The Pictorial Record of the Old West
XV. JOHN M. STANLEY AND THE PACIFIC RAILROAD REPORTS

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

Born in New York state in 1814, he spent his boyhood there. When he was 20 he moved to Detroit and the following year he began painting portraits and landscapes. No record of any artistic training exists, but from 1835 until 1839 he apparently made his living as an itinerant artist in Detroit, Fort Snelling (where he painted Indians), Galena and Chicago. He then moved East. No
definite record of his wanderings exists for the next few years, but in the early spring of 1842 an advertisement of the firm of Fay and Stanley appeared in Washington (D.C.) papers. Although positive proof that the Stanley of this firm was John M. Stanley is lacking, the circumstantial evidence is excellent. The advertisement announced that Fay and Stanley were prepared to take daguerreotype likenesses and would offer instruction and complete outfits for the practice of the art. Evidently in his three years in the East, Stanley—if it be granted that he was the Stanley of our interest—had acquired a knowledge of the new art, for it had been introduced into this country in the fall of 1839. Certain it is that Stanley later made use of daguerreotypy on one of his Western expeditions.3

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

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

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2. The information on Stanley thus far given in the text is based on an account given by Stanley’s son, L. C. S. Stanley, and published by David I. Bushnell, Jr., in “John Mix Stanley, Artist-Explorer,” Annual Report Smithsonian Institution, 1924, pp. 507–513, subsequent reference to this biographic material is indicated by L. C. S. Stanley’s manuscript account of his father is said to be in the Burton Historical Collections, Detroit.

The advertisement of Fay and Stanley appeared in The Independent, Washington, on March 15, 1842, p. 3, and in many subsequent issues between this date and May 31, 1842. There was an advertisement, with minor variations, also appeared in the National Intelligencer, Washington (see, for example, the issue of March 29, 1842, p. 3). The Independent of March 18, 1842, p. 3, had a brief comment on the firm of Fay and Stanley and identified Fay as one who had a “long and respectable connection with the Press of South Carolina” but made no direct comment on Stanley. Mention is made of “a competent artist” in the account which may or may not mean Stanley. Further circumstantial evidence that it was John M. Stanley who was concerned is borne out by the fact that the firm of Fay and Stanley became Fay and Reed in the advertisement of the firm for June 9, 1843, in the Independent (p. 4, c. 5). As will be pointed out shortly in the text, Stanley was in the Southwest in the year 1842 and the change in the firm may have arisen from Stanley’s withdrawal for this trip. Comment and letters in Diary and Letters of Josiah Gregg (Norman, Okla., 1941), M. G. Fulton, editor, v. 1, p. 185, also suggest that Stanley, a friend of Gregg’s may have had a knowledge of daguerreotypy in 1846; Stanley’s subsequent use of the daguerreotype in 1853 will be discussed in the text which follows. For the introduction of daguerreotypy in the United States, see Robert Taft, Photography and the American Scene (New York, 1938), ch. 1.

3. L. C. S. identified Dickerman only by the two words “of Troy,” W. Vernon Kinzett, John Mix Stanley and His Indian Paintings (Ann Arbor, 1942), p. 17 (Footnote 3), states that Stanley’s will assigned Dickerman a one-fourth interest in Stanley’s Indian Gallery to be described later in the text. Dickerman was born in 1818. He is listed as a resident of Troy in the city directories from 1836 to 1843. He was a Civil War veteran and lived in Maryland for some years after the war. He returned to Troy in 1881 where he died on July 21, 1882.—See Troy Daily Times, July 22, 1882. I am indebted to Eamon C. Howe, librarian, Troy Public Library, for this information. I have also corresponded with Kate L. Dickerman of Troy, who wrote me on March 21, 1951, that Sumner Dickerman was her uncle and that she remembered him relating stories of his adventures in the Indian country with Stanley. Miss Dickerman, age 96, also wrote me that Stanley painted portraits of her aunt and other members of the family which hung for many years in the Dickerman home. Miss Dickerman, the last of her family, stated that no records of Stanley or Dickerman in the Indian country were available in the family.
Oklahoma) and Stanley immediately set up a studio. Fort Gibson, established in 1824, was an important post on the early Southwestern frontier and in many respects an ideal one for Stanley's purpose. Through it passed an almost continuous stream of frontiersmen, border characters, and Indians of many tribes. Located in the Cherokee country it was easily accessible to Seminoles, Creeks, Osages, Chickasaws, many of whom had been forced to migrate by the government in the years preceding Stanley's first visit. Visits, too, from the native Plains Indians farther west were also frequent and Stanley never lacked for subjects. Four of these visitors, two Pawnee Pict chiefs and the wife and child of one of them, were among Stanley's early subjects. Stanley wrote concerning them:

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

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

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

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

5. Arkansas Intelligencer, Van Buren, June 24, 1843, p. 2. Van Buren, located only some half-dozen miles from Fort Smith, which in turn was only some 50 miles below Fort
Stanley painted one such meeting of the council, the painting being one of the few surviving Stanley pictures. It is now owned by the National Museum and has been called by one authority "one of the most valuable and important Indian pictures in existence." 6

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

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

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

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

The observer of the council stated that when his account was written (June 1) the number of persons present for the council were estimated at "two to five thousand." In Stanley's catalogue, Portraits of North American Indians, published by the Smithsonian Institution, December, 1852 (usually found as part of Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, v. 2, 1862), p. 15, the number present at the council is estimated at 10,000. I have seen other estimates as high as 20,000. In this catalogue Stanley has dated the painting of most of his pictures. It is apparent from these dates he was busy with the painting of the council and with portraits of visitors to the council during June, July, August and September of 1843. On p. 18 of this source, Stanley states that the council was in session for four weeks during June, 1843. Stanley's painting of the council, "International Indian Council," is now in the National Museum. Reproductions may be found in the Bushnell article cited in Footnote 2 and in the Kinzie book cited in Footnote 8.


7. In the "Preface" to the proposed Indian portfolio by Stanley now in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York City (for a discussion of this portfolio see F. W. Hodge, Indian Notes, v. 6, No. 4, Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York, October, 1929), the statement is made that Stanley accompanied Butler on two expeditions to the prairie tribes of Texas. The first was probably made in the early spring of 1843 as brief mention is made on Butler's return from this council in the National Intelligencer, April 27, 1843, p. 3 (reprinted from the Shreveport Red River Gazette of April 12). The second trip of Stanley with Butler to the headwaters of the Red river is identified in the same "Preface" as taking place in the winter of 1844-1845 for Butler was reported as preparing to meet the Prairie Indians on the Red river on November 25, 1843, in the National Intelligencer, November 18, 1843, p. 3, and his later return from the council is reported in the Arkansas Intelligencer, December 30, 1843, p. 2, and January 6, 1844, p. 1.

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

P. M. Butler received his title of governor from the fact that he was governor of South Carolina from 1836 until 1838. He was agent to the Cherokees from 1838 to 1846 and was killed in battle in the Mexican War in 1847.—See Dictionary of American Biography v. 3, pp. 365, 366.
actively engaged in finishing some 83 paintings preparatory to public exhibition.\textsuperscript{8}

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

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

Stanley soon became restless after his gallery was completed and leaving its future exhibition to Dickerman, he again started west. He was in St. Louis in the spring of 1846, and a few weeks later was in Independence, Mo., ready to start out over the Santa Fe trail for new scenes.\textsuperscript{10} He joined Col. S. C. Owen’s train which included the famous Josiah Gregg, whose Commerce of the Prairies published in...
1844 has become a Western classic. Gregg continued with the train only a hundred miles or so and then turned back to join another venture but the train also contained another writer whose diary many years later also became well known. Susan Magoffin’s diary, like Gregg’s *Commerce of the Prairies*, is among the most valued written records of the Santa Fe trail. Susan, a young bride of 19, noted in her diary on June 20, 1846, that Stanley was a member of the same train, after wishing that an artist could portray the many interesting and novel scenes as the train lay encamped at Council Grove (in present central Kansas).\(^1\)

Unfortunately, if Stanley made any sketches along the Santa Fe trail, they have been lost. Before he started on the overland expedition, however, he had made an excursion from Independence to the Kansas river where he painted Keokuk, the celebrated chief, and others of the Sac and Fox tribe.\(^2\)

Owen’s train reached Santa Fe on August 31, 1846. The Mexican War was then only several months old and Col. Stephen W. Kearny and his troops, who reached Santa Fe at about the same time as the Owen train, promptly took over the city from the Mexican government and planned to go on to California to aid in its conquest. Reorganization of Kearny’s troops was made at Santa Fe and a scientific staff was added which included Stanley as the artist of the expedition.\(^3\)

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

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


13. *National Intelligencer*, November 14, 1846, p. 3, reported that Kearny left Santa Fe for California on September 25, and that the scientific staff of the expedition included “Mr. Stanley employed at Santa Fe as the artist of the expedition.” W. H. Emory’s official report of the Kearny expedition (*House Ex. Doc. No. 41* [serial No. 517], p. 45, 30 Cong., 1 Sess. [1848]) stated that the party as organized at Santa Fe included “J. M. Stanley, draughtsman.”
Kearny's long march to the sea. The plates in general are very crudely done in black and white, the most interesting one being "San Diego from the Old Fort." The Cymne with Stanley aboard arrived in San Francisco in the early spring of 1847, and here Edwin Bryant, the author of the well-known What I Saw in California, included Stanley's sketches in the California sights that came before his eyes. Writing in 1848, he stated:

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

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

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

14. Twenty-three plates of scenery and Indian portraits in black and white, three of natural history and Indian hieroglyphics, and 14 botanical plates appear in the official report. Apparently all were after sketches by Stanley although nowhere is there direct statement of this fact save in the case of the 14 botanical plates. Both Senate and House printings of the report exist: W. H. Emory, Notes of a Military Reconnaissance, From Fort Leavenworth, Missouri to San Diego, California (Washington, 1848); 30 Cong., 1 Sess., Senate Ex. Doc. No. 7 (serial No. 505); and 30 Cong., 1 Sess., House Ex. Doc. No. 41 (serial No. 517). The lithography of the plates in both printings I have examined were by C. B. Graham although Charles L. Camp, Wagner's the Plains and the Rockies (San Francisco, 1857), p. 112, reports that in the Senate edition he examined the plates of scenery were lithographed by E. Weyer and Co., a point which illustrates the fact made previously that general conclusions on plates cannot be based on the examination of single volumes.

There is, of course, the possibility that some of the views in the Emory report were not based on Stanley's original sketches. Ross Calvin in Lieutenant Emory Reports (Albuquerque, 1951), states (pp. 5, 14) that some of the illustrations "are so inaccurate as to make it clear that the draughtsman never beheld the scenes he was attempting to depict" but does not explain the discrepancy further. Calvin's statement still does not preclude the possibility that all the original drawings were made by Stanley as has already been observed in the text, the plates reproduced in this report are extremely crude. The lithographer may well have been the cause of the inaccuracies.

15. Edwin Bryant, What I Saw in California (New York, 4th ed., 1849), pp. 435-446. Bryant had ample opportunity to observe "the desert and wilderness" for he made the overland crossing himself and was made aide-de-camp of San Francisco in the spring of 1847 by General Kearny. Bryant's book is one of the most interestingly written of all the early accounts of the overland trail. Bryant (1805-1869) lived in California for some time but spent his last years in Kentucky. For an obituary, see San Francisco Bulletin, January 3, 1870, p. 2.

16. The "Indian Telegraph" was either repainted or painted for the first time in 1860 (Kinietz, op. cit., p. 33) and therefore was not one of the paintings seen by Bryant. It is now owned by the Detroit Institute of Arts. "Black Knife" was among the original paintings of 1846 and was one of those that escaped the disastrous fire of 1865. It is owned by the National Museum. Both of these paintings are reproduced in black and white in the Kinietz book.
Oregon by July 8, 1847, and was busily occupied for some months making portraits of the Northwestern Indians. Late in November, he started for the famous Whitman Mission to paint the portraits of Dr. and Mrs. Whitman. When within six miles of the mission, he was met by two friendly Indians who informed him of the Whitman massacre and warned him that his own life was in danger. With the aid of an Indian, he made his way with great caution to Fort Walla Walla where he was one of the first to report the massacre. Stanley continued in the Northwest until the summer of 1848 and his extensive Indian gallery acquired many additions.

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

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


18. In The Polynesian, Honolulu, August 19, 1848, p. 55, there was record of the arrival of the American brig Esoline at the port of Honolulu “13 days from Columbia River”; George M. Stanley was listed as one of the passengers. I believe this is a record of John M. Stanley’s arrival in Honolulu for in a succeeding issue of this paper there is an account of John M. Stanley’s artistic activities with the comment that he “recently arrived from Oregon”—Ibid., September 16, 1848, p. 70. Additional comment on Stanley’s activities in the Islands will be found in the Sandwich Island News, Honolulu, August 11, 1848, p. 187; The Polynesian, April 14, 1849, p. 190.

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

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

“INDIANS—Will be opened at the Alhambra Rooms, 557½ Broadway, on Thursday evening, November 28, at 8 P.M. STANLEY’S NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN GALLERY, containing 134 Oil Paintings consisting of Portraits, life-size of the principal Chiefs and Warriors of the different tribes roaming upon our Western and South-western [sic] Prairies, New-Mexico, California and Oregon, together with landscape views, Games, Dances, Buffalo Hunts and Domestic Scenes, all of which have been painted in their own country during eight years travel among them, the whole forming one of the most interesting and instructive exhibitions illustrative of Indian life and customs ever before presented to the public.

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

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

This advertisement ran for a week but comment and other small advertisements indicated that the gallery was on exhibit in New York for at least two months and probably longer.—See New York Tribune, January 21, 1851, p. 5, January 23, p. 5, January 24, p. 1.
institution. Here they remained for over a dozen years, the gallery being gradually enlarged by Stanley until it numbered some two hundred paintings. The gallery attracted considerable public interest, not only among visitors to Washington but among residents of the city and among members of congress.

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

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

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

20. The first notice I have found of Stanley's gallery in Washington occurs in the National Intelligencer, February 24, 1852, p. 1, which stated that the gallery had been "recently brought to this city." Henry reported to the board of the Smithsonian on March 22, 1853, that Stanley had deposited his gallery of Indian portraits in the institution and that they "had attracted many visitors" (32 Cong., 1 Sess., Senate Misc. Doc. No. 108 (serial No. 629), p. 108. See, also, Henry's comment on Stanley's gallery in 32 Cong., 2 Sess., Sen. Misc. Doc. No. 55, p. 27. Henry stated here that there were 152 paintings in the collection which is the number listed in the catalogue of 1852, note the comment of Senator Weller, however, as given in Footnote 21. L. C. S. mentions the display of the gallery in Eastern cities during 1850 and 1851.


Senator Weller of California introduced the matter of the purchase of the Stanley gallery to the senate on December 28, 1852, where the matter was referred to the committee on Indian affairs, The Cong. Globe, 32 Cong., 2 Sess. (1852-1853), p. 158. Weller
Stanley continued to urge the purchase of the gallery even after the initial defeat of the first measure and apparently it was discussed in congress a number of times but all such attempts failed. The Smithsonian itself was asked to buy this collection but lack of funds prevented such a move. Stanley added to the gallery, however, and by 1865 it numbered some 200 portraits. A fire on January 24, 1865, in the wing of the institution which housed the gallery caused the destruction of all but five of the paintings. Not only did Stanley suffer a heart-breaking loss but the nation suffered an irreparable loss in its historical portraiture.\textsuperscript{22}

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

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

stated that there were 154 paintings in the collection, 139 in substantial gilded frames. The committee to whom the matter was referred examined the exhibit and were very favorably impressed but they failed to arouse enough enthusiasm among the rest of the senators when the matter came to a final vote on March 3, 1853, \textit{ibid.}, p. 1054. Senator Weller apparently quoted Stanley when he reported Stanley's investment as $12,000 "in addition to time and labor."
The \textit{National Intelligencer} item cited in Footnote 20 stated Stanley's hope when it reported that the gallery "may become the foundation of the great national gallery."

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

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

That Stevens was more than satisfied with his selection of Stanley is indicated in a letter of October 29, 1853, after Stanley's part in the survey was virtually complete. The letter reads in part: "The chief of the exploration would do injustice to his own feelings if he omitted to express his admiration for the various labors of Mr. Stanley, the artist of the exploration. Besides occupying his professional field with an ability above any commendation we can bestow, Mr. Stanley has surveyed two routes—from Fort Benton to the Cypress mountain, and from St. Mary's valley to Fort Colville over the Bitter Root range of mountains—to the furtherance of our geographical information, and the ascertaining of important points in the question of a railroad; and he has also rendered efficient service in both cases, and throughout his services with the exploration, in intercourse with the Indians."—\textit{Reports}, v. 1, Stevens report, p. 67.
confirmation as governor of the new territory. Stevens' commission was issued March 17. The duties of the position were arduous enough, for, in addition to the governorship, Stevens was also superintendent of Indian affairs for the territory. Not satisfied with his dual role of governor and Indian commissioner, Stevens also applied to Secretary of War Jefferson Davis for the position as head of the northern railroad survey, and received the commission for this task on April 8.24

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

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

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

Gov. Stevens is said to be a regular go-ahead man and so far the work shows for itself. His men, baggage, and about 150 mules have already arrived, and the work has been going on for over a week. How he has managed so to expedite his affairs is a problem.

The shipments of merchandise and emigration to St. Paul this spring have been enormous; so that many of our merchants, who purchased even in the winter, have not yet received their supplies. The Governor has crowded them off and hurried his effects along. It is not easy to define how much the people of the West admire such a character. Ten years is a lifetime here, and twenty, time out of memory.25

24. In the above discussion I have followed Hazard Stevens, The Life of Isaac Ingalls Stevens (Boston, 1900), v. 1, ch. 15. For his appointment as survey head, see v. 12 of the Reports, p. 31.
Stevens and Stanley arrived in St. Paul on the evening of May 27. The camp established by Stevens’ vanguard was about an hour’s ride from St. Paul. Some idea of the drive and intensity of the survey’s commanding officer is revealed when he recorded in his official diary: “Starting from St. Paul at 3½ a.m. on the 28th, I reached our camp in about an hour, and had the pleasure of rousing the gentlemen of the expedition from their sleep.” 26

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

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

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

26. Reports, v. 12, p. 36.
27. New York Tribune, June 3, 1853, p. 5. This account lists Stanley and Strobel as artists and although in the quotation above the plural artists is employed, it must apply to Strobel’s work as it was written before Stanley reached St. Paul.
28. Ibid., August 3, 1853, p. 5. Strobel was not the only one who turned back as a result of Stevens’ drive and insistence upon his way of doing things. This same account stated that there were over 25 who had returned and Stevens’ official account also described his difference of opinion with members of the survey resulting in withdrawal from the expedition. Stevens mentions Strobel’s discharge because he was “inefficient,” Reports, v. 12, p. 55.
29. For the comment on Strobel see New York Tribune, August 3, 1853, p. 5; for a reproduction of Strobel’s view of St. Paul, see I. N. Phelps Stokes and Daniel C. Haskell, American Historical Prints . . . (New York, 1933), plate 85a with comment on page 111; for Strobel with Fremont, see S. N. Carvalho, Incidents of Travel and Adventure in the Far West (New York, 1859), p. 29.
predecessors 50-years earlier, Lewis and Clark; a route which has been concisely summarized as “up the Missouri and down the Columbia.” It is true that little of the journey was by water—as of necessity it could not be from the nature of the survey—and the starting point, St. Paul, was some distance from the Missouri river.\footnote{Actually Stevens instructed one group of his expedition to ascend the Missouri from St. Louis to Fort Union and to make meteorological, astronomical and topographical observations above St. Joseph, Mo. Nine of the survey made the river trip, see Reports, v. 12, pp. 79-82. The general course of the Stevens party through present North Dakota was such, as one of the party stated, “to turn the Great Bend of the Missouri, and to cross its tributaries, where the least water was to be found.”—New York Tribune, September 13, 1853, p. 5. Roughly it would correspond to a route that would follow north of U. S. 52 from Fargo to Minot and then U. S. 52 westward. Jesse lake (Griggs county), for example, which is mentioned later in the text was on the Stevens route as was the Butte de Morale, of which Stanley made a sketch which was reproduced in the Reports. The Butte de Morale is some seven miles from Harvey, N. D., almost in the center of the state.}

The expedition, however, headed westward across Minnesota territory and into present North Dakota where the route of the expedition roughly paralleled the Missouri.

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

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

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

The artist in sketching this scene, stood on an elevation in advance of the foreground, whence, with a spy-glass, he could see fifteen miles in any direction, and yet he saw not the limit of the herd.

\textit{Who can count the multitude? You may only look and wonder!} Or, if you seek to estimate the “numbers without number,” what sum will you name, except “hundreds of thousands?”

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

About five miles from camp [he wrote] we ascended to the top of a high hill, and for a great distance ahead every square mile seemed to have a herd of buffalo upon it. Their number was variously estimated by the members of the party—some as high as half a million. I do not think it is any exaggeration to
set it down at 200,000. I had heard of the myriads of these animals inhabiting these plains, but I could not realize the truth of these accounts till to-day, when they surpassed anything I could have imagined from the accounts which I had received. The reader will form a better idea of this scene from the accompanying sketch taken by Mr. Stanley on the ground, than from any description. 31

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

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

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

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

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

31. The first quotation on the buffalo is from Stanley’s Western Wilds (see Footnote 46), p. 8; Stevens’ comment from Reports, v. 12, p. 59.
32. The date was July 16; Stevens in ibid., pp. 65, 66.
33. The St. Paul correspondent of the New York Tribune reported the arrival of 183 carts of the hunters in that frontier town on July 20, see New York Tribune, August 3, 1853, p. 5. Mention is made of their meeting with the Stevens party. An excellent description of the Pembina carts and of the Red river colonists may be found in a letter to the New York Tribune, July 27, 1857, p. 5.
The survey was now nearing Fort Union and four days before their arrival at the post, they reached an encampment of some 1,200 Assiniboines. Stevens, in his role of Indian commissioner, met them in council, heard their speeches and complaints and distributed to them supplies from his store of goods carried for such purpose. Stanley was one of the group selected by Stevens to the council and he took the opportunity to add to his store of sketches.34

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

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

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

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

35. Ibid. Stevens, Reports, v. 12, p. 78, also makes brief comment on the entry to Fort Union. The writer of this letter was probably Elwood Evans, as he was a native of Philadelphia and accompanied Stevens’ expedition.—See Hubert H. Bancroft’s Works, v. 31, p. 54.
stay at Fort Union with his daguerreotype apparatus, and the Indians were greatly pleased with their daguerreotypes.”

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

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

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

36. Reports, v. 12, p. 87. Another comment on Stanley’s use of the daguerreotype will be found in this same volume, p. 105.

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

J. McEntire's "Herds of Bison, near Lake Jesse" (1873)
From Wilkins' Report.

C. Schon's "Mode of Crossing Rivers by the Flathead and Other Indians" (Probable 1860-1862).
JOHN E. WEISS, "BROWNSVILLE, TEXAS" (1853)

Engraved by James Stulllee, Emory's Boundary Survey Report.

Arthur Schott's "Military Plaza—San Antonio, Texas" (1855)
volunteered to proceed to the Piegan village as Stevens was intent on inviting all the Blackfeet to a grand council at Fort Benton.

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

The first rays of the sun found us in the saddle, prepared for a long march. But one day more remained for me to find the Piegan camp. The night had been clear and cold, silvering the scanty herbage with a light frost; and while packing up, the men would stop to warm their fingers over a feeble fire of buffalo-chips and skulls. After a short march of twelve miles, we reached the divide between Milk and Bow rivers.

At 1 o'clock I descended to a deep valley, in which flows an affluent of Beaver river. Here was the Piegan camp, of ninety lodges, under their chief Low Horn, one hundred and sixty-three miles north, 20° west, of Fort Benton.

Little Dog conducted me, with my party, to his lodge, and immediately the chiefs and braves collected in the "Council Lodge," to receive my message. The arrival of a "pale face" was an unlooked for event, and hundreds followed me to the council, consisting of sixty of their principal men.

The usual ceremony of smoking being concluded, I delivered my "talk," which was responded to by their chief saying, "the whole camp would move at an early hour the following morning to council with the chief sent by their Great Father." The day was spent in feasting with the several chiefs, all seeming anxious to extend their hospitality; and while feasting with one chief, another had his messenger at the door of the lodge to conduct me to another.

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

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

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

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

Evidently Stevens' employment of Culbertson and his Blackfoot wife was a master stroke, for the Blackfeet usually gave trouble to whites entering their territory. The liberal distribution of goods and presents, in one case amounting to a value of $800, to Indians encountered, was also no doubt a contributing factor to amicable relations.
Stanley was gone for 11 days on this side excursion, and shortly after his return to Fort Benton the survey again started westward. The detailed description of the remaining journey becomes complex, as there were many side excursions and a number of divisions made of the party. Stevens, too, was anxious to assume his territorial duties, so with several of his party, including Stanley, he left the main command and pressed on to Fort Vancouver (present Vancouver, Wash.) which was reached on November 16. As they left Fort Benton on September 22, the last thousand miles of the journey were covered in about seven weeks. Their route in general from Benton was southwest to Fort Owen (present Stevensville, Ravalli county, western Montana), northwestward to the Coeur D'Alene Mission (present Cataldo, Idaho, on U.S. 10), northward to Fort Colville (near present Colville, Wash.) and then down the Columbia to Fort Vancouver, Stevens and Stanley descending the Columbia in a canoe from Fort Walla-Walla (some 25 miles west of the present city of Walla-Walla) to Vancouver. Captain McClellan's party working eastward was met on October 18 at Fort Colville where Stevens remained several days discussing and planning with McClellan the future work of the survey. Several days had also been spent at the Coeur D'Alene Mission just before McClellan was met. One of the most attractive of the many illustrations in the official reports is Stanley's sketch of the mission. 40

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

Very shortly after the arrival of Stevens and Stanley at Fort

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

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

As is to be expected since the plates for the Stevens’ report were lithographed by two firms, the same title will show illustrations differing more or less in detail. In the copies I have seen the coloring is superior in the Sarony, Major, and Knapp printings but even lithographs from the same house will differ in brilliance of color depending upon how much the stones were used and inked.
Vancouver, Stanley was dispatched to Washington with the preliminary Stevens reports of the survey. The return trip was made by ship down the coast to the Isthmus, across the Isthmus, and then on the Star of the West to New York City, where Stanley arrived on January 9, 1854. He then went on to Washington. 42

Stanley’s return to Washington marked the end of his Western adventures. The remainder of his life was spent as a studio artist in Washington, Buffalo, and lastly in Detroit, where he died in 1872. 43

One additional episode in Stanley’s life, however, should be described, because previous biographers of Stanley have overlooked it and because it is important in the story of Western illustration. It was over a year after Stanley’s return to Washington in January, 1854, before work was begun preparing the field sketches as illustrations for Stevens’ final report. 44

Stanley did use his field sketches almost immediately for the preparation of a huge panorama of Western scenes for public exhibition. By summer the panorama was well under way and Stanley’s studio was “Daily the resort of our most distinguished citizens who express the greatest admiration of this grand panoramic work.” 45 The work, consisting of 42 episodes, went on display in Washington on September 1. Two hours were required to view it. A 23-page handbook, Scenes and Incidents of Stanley’s Western Wilds, describing the panorama, which was primarily a depiction of the northern survey route, could be purchased at the door of the National Theatre for ten cents after the admission fee of 25 cents had been paid. The Washington papers were generous and fulsome in their praise of these Stanley pictures. In addition to display in Washington

42. Stanley’s arrival in New York is given in the New York Tribune, January 9, 1854, p. 5, where an “M. Stanley” is listed among the passengers of the Star of the West and in the next column, under “Oregon” it specifically stated that J. M. Stanley, the artist of Stevens’ survey, arrived on the “Star of the West.” Stanley was back in Washington by January 19, 1854, as Stanley’s report of his visit to the Piegans is dated “Washington City, January 19, 1854” (see Footnote 38).

43. For the remainder of Stanley’s life see Kinietz, op. cit., and obituaries in the Detroit Free Press, April 11, 1872, p. 1, and the Detroit Advertiser and Tribune, April 10, 1872, p. 4.

44. The National Archives (Washington) in their file of material on the Pacific railroad surveys has a letter by Stanley, dated April 8, 1855, to Lt. J. K. Warren who with Capt. A. A. Humphreys was in charge of the preparation of the reports for publication by the War Department, stating that it would take Stanley 5½ months to complete the necessary illustrations, a list of 57 proposed illustrations on the list are those which finally appeared in the report. Apparently Stanley had a few illustrations ready at the time the letter was written for he so stated. Stevens in a letter to Capt. A. A. Humphreys of the War Department dated September 26, 1854 (also in the National Archives), directed that Stanley be paid $125 a month for his work of preparation, “a small compensation however in view of his ability and experience.” Apparently, too, this rate of pay was Stanley’s compensation while on the actual survey.—See Hazard Stevens, op. cit., v. 1, p. 306. This sum was probably the standard rate of pay for Charles Koppel also received $125 a month while on Lieutenant Williamson’s survey.—See 33 Cong., 1 Sess., Sen. Ex. Doc. 29 (serial No. 695), p. 113.

45. Daily Evening Star, Washington, August 9, 1854, p. 3.
and Georgetown, it was exhibited in Baltimore for three weeks, and finally it was reported in the Washington press to be on the way to Boston and to London for exhibition.\footnote{46}

Like most of Stanley’s original work it has disappeared. It would be priceless at the present day.

The last of the Pacific railroad survey artists we can mention but briefly. He was Gustav Sohon, one of the enlisted men who brought supplies from the Pacific coast to the Indian village of St. Marys, west of the Rockies, for the Stevens party proper in the summer of 1853. Later he accompanied Lt. John Mullan, who under Stevens’ orders surveyed the mountains on the northern route for possible passes in the winter of 1853-1854, and from this time until 1862 he was frequently associated with Mullan in the Northwest. Some ten or a dozen of his sketches are included in the final Stevens report, but by far the most interesting of Sohon’s work now available was reproduced in a report by Mullan published in 1863. Included among these illustrations were “Walla-Walla, W. T. in 1862,” “Fort Benton” (not dated but probably 1860-1862), the most satisfying illustration I have seen of this famous frontier post and head of steamboat navigation on the Missouri (reproduced \textit{between} pp. 16, 17); “Coeur D’Alene Mission in the Rocky Mountains,” a different view than Stanley’s illustration of 1853, and “Mode of Crossing Rivers by the Flathead and Other Indians,” showing the use of hide “bull-boats” (reproduced \textit{between} pp. 16, 17). A number of Sohon’s original Indian sketches are now in the United States National Museum. They are stated to be “the most extensive and authoritative pictorial series on the Indian of the Northwest Plateau in pre-reservation days.”\footnote{47}

The only other government report for this period that can approach the Pacific railway \textit{Reports} from the standpoint of Western illustration is the Emory account of the United States-Mexico boundary survey, and to conclude this chapter of our story, brief comment

\footnote{46. Many comments and advertisements on \textit{Stanley’s Western Wilds} appeared in the \textit{Washington Star} from August 9, 1854, to January 18, 1855. A copy of the handbook of \textit{Stanley’s Western Wilds} is in the collections of the Library of Congress. According to the \textit{Washington Star} of December 14, 1854, p. 3, it was written by Thomas S. Donaho.

47. For Sohon (1825-1903) see John C. Ewers “Gustavus Sohon’s Portraits of Flathead and Pend D’Oreille Indians, 1854.” \textit{Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections}, v. 110 (1948), November, 68pg. The above quotation is from this source. For Mullan’s report see Capt. John Mullan, \textit{Report on the Construction of a Military Road From Fort Walla-Walla to Fort Benton} (Washington, 1861). The excellent lithography in the Mullan book was by Bowen and Co. For comment on the Sohon Illustrations in the Stevens report, see Footnote 41. No trace of the original Stanley and Sohon sketches for the Stevens report has been found. They are not in the National Archives although a letter in the Archives from Stevens to Capt. A. A. Humphreys, dated March 11, 1858, requested that all of the sketches of Stanley and Lieutenant Mullan (presumably those of Sohon) to be used in the report be sent to Stevens. Humphreys has a notation dated March 12, 1858, on the Stevens letter stating that the sketches requested had been sent Stevens. What happened to them subsequently I have been unable to determine.}
on the illustrations will be made. The survey began initially in the spring of 1849 and as a result of a series of obstacles was not completed until the fall of 1855.

The report, in three volumes, was published in 1857-1859. The first volume includes the general account and details of the survey and the last two volumes deal with the botany and zoology of the region transversed. These two volumes are illustrated with many wonderful plates including a number of hand-colored plates of birds.

Part one of the first volume includes the illustrations of most general interest and here will be found 76 steel engravings, 12 lithographs (a number colored) and 20 woodcuts. These elaborate illustrations are primarily the work of two artists who accompanied the survey, Arthur Schott and John E. Weyss (or Weiss).

The survey in its final stages worked in two parties, one traveling west and the second, starting from Fort Yuma (Arizona), traveling east. Weyss accompanied the first party, which was under the immediate command of Emory; Schott, under Lt. Nathaniel Michler, was with the second.48

Among the most interesting of the illustrations in this volume are "Military Plaza—San Antonio, Texas," by Schott (reproduced between pp. 16, 17), "Brownsville, Texas," by Weyss (reproduced between pp. 16, 17), and "The Plaza and Church of El Paso," by A. de Vaudricourt who was with the survey in 1851.

Schott was a resident of Washington for many years after his return from the survey. He was an ardent naturalist and his name appears frequently in the reports of the Smithsonian Institution in the 1860's and 1870's. His death occurred in 1875 at the age of 62.49

48. The official title of the report is United States and Mexican Boundary Survey Report of William H. Emory, 84 Cong., 1 Sess., House Ex. Doc. 195 (Washington, 1857), vols. 1 and 2 (in two pts.). Mention of Weyss (sometimes spelled Weiss in the report) and of Schott as members of the survey and of their responsibility as illustrators is made on pp. 15, 24, 96 and 124 of v. 1. The engravings were by the Smillies (see Footnote 53) and W. H. Dougal; the lithography by Sarony, Major and Knapp. The list of illustrations on pp. X and XI calls for 74 steel engravings but in the copy I examined there were two number 32's and 33's of different titles (two not included in the list) making a total of 76 engravings.

49. For mention of Schott, see Annual Report of Smithsonian Institution for 1866, p. 27; for 1867, p. 48; for 1871, p. 423; for 1873, p. 390; for 1874, p. 44; see also, 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Senate Misc. Doc. No. 21, v. 1, January 16, 1867, pp. 7-11. Schott appears in Washington city directories from 1838 until his death in 1875. He must have been a remarkable man for he is listed at various times as a naturalist, engineer, physician and referred to as a well-known professor of German and music. His death, at the age of 62, occurred in Washington, D. C., on July 28, 1875.—See National Republican, Washington, July 28, 1875, p. 2, and Georgetown Courier, July 31, 1875, p. 8. 8. W. Geiser, Naturalists of the Frontier (Dallas, 1948), p. 281, gives a very brief sketch of Schott.
Weyss later became Major Weyss during the Civil War, serving as a member of the staff of engineers of the Army of the Potomac. After the war he again turned to employment in Western surveys and according to Wheeler was "for many years connected with Western explorations and surveys under the War Department." Several plates in the report prepared by Wheeler were based on sketches by Weyss. He died in Washington, D. C., on June 24, 1903, at the age of 83.50

There is little biographic data available on A. de Vaudricourt. The San Antonio Ledger, October 10, 1850, described him as an "accomplished and gentlemanly draughtsman and interpreter who has made a number of beautiful sketches of the most striking parts of our country. . . ." He was connected with the survey for less than a year and he then disappears from view.51

Actually there were at least two other artists on these Mexican boundary surveys, John R. Bartlett and H. C. Pratt. Some of their work is reproduced in Bartlett's account of the survey. Bartlett, who was U. S. commissioner for the survey for several years, was an amateur artist, but Pratt, who accompanied him, was a professional and is reported to have made "hundreds" of sketches and some oil portraits of Indians. Bartlett, however, in his report, employed his own sketches very nearly to the exclusion of those of Pratt. As a probable result, the illustrations (15 lithographs and 94 woodcuts), with two exceptions, are of no great interest. The exceptions are a double-page lithograph of Fort Yuma, Ariz. (by Pratt), and of Tucson, Ariz., and surrounding desert by Bartlett.52

50. See The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (Washington, 1891), Series I, v. 36, pt. 1, p. 294, for Weiss (note change of spelling) in the Civil War where it is stated that Weyss was commissioned by the governor of the State of Kentucky.

The comment by Wheeler will be found in George M. Wheeler, Report Upon United States Geographic Surveys West of the One Hundredth Meridian (Washington, 1888), v. 1, p. 52. I am indebted to Meredith B. Colket, Jr., of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, for locating the death date of Weyss which he found in certificate No. 149,509, bureau of vital statistics, District of Columbia health department. A death notice of Weyss will be found in The Evening Star, Washington, June 24, 1903, p. 5.

51. The quotation concerning Vaudricourt is reprinted in the National Intelligencer for November 2, 1850, p. 3. Ibid., September 24, 1850, p. 4, reported that Vaudricourt was head of the topographic party of the survey that was to work from Indiana (Texas) to El Paso, and the same newspaper July 25, 1851, p. 1, reported that Vaudricourt had severed his connection with the survey. Bartlett (see Footnote 52) v. 2, p. 541, also made mention of Vaudricourt and stated that Vaudricourt left the survey soon after they reached El Paso. Harry C. Peters, America on Stone (Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1931), p. 392, lists an A. de Vaudricourt who made a lithographic illustration for Bonne and Sharp of Boston in 1844-1845, but gives no further information concerning him.

52. For Bartlett (1805-1886), see Dictionary of American Biography, v. 2, pp. 7, 8, and his report, Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora, and Chihuahua, Connected With the United States and Mexico Boundary Commission During the Years 1850, '51, '52, '53 (New York, 1854), two volumes. Bartlett, Emory and others become involved in a serious contretemps and their differences result in part in the conclusion of the survey, reparation, and reconciliation. Bartlett, in his own report, makes mention of his own and Pratt's sketches in v. 1, p. 337, and v. 2, pp. 541, 545 and 596. Pratt (1803-1880) is listed by D. T. Mallett, Mallett's Index of Artists (New York, 1934), p. 332, as a landscape painter. Contemporary mention of Pratt's interest or participation on the survey will be found in the San Diego Herald, February 14, 1852 (reprinted in the National Intelligencer, March 20, 1852, p. 3).
The two views here reproduced from the Emory report (those of Brownsville and San Antonio, Tex.) are copies of steel engravings by the celebrated American engravers, James Smillie and James D. Smillie. The Brownsville engraving is based on a sketch by John E. Weyss and, I believe, can be safely dated 1853. Weyss joined the survey in that year and was a member of the party which passed Brownsville.

Arthur Schott’s interesting and well-known view of the “Military Plaza, San Antonio” is more difficult to date. Schott was probably in southern Texas as early as the fall of 1851 and he seems to have passed through San Antonio as late as the fall of 1855, and may have been there at times between those two dates. In the absence of conclusive evidence, it seems best for the present to date the view 1853 with an uncertainty of plus or minus two years.

54. Emory’s Report, p. 5, p. 15, 58, 60, 61.
55. When Emory was appointed to the survey in September, 1851, he almost immediately left Washington for Texas. He reported (Ibid., p. 10), “... after a dreary march across the prairies and uplands of Texas, [I] reached El Paso in November [1851], and resumed my duties in the field on the 25th of that month.” According to Bartlett, Personal Narrative, v. 2, p. 306, Arthur Schott accompanied Emory at this time. Whether San Antonio was visited on the way to El Paso is uncertain. Emory and his group then returned east through Texas by wagon train.—Ibid., pp. 515, 532. When the survey was reorganized in the spring of 1853, Schott was in the field with the survey in southern Texas by April, 1853.—Emory’s Report, v. 1, pp. 15, 16. Apparently he was in Texas before the opening of the survey’s work in the spring, as there is a record of botanical collections made by Schott at Indianola, Tex., in January and February, 1853, as there is also for the years 1854 and 1855.—W. R. Taylor, “Tropical Marine Algae of the Arthur Schott Herbarium,” Field Museum of Natural History, Publication 509, Chicago, 1941, pp. 87-89; Botanical Series, v. 20, No. 4. In none of those years is the evidence clear cut that Schott was actually at San Antonio, something over 100 miles northwest of Indianola. In the fall of 1854 Schott was assigned to Lt. N. Michler’s command which commenced the survey eastward from San Diego on November 16, 1854.—Emory’s Report, v. 1, pp. 24, 101. Michler’s party on their return passed through San Antonio from the west in November of the following year.—Ibid., pp. 124, 125.

The only other attempt to date the original sketch on which Schott’s view of San Antonio is based, as far as I know, is that given by L. N. P. Stokes and D. C. Haskell, American Historical Prints (New York, 1933), p. 112. Stokes and Haskell assign it the date “1852-53” but the evidence for the assignment of the date is not given. Correspondence either directly or indirectly with the Texas Historical Association, the Barker Texas History Center, the San Antonio Public Library, and others, has not given positive evidence for a specific date. I am indebted to Llerena Friend of the Barker Texas History Center, and E. W. Robinson and Col. M. L. Crimmens of San Antonio who considered the matter for me.