



Omaha: Frontier Depot and Prodigy of Council Bluffs

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Article Summary: In the second half of the nineteenth century every town hoped to find itself on the railroad line, the transcontinental path of commerce. Council Bluffs was no exception. Yet it was Omaha, more favorably situated than Council Bluffs to capture the trade of the West, that became an important wholesaling and processing city.

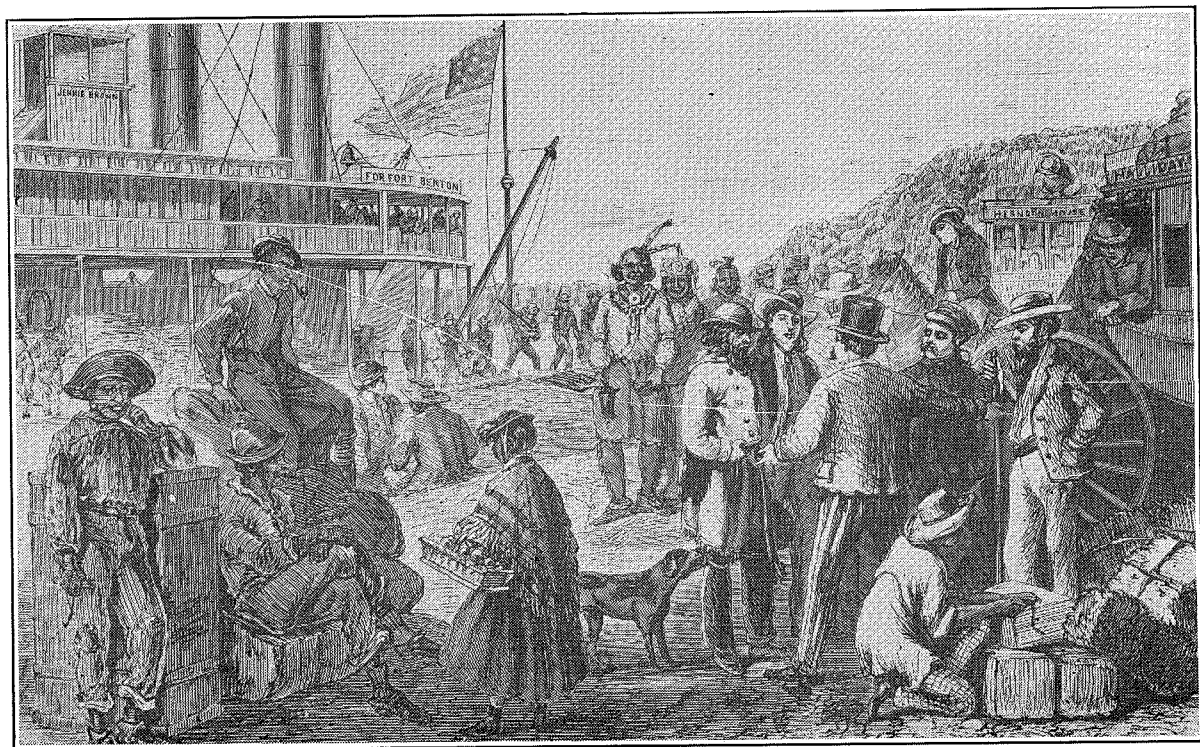
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Photographs / Images: steamboat *Jennie Brown* at Omaha Landing, 1868; Ezra Meeker at Bellevue College, 1906; Omaha, about 1873



Steamboat **Jennie Brown** (for Fort Benton) at Omaha Landing, 1868

OMAHA: FRONTIER DEPOT AND PRODIGY OF COUNCIL BLUFFS

By WALKER D. WYMAN

The Nebraska-Kansas bill of 1854 prepared the legislative path for a string of "paper towns" on the west bank of the "Big Muddy". The major towns on the east—St. Joseph, Missouri, and Council Bluffs, Iowa—now fought a difficult battle to maintain their economic supremacy. In this decade of sectional strife the major activity of any town with ambition (and *every* settlement had such an affliction) was to be placed on the trans-continental path of commerce. Few people believed that more than one Pacific railroad would be built. Consequently the struggle for affluence was more bitter than if there had been railroads built along each of the surveys authorized in 1853. Chicago and St. Louis expected to be located at the lower end of a funnel, the latter city going to the trouble of making a map showing these connections.¹ The settlement of Omaha was but a fragment of the total "ways and means" used by Council Bluffs to get the railroads. It was a boomerang in that the child soon became greater than the parent.

Council Bluffs originally was located high and dry in spite of being in a hollow, some three miles from the treacherous Missouri. Across the river there arose from the mud flats gentle hills. Upon these grew Omaha, supposedly named after the Omaha Indians of that area whose name signified "upstream people".² The circumstances surrounding the elementary transportation system usually determine the location of first settlements. The importance of a good natural landing or an artificial wharf was much appreciated by these river towns. Omaha had neither one nor the other. But a few miles above and below, rock wharves instead of mud bottoms were available. Steamers stuck their prows in the mud almost as long as they constituted the principal means of transportation. The Union Pacific Railroad, in addition to making Omaha greater than Council Bluffs, gave her more economic advantages than towns above and below more worthy by far than she.

If there was one Missouri River town born in speculation and developed by twisting natural forces out of their true orbit, Omaha deserves that honor. William D. Brown, a California emigrant who decided, about 1850, to earn his gold with a ferry boat at Council Bluffs, saw the possibilities of a town

across the river. Accordingly in June, 1853, he staked a claim in Indian territory, disregarding the objections of the Omaha. Other Council Bluffers (men who had lived there for one or more years) became interested. The ferry company, which in reality was a "town company", was immediately organized. A steam ferry, the *General Marion*, was purchased in Quincy, Illinois, and sent up to replace the leaky scows used by Brown. A road across the bottom was graded. In November three other claims were made by men from Council Bluffs.³

The town-site, covering the claim of Brown, was surveyed in 1854 after the passing of the Nebraska-Kansas bill. Lots were given away to those who would improve them. All that was needed was a brick-making plant, and a newspaper to start informing the people of what lay across the river.⁴

The *Omaha Arrow*, first issued on July 28, 1854, was edited and printed in Council Bluffs.⁵ Yet it stated in its first broadcast:

"here we are upon Nebraska soil, seated upon the stump of ancient oak, which serves for an editorial chair, and the top of a badly abused beaver for a table. . . ."

Further expressing the hopes of this "city", and incidentally of every other town arising in Nebraska Territory at that particular moment, the editor mused:

"To dreamland we went. The busy hum of business from factories. . . . from Omaha City reached our ears. The incessant rattle of innumerable drays over the paved streets, the steady tramp of ten thousand of an animated, enterprising population; the hoarse orders fast issued from a crowd of steamers upon the levee loading with the rich products of the state [*sic*] of Nebraska and unloading the fruits and products of other climes and soils greeted our ears. Far away toward the setting sun came telegraphic dispatches of improvements, progress, and moral advancement upon the Pacific coast. Cars, full freighted with teas, silks, etc., were arriving thence and passing across the stationary channel of the Missouri river with lightning speed, hurrying on to the Atlantic seaboard. The third express train on the Council Bluffs & Galveston Railroad came thundering close by us with a shrill whistle that brought us to our feet, knife in hand The hum of business in and around the city had also vanished, and the same rude camp fires were before us. . . ."

In the fall of 1854 this town gave promise of being more than another paper town. Some twenty houses, two shacks with dirt floors serving as hotels, saloons, and stores, and an

"extensive brick yard" appeared on the hills above the Missouri River flats.⁶ The *General Marion* and the tri-weekly stage had brought over a number of emigrants. There were no outfitting houses, no blacksmith shops, no public squares filled with oxen for sale. But the town had the vision. The local news sheet quoted from the *Ohio State Journal*:⁷

"If the railroads terminate at Council Bluffs, on the east, a line will be sure to start from Omaha toward the Pacific, and up the valley of the Platte I think it has the preference over any site on the Nebraska shore Next year the emigration will commence, and then these paper towns will begin their race for precedence. I have no doubt that they will grow with great rapidity, and very soon assume an importance similar to that of Keokuk, Burlington, Davenport, etc., on the west shore of the Mississippi."

Before the town-site was plotted, the founders had had an idea pregnant with possibilities for the future of both Council Bluffs and "Omaha City". Their reasoning ran thus: This land on the west side of the river will be made into two or more territories. A territory, like a state, must have a capital. The town that gets the capital will get the railroads from Chicago, and consequently the terminus of the Pacific. Hence, by "hook or crook" we must make Omaha the capital; by economic inducements if possible, by political chicanery if necessary.⁸

And this they set about to do. First the ferry company constructed, with bricks from Council Bluffs, a building which was "suitable for the Territorial Legislature . . ." ⁹ Then circumstances played into their hands. The appointed territorial governor, Francis Burt, selected Bellevue (or Bellview) "as his domiciliary capital", but died before he established the first government. Thomas B. Cuming, Secretary of the Territory, then became Acting Governor. Being a friend of the men interested in the Omaha town-site, and sensitive to the comforts of civilization, he convened the first legislature in "Omaha City". The other contestants for the prize—Fontanelle, Florence, Plattsmouth, Nebraska City, Brownsville, and other embryo towns, most of the aspirants located below the Platte—were again defeated when the "susceptible Governor" districted the territory to the advantage of the region north of the Platte, "thus opening the way for Council Bluffs to do the rest. In this notable battle the hand of Providence—in the removal of Governor Burt—as well as the heavier artillery of Council Bluffs . . . gave victory to the minority and the mammon of unrighteousness." When the legislature met the members not only proposed to give the region below the

Platte to Kansas Territory, but they voted to locate the capital at Omaha. This vote was achieved by the Omaha speculators only by laying out and distributing free of charge stock in a town-site north and west of Omaha. Some of the legislators from the lower Platte country, when tempted by these congenial lobbyists with free stock in their pockets, deserted the cause of their constituents. When news of this filtered back home, an indignation meeting was held to "call to account 'their representatives for misrepresenting them in the Nebraska legislature' ". This meeting of the constituency was not held by Nebraskans, but by Iowans in "Glenwood City" who wanted the capital at Plattsmouth for the same reasons that other Iowans wanted it at Omaha! ¹⁰

The history of Omaha in the first few years of its crude beginnings is that of expansion, and that without the advantages of outfitting emigrants for the Far West. It seemed that a considerable proportion of America was coming across Iowa, or coming up or coming down the river to Omaha and vicinity on the various stage lines. The arrival of a steamer almost daily, laden with seventy-five to 250 prospective Nebraskans as well as provisions, lumber, and collapsible houses, brought one-half the residents to the levee to see relatives or friends. Speculation was in the blood, and many became specialists in the noble art of deceiving eastern innocents. ¹¹ In June, 1855, the population was some 250, and the best lots sold for \$100; two years later the population was reported to be some 1500, while the best lots sold for \$4000. ¹² This town-site which had been "rejected by sagacious Indian traders, by the Indian missionaries, and by the Government itself . . .", was certainly in labor of giving birth to a metropolis. Buildings were springing up like grass after a spring rain, and the builders "worked themselves into the belief that Nebraska was the world, and 'Omaha was its Capital' . . ." However, the panic of 1857 struck with deadly fury those Missouri River towns which had not been the recipients of specie from the Southwest. Independence and Kansas City were not materially affected. But in Omaha "speculation ceased, property became less than worthless, and despair began to take the place of the former buoyance . . ." ¹³ It was the Pike's Peak gold rush which rescued this city of "up stream people" from depression and pessimism.

Before outfitting began to play an appreciable part in the economic life of Omaha other steps were taken to bring railroad dreams closer to realization. In 1857 an election was held to determine if the county should buy \$200,000 worth of stock in the Mississippi and Missouri Railroad. ¹⁴ Knowing the jealousy in Florence and Bellevue, and appreciating the



PHOTO BY SCOTT STUDIO, OMAHA

Ezra Meeker at Bellevue College, Bellevue, 1906

advantages of having a railway to Council Bluffs from the East, the county voted in favor of purchase.

When in the fall of 1858, the news of the Cherry Creek gold discoveries came to Omaha, many of the inhabitants decided to leave. Merchants reported the best business of the year in outfitting residents and a few emigrants from the East. In October one to three trains were leaving each week. When local emigrants wrote back wondrous accounts of the advantages of the Ft. Kearny-Omaha route, as compared with the trails on the south side of the Platte, sufficient encouragement was given to look forward to a great year when the pilgrimage would get into full swing. Much faith was placed in the fact that the government itself had constructed bridges over most of the streams except Loup Fork, and one of the engineers had recommended it as the proper route for emigrants.¹⁵

Merchants of this town, now already the size of Council Bluffs, prepared for the spring emigration long before the time for the great flood.¹⁶ Picks, shovels, rockers, pans, stoves, and all necessary mining articles were placed on display. The regular line of steamers between St. Joseph and Council Bluffs as well as independent lines from St. Louis began to dump their human cargo upon the western bank of the river. One hundred twenty-eight steamboat arrivals kept the bottoms between the river and the town "alive with mules, horses, oxen, wagons, carriages, men, women, and children".¹⁷

"On our streets, upon every corner, on the Levee, in the drinking saloon, or uncovered in the temple of God, is to be seen the emigrant. He is known by his independent step, his rollicking air; nothing daunts him. Whether it be to pull his hand cart over the plains, or drink with a friend, it is the same to him, and he does it with all the *sang froid* of a veteran mountaineer. Dressed in his red shirt, high-topped boots, slouched hat, rifle on his shoulder and canteen well filled, he boldly strikes across the boundless prairies...They are the couriers of civilization, and their hardy steps will soon be followed by the softer footfalls of women...."

It is doubtful if the Omaha edition of Council Bluffs' merchants outfitted a great percentage of the miners going up the north side of the Platte. It is known that many did outfit there, including a hand cart company of 100 men, but probably a major proportion purchased provisions across the river where they were available. The criticism of the Loup Fork and the Platte crossings because of high water caused some to drive south from Omaha and Council Bluffs in order to travel up the south bank of the Platte. The territorial

legislature memorialized Congress for a \$50,000 appropriation to bridge the Loup Fork.¹⁸ But in spite of these handicaps the "Twin Cities" received their share of the pilgrim business. The Loup Fork ferry reported that to June 25, 1,807 wagons, twenty hand carts, 5,401 men, 424 women, 480 children, 1,610 horses, 406 mules, 6,010 oxen, and 6,000 sheep—exclusive of the Mormon emigration—had crossed enroute to Pike's Peak, California and Oregon.¹⁹

Omaha as an outfitting town emerged in 1860. The emigrants were assured that provisions "of all kinds are cheaper here than at many points east of us . . . Our merchants are determined not to be undersold."²⁰ "Let them come, our merchants are prepared to outfit five thousand teams . . ."²¹ Quoted prices indicate that such was the truth. Men of capital were urged to come to Omaha, for the town surely had a future, it was believed. "Busted" speculators caught in the crash of 1857 were urged to go to Colorado to start anew.²²

The "city" now claimed a population of 4,000 and buildings numbering 1,500, including four hotels, five dry goods stores, nine groceries, three meat markets, two bakeries, two jewelry stores, one forwarding and commission house, three drug stores, four "banking houses", four restaurants, and others. The five land agents probably kept the forty lawyers and six physicians busy.²³

The advertising of Omaha by circulars and newspapers was supported by a liberal appropriation and publicized the "plain facts" of the advantages of the city. In February the Omaha *Nebraskian* printed a two column map of the route to the "Nebraska Mines", a table of distances, and a list of articles needed for outfitting. The pamphlet issued by the "Chamber of Commerce", perhaps based upon the map, showed that Omaha was closer to the mines by sixty-two miles than any other city on the Missouri River.²⁴

By March, 1860, argonauts were outfitting in Omaha. Stages, river, boats, and farm wagons brought more daily. Even a few using the "Red River Wagons" filed through town. Apparently most of the emigrants, so it was reported, were not enroute to the "Peak" but to California and Oregon. For the six weeks period ending May 20, the total recorded by the "Council Bluffs and Nebraska Ferry Company" was 1,526 wagons and 4,602 men. All were from the northern states, with but few coming from states other than Iowa, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, with a great proportion being from Iowa.²⁵ Omaha "reaped therefore (because of geography as well as advertising) an abundant harvest . . ."

By July the outward rush was over, but the backwash to the "middle border" had begun—Men "sadder and we trust,

wiser," along with men of fortune. Realizing that this would be the last excursion for sometime, some brought back souvenirs from the Great West—one man had a buffalo calf in his wagon! The business of buying gold, while not great, became of some importance, three firms reporting the purchase of over \$25,000 worth in a two weeks period.²⁶

In the fall of 1860 the future of Omaha looked bright. The "Western Stage Company" was running a four horse stage to Ft. Kearny, there connecting with the Denver mail. A government mail contract supported the establishment of through service to Denver in October, 1860.²⁷ This, along with the good fortune of having the telegraph extend west from there to Ft. Kearny, showed that "it pays to advertise" and scheme when managing speculative town-sites. Soon St. Joseph would lose the Pony Express and that patronage would go to Omaha. The forces of westward expansion were slowly coming to focus upon this child of Council Bluffs.

The crossings of the Loup Fork and Platte rivers were the principal points of attack of outfitting rivals of Omaha. Merely stating that the federal government used the road to some extent did not overcome the objections to the route. The *St. Joseph Gazette* predicted that Omaha would spend over \$10,000 in advertising in 1861.²⁸ Hundreds did flock to Omaha with their herd, so that they might enjoy the protection of a movement of troops enroute west.²⁹ However, a considerable amount of the Platte Valley emigration admittedly took the south bank of the river to the West.

A military escort of eighty men with extra provisions and an ambulance for the ill, gave protection in 1862 to 8,000 or 10,000 men and women enroute from Omaha to the Pacific.³⁰ It was a great question to many why this town with its muddy streets, poor wharf, and "impossible route to Ft. Kearny should be so favored by pilgrims. One writer must have spoken for many in saying that it was the prestige of the Mormon Trail.³¹

The "city" had not grown greatly in 1862, but after President Lincoln located the western terminus of the Pacific Railroad across the river, the city grew rapidly. In 1864, it was reported that improvement was being done "more rapidly than [at] any other village on the river above Nebraska City, which is partially owing, no doubt, to the intense railroad excitement of the past few weeks . . ." ³² A great part of the Montana mine emigration was expected. One Mr. Comstock left April 15 to open a new road, "the advantages of this new route [stated the *Nebraskian*] will insure the entire travel through this city." ³³ High water on the Platte may have caused many to depart from a point south of the mouth; but



"Omaha, a Growing City of 25,000", About 1873

it is estimated that some 75,000 people, the greatest ever known at Omaha, crossed the river.³⁴ One emigrant stated that one-half the total Platte emigration passed through the "Twin Cities".³⁵

To get the western-bound emigrants to come to Omaha in 1865, a local editor stated that the business men "should send some one to Lewis, and other points in Iowa, to inform the public of the advantages of this route, and to remove the false impression in circulation with reference to crossings, etc."³⁶ Complaint was made against the order given by the military: "Please advise all trains coming west that they must cross the Platte at Plattsmouth. They cannot cross the Platte east of Laramie, and I have not the troops to escort them on the north side."³⁷ A meeting was held for the purpose of raising \$50,000 to construct a bridge over that river.³⁸ The extent of the emigration captured through these efforts apparently went by unrecorded, but outfitting business was reported on the increase and a "heavy" emigration was expected.

The following year (1866) Major General W. T. Sherman advised western-bound overland traffic to go from Omaha to Ft. Kearny to receive military protection. One contemporary writer stated that three-fourths of all Platte Valley pilgrims departed from there.³⁹ The city took great strides in its growth. Railroads continued to concentrate at Council Bluffs and to pour their mobile wealth through Omaha. The Union Pacific did not establish its terminal in Council Bluffs, but ran a "dummy" train across the river. A Supreme Court case compelled the company to make the bridge an extension of the railroad.⁴⁰ Steam ferrys in the summer and ice in the winter served as bridges until the building of the bridge in

1873. People at that time, as well as at the present, regarded Omaha as the end of the Union Pacific and asked "Where is Council Bluffs?"

The eclipse of Council Bluffs by Omaha produced a verbal battle of note: ⁴¹

"The fight was pretty much in the 'you're another' style of argument. Omaha people spoke of the Bluffs as 'East Omaha', 'Milkville', and 'Iowa-town'; the Bluffites retorted with sarcastic remarks about 'Bilkville', 'Train-town', and the 'Union Pacific Depot over the river'. The Omahas assured me [J. H. Beadle] that the Bluffs were overrun by people out of employment; that there were ten lawyers to every case, doctors till no one could count them, and so impecunious that when a man once fell on Main Street and broke his leg they rushed up in such numbers, and made such contest over the patient, that the mayor was compelled to read the Riot Act."

Harper's Magazine gave to the world a poem that to residents of the Bluffs will probably be immortal: ⁴²

Hast (thou) ever been in Omaha,
 Where rolls the dark Missouri down,
 And four strong horses scarce can draw
 An empty wagon through the town?
 Where sand is blown from every mound
 To fill your eyes and ears and throat—
 Where all the steamers are aground
 And all the shanties are afloat?
 Where whisky shops the livelong night
 Are vending out their poison juice;
 Where men are often very tight,
 And women deemed a trifle loose?
 Where taverns have an anxious guest
 For every corner, shelf, and crack;
 With half the people going west
 And all the others going back?
 Where theatres are all the run,
 And bloody scalpers come to trade;
 Where everything is overdone
 And everybody underpaid?
 If not, take heed to what I say:
 You'll find it just as I have found it;
 And if it lies upon your way,
 For God's sake, reader, go around it.

—John G. Saxe

In 1870 Omaha visioned herself as a second Chicago, "settled and peopled in less time than it took Noah to build his ark . . ." ⁴³ It may have had city airs, but there were also many characteristics which smacked of village days. Most of the streets were unpaved, and alternately dusty and muddy. Steamboats still stuck their prows in the mud at the levee. "Indeed mud-banks are the principal features of the place", wrote an English traveler. Innumerable whiskey shops with faro banks attached "kept in full blast night and day". On Saturday nights "the town was alive with open carriages occupied by questionable women . . . [from the sixty-one houses of ill-fame]". Squaws and papooses begged for money and drinks on the streets. Strangers and fortune-seekers swarmed in the hotels and grog shops.⁴⁴ Boom days were there again. Omaha had been a city of good fortune; railroads, stages, steamers, speculation, chicanery, advertising, geography, the favorable circumstances of being a modern city in the Civil War emigration, the traditions of the Mormon Trail—these "made" Omaha. More favorably situated than Council Bluffs to capture the trade of the West, she became a wholesaling and processing city of considerable note. Today lying on the bottoms and plateaus she stretches away for miles, having absorbed some of her opponents of the old days. Above Kansas City, Omaha is the "Gem of the Prairies".

NOTES

¹A photostatic copy of this map is given in the writer's "F. X. Aubry: Santa Fe' Freighter, Pathfinder, and Explorer", *New Mexico Historical Review*, January, 1932. Also see footnote 19 to that article.

²The legend associated with the name is given by L. L. Fitzpatrick in her *Nebraska Place-Names*, U. of Nebraska Studies in Language, Literature, and Criticism, No. 6, (Lincoln, 1925), pp. 56-27. The application of this name to the new town is credited by Miss Fitzpatrick to Jesse Lowe, one of the founders. On p. 20 of the *Omaha Directory* (Omaha, 1868), C. Collins states that the editor of the Council Bluffs *Bugle*, J. E. Johnson, named the town.

³Alfred Sorenson, *The Story of Omaha From The Pioneer Days To The Present Time* (Omaha, 1923, 3rd edition), pp. 42-27; Sorenson, *Early History of Omaha* (Omaha, 1876), p. 18; Collins, *op. cit.*, p. 20; and M. B. Newton, *Anecdotes of Omaha* (Omaha, 1891), pp. 19-20. A. D. Jones, one of the founders of Omaha, claims in "Omaha's Early Days", *Nebraska Collections*, Vol. IV, p. 152-54 that he suggested the possibility of the town to Brown.

⁴Compiled from Sorenson's two volumes, *op. cit.*

⁵At the top was written "Omaha City, Nebraska Territory" Only twelve issues of this paper were published.

⁶Omaha *Arrow*, July 28 and October 13, 1854.

⁷*Ibid.*, August 4, 1854.

⁸Sorenson, **Early History of Omaha**, p. 34. He states that they relied on the capitol. J. S. Morton corroborates this in his **Illustrated History of Nebraska** (Lincoln, 1907), p. 179

⁹This was written in the corner of one of the survey maps lithographed in St. Louis. Dated September 1, 1854. Sorenson, *ibid.*, p. 32.

¹⁰This material is taken from Albert Watkins, "The Evolution of Nebraska", **Proceedings of The Mississippi Valley Historical Association** (1909-10), Vol. III, pp. 192-93; and Sorenson, *ibid.*, pp. 63-66.

¹¹Humorous but revealing illustrations are given by W. A. Gwyer, "Reminiscences of William Augustus Gwyer", **Publication of the Nebraska State Historical Society**, Vol. XIX, pp. 169-70; C. Irvine, "Recollections of Omaha, 1855-61", **Proceedings and Collections of the Nebraska State Historical Society**, Vol. V, 2nd Series, p. 150; Albert Watkins (editor), "Reminiscence of Nahum Harwood", **History of Nebraska** (Lincoln, 1913), Vol. III, p. 389; and E. F. Beadle, **To Nebraska in 1857** (New York, 1923), p. 28 et seq.

¹²Omaha City **Times**, June 11, 1857. The population statistics given for 1857 were 3,000, which probably were too optimistic. The above estimate of 1,500 was taken from A. T. Andreas, **History of the State of Nebraska** (Chicago, 1882), p. 693. The property valuations may be also too great.

¹³Collins, *op. cit.*, p. 24

¹⁴Beadle, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

¹⁵Morton, **Illustrated History of Nebraska**, Vol. I, p. 104. Editor's note: Much of the western emigration from Omaha reached Ft. Kearny by crossing the Platte at Shinn's Ferry in Butler County.

¹⁶Joseph Schafer (editor), "California Diary of Charles M. Tuttle, 1859", **Wisconsin Magazine of History**, Vol. XV, p. 78; and a letter from Omaha, January 26, 1859, to the Brownville **Advertiser**, February 10, 1859.

¹⁷St. Joseph, Missouri, **Weekly West**, June 12, 1859, and Council Bluffs **Weekly Nonpareil**, April 2, 1859. The total steamer arrivals include all up to August 11, 1859. Thirteen of these were destined upstream. D. C. Bloomer, "Notes on the History of Pottawattamie County", **Annals of Iowa**, 1st Series, Vol. X, p. 277.

¹⁸Council Bluffs **Weekly Bugle**, February 5 and 16, 1859. A military road had been built across there in 1857 to facilitate the movement of troops and to assure better protection to emigration and to the advanced settlements along the Platte. This information was given to the writer by Dr. Lyle Mantor, State Teachers College, Kearney, Nebraska.

¹⁹The Dakota City **Herald**, August 13, 1859, quotes these statistics taken from the Omaha **Nebraskian**. The writer quotes them Morton, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 109.

²⁰**Nebraska Republican**, March 7, 1860.

²¹Omaha **Nebraskian**, March 31, 1860.

²²**Nebraska Republican**, February 15, 1860.

²³Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 700. One Pike's Peaker later stated that there were 1,600 residents. Perhaps the 4,000 claim is based on both resident and emigrant population. Albert Watkins (editor), *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 374.

²⁴**Nebraska Republican**, May 9, 1860, and **Nebraska City News**, February 2, 1861.

²⁵Omaha **Nebraskian**, April 7, 14, 21, 25, 28; May 2, 9, 12, 16, 23; and June 2, 1860; **Nebraska Republican**, April 4 and 18, 1860.

²⁶**Nebraska Republican**, October 17, 1860.

²⁷Omaha **Nebraskian**, May 5 and September 15, 1860; Omaha City **Times**, September 23, 1860.

²⁸Quoted in the Council Bluffs **Weekly Nonpareil**, February 23, 1861.

²⁹Council Bluffs **Daily Telegraph**, May 3 and 7, 1861; Council Bluffs **Bugle**, April 2, 1862; and Nebraska City **News**, July 21, 1862.

³⁰Statistics taken from a letter by "Fenelon" written from "Camp Oregon", three miles west of Omaha, June 14, 1862, appearing in the Nebraska City **News**, June 21, 1862. The **Huntsman Echo** of Wood River Centre, Nebraska Territory, admitted that the "stereotyped bugbear stories of 'the Platte is impassible'" drove emigration south of the Platte. Quoted in Nebraska City **News**, April 27, 1861.

³¹Letter from the "Platte Valley", April 17, 1862, appearing in Nebraska City **News**, April 26, 1862.

³²Nebraska City, **Daily Press**, April 27, 1864. Also see Andreas *op. cit.*, p. 703.

³³Omaha **Nebraskian**, quoted in St. Joseph **Morning Herald**, November 15, 1863.

³⁴Given by D. E. Fite, **Social and Industrial Conditions in the North During the Civil War**, (New York, 1930), pp. 38-39. The Nebraska City **News**, June 7, 1862, admitted that the emigration statistics for 1862 of Nebraska City and Omaha stood one to four respectively.

³⁵**Morning Herald**, June 18, 1864.

³⁶Council Bluffs **Bugle**, April 27, 1865, quoting the Omaha **Nebraskian**.

³⁷Morton, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 110.

³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 108.

³⁹Collins, *op. cit.*, p. 34, and the Council Bluffs **Nonpareil**, April 21, 1866.

⁴⁰J. R. Perkins, unpublished chapter in his **Trails, Rails, and War** (Indianapolis, 1929).

⁴¹J. H. Beadle, **The Undeveloped West** (Philadelphia, 1873), pp. 48-49.

⁴²Quoted from **Harper's Magazine**, September, 1869, by Sorenson, *op. cit.*, pp. 460-61.

⁴³Letter in Chicago **Times**, quoted in Council Bluffs **Evening Times**, May 2, 1871.

⁴⁴This picture of Omaha is compiled from J. W. Boddam-Whet- ham, **Western Wanderings** (London, 1874), p. 47; Sorenson, **The Story of Omaha from The Pioneer Days to the Present Time**, pp. 233, 461, and 469; Beadle, *op. cit.*, p. 63; John White, **Sketches from America**, (London, 1870), p. 225-28; A. B. Ostrander, **An Army Boy of the 60's** (Chicago, 1924), p. 236; Nebraska City **News**, January 14, 1867; Council Bluffs **Weekly Nonpareil**, November 23, 1867; Council Bluffs **Democrat**, June 5, 1868; Council Bluffs **Evening Times**, May 2, 1871; and Council Bluffs **Daily Times**, August 15, 1872.