the group, in addition to Becker, are a number of individuals whose names have appeared in this series, including Albert Berghaus, James E. Taylor, T. de Thulstrup and Walter Yeager.

\textsuperscript{25} Local and state historical societies should find a particularly fertile and interesting field in stimulating the study of types and sources of pictorial materials that record the history of their individual regions along the lines suggested by this present series of articles.

For the illustrations of T. Willis Champney (1845-1905), see the series of articles by Edward King, "The Great South," in \textit{Scribner's Monthly} for 1873-1875. Those in the series that belong to the Trans-Mississippi West include \textit{Scribner's Monthly}, v. 6 (1873), July, pp. 257-288 (Missouri, Kansas, Indian Territory, Texas); v. 7 (1874), January, pp. 402-430; February, pp. 401-431 (Texas); v. 8 (1874), July, pp. 297-284 (Missouri); October, pp. 641-660 (Arkansas). A few of the illustrations are signed by Champney but a number bear the initials of Thomas Moran and W. L. Snyder. However, in v. 6, pp. 279, 296, 286, are illustrations bearing the signature 'W. L. S. after Champney' and in the table of contents of v. 7 (p. iv) there is the credit line for six of the King articles appearing in that volume, "Illustrated from sketches by Champney." Occasionally, too, one will encounter in the series an illustration "C-WLS," so that it is apparent that Moran and Snyder (and others) redrew many of the Champney sketches. That Champney was the artist sent by Scribner's is verified by the fact that he was in the Southwest in 1873; see Topeka \textit{Commonwealth}, January 28, 1873, p. 2. For a short biographical sketch of Champney, see American Art Annual, New York, v. 4 (1903), p. 138.
He was publishing well over a dozen periodicals, including the best-known of the group, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* which on occasion sold as many as 400,000 copies an issue—a remarkable figure for its day. His *Frank Leslie's Historical Register of the United States Centennial Exposition* of 1876 was one of the most sumptuously illustrated volumes ever published and of which he was justly proud. He owned an elaborate country estate, Interlaken, on Saratoga lake, complete with formal gardens, terraces and steam yacht, where he and his wife entertained on a prodigal and lavish scale, and where, the year before he made his Western trip, he had been host to the Emperor and Empress of Brazil. And lastly, his wife, Miriam Florence Leslie, formerly Mrs. Squier, formerly Mrs. Peacock, nee Miriam Florence Follin, was a charming, vivacious and very articulate young woman—articulate in five languages.

On April 10, 1877, Leslie, with a party of 11 friends and employees, left New York City for the West over the New York Central and Michigan Southern railways in an elaborate, highly-decorated and magnificent Wagner sleeping car. To do full credit to the occasion, however, one must read the contemporary report of the departure:

On Tuesday evening, April 10th, a large party of gentlemen and ladies, prominent in literary, artistic and social circles, assembled at the Grand Central Depot in Forty-second Street, to bid farewell to Mr. and Mrs. Frank Leslie, who were about starting on a trip to California and the Pacific Coast. Mr. Leslie was accompanied by several artists, photographers and literary ladies and gentlemen connected with his publishing house, and it is his intention to visit every locality of special note on the route, with a view to illustrating the grand highway between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans on a scale never heretofore attempted. The public may congratulate itself that it is about to acquire a new and more extended familiarity with the magnificent scenery of the Great West. Mr. Leslie's party numbers twelve in all. They started in a special Wagner Palace Car, which Mr. Wagner, out of compliment to its enterprising occupant, named the “Frank Leslie.” At Chicago, which was reached on Thursday, April 12th, the party were transferred to a Pullman Hotel Car,

26. For the Leslies, see *Dictionary of American Biography*, v. 11, pp. 188-188; *National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, v. 3, p. 370; v. 25, pp. 237, 239; the most satisfactory account of Mrs. Leslie as yet available is Madeleine B. Stern's “Mrs. Frank Leslie: New York's Last Bohemian” in *New York History*, Cooperstown, January, 1948. Miss Stern is now at work on a full-length biography of Mrs. Leslie.

The circulation of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* estimated from data supplied by the *American Newspaper Directory* for the period 1870-1900 is considerably less than the figures given in the text above and in general less than its chief competitor, *Harper's Weekly*, whose maximum circulation was 100,000 in the period stated. Nevertheless, on special occasions the circulation of Leslie's jumped to astonishingly large figures. After the Chicago fire, the two succeeding issues of Leslie's were reported as having a circulation of 837,000 and of 475,000 (*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, v. 39 [1871], November 4, p. 114; November 11, p. 180). Incidentally, many of the Chicago fire illustrations in Leslie's were sketched by Joseph Becker.
and arrangements have been perfected permitting this vehicle to lie over at any point Mr. Leslie may indicate for as long a time as suits his convenience. In this manner the artists and writers, as well as those who accompany the expedition in the character of pleasure-seekers only, will have ample opportunity afforded them of making a deliberate survey of all points of interest, and of acquiring intelligent and lasting impressions of what they observe, very different from the fleeting ideas which tourists are usually obliged to catch at in the hurried transit of ordinary travel. Everything deserving of reproduction will be carefully and accurately noted, and will in due time be brought into the intimate acquaintance of the readers of Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper, accompanied by competent descriptive text. On reaching San Francisco, the party will make their headquarters at Warren Leland’s magnificent Palace Hotel, while they prosecute their search for the picturesque in the glorious Yosemite region, and possibly northward as far as Vancouver and the Columbia River.

The scene in the depot at the starting, represented in our illustration, was one of genial excitement. Judging from the number of champagne baskets and significant-looking hampers placed on board the “Frank Leslie” car, it was evident that its temporary proprietor had a full appreciation of what would tend to the inner comfort of his companions, while the luxurious appointments of the carriage itself promised all that could be demanded for their physical ease. Upwards of a hundred persons were in attendance to wish the party a pleasant journey, and as the last whistle sounded, and the huge train gradually acquired motion, loud cheers arose from the group on the platform, responded to by waving of hands and handkerchiefs from the inmates of the car, and accompanied by a deafening chorus of exploding signal-torpedoes, which Mr. Wagner had, without announcing his intention, caused to be placed on the tracks, in front of each wheel of the “Frank Leslie.”

The party of 12 included, besides Mr. and Mrs. Leslie, Mr. and Mrs. C. B. Hackley, presumably friends of the Leslies; Bracebridge Hemyng (“Jack Harkaway”), one of the Leslie writers; a Miss Davis, possibly another writer; H. S. Wicks, Leslie’s business manager; W. K. Rice, a son of Gov. A. H. Rice of Massachusetts, probably also a guest of the Leslies; W. B. Austin, a staff photographer; E. A. Curley, probably Austin’s assistant, and Harry Ogden and Walter R. Yeager, staff artists of the Leslie publications.

As a result of the trip, which extended from coast to coast there appeared in Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper nearly 200 illustrations, the majority of which are scenes of Western interest. Most of the illustrations are to be attributed to sketches by Ogden and by

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27. Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper, v. 44 (1877), April 28, pp. 140, 141. Mrs. Frank Leslie, California—A Pleasure Trip From Gotham to the Golden Gate (New York, 1877), pp. 17-20, also described the departure. The last account is subsequently cited as Mrs. Leslie.

28. The identification of the Leslie party is based on accounts of the Leslie trip appearing in the Chicago Times, April 13, 1877, p. 6; the Chicago Daily Tribune, April 14, 1877, p. 8; the Omaha Daily Bee, April 17, 1877, p. 4; the Wyoming Daily Leader, Cheyenne, April 19, 1877, and especially the account in the Rocky Mountain News, Denver, April 20, 1877, p. 4. I am indebted to the Chicago Historical Society, the Nebraska State Historical Society, the Wyoming State Library and Historical Department, and the Western History Department of the Denver Public Library for these accounts.
Yeager or to the joint efforts of the two. A few are obviously based on photographs, and undoubtedly Ogden and Yeager employed Austin's photographs freely in preparing their final illustrations for publication.20

The party arrived in Chicago on April 18, went to the Grand Pacific Hotel and spent two days viewing the Windy city. Many evidences of the great fire were still evident, but the party agreed that Chicago was "a city of magnificent beginnings, a thing of promise." 20

Not only are there many illustrations of this transcendent journey, but there are also extensive written descriptions. Mrs. Leslie described her experiences in book form (see Footnote 27), and the individual issues of Leslie's for many weeks carried considerable text with the illustrations. The written descriptions are not signed but were probably Jack Harkaway's contribution to history. His descriptions are written with real skill and are in general entertaining and informative. Considering the elaborate and sumptuous character of the expedition, one might expect condescension on the part of the writer toward his audience. Such an attitude is completely lacking, for the writer is able to convey his very real interest in the unfolding panorama about him. The interest, no doubt, was genuine, for none of the party had been west before and the Great West was still a fabulous country to the untraveled in 1877. Read, for example, Harkaway's description of their journey as they left Omaha and were fairly launched into the Great West:

The chief beauty and interest of the Plains [wrote], so far on our journey, is borrowed from their relation to the sky. The Platte Valley, with its absence of marked features and strong lights and shadows, is something like an expres-

20. Credit is variously given for the illustrations. In the issue of July 7, p. 301, are several small sketches credited to "Harry Ogden and W. Yeager"; in the same issue, p. 304, is one credited to "Harry Ogden"; in the issue of July 14, 1877, p. 321, are several illustrations credited to "Harry Ogden and W. Yeager"; in the issue of September 15, 1877, p. 17, an illustration is credited to "Harry Ogden"; in the issues of September 24, 1878, pp. 430-421, and September 7, 1878, p. 5, are a number of illustrations, "Walter Yeager and H. Ogden"; in the issue of November 30, 1878, p. 220, is one credited to "Walter Yeager"; the remainder are credited either "to our special artist" or "to our special artists," with a very considerably larger proportion credited in the latter manner. In a few instances the credit lines "From photos and sketches by our special artists"; in still fewer cases the credit is given "from a photograph." It seems probable, therefore, that most of the illustrations were the joint work of Ogden and Yeager. Mrs. Leslie is of very little help in crediting illustrations. On p. 22, a comment was made on our artist and Mrs. Leslie continued: "I say our artist, for, although several are with us, H— [presumably Harry Ogden, 20 years old at the time] is ours, par excellence, not only because he has grown up beneath the eye of our Chief (Frank Leslie), but from his thoroughly sympathetic nature, combining the ability of a man with the winning qualities of a boy; the enfant gâté of our office—the enfant terrible, occasionally, of our party." Mrs. Leslie, too, confirmed the fact that the Nevada mining illustrations (to be discussed later in the text) were made by only one of the artists (pp. 282, 283) but she did not indicate which one. The credit line on these illustrations, too, are among the relatively few credited "to our special artist." It would be my guess that the artist was Yeager, for if it had been Ogden, a favorite of Mrs. Leslie, she would have so stated it. She does not mention Yeager anywhere by name.

30. Ibid., pp. 27-33. Illustrations of their Chicago visit appeared in Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, July 21, July 28, and August 4, 1877.
sionless human face; to which, on this windy April afternoon, our first one "out" from Omaha, the rolling cloud shadows lend life and change and incessant variety. Great masses of white cumuli pile up in the blue, trooping westward like ourselves, before a strong, driving wind; the sun wakes hot on the tawny and brown mat of last year's grass, and, as far as eye can reach, there is no shade and no motion in the landscape, except from these hurrying clouds.

The long, parallel lines of smooth, shining rail, and the diminishing ranks of telegraph-posts, stretching away from our track as we sit on the rear platform, are wonderfully important and suggestive features in the scene. Watching all day, you will scarcely see a curve in that long "iron trail"; only now and then, for a few miles, a side-track travels with us, and unites at some little station or round-house. Soon after Fremont is left behind us, we find vast excitement in the approach, on one of these switches, of a train bound East; every window full of heads and arms, chiefly feminine and infantile, for all the men, as the engines "slow up" and stop, seize the opportunity to rush out and exchange greetings on *terra firma*. Our photographer, diving into the curtained section which has been set apart for the storage of bags, hampers and instruments, rummages wildly for his plates and chemicals. Our artist, constituting himself assistant, snatches the camera and disappears; and presently there is diffused over the easy, lounging group of dusty passengers, brakemen in shirt-sleeves, and trim, gold-buttoned conductors outside, a universal and frigid atmosphere of "sitting for their picture." Everybody strikes a hasty attitude and composes his features; the engineer reclines gracefully against his cowcatcher, and all the hands, with one instinctive impulse, seek sheltering pockets, while artist and photographer shift their tripod from spot to spot, hit the happy point of sight at last, and fix the picture. And then there is a scramble for the platforms again, and the engines, with a puff and a wheeze, start their muscles and sinews of iron. In another minute there is only a trail of brown smoke hanging over the plain beside us, and we are once more alone on the great empty waste.\footnote{31}

Mrs. Leslie's account of the trip, too, is interesting, but it was difficult for her to forget that she was a member of the literati, had traveled widely and could converse in almost any language. Nevertheless she was outspoken on occasion, so much so that she laid up considerable future grief for herself, and she did make on occasion some very observing comments on life and manners of the Western scene.\footnote{32} That she was a woman of spirit and executive ability was proved on at least one occasion when the party was stranded in a

\footnote{31} *Ibid.*, September 8, 1877, p. 9.

\footnote{32} Mrs. Leslie had some very outspoken comments as a result of the visit of the Leslie party to the mining town of Virginia City, Nev. She not only called it "dreary, desolate, homeless, uncomfortable, and wicked .... [and] God-forsaken" (*Mrs. Leslie*, p. 277), but she made the additional unfortunate comment, "The population is largely masculine, very few women, except of the worse class, and as few children." (*Mrs. Leslie*, p. 278.) The descriptive phrase, stuck onto all the women of Virginia City, so aroused the ire of the celebrated editor, R. M. Daggett, of the *Daily Territorial Enterprise*, Virginia City, that he hired a New York correspondent to investigate the past life of both Mrs. Leslie and her husband. The correspondent, an admitted enemy of the Leslies, made an exhaustive inquiry into the love affairs of both Leslies and especially of Mrs. Leslie's first marriage with one David C. Peacock which had some of the aspects of a shotgun wedding. All of the Leslies' conduct was interpreted by this critic in the worst possible light. He made some errors (known to the writer) of fundamental facts and may have made others. His detailed account of the Leslies' past lives, Daggett published in a Sunday edition of the *Daily Territorial Enterprise* on July 14, 1878, occupying all of the front page.

Becker's "Hotel Life on the Plains" (1870)

It seems probable that the "Hotel" was located at Promontory Point, Utah.
Ogden and Yeager's "Bucking the Tiger" in a Cheyenne, Wyo., Gambling Saloon (1877)
three-room cabin on the way to see the big trees of California. Despite the incredulous amazement of her party she “rustled up” a supper for the travelers and made the best of affairs when the party of 12 were forced to sleep in a single room.33

Because of the wealth of pictorial material published concerning this overland trip, no attempt will be made to discuss each picture individually or, for that matter, to catalogue them. A number of the more interesting illustrations and experiences of the party, however, properly form a part of our study and will be included here.34

Only one picture appeared to illustrate the trip from Chicago to Council Bluffs, but beginning at the latter place there are illustrations to depict almost every phase of the journey.35 The “Arrival at Council Bluffs,” for example, is interesting from several viewpoints. For many years after the completion of the line from Omaha to San Francisco, Council Bluffs was the principal point of transfer between the roads coming from Chicago and the East, which it continued to be until the early 1880’s. The bridge across the Missouri river between Council Bluffs and Omaha, lacking in Richardson’s and Becker’s day, had been completed by 1872, but the travelers changed trains at Council Bluffs.36 It was therefore an important “junction.” Any reader who traveled American railroads 50 years or more ago will recall with nostalgia the interest, excitement and bustle of railroad travel at that time, for, although the illustration is of 1877, a quarter of a century later the scene was scarcely changed.

Crossing the river to Omaha one entered the Union Pacific depot and in “A Character Scene in the Emigrant Waiting-Room of the Union Pacific Railroad Depot at Omaha” there is a worthy companion piece for Joseph Becker’s “A Station Scene on the Union Pacific Railway,” drawn eight years earlier. [Both reproduced between pp. 120, 121.]

To the eyes of the Easterners, the group at the depot were individuals—in some cases literally—of a different world.

Men in alligator boots [recorded Mrs. Leslie], and loose overcoats made of

33. Mrs. Leslie, pp. 222-229.
34. Illustrations connected with the trip from Omaha west will be found in Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper for every weekly issue from August 4, 1877, through August 3, 1878, except the issues of August 11, 1877, and of June 1, 8, 22, July 13, 20, 27, 1878. In addition illustrations will be found in the issues of August 24, 1878, and November 30, 1878. The illustrations in Mrs. Leslie include some of those appearing in the Newspaper (of smaller size) and several which obviously are reproduced from photographs and are of far less interest than those that appeared in the Newspaper.
35. The sole illustration was the “Mississippi River Bridge at Clinton [Iowa]” in the issue of ibid. for August 4, 1877, p. 369.
36. “Arrival at Council Bluffs” will be found in ibid., August 4, 1877, p. 369. For the completion of the Mississippi river bridge and Council Bluffs as a junction point, see Paul Rigdon, The Union Pacific Railroad (Omaha, 1923), p. 78.
blankets and wagon rugs, with wild, unkempt hair and beards, and bright, resolute eyes, almost all well-looking, but wild and strange as denizens of another world.

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

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

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

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

38. The two illustrations, in the order listed above, will be found in ibid., September 29, 1877, p. 53, and October 6, 1877, pp. 72, 73. Actually the Leslie party stopped at Sydney on the return trip.—See Mrs. Leslie, p. 285. A poorly reproduced illustration, “A Street of 'Dug-Outs,' on the Hillside in Sydney,” appeared in Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, September 22, 1877, p. 37. The Omaha newspapers, of course, were filled with Black Hills news at that time. The Omaha Weekly Bee, April 25, 1877, p. 3, had a good account of Sydney and the Black Hills trade and a still better one was given in the Omaha Daily Herald, July 6, 1877, p. 2. See G. Thomas Ingham, Dipping Gold Among the Rockies (Edgewood Publishing Co., 1883), Ch. 5, for an account of the mining development in the Black Hills from 1875 to 1880. Contemporary information on the early stages of the Black Hills gold rush will also be found in Report on the Mineral Wealth, Climate, and Rain-Fall and Natural Resources of the Black Hills of Dakota (Washington, 1872), Walter P. Tenney. A review of the history of this interesting period is Harold E. Briggs' “The Black Hills Gold Rush,” North Dakota Historical Quarterly, Bismarck, v. 5 (1931), January, pp. 71-96. Briggs stated that the peak of the gold rush occurred in the spring of 1877, so it was practically coincident with the arrival of the Leslie party.
was in no way diminished when they stepped off the train and into the celebrated frontier town:

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

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

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

From these little boxes, gay with tawdry paintings and lace hangings, we look down upon as odd a scene as ever met critical New York eyes. The auditorium departs from the conventional horseshoe pattern, and is shaped

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

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

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

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

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

40. Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, October 13, 1877, p. 86. The arrival of the Leslie party in Cheyenne "last evening" was reported in the Wyoming Daily Leader, Cheyenne, April 19, 1877.

41. The illustrations will be found in Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, October 13, 1877, p. 86 (the theatre), and November 3, 1877, p. 133, title page; with an interesting comment on p. 139.

42. The illustration appeared in ibid., October 6, 1877, p. 73. Information concerning the Inter-Ocean and Plains Hotels comes from Mr. Howard A. Hanson, present manager of the Plains Hotel. According to Agnes Wright Spring, The Cheyenne and Black Hills Stage and Express Routes (Glendale, Cal., 1949), pp. 50, 79 and 75, the Inter-Ocean Hotel was under construction in 1875 and was in operation by early 1876.

43. The arrival of the Leslie party in Denver, the Denver reception and the visit to Colorado Springs are reported in the Denver Daily Times, April 19, 1877, p. 4 (which stated that the party arrived "this morning in a special car from Cheyenne"); Rocky Mountain News, Denver, April 20, 1877, p. 4.
still satisfy his wants by ways that were devious if not direct and Ogden sketched the method and Jack Harkaway described it in words for the benefit of succeeding fellow travelers:

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

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

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

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

45. This illustration, along with sketches of Church Buttes, Pedmont and Aspen appeared in Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, November 10, 1877, p. 160. The emigrant camp was apparently sketched on the return trip. Illustrations of other Wyoming towns will be found in the issues of ibid. for October 13, 20, 27, November 3, 17, 24, and December 1, 1877.
Utah illustrations appeared in considerable number but many are of familiar landmarks, including Echo and Weber canons, the Devil's Slide, Thousand-Mile tree and Lake Point on Great Salt lake. "The Arrival at Ogden Junction" is of interest as it calls attention to the fact that since 1869 the junction point of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific had been changed from Promontory Point to Ogden and that the Utah Central railroad had been completed from Ogden to Salt Lake City.\textsuperscript{46} The real reason for the trip to Salt Lake City was to see Brigham Young, and Leslie soon had an interview arranged with the head of the Mormon organization. Mrs. Leslie took a spirited part in the interview. In fact, if we are to believe her, the discussion with Brigham would have amounted to nothing more than comments on the weather if she had not participated. As Mr. Leslie did not make much progress in conversation, Mrs. Leslie turned to Mr. Young and said, "Do you suppose, Mr. President, that I came all the way to Salt Lake City to hear that it was a fine day?" To which the astute president replied, "I am sure you need not, my dear, for it must be fine weather wherever you are." The ice thus being broken, Mrs. Leslie proceeded to ask the head of the Beehive house some exceedingly frank questions on Mormonism, including a question as to whether Mormon husbands did not prefer some wives over others. To which, the Mormon president replied with good humor: "Well, perhaps; human nature is frail, but our religion teaches us to control and conceal those preferences as much as possible, and we do—we do."\textsuperscript{47}

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

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

\textsuperscript{47} \textit{Mrs. Leslie}, pp. 97-102. No illustrations of the interview appeared in the \textit{Newspaper}, but one is published in \textit{Mrs. Leslie}, facing p. 102.

\textsuperscript{48} \textit{Mrs. Leslie}'s quotation will be found in \textit{ibid.}, p. 71; the interview with Frank Leslie was secured on the return trip and is reported in the Omaha \textit{Daily Herald}, June 3, 1877, p. 4.
If Mrs. Leslie was impressed with the Mormons she certainly was not with Indians of the West who began to appear at railroad stations through Nevada as the party continued their westward journey beyond Salt Lake City. Shoshones and Pueblos were all the same to her and, as Chinese laborers in considerable number also made their appearance along the railroad as they traveled further west, it was almost inevitable that she should make a comparison of the two races. "Ill as their odor may be," wrote Mrs. Leslie of the Chinese, "in Caucasian nostrils, we must say that their cleanly, smooth, and cared for appearance was very agreeable in contrast with the wild, unkempt and filthy red man." 49

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

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

49. Mrs. Leslie, p. 108.

50. It was Frank Leslie's interest in the silver mines which undoubtedly was responsible for the relatively large number of such illustrations in Leslie's, every issue, beginning with that of March 2, 1878, through the issue of April 27, 1878 (nine issues), contained pictorial records of various aspects of mining in Virginia City; one of the issues (March 2, 1878) contained a four-page supplement, "Panorama of Virginia City," based on photographs by Watkin of San Francisco. From Mrs. Leslie's account, Virginia City was visited on the return.—Mrs. Leslie, Ch. 52. The Indian illustrations in Leslie's, mentioned above, included: "Indian Lodges Near Corin, on the C. P. R. R." (January 6, 1878, p. 305), and "Winnebago, Chief of the Pueblos Indians Engaged in an Annual Rabbit Drive" (January 26, 1878, p. 392). Some of the Nevada town illustrations included: Elko (January 5, 1878, p. 306), Battle Mountain (January 12, 1878, p. 921), Humboldt (January 19, 1878, p. 337), Carson City (February 16, 1878, p. 405) and a particularly good "View of the Main Street in Virginia City" (March 2, 1878, p. 445).
an Overland Train” were, with the exception of the first, reportedly observed by the artists of the Leslie party.51

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

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

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

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

51. Ibid., February 2, 1877, p. 378. According to the text accompanying the illustration, the first one was an imaginary sketch based on the story of the Leslie party conductor.

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

53. The illustration will be found in ibid., April 27, 1878, pp. 128, 129. Among the more interesting illustrations of this part of the trip are “Snow Sheds at Summit Station” (same issue as above, p. 132); “A Street Scene in Sacramento” and “The Grand Hotel in Sacramento” (May 4, 1878, p. 141); “The Wharf at Oakland, The Terminal of the Central Pacific Railroad, Opposite the City of San Francisco” and “Crossing the Bay on the Ferry Boat from Oakland” (May 11, 1878, p. 165); “The Western Terminal of the Central Pacific Railroad” and “View of Market Street, San Francisco, Looking Toward the Palace Hotel” (May 13, 1878, p. 181), and “A View of Montgomery Street, San Francisco” (June 15, 1878, p. 248).
But of all the scenery of the entire route [she wrote], nothing can compare with the Great American Canon, heralded by the rounding of Cape Horn, where the railway clings to the face of a precipice, with a thousand feet of crag above and two thousand feet below; a river winding dimly through the ravine, and giant pine trees dwarfed to shrubs as we look down upon their crests. No blood so sluggish, no eyes so dull, no heart so numbed and encrusted by worldliness but that they must be stirred and thrilled, as few things in this world can stir its favorite children, by the sensation of thus flying like a bird across this precipice, over the depths of this frightful abyss, suspended, as it were, between heaven and the inferno; . . .

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

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

54. Mrs. Leslie, pp. 109, 110.
55. Ibid., pp. 115-117. The Overland Monthly, v. 15 (1875), September, pp. 298, 299, has an account of the Palace Hotel upon its completion, which contains the statement, “We have seven big world-wonders now: the Bay of San Francisco, the Central Pacific Railroad, the Big Trees, the Bonanza, Yosemite, the Geysers, the Palace Hotel—and Assessor Rosenor.” I hope some native son will write me explaining “Assessor Rosenor” and his inclusion as an eighth wonder.
56. Illustrations of the Palace Hotel appeared in Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper for May 25, 1878, p. 197 (“The Main Entrance”), and June 29, 1878, p. 281 (“The Grand Court of the Palace Hotel,” credited to “our photographer”). Five Illustrations of Baldwin’s Hotel, also newly completed, and, according to Mrs. Leslie, p. 192, visited by the party, appeared in ibid., July 6, 1878, p. 301.
popular interest than the sights of California, or possibly he felt that California scenes were by 1877 better known than were those of silver mining.\(^57\)

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

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

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

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

59. I am indebted to Mrs. Mary Yeager Poole of Havertown, Pa., for the information concerning her father, Walter Rush Yeager, who was born in Philadelphia in April, 1832. Mrs. Poole wrote me that her father illustrated for *Harper's Magazine, Ladies Home Journal* and a number of religious publications in Mr. Yeager's free lance days. He is listed in the Philadelphia city directories as artist or designer from 1885 until 1890. The Library of Congress has a volume, *Art Studies in the Bible*, designed by W. R. Yeager, and published in Philadelphia in 1896. It was this volume that furnished the clue in tracing down the source of biographical information concerning Yeager as the art historians and lists again furnished me no biographical information. A brief death notice of Walter R. Yeager will be found in the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, April 18, 1896, p. 8.

Yeager illustrations for an article on the Bahamas by Mrs. Leslie appeared in *Leslie's*, June 21, 1879, pp. 268, 269. California illustrations by Yeager continued to appear for some time after those cited in Footnote 54. They were apparently based on Yeager's trip with the Leslies in 1877; see *ibid.*, May 24, 1879, p. 192; May 31, 1879, p. 201; June 7, 1879, p. 229; June 14, 1879, p. 249 (credited to both Yeager and Ogden); June 28, 1879, p. 281; July 19, 1879, p. 229; August 2, 1879, p. 416. *Leslie's*, January 31, 1880, p. 429, lists Becker, Yeager, Ogden, Berghaus and others as members of the art staff on that date.
ing historic costumes and uniforms. His illustrations appeared in many books and magazines, notably the military illustrations in the Pageant of America. He died at Englewood, N. J., on June 15, 1936, in his 80th year.30

60. For information on Ogden see Who’s Who in America, v. 18 (1924-1925), p. 1891, and an obituary in the New York Times, June 16, 1936, p. 25. Ogden’s labors as a painter of military costumes are given a thorough appraisal in the Military Collector and Historian, Washington, v. 1 (1949), April, pp. 4, 5, by George C. Groce. Ogden had other Western illustrations (Texas) in Leslie’s, May 22, 1889, p. 194. He was also a member of a commercial expedition sent out by Leslie’s to Mexico in 1879, and sketches on this trip appeared February 1, 1879, and succeeding issues through April 19.