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Article Summary: The gold rush brought so many people into the Territory of Montana that there was a great demand for supplies. Creigh went west as the managing clerk of a wagon train carrying machinery to the mines. His journal describes the terrain and weather of the trip but also the books and periodicals that he read as he traveled.

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Photographs / Images: freight wagons at Nebraska City about 1860

From Nebraska City to Montana, 1866: The Diary of Thomas Alfred Creigh

Edited by James C. Olson

THE discovery of gold at various points in Montana during the years 1862-1864¹ resulted in a great rush of humanity that successively developed Bannack, Virginia City, and Helena into booming, boisterous mining camps. By 1864, the population had increased to the point where Congress, deeming some sort of civil government necessary, created the Territory of Montana. This growing population—by 1865 it had reached 120,000—produced virtually nothing but gold, a commodity which of itself could hardly sustain life in an area which a few years before had been a wilderness. Hence, there developed in Montana an almost insatiable demand for supplies from the outside world.

In the beginning, there were only two routes over which these supplies could be brought into the territory. The first, and the route by which most of the miners had come, was from the Pacific by way of South Pass and Fort Hall; the second was by boat on the Missouri to the head of navigation at Fort Benton. There were serious objections to both. The former necessitated a double crossing of the continental divide, and the latter involved a three hundred mile trek overland through Indian country after leaving Fort Benton. Moreover, goods traveling the Fort Benton route had to go about five hundred miles farther than would have been necessary could they have been brought in from the southeast by way of the Platte Valley.

¹Gold had been discovered in Montana as early as 1852, but it was not until the strike at Bannack in 1862 that the fields began to attract much attention.—cf. Charles S. Warren, "The Territory of Montana," *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana*, II (1896), 63; and "Journal of James H. Bradley," *Ibid.*, p. 150.

To make the mines more accessible, a new road was opened in 1865, leaving the North Platte River west of Fort Laramie and running northward along the eastern slope of the Big Horns. The new road, called by various names, ultimately came to be known as the Bozeman Trail.²

Notwithstanding the Treaty of Fort Laramie (1851), by which they had granted the United States the right to establish roads and forts in the Indian country, the Dakotas resented the opening of the Bozeman Trail as an unwarranted invasion of their territory. When Forts Reno, Phil Kearny, and C. F. Smith were established to furnish protection to travelers on the trail, these Indians, under the leadership of Chief Red Cloud, took to the warpath, beginning in the summer of 1866 a campaign of harassment lasting until 1868 when the forts were abandoned and the Bozeman Trail was closed to further traffic.

Among those who went over the trail during that fateful summer of 1866 was Thomas Alfred Creigh, whose diary for the journey is reproduced below. He was born at Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, 6 October 1840. He served in the Union Army from August, 1862 until June, 1863, taking part in the Civil War battles of Bull Run, Fredericksburg, and Chancellorsville. In April, 1864, he arrived at Omaha, then the capital of Nebraska Territory, where he was employed as chief clerk in the commissary department of the Army until the close of the war, 1865. Among his other activities in Nebraska, he took a census of the Pawnee Indian Tribe at the agency near Genoa. Leaving Nebraska at the close of the war, he returned to Pennsylvania, and in a short time was employed by a mining company being formed by some of his Franklin County friends and neighbors to develop claims in the newly-discovered gold fields of Montana. The company designated him managing clerk of the wagon train which was to take boilers and

²See Grace Raymond Hebard and E. A. Brininstool, *The Bozeman Trail* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1922), I, 213-214.

quartz stamping machinery out to the mines. The machinery and the wagons were transported down the Ohio river to St. Louis, and from St. Louis up the Missouri River to Nebraska City.³ From Nebraska City, then one of the most important eastern terminals in the overland freighting business, the caravan, consisting of fifty-two wagons and two hundred thirty-five yoke of cattle, began its slow, hazardous journey overland to Montana.

The journey described in Thomas Creigh's diary was in the pattern of many another freighting expedition across the plains. The caravan followed the "Nebraska City—Fort Kearny Cutoff," a well-established freighting road from the Missouri River to the military post on the Platte.⁴ From Fort Kearny, it followed the heavily traveled overland trail along the south side of the Platte River to Julesburg, Colorado Territory. Here the South Platte was forded, and the caravan followed the trail to the North Platte, joining that stream near Court House Rock, in what is now Morrill County, Nebraska. The North Platte was followed to Fort Laramie, whence the train started over the newly-developed Bozeman Trail to Montana. The entire journey from Nebraska City to Virginia City took from 20 June until 4 October, or a total of 107 days. The distance was approximately 1,115 miles.

Thomas Creigh remained in Montana approximately three years, and then removed to Brownville, Nebraska, where he worked in a drug store. He was married in 1873 to Mary McClelland Irvin of Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, and shortly thereafter removed from Brownville to Lin-

³Thomas Creigh, *Hitting the Trail* (privately printed, 1946), pp. 41-67.

⁴This was the route used in the 1860's, and also was known as the "Steam Wagon Road" and the "air line route." In general it went west through what are now Otoe, Lancaster, Seward, York, Hamilton, and Hall counties, joining the Platte River route in Hall County.—Cf. Charles Boyd Mapes, "The Nebraska City-Fort Kearny Cut-Off as a Factor in the Early Development of Nebraska and the West," (MS Thesis, University of Nebraska, 1931).

coln, remaining there approximately two years. At Brownville he had been employed by Robert W. Furnas, who, upon his election as Governor of Nebraska, had requested Mr. Creigh to serve in the office of the State Auditor. In 1875 he removed to Omaha where he became associated with the wholesale drug firm of C. F. Goodman. He lived in Omaha during the remainder of his life, and was active in civic affairs in both the city and the state.⁵ He was Department Commander of the Grand Army of the Republic in Nebraska during the year 1907.⁶ He died 16 May 1909.

His diary was first called to the attention of the editor by General Charles G. Dawes of Chicago, former Vice President of the United States, and a life member of the Nebraska State Historical Society. Mr. Thomas Creigh of Chicago, son of the diarist, graciously made it available for publication in *Nebraska History*, and supplied biographical information regarding his father.

May 1866

17—Thursday—Left home⁷ (accompanied by sister Ellie (to Indianapolis) for Montanna [*sic*] Ter—at 5 A.M.

18—Friday—Arrived at Ind. at 9:30 P.M.

19—Saturday—Left Ind. at 10 P.M.

20—Sunday—Arrived at St. Louis at 10 A.M. called on Mr S McC & Lady—attended preaching in Dr. Nicholls church—heard Dr. Humphries of Ky. Gen. C Assembly in session

21—Monday—Left St. Louis at 7 A.M.

22—Tuesday—Arrived in St Joe at 5 AM. Left for Omaha at 12M. Met Jen Cook on boat 1300

24—Thursday) on boat

23—Wednesday)

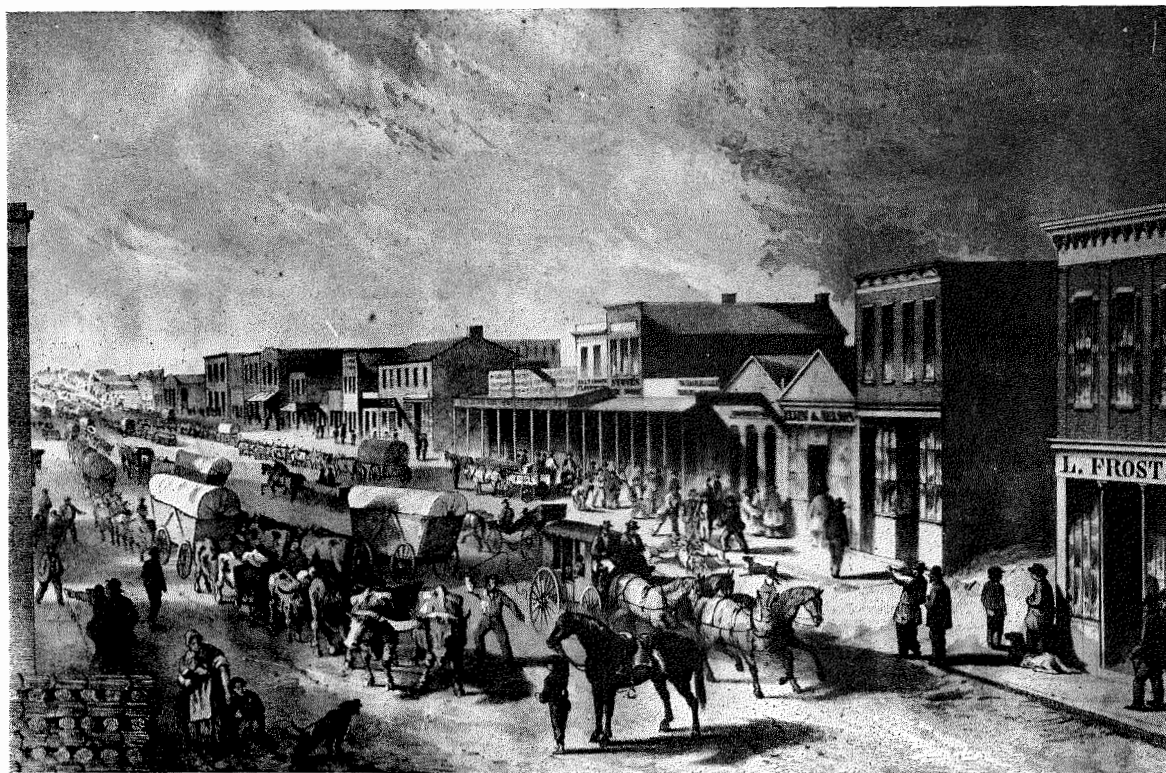
25—Friday—Arrived at Omaha 5 AM. Met many old friends.

⁵Information supplied by Thomas Creigh, Chicago.

⁶J. Sterling Morton and Albert Watkins, *History of Nebraska* (Lincoln, 1913), III, 436.

⁷Mercersburg, Pennsylvania.

- 26—Saturday—Left O. at 12 M for St Joe 1300
- 27—Arrived in St. Joe at 5 P.M.—Saunders House.
- 28—Monday—St Joe
- 29—Tuesday—St Joe
- 30— —St. Joe
- 31— —St Joe
- June 1-4— —St Joe
- 5—Tuesday—Train started from St Joe for Nebraska City by land.
- 6-7—St Joe
- June 8—Left St Joe for Omaha to get papers at 1st N. Bank 1300
- 9—on boat
- 10—Arrived in Omaha
- 11—Arrived in Omaha
- 12—Left Omaha for Neb City. Hotel Bill 8.50—Fare 5.00—13.50. Arrived in Neb City at 5 P.M.
- 13—in Neb. City; letters from home
- 14—Steamer "Nile" arrived with machinery
- 15-16—Loading machinery
- 17—Sunday—Attended church
- 18—Loading machinery (finished)
- 19—Went into Camp—Hotel bill 18.00
- 20—Started half our train out at 12 noon
- 21—Rain prevented train from moving—copying Bills &c.
- 22—Terrible storm this AM causing another delay of train. Bridges swept away &c.
- 23—Breakfasted at 3 A.M. Pulled out second wing of train at 7 A.M. Considerable trouble in crossing slough—a number of tongues broken—First part of train started a new corral 7 miles from Neb. City at 2 P.M. balance of train came up during afternoon and evening. Windy & Hot. Mess consists of Cook, Simpson, Vandegrift, Small & Myself—We have in our train four ladies—Mrs Christenot Sr. Mrs Christnot Jr. Miss Christenot & Miss Smith. The train consists of 235 Yoke of cattle, 52 wagons divided into two wings. Joe Richardson, Wagonmaster Bowman and



FREIGHT WAGONS AT NEBRASKA CITY, ABOUT 1860

Sam C. Moore Assist. There is 81 tons of Machinery including 2 Boilers—5 wagons of Provisions & 5 private wagons of Christenot. May God spare our lives and take us to our destination (Virginia City Montana Ter) in safety. How many anxious hearts are now turned towards this train, and many fervent prayers in our behalf. May we all meet again.

24—Sunday—Beautiful Morn—up at 5 am. We are now beyond civilization, where Sunday is unknown except in the name, when will it be observed in this country. Having none of the privileges of the day here we travel on the day, believing it but little if any worse than laying in a camp, when most likely card playing &c would be the order of the day. Broke camp at 8 A.M. Crossed the little Nemaha River at 11 AM—Halted at 1 PM. Started at 4 P.M. drove till 8 P.M.—10 miles. Heard from front wing of our train—10 miles in advance of us.

June 25—Monday—Clear. Hot: Broke camp at 4 AM. Drove 5 miles. halted at 8 A.M. took my breakfast at a house on road with a gentleman formerly of Penna. who served in nine months service—belonged to 5 corps. Camp on Wolf Creek. Passed a train of 250 wagons coming from Salt Lake City to take out Mormons from Wyoming.⁸ Crossed the Nemaha River at 6 P.M. having broke camp at 4 P.M. Halted at 7 P.M. 6 miles—31 Miles out. Cook overtook us, having remained in Neb. City.

26—Tuesday—Clear—Pleasant. After night of perfect torture from myriad of mosquitoes, both to man and beasts,

⁸Wyoming, in Otoe County, now but one of many ghost towns in eastern Nebraska, was laid out in 1855, and rapidly developed into a flourishing village. It was selected in 1864 as an outfitting place for Mormon overland migrations, and continued in that capacity through the summer of 1866, the last season in which an overland train went to Utah. In connection with the statement in the diary it is of interest to note that on 27 June 1866, Elders Isaac Bullock and William W. Riter, writing to President Brigham Young, stated that the mule teams and most of the ox teams sent out by the Church had arrived in Wyoming in good condition.—See Andrew Jensen, "Latter-Day Saints Emigration from Wyoming, Nebraska—1864-1866," *Nebraska History*, XVII (April-June, 1936), 113.

keeping us up almost all night, we broke camp at 4 A.M. drove 6 miles and camped at 8 AM. Had a fine bath in a creek one mile from camp—Reading Harpers & Beadles Monthlies. We are now, and will be for a long time entirely lost as to what is going on in the world around us. Would like to see an occasional daily paper. Broke camp at 4 P.M. drove 8 miles. Camped on a branch of Salt Creek.

27—Wednesday Clear Cool. Broke camp at 4 A.M. drove 8 miles to Salt Creek. halted at 9 A.M.—Reading Victor Hugo's *Toilers of the Sea*. Broke Corral [sic. The diarist's varied spelling of this word is followed without further indication.] at 3 P.M.

28—Thursday—Cool, Clear. Broke camp at 4:30 AM halted at 10 A.M. Started at 1 P.M. Drove till 6 P.M.—started at 7 P.M. and halted at Walnut Creek at 10 P.M. making 21 miles today.

29—Friday. Pleasant. Started at 6 AM and drove to Beaver Creek at 10 AM. I went ahead of train to fish the creek walked 8 miles and caught 3 fish. Profitable. Broke Corall at 5 P.M. drove 8 miles. Camped one quarter of mile from 1st Div. of train.

Saturday 30th—Cloudy—Broke corall at 4:30 A.M. drove miles and halted at 9 AM for breakfast on branch of Beaver Creek. Started at 1 P.M. drove to 6 P.M.

Sunday July 1. Clear—Broke corall at 4 A.M., and drove to 9 A.M. halted for breakfast. Suffering with toothache. Broke Corall at 4 P.M. drove 4 miles halted 6 PM. Thunder Storm at night.

July 2nd. Clear Broke corral at 4 AM. Drove till 9 AM. halted for breakfast. Scarcity of water for past 30 miles and no wood. Broke corall at 3 P.M. & traveled till 7 P.M. when we coralled on the *Platte River*. making a drive of 22 miles to day. Our drives sofar exceed all expectations, not expecting to average driving the first week more than 10 miles per day but we have now driven 140 miles in 10 days.

July 3rd Tuesday—Clear—Broke corall at 8 AM. Wrote to Sister Ellie this morning, mailing it at stage station on Platte River. Coralled at 9 AM: Broke corall at

2 P.M. drove till 7 A.M. Spent the afternoon whilst traveling, learning to play cribbage.

July 4th Wednesday. Clear—Today we *celebrate* the 91st anniversary of Am. Ind. How? Crossing the great Am. Plains in a "bull" train. One year ago I spent this day at the "Pawnee Indian Reservation" 120 miles from Omaha.⁹ Today 160 miles from Neb. City. Three years I have missed celebrating this day in the good old Penna. style. We broke corall at 4 AM. driving till 9 AM. Spent an hour in washing clothes, my first experience in that line of business, *succeeded well*. Dined with the Misses Smith & Christenot, & Mr. F. Morill in company with Cook, Richard, Bowman, & Moore on oyster stew, Peaches, Tomatoes, Pudding &c—after assisted in breaking a dozen Scotch Ale, a present from Lathrop of St. Joe, to J. Cook conditionaly [*sic*] to be broken on this day. Long live Lathrop. Broke corral at 4 P.M. drove till 7 P.M. Today the battle flags of all Penna. Regts are to be presented to the state at Phila, long will we remember the old 120 P.[ennsylvania] V.[olunteer] Inftry. may her flags occupy a conspicuous place. Spent the day whilst traveling in wagon reading Hugo's "Toilers of the Sea." Began today a regular mess of our own. No wood through this country, using "chips" to cook.¹⁰ Roads on through the Platte River bottoms—level and sandy. Went to camp of right wing in evening with Cook & Morill, entertained with songs &c.

July 5th 1866 Thursday—Clear—Broke corall at 4:30 AM drove till 9 A.M. Passing through Valley City,¹¹ bought and issued clothing to men. Camped on bank of Platte. Broke corall at 2:45 P.M. halted at 5:30 two miles from

⁹See above, p.

¹⁰Buffalo chips were a common source of fuel for the traveler on the plains, as well as for the early settlers.

¹¹Valley City, containing three buildings, was approximately ten miles east of Fort Kearny. Included in its establishments were a store and a post office. It commonly was called "Dogtown".—Frank A. Root and William E. Connelley, *The Overland Stage to California* (Topeka, 1901), pp. 202, 203.

Fort Kearney¹² [sic] Went to Fort in evening to the Post office, received two letters one from Sister Ellie, the other from Lizzie G. Fort K. contains only about a dozen soldiers commanded by Brig Genl Wessel of U.S.A.¹³ Found my old acquaintances all gone. Lieuts. Mitchell and Evarts having left yesterday.

July 6th Friday—Clear. Broke corall at 4 A.M. Passed through Kearney City.¹⁴ Spent nearly all day there two drives as usual.

July 7—Saturday, Clear. Broke corall at 4 AM drove till 9 AM. Started again on our journey at 3 PM driving till 7.30. Wild ducks for supper, the first game of any kind we have yet tasted.

July 8—Letter from Mother of June 10th. Answered it.

Sunday July 8. Clear. Broke corall at 3.30 A.M. pas-

¹²Fort Kearny on the Platte was established in 1848 to furnish protection for travelers on the overland trails. Nearly all of the roads leading westward from the Missouri River united at or near Fort Kearny and it was one of the most important stops on the long journey west. The official name, like that of Colonel Stephen Watts Kearny for whom it was designated, does not carry the final "e". Almost from the beginning, however, popular orthography, as above, included it.—See Lillian M. Willman, "The History of Fort Kearny," *Publications*, Nebraska State Historical Society, XXI (1930), 213-326.

¹³Lieutenant Colonel Henry W. Wessells (Brevet Brigadier General), 18th Infantry Regiment.—*Official Army Register*, 1866, p. 70.

¹⁴Kearney City, "Dobytown" for short, was two miles west of Fort Kearny, and was described by Root and Connelley as "the worst place on the entire overland route." Their more extended description follows: "It was a place of perhaps half a dozen sod structures, just outside of the fort reservation limits at the west. The buildings were occupied almost exclusively by the worst kind of dives, and a number of the people were disreputable characters of both sexes. The soldiers quartered at the post who drank bought their whisky at 'Dobytown,' and the large numbers of ox and mule drivers going across the plains seldom failed to stop there a few moments, to fill up on 'tanglefoot,' thus making it an immensely profitable business for those keeping such places. Freighters (the owners of the freight, especially) were always glad to get out of 'Dobytown' and did so as soon as possible . . ."—Root and Connelley, *op. cit.*, pp. 206-207.

sing through Plum Creek¹⁵ at 7. AM. (a small town, the scene of the Indian Masacres [sic] two summers ago.) camped at 9 AM on bank of Platte, near French's Ranch. Broke Corall at 3 P.M. drove till 7 P.M.

Monday July 9. Clear, Started on our journey at 4 AM. halted at 9 AM. Started again at 4 P.M. stopping Penis-tins & Millers and Midway Ranches,¹⁶ halted at 7, driving 18 miles. Playing Euchur with the ladies all evening.

Tuesday July 10. Clear—Cloudy only in morning. Broke corall at 4:30 AM. Passed the Mormon "Mule Train" for the third time since leaving Neb. City, Passed Gran-ger Ranch at 7 AM. Camped at 8.30 AM. Had a bushel of ice today, a perfect godsend to us in this country of poor water. The pasture has been poor for three days, eaten off by grasshoppers of which there is myriads. Walked during most of morning drive with the ladies. Broke corall at 3 P.M. Have become acquainted with most of teamsters, nearly all are green hands in this business—they represent all parts of the country, from Maine & Michigan, to Texas, also embrace all classes. Among them are Nave (sic) Captains, Lieuts. & privates, from both the Northern and Southern armies during the late war. We also have a soldier of the English Army, who was wounded twice at the fall of Delhi, India. We have mechanics of all kinds. Clerks, telegraph operators, an artist & Photographer, but unfortunately without the crayon or paper or camera.¹⁷ How we would like to have some

¹⁵Plum Creek, now the city of Lexington, Nebraska, located approximately thirty-six miles west of Fort Kearny, was an important station on the overland stage, having a telegraph office and a store.—Root and Connelley, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

¹⁶Midway was so named because it was about half way between Atchison and Denver. It was a "home" station for the overland stage, and was widely known as one of the best eating places on the Platte.—Root and Connelley, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

¹⁷William H. Jackson, the noted photographer, also went over the trail with a freighting outfit during the summer of 1866. According to a typed copy of his diary, given the Nebraska State Historical Society by Mr. Jackson, he left Nebraska City on June 27

sketches for future reference, when this country will be spanned with Rail Roads and this long wagon journey done away with forever. Then perhaps we could look upon them with more pleasure than we now do. Every thing is progressing quickly and we are making extraordinary time for the first two weeks of the trip. As I travel along today writing as the wagon moves a short description of our wagon may not be uninteresting hereafter. We are hauled along by four yoke of cattle. Fastened in the front bow of wagon and waving over us is the "Stars and Stripes" about 3 ft. long. on the bottom of our wagon is heavy machinery filled up with blankets, tobacco &c for the men—canned fruit—a small keg of whiskey (for our own use) carpet sacks, mess kit &c—the blankets making a comfortable loafing place. This wagon is also termed the "Reading Room" having no small number of "Beadles" & other intersting reading matter. We are not unarmed, for if we look in front of us we see a Spenser [*sic*] rifle—behind us a Henry rifle, on our left, strapped to the bows a Colts Navy & a Remingtons Revolver, above is tied a long knife & scabbard. also pistols in pockets. On looking around we also discover a violin, clothes & hair brushes, mosquitoes bars, pipes, old clothes & boots and a general mixture of every thing that goes to make up *quarters*, inhabited only by *man*. Halted at 6.30 P.M. Passed several trains returning from the mountains. Camp $\frac{1}{2}$ mile west of Gillmans Ranch.¹⁸

July 11 Clear Broke corall at 4 AM Passed Conleys Ranch and camped $\frac{1}{2}$ mile west at 7 AM. Wrote letters to Mother & Lizzie Cook. Broke corall at 2 P.M. drove till

and arrived at Fort Kearny, July 11. This is confirmed in his autobiography, *Time Exposure*.—See William H. Jackson, *Time Exposure* (New York, 1940), pp. 106, 118.

¹⁸Gilman's was fifteen miles west of Midway and seventeen miles east of Cottonwood Springs.—Root and Connelley, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

5 P.M. camped 3 miles east of Cottonwood,¹⁹ mailed letters. Killed a steer for beef. Loafed all afternoon in ladies outfit.

12th Wednesday—Clear. Broke corall at 5 A.M. delayed one hour by some cattle straying off—found all—drove till 10 AM. passing Fort McPherson²⁰ (Cottonwood) and several Ranches. A very hot wind blowing making the heat terrible. broke corall at 3 P.M. halted at P.M. passed junction ranch (Jack Morrow)²¹ staid all night with him.

13th Clear Hot. Took breakfast with J. Morrow. Overtook train at 9 AM, 8 miles from Morrows, came up on coach. Cook also with me—our mess presented with a quarter of Antelope from H. A. Hart, broke corall at P.M. halted at 7 P.M.

July 14 Clear Warm. Broke corall at 5 AM. Halted at O Fallons Bluff²² at 7 AM. Bathed & washed clothes. Dinner & Breakfasted on Antelope stewed and boiled beans soup with boiled pork & beef, roast ox heart &c, started at 2 traveled till 5 P.M. halted at Bakers Ranch.

¹⁹Cottonwood Springs, situated near a considerable body of cedar, was a favorite camping place for freighters, because they usually could get what they wanted there in the way of supplies, and particularly fuel, an important item on the plains. It was a home station for the overland stage and boasted a telegraph office.—Root and Connelley, *op. cit.*, pp. 208, 409.

²⁰Fort McPherson, a short distance from Cottonwood Springs and approximately one hundred miles from Fort Kearny, was established in 1863, and was of great value during the Indian troubles, particularly those of 1864. It now is a national cemetery.—See Root and Connelley, *op. cit.*, p. 498; and Circular No. 8, War Department, Surgeon General's Office, 1875, pp. 358-360.

²¹Jack Morrow's Junction Ranch, located near the junction of the North and South Platte rivers, about twelve miles west of Cottonwood Springs, was one of the most favorably situated ranches on the overland route. Morrow was an old-timer on the plains, and operated an extensive trading business, both with the Indians and travelers. He frequently was spoken of in the Sixties as one of the cattle kings of the Platte valley, and was known from the Missouri to the Pacific.—Root and Connelley, *op. cit.*, pp. 208-210.

²²Root and Connelley, those invaluable guides to the overland trail, describe O'Fallon's Bluffs as, "a locality known by everyone on the plains," and declare that it was "despised by the driver," because of the steep grade and rough going.—Root and Connelley, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

Sunday July 15 Broke corall at 4 AM traveled till 9:30 passing Mobley Bros. Ranch and Clear Creek Ranch. Traveled in afternoon halting at 7 at Capt. Murphys Ranch (Alkali)²³ making a drive of 18 miles today. The warmest day we have yet experienced. Lost a steer whilst watering from overheat.

July 16th Monday Clear & very hot. Broke corall at 5 AM traveled till 8 AM. Bathed &c. Lost another steer today—found him whilst bathing mired in the quicksands on an island bank, drowned—head in water. Broke corall at 3 P.M. passed Sand Hill Station²⁴ and coralled at 7 P.M. seeing plenty of antelope but very few killed. Camped at a new ranch.

July 17th Tuesday. Cloudy, cleared off at noon. Broke corall at 4.30 AM drove till 8 AM—made usual drive in afternoon from 2 till 5 P.M.

July 18th—Pleasant—made drive as usual and halted 1½ miles East of Julesburg City,²⁵ & 6 miles from Fort Sedgwick.²⁶

July 19th. Thursday. Clear Broke corall at 8 AM, drove to ford at Julesburg, commenced crossing immedi-

²³Alkali Lake was a home station on the overland stage, and had a telegraph office, "a dreary, desolate location—but quite a prominent point in connection with traffic during the days of overland staging and freighting."—Root and Connelley, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

²⁴Sand Hill station was twelve miles west of Alkali Lake.—Root and Connelley, *op. cit.* p. 212.

²⁵Julesburg, with the largest buildings between Fort Kearny and Denver, was one of the most important points along the Platte. Altogether, there were four different towns bearing the name and the distinction. The original town, established in 1864 approximately one-half mile from Fort Sedgwick, was completely destroyed during an Indian raid in 1865. The second, which sprang up following the destruction of the first and was abandoned in 1867, was located approximately three and one-half miles west of Fort Sedgwick. It undoubtedly is this one which is referred to here.—See Federal Writers Program, Works Progress Administration, *Colorado: A Guide to the Highest State* (New York, 1941), pp. 208-209.

²⁶Fort Sedgwick, located at the junction of Lodge Pole Creek and the South Platte River, was established in 1864, and was abandoned in 1871.

ately, crossing 9 teams at a time with from 10 to 12 yoke cattle—bottom sandy, water 4 ft in deepest places, everything worked well so far. The men of Bowmans wing rebelled this morning, refusing to yoke until certain demands (silly ones) were complied with. soon settled) Anticipated last night, trouble, and all reliable men were prepared for anything. Singular how one or two designing men can lead a camp. Received at Julesburg two letters one from Lizzie and one from Ellie, the former discouraged about her health. May God yet spare her life—a dear friend of mine. A conspiracy formed among a few of our men for a desperate act, but happily for those engaged it was discovered and preparations made to meet them, which they saw and remained quiet.

July 20th—Clear warm crossing balance of train all across safely at 2 P.M. The boilers & all—the boilers were brought over with 26 yoke of cattle & 15 drivers, the other 48 yoke cattle and 21 drivers. Crossing the river has been a grand scene, one seldom witnessed, may I never have to cross it again. A treacherous stream, the bottom (*if any*) composed of quicksands. Cannot stop a team in stream, or danger of sinking out of sight. May the rest of our journey be accomplished as speedily & successfully as these 400 miles. The river we looked upon as the worst of our route. that is now over and we are out of Nebraska, across the corner of Col. Ter and now in Dakota Ter.²⁷

July 21st—Very Hot. Traveled 10 miles to Pole Creek from 9 A.M. to 2 P.M. halted to graze cattle &c having no grass for some days.

July 22.—Sunday. Remained in camp all day resting & grazing cattle—wrote Ellie 12 pages note paper—private letter in part.

July 23.—Monday. Made two drives today—from 5 to 9 am and 3 to 6 P.M. Thunder storm after evening halt

²⁷The diarist is in error here. After crossing a corner of Colorado Territory the caravan returned to Nebraska Territory.

a great blessing—the dust has been terrible and grass burnt up.

July 24—Broke corall [sic] at 8 am & drove till 11 am. started late on account of cattle straying off in night. Took my gun and went over the bluffs 5 miles, but saw no game, walked this AM not less than 12 miles. Broke cor[r]al at 2 P.M. & drove till 5 P.M. halted at foot of Ridge. Terrible thunder storm at night. Commenced sleeping on the ground but flooded out.

July 25. Wednesday—Broke cor at 4 am commenced crossing the ridge. This ridge is 28 miles long without a drop of water—drove 14 miles and halted at 12am. Broke corral at 3 P.M. and drove to Pumkin [sic] Creek. at 11 P.M. this is by a new trail which enabled us to strike water sooner. Making a drive of 30 miles to day, camped on a beautiful little stream of cold water. Passed through a canon tonight with high rocky bluffs on either side. This canon is a mile wide presenting a beautiful appearance to us, having so long seen nothing but open prairies. Hard pulling thro' on account of deep quicksands.

July 26. Thursday—Got up at 4:30 to hunt: started over the bluffs walked up & down the rocky hills for miles, saw a few antelope but shot none, went near Court House rock.²³ This rock takes its name from the resemblance to a building with a large dome upon it. Broke corall [sic] at 4 P.M., met with an accident, the upsetting of a pan wagon, causing us to corral 2 miles from starting place.

July 27th. Friday—Broke corral at 4 A.M. took the wrong road, (fol[l]owed a wood road) undertook to make a cut off Pulled thro' heavy sands and corraled 3 miles from Court House rock at 9 A.M. I walked to Court House rock, this rock is perhaps 300 ft above the level plain,

²³Court House Rock, approximately five miles south of Bridgeport in Morrill County, Nebraska, was an important landmark on the overland trail and was noted by virtually all of the journal-keeping travelers who passed it.

nearly square, but at a distance appears round in lodges or steps tapering to the top, which is not more than 10 ft. the rock itself is about 200 ft square at base and 200 ft high, it is of soft sand stone, and stands upon a sand hill—from it you have a magnificent view of the country for miles. Undertook to climb to the top, but became so dizzy had to return. You here have a very extended view of the North Platte River, also see in the distance Chimney Rock.²⁹ This is one of the curiosities of the Plains, and is carved full of names. Commenced yoking up at 4 P.M. but detained by an accident one of our ponies run off with saddle turned on him, ran into Sam's corral and stampeded all his cattle which were yoked up—the scene for a while was terrific—frightful. Cattle flying in every direction with wagons attached but the hilliness of country and heavy loads soon stopped their wild career. Fortunately but little damage was sustained—one mans foot run over—one wheel broke down smashed—three reaches broken & one tongue broke, covers all. The damage repaired in an hour when we began our journey, drove 4 miles struck the main road and coraled close by court House rock—cloud[y] all day—rain last night.

Saturday—July 28th—Broke corral at 4 am drove to Brown's Ranch on North Platte River—8 miles—Came in sight of Scotts Bluffs³⁰ & Chimney Rock. Washing clothes &c—Mailed letter to Ellie written 22 inst. Remained in camp all day, repairing damages in Sam Moore's wing of yesterdays stampede. Remained in camp remainder of day. Rain at night.

Sabbath July 29th—Broke corral at 4:30 am drove 5 miles—near Chimney Rock. This rock is another curi-

²⁹Chimney Rock, just south of Bayard in Morrill County, like Court House Rock, was one of the trail's outstanding land marks, and a formation to which the old journals make frequent reference. It is now in the custody of the Nebraska State Historical Society.

³⁰Now Scotts Bluff National Monument, Gering, Nebraska. For an extended account of the naming of Scotts Bluff, see, Merrill J. Mattes, "Hiram Scott, Fur Trader," *Nebraska History*, XXVI (July-September, 1945), 127-162.

osity of the Plains. It stands near the bluffs, and has from here (4 miles) the appearance of a monument its base is conical perhaps 100 ft high—on this base stands the rock, which is of soft sand stone, about 20 ft in diameter and rising to near 150 ft. high. A year ago 100 ft of the top fell off.³¹ The supposition is that this rock (like Court House rock) was once the level of these plains, but the soft quicksands of which these plains are composed from being gradually washed away, leaving these harder substances stand as monuments to future generations. Here is study for geologists. All these bluffs & rocks bear evidence of animate beings once living in them. We can trace shells and small animals—roots &c. Broke corral at 1:30 P.M. & drove till 4:30 P.M.

July 30th 1866—Passed Terry's Ranch. Broke corall at 4:45 drove till 9 AM. Broke corral at 3 P.M. drove till 6 P.M.

July 31st 1866—Tuesday—Broke corral at 5 AM, drove till 10 A.M. passing through Scotts Bluffs. (the boundary line cut out of the bluffs, very circuitous and some places difficult to drive as the curves are very sharp with ravines below, the highest point of bluff is several hundred feet above the level, from the top of which you can see Laramie Peak, 150 miles distant, did not ascend to the top owing to difficulty of pass. Fort Mitchell³² is on the west at foot of bluff. the fort is built of sod, and the best fort we have yet passed. Saw a Chicago Tribune of 19th at Sutlers which is late news to us. The second Freedmans Bureau Bill passed over the President's veto. Post master Genl Dennison has resigned, others in-

³¹Suppositions as to what happened to the top of Chimney Rock dart in and out of western literature.

³²Fort Mitchell was established in 1864 as an outpost of Fort Laramie, and was abandoned some time after 1867. It was located on the Platte River, approximately two and one-half miles from Mitchell Pass at Scotts Bluff.—See Merrill J. Mattes, "A History of Old Fort Mitchell," *Nebraska History*, XXIV (April-June, 1943), 71-82.

tend resigning. Johnston [sic] seems to be getting deeper into the mire. When will he find men of his class to fill the vacancies. Things about the capitol look gloomy. We trust all may yet be well, if congress stands firm. A gold excitement reported in the Black Hills a party started out today from Fort Laramie prospecting, may they find many rich fields. Broke corral at 3 P.M. drove till 6 P.M.

August 1st—Wednesday. Broke corral at 4:45 A.M. drove till 9 AM.—passing over Horse Creek & passed T. Reynolds Ranch—camped on H. Creek. Broke corral at 3 P.M. drove to 7 P.M. A large Mormon train passed us at noon consisting of 56 wagons & about 300 to 400 emigrants with some farming implements. Our route this P.M. lay over sand bluff very heavy pulling. Camped near Mormons poor beings going to a land flowing with milk and honey they think, but I fear they will find more misery than happiness. They are all filthy and dirty especially the females—May that curse (mormonism) soon be treated as slavery, and die as hard a death to teach them a lasting lesson.

Aug. 2nd Thursday—Broke corral at 4:45 AM drove as usual till 9 AM. camped on back of Platte passed Reynold's Ranch. Heard that the Indians yesterday captured a train of 20 wagons above Laramie and also drove off some government stock. No Particulars. May a kind Heavenly Father protect us from all enemies and may we soon reach our destination in safety. Finished reading "The Neighbors" by Mrs. Bremer—a first rate novel written in an easy pleasing conversational style. Much that is beautiful. Her characters are all finely drawn from real life. Her "Heavenly Home" or patriarchal family takes me back to the happy home of my dear old Uncle and Aunt McC. Broke corral at 3:30 P.M. drove till 9 P.M. making 10 miles over high, sandy bluffs. Very hard drive.

Aug. 3rd 1866—Broke corral at 5:30 am. Cattle became mixed with the other herd causing delay. Corraled at

8:30 A.M. near Ft. Laramie³³ remained corraled all day—received letters as follows—Father July 12th Mother 14th Ellie at Indianapolis 16th enclosing one from Maggie Beall. Wrote to father a long letter, also P. M. Julesburg.

Aug. 4. Saturday. Broke corral at 6 am. Passed over Laramie River and thro' Ft. Laramie for inspection—recd a letter from Coz. May. dated 23rd Uncle Alex McC. died 14th near 90 years old, death is a relief to him. Corraled at 10 am west of Fort. A view of the Rocky Mts—Seen [sic] Balt. Am. of 16th & 18th late news to us. Would that we could receive them every day. Broke corral at 3 P.M. drove over heavy sand bluffs with great difficulty, doubled on teams—corraled at 9 P.M. Thunder shower in afternoon. Two men left us today.

Sunday Aug. 5th—Broke corral at 5.30 am. returned to Fort with Richards to settle with men that left us—Com'der decided in our favor "Men leaving a train on the road not entitled to any pay". Came back to camp about 15 miles from Fort at 12 M. The longest horseback ride I have taken for many a day—feel tired after it. A threatened rebellion again amongst the teamsters, the Indian *scare* has *scared* most of them, demanding more arms. Broke corral at 2.30 P.M. and drove till 8.30 P.M. passing over hilly road, spurs of the mountains. Poor grass, good water.

Monday Aug. 5th. Broke corral at 4.30 passing over very rough hills, (sand and lime mixed) Corraled at 9 AM in a cottonwood grove, near Platte River, a cool pleasant place for men to camp after being for weeks without seeing a tree—but grass scarce. cattle looking thin. Broke corral at 2.30 P.M. drove till 6 passing over Horse Shoe

³³Fort Laramie, near the junction of the Laramie and North Platte rivers, was established in 1834 by William Sublette and Robert Campbell, fur traders from St. Louis. It was sold to the American Fur Company in 1836, and to the Government in 1849. It was a highly important trading center, way station, and military headquarters. Abandoned in 1890, the fort is now a national monument.—See Leroy R. Hafen and Francis Marion Young, *Fort Laramie and the Pageant of the West, 1834-1890* (Glendale, 1938).

Creek³⁴ and corraled on bank and at forks of road, the left leading to Salt Lake via Ft. Halleck³⁵ hand board says 425 m's to Virginia City.

Aug. 6—Broke corral at 6 AM drove till 9—camped on Platt[e]—good roads and & grass.

Aug. 7—Tuesday—Made usual drives.

Aug. 8—Wednesday—Drove 4 miles—halted till afternoon when we crossed the North Platte by fording³⁶—3 hours crossing—about 4 ft deep (in holes) and very swift current drove 2 miles on N. side for grass.

Aug. 9—Anniversary (one of my happiest days—but alas all is over in this mode) Remained in corral all day by order of Military Authorities, waiting on gov't train to come up. *Emigrants have to protect U.S. Troops.*

Aug. 10—Remained in corral, still waiting, all day. Tiresome work, hope they will soon come.

Aug. 11th—Saturday—Broke corral at 5 am drove 10 miles for grass. Camped in a valley near river. Our road to day hilly but good. Here we must wait again on the government train—three days already lost. Would that there was no military force in this country. Our delays cost more ten times than their protection, for it amounts to nothing. There is to day 90 wagons of us camped in this little valley 4 miles square about, Reading "John Halifax—Gentleman", by Mrs. Murdock—good.

Sunday Aug. 12—Remained corralled all day— becoming tiresome everybody anxious to push on to our journeys end—10 more wagons joined us.

³⁴Horseshoe Creek was an important point during the early period of overland traffic, but with the shifting of the overland stage route southward in 1862 because of Indian troubles, the amount of traffic passing through it declined.

³⁵Fort Halleck was established in 1862. This site is approximately twelve miles south of the present town of Hanna, Wyoming.

³⁶A ferry had been established across the North Platte in 1864 by Jim Bridger, the noted mountain man. It was located at about the point where the present US 87 crosses the river, approximately one mile west of Orin, Wyoming. Apparently, however, the diarist's party did not use the ferry, but, in the fashion of many freighters, saved money by fording the stream.

Aug. 13th 1866—Broke corall at 5.30 AM drove over hilly roads and corralled at 10.30 on Platte River, Reading &c "Jane Eyre by Currie Bell".

Aug. 14—Tuesday Broke corral at 5:30 a. m. drove 8 miles over winding roads high hills and deep ravines and corralled at 10 am in sight of last nights corral. Some singular formations of rock. And much [word illegible] sheet isinglass. Broke corral at 3 P.M. a return to our old and regular drives. May we now pass speedily on without any obstructions. Not very well today—headache—corralled at 5.30 P.M. near Platte River where the Old Mormon and California road leaves us.³⁷ This was the old original road to Utah & Cal. but more lately not used on account of its being too long. We here leave the Platt[e] River which we have followed for 600 miles and go due north.

Aug. 15—Wednesday Broke corral at 5 AM passing over rolling prairies. with some heavy sands coraled on Sage Creek³⁸ (15 miles) at 12.30 P.M. Alkali water and no grass here. Broke corral at 5 P.M. drove till 7 P.M. no water, little grass—23 miles today.

Aug. 16th Thursday—Broke at 4:30 AM passing over a rolling prairie. we were suddenly coraled at 8:30 by the return of Joe Richards (wagon master) who had run into a small party of Indians (Cheyenne) whilst ahead of train. 4 miles looking for water—Said Indians chasing him 3 miles, within sight of our train. Having coralled all trains, we waited an attack for two hours nearly, but as no demonstration was made, except the appearance of 5 or 6 on a bluff opposite, we again started our wing of train in the advance—drove 3 miles to water and corraled. Passed on our road four graves, marked with names &c killed by

³⁷This probably was just west of the mouth of La Prele Creek, across from the site of Fort Fetterman, established in 1867, approximately fourteen miles northwest of the present town of Douglas, Wyoming.—See Hebard and Brininstool, *op. cit.*, II, 114.

³⁸See Hebard and Brininstool, *op. cit.*, II, 114

Indians July 24th Many signs of a battle having been fought there. A paper picked up says "A train of 36 wagons 40 men some women and children corraled by Indians two days[.]" This is our first sign of hostile Indians, may we have no further trouble than today. The gov't train which has led us so far, fell in rear of us after this small scare. Broke corral at 5 P.M. Our wing & train in advance except the mule train. Another scare this evening. When we had corraled a messenger arrived saying Martins train (in rear) was attacked and scattered all over the country—and fighting. Soon however it appeared that they had seen five Indians at a distance but had made no demonstration. All excitement during night but no re-appearance of any Indians.

Aug. 17—Broke corral at 5 am camped at Humphri-vill camp³⁹ at 8.30. Water & grass tolerably good. Broke corral at 2.30 P.M. crossed Middle Fork Cheyenne River, heavy quicksands corraled at 5 P.M. travelling only 3 miles—Another uncalled for Indian scare owing to Bowmans exiteability [sic]. Thunder Storm in afternoon with some hail, causing us to corral on road for half hour. The rain has filled all the streams with water a great blessing to our cattle, they having suffered for want of it.

August 18th Saturday. Broke corral at 4.30 AM crossed North Cheyenne River and corraled at 8. On guard last night from 12 till daylight—Broke corral at 2.30 drove till 6 P.M. and finding some water at Antelope Springs unexpectedly we corraled to water and get supper. Broke corral at 8 P.M. and drove till 10 P.M. The thunder storm of yesterday has been a great blessing to us filling the streams that are usually dry.

August 19—Broke corral at 4.30 AM drove till 9 AM. Corraled on Dry Creek—a little water in it now. Our road for some days has laid over a rolling prairie. Today we pass the "Three Buttes" and are in sight of the "Snowy Range" the top is now covered with snow—a singular

³⁹The editor has found no other mention of this camp.

appearance for middle August. Made usual drive in afternoon—Wrote a letter to Ellie—mailed 20th.

Aug. 20. Monday Broke corral at 5 am. my wagon was upset with me in it—near 4000 weight of machinery on top of me—completely fastened under it—but escaped, miraculously without a scratch or bruise. Corraled at 9 A.M. Broke corral at 1 P.M. drove to *Fort Reno*⁴⁰ at 3 P.M. & corraled. Broke corral at 5 P.M. and drove till 9 P.M.—10 miles.

Aug. 21—1866 Broke corral at 4.15 AM. drove till 8 am about 4 miles, delayed crossing a muddy stream. Broke corral at 1 P.M. Drove till 8 P.M. 14 miles corraled on “Crazy Woman Forks”.⁴¹

Aug. 22 Wednesday Broke corral at 4.30 am. crossed Crazy Woman Forks. Made one bridge and cut out bank of east fork—west fork good crossing—corraled after crossing. Broke corral at 3.15 P.M.—drove till 6.30 P.M.—no water good grass.

Aug. 23. Thursday Broke corral at 5 AM—upset both boiler wagons within half mile of each other—no damage delayed three hours. Corraled at 9.30 am. Broke corral at 2 P.M. drove till 8 P.M.—14 miles passing thro the most fertile valleys we have yet seen—beautiful. good grass & water. Camp on Clear Creek.⁴²

Aug. 24—Broke corral at 5 AM crossed Rock Creek and corraled at 7.30 AM continuation of valley passed thro yesterday—Broke corral at 1 P.M. corraled at 5 P.M.

Aug. 25 Saturday Broke corral at 4.45 AM corraled at 7.30 AM on 1st Piney Fork, close to “Fort Philip

⁴⁰Fort Reno was the designation given in 1866 to Fort Connor, a stockade built in 1865. At the time it was redesignated, the fort on the Powder River also was enlarged. It was abandoned in 1868.

⁴¹Crazy Woman's Fork was an important stop on the Bozeman Trail.—See Hebard and Brininstool, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

⁴²Another well known camping place.

Kearney"⁴³ Walked to Fort (11½ miles) met Jeff, Megeath & Dr. Horton. Train moved across 2nd Piney Fork and corraled at 5 P.M.

Aug. 26 Broke corral at 5 AM drove 5 hours & made 5 miles. Corraled on small creek. Broke corral at 2 P.M. drove till 7 P.M. passed an old volcano, many traces of its work.

27—Monday—Broke corral at 5 AM drove to Goose Creek and corraled at 9.30 am—We had yesterday the first buffalo of the trip. Broke corral at 1 P.M. drove till 6 P.M. Our train killed a buffalo today. Road hilly. No water tonight.

28—Tuesday—Broke corral at 4 AM drove till 9 AM—plenty of buffalo along the road corraled on N.[orth] F.[ork] Tongue River. Broke corral at 4 P.M.—Three head of cattle missing. After starting three men went to hunt them—found them surrounded by Indians. Indians drove them to camp, attacked the train—got one mule from [illegible] yard—but was recaptured—a number of shots fired but no damage done. All our trains corraled on road. Halted one hour—awaited further attack—not being made drove three miles and corraled. Indians numbered from 30 to 50—Arrapahoes [*sic*].

29—Wednesday—Broke corral at 3.30 AM. Corraled at 8 AM. on Small Creek. Broke corral at 1 P.M.—drove till 4.30 corraled on Small Creek.

30—Thursday Broke corral at 5 A.M. drove till 8 AM crossed S.[outh] F.[ork] Horn River⁴⁴ & coraled. We were aroused suddenly last night at 12—by the alarm of Indians—stampeding our stock but all was soon quiet, could

⁴³Construction of Fort Phil Kearny, located on Little Piney Creek, was begun in July, 1866, under the direction of Colonel H. B. Carrington. It constantly was harassed by warriors of the Sioux, and after the Army abandoned it in 1868, the Indians burned it.—See Hebard and Brininstool, *op. cit.*, I, 263-296.

⁴⁴The Little Big Horn River. What is referred to here as the South Fork was also known as the East Fork.—See Hebard and Brininstool, *op. cit.*, II, 120.

not discover the cause of alarm among the cattle. Broke corral at 1 P.M. drove till 6 P.M.

August 31st Rain last night compel[led] us to remain in camp till 11 AM when we drove till 2.30, coraling on N[orth] F[ork] Little [Big] Horn River. Broke corral at at 5 P.M. drove till 6.30 P.M. and corraled, night being cloudy—too dark to drive.

September 1st. Rain nearly all night. Awoke this morning to see the mountains all around us white with snow, which fell during the night. The road being slippery with mud on hills cannot make an early start. Broke corral at 9 AM. drove till 11 AM, coraled on Rotten Grass Creek Broke corral at 4 PM drove till 7 P.M.—corraled on Rotten Grass Creek.

September 2nd. Broke corral at 5 AM drove till 8 AM corraled on Big Horn River near ferry & three miles from "Fort C. F. Smith"⁴⁵ Not being able to ford this river, are compelled to wait & ferry at \$5 per wagon.

September 3, Monday. Broke corral at 5 am drove up to ferry. Commenced ferrying at 10 am finished Martin's wing of train at 7 P.M.

Sept. 4 Tuesday Still crossing train—the Left wing will be over today. Prospecting for gold some good signs on the river—wrote to Ellie—

Sept. 5—Wednesday. Both boilers landed safe on North side of river at 9.30 am. Broke corral at 12 M drove till 5 P.M.

Sept. 6th. Broke corral at 5 am drove till 8.30 am. corraled on small creek. Broke corral at 12.30 P.M. driving about 4 miles over very hilly roads, crossed three creeks and corraled at 6 P.M.

Sept. 7th Broke corral at 5 am passed over a miserably hilly road and corraled on Creek at 12M. Sam's Boiler

⁴⁵Fort C. F. Smith, located where the Bozeman Trail crossed the Big Horn River, was established 12 August 1866. It was almost constantly besieged by the Sioux, and like other forts on the Bozeman Trail was abandoned in 1868.

upset again this AM—delayed two hours but no damage done a party of Indians are now (1 o'clock P.M.) passing us on the bluffs $\frac{1}{2}$ mile distant—suppose them to be Crows, who are friendly. Corraled at 6 P.M. on Creek. Overtook Indians who turn out to be Sioux on the war path, but only numbering twenty, fear our numbers and pretend to be friendly, begging tobacco &c. Their war paint, dress &c show them to be hostile. They are mounted on American horses, which are shod, showing that they have been recently captured, they have also a lot of gov't clothing sabers &c—Would not tell their tribe. Cloudy & rain—Hilly roads. (Passed thro' Pryor's Gap this P.M.)

Saturday—Sept. 8th 1866 Cold & rainy. Indians stole a mule, our best one, from corral last night, by cutting the rope. Remained in corral all day, cold rain, showing on mountains a few miles from us.

September 9—Clear & pleasant—Indians attempted to steal mules last night, but failed. Broke corral at 8.45 A.M. drove till 12 M. roads good (excepting one bad hill) but very circuitous good spring for men—Broke corral at 3 P.M. and drove till 6 P.M. corraled on a large Creek, good grass.

Sept. 10th Broke corral at 5 AM drove up creek 5 miles and corraled on a Dry Creek at 12M. making $13\frac{1}{2}$ miles this morning. Broke corral at 3 P.M. drove till 5 P.M. crossing Clark's Fork of Yellowstone River and corraling—small party of Indians met us and *escorted* us to our camp—on a begging expedition. The Crows are friendly but notorious thieves and beggars.

Sept. 11th Broke corral at 5 AM drove till 9 AM crossing the Clarks North Fork at 8 AM Broke corral at 1.30 P.M. drove till 6 P.M. road hilly for a mile—crossed Clarks fork this A.M. at 8—and a creek at 5 P.M.—followed up Clarks North Fork till we struck a creek—name unknown. Bathed & washed a *little* cool for bathing.

Sept. 12th. Wednesday. Broke corral at 5 AM drove till 11 AM crossed a large creek at 9 AM followed creek all morning. Broke down a "pan wagon" breaking the pan,

causing a delay of 1½ hours (Sam's wing of train) Broke corral at 2.30 P.M. drove till 6 P.M. camped on a hill, no water, poor grass—roads all day hilly & sidling. Sams wing upset another wagon this P.M.

September 13th Broke corral at 5.15 AM drove till 9.30 AM over very hilly roads. Camped on a small creek. Broke corral at 1.30 and corraled at 6 P.M. having terribly hilly roads and fording two creeks. Camp on creek.

Sept. 14th. Broke corral at 5 AM traveled up a creek all morning and crossed two small creeks forded large creek at Ropers Ferry and coraled at 9.30 AM—road level & good. Broke corral at 1 P.M. drove till 7 P.M. road hilly & rough—dry camp.

Sept. 15th 1866 Broke corral at 5 AM drove till 12M. and corraled on creek of good water. Road good except last mile, which is terrible hill, very long & steep. Broke corral at 5 P.M. drove till 6.30 P.M. crossing creek and corraling on the long and anxiously look[ed] for Yellowstone River.

Sept. 16th Sunday Broke corral at 5 AM drove till 10 AM our road leading up the river—passed three graves “Killed by Indians Aug. 23 24” Broke corral at 2 P.M. drove till 7 P.M.—crossing a river near junction with Yellowstone, a very rocky and difficult ford. Corraled on west bank—in corral till 12 o'clock.

Sept. 17th, 1866 Broke corral at 5.30 AM drove till 4 P.M.—corraling at ford of Yellowstone. Found evacuated ranch on account of Indians. Snowing, raining and very unpleasant day.

September 18th 1866. Commenced fording the Yellowstone at 8.30 AM. Met with a serious accident, drowned 3 yoke and one steer in one team, unable by any means to release them, were compelled to stand and look at the poor brutes drowning. Water too cold for man to stand it long enough to help them—raining & snowing all day—finished crossing at 12.30 M. all except the pan wagon attached to drowned team.

Sept. 19th Snowing & raining in morning. Began to take out wagon & machinery lost in river—J. C. left us

this A.M., going ahead, took one wagon with him to send back provisions from first ranch, we are entirely out of flour, bacon and everything. A sad sight to sit and look at our poor cattle (7 head) still fastened to the wagon in river by their yokes & chains. By the use of a flat boat, fortunately found at this deserted ferry we are enabled to unload part of the machinery. Succeeded this evening in bringing to shore the wagons & pan, all safe except one fore wheel.

Sept. 20 Thursday Clear and very cold & windy—Broke corral at 9 A.M.—passed some hot boiling springs. These springs are about 20 in number in 200 ft. square, all large springs, and strong sulphur. The water at the spring is a boiling heat. There is also a cold spring not over 50 ft from these. Corraled at 12.30 P.M. Broke corral at 2 P.M. and corraled at 7.30 P.M. Roads hilly but good—Corraled on Yellowstone in a beautiful little valley high mountains on every side.

Sept. 21—Friday. Broke corral at 5 AM a high & rough hill just at camp. This hill is over a mile & half long and very dangerous, having many short curves and but a single track looking down over high precipices. Corraled at 12M making about 6 miles. Broke corral at 4 P.M. corraled at 6:30 P.M. making about 4 miles, delayed by upset[ting] pan wagon "Sam's" train—both corrals on Yellowstone.

Sept. 22—Left the Yellowstone at 5 AM, crossed two small creeks and Browns Spring about three miles apart—and corraled at small creek at 11 AM—9 miles—Broke corral at 2 P.M. drove till 6 P.M. about 4 m's. Snow storm all P.M.—met provisions wagon sent ahead four days ago.

Sept. 23—Sunday Snowing—Broke corral at 10 AM drove till 12 making two miles. Compelled to halt owing to snow, making the roads almost impassable. For several days we have met many miners who are going to Yellowstone to go east on Mackinaw boats. They report times dull, and everything cheap. Remained corraled all day. Ceased snowing at 2 P.M. but still cloudy & threatening.

Sept. 24th Monday Cold & Cloudy—Broke corral at 5 AM drove till 11 AM making about three miles, road very muddy and hilly had to make new roads, bridges &c—Broke corral at 2.45 P.M. and drove till 6 PM about 3 miles.

Sept. 25th Broke corral at 5 AM and ascended a high & steep mountain doubled on all teams, drove over the "divide" and a miserably stony, hilly, sidling road our wing passed over safely and corraled on creek at 6 PM (4 miles) Sam's boiler upset detaining him, at this time he has not reached us.

Sept. 26th Wednesday Broke corral at 5 AM drove till 10 AM crossing branch of Gallatin River and corral. We are now in the valley, and once more in civilization (passed thro' Bosemans [*sic*] City⁴⁶ our corral is beside a *wheat* field, shocked & the field fenced. It seems like a new world to see fences & grain fields. We can see Sam's wing of train on the top of the "divide" where they upset yesterday. Don't know what damage was done—Broke corral at 2 PM drove till 6 PM.—Corraled on Creek.

Sept. 27th 1866 Broke corral at 7.30 am drove till 1 PM crossing the Gallatin River good fording, corral on west bank. met some "masons" Broke corral at 3 P.M. drove till 6 P.M.—dry camp—We are now in the midst of Gallatin Valley—a beautiful valley and much of it under cultivation.

Sept. 28th Broke Corral at 7 AM drove till 10 AM corralled on small creek. Broke corral at 1 PM drove to Madison [*sic*] River crossed and corraled.

Sept. 29—Broke corral at 7.30 AM Sam's wing overtook us this AM drove till 10.30 AM and corraled on small creek. Broke corral at 2 P.M.—upset "pan wagon" and drove till 6 PM and corraled on small creek. Broke corral—& near some hot sulphur springs. We passed today some new quartz claims, reported as paying well.

⁴⁶Bozeman, present seat of Gallatin County, Montana, was established in 1864 when John M. Bozeman, for whom the town and the trail are named, guided the first train of immigrants to the Gallatin Valley.

Sept. 30th. Broke corral at 6 AM drove till 10 AM. Broke corral at 3 PM. drove till 6 PM met Christenot & Cook.

October 1st Broke corral at 6 AM drove to 12 mile house and corraled. J. Cook and myself left train at 12M and went into Vir[ginia] City spent the day there.

October 2—In Virg. City till 3 P.M. fixing up a'c of men came out & met train at the "Lakes".

Oct. 3—Wednesday—Broke corral at 10 am drove up near mill and corraled half of train. Left the other half back, having to double on all teams.

Oct. 4—Commenced taking machinery down to mill—*here we cease.*