

Chapter 1

1. Federal Works Agency, Works Progress Administration, *Illinois: A Descriptive and Historical Guide* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg, 1939/1947), 41.
2. Harold M. Mayer and Richard C. Wade, *Chicago: The Growth of a Metropolis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), 196.
3. See “World’s Columbian Exposition of 1893,” Chicago Architecture Centre, online at http://www.architecture.org/learn/resources/architecture-dictionary/entry/worlds-columbian-exposition-of-1893/?gclid=CjwKCAjw74b7BRA_EiwAF8yHFONk7V8e-Eun-I1yEmK9oJdJzAgNT0vN-O5DjIlkINgp514Hbe-giLxoCrO8QAvD_BwE&gclsrc=aw.ds.
4. Jeanne Madeline Weimann, *The Fair Women: The Story of the Women’s Building, World’s Columbian Exposition, Chicago 1893* (Chicago: Academy, 1981), 147. Invitation notice from the Fair’s Department of Publicity and Promotion. Thirteen women entered the competition.
5. R. Cummerford Martin and Luther Stieringer, members of the National Electric Lighting Association, commenting on the World’s Columbian Exposition, “City of Light,” quoted in Harold L. Platt, *The Electric City: Energy and Growth in the Chicago Area, 1880–1930* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1991), 59.
6. Erik Larson, *The Devil in the White City* (New York: Vintage, 2003), 115.
7. See, for instance, the commercial fairs in France and Italy in the 1570s, which followed on from earlier fairs, where bills of exchange were cancelled out or otherwise settled. See Fernand Braudel, *Out of Italy: Two Centuries of World Domination and Decline*, trans. Sian Reynolds (New York: Europa Publications, 2019), 119–40. See also “World’s Columbian Exposition of 1893,” Chicago Architecture Centre.
8. “How to Look for Records of ... Markets and Fairs,” National Archives, Washington, DC, online at <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/help-with-your-research/research-guides/markets-fairs/>.
9. US state agricultural fairs were annual events by 1840. See, for instance, Ariel Ron, “Summoning the State: Northern Farmers and Agricultural Politics in the Mid-Nineteenth Century,” *Journal of American History* 3, no. 2 (2016): 347–74.
10. Paxton, when pressed to demonstrate his design, scribbled a diagram on a sheet of blotting paper, which is still on display in a British museum.
11. See the website of the Bureau International des Expositions, at <https://www.bie-paris.org/site/en/>.
12. *Ibid.*
13. Joseph Gustaitis, *Chicago’s Greatest Year, 1893* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 2013), 16; Platt, *Electric City*, chaps 1–4.
14. Erik Larson notes the rising financial crisis as a significant backdrop to the Fair,

- leading to the resignation of Lyman Gage as chairman of the committee (*Devil in the White City*, 108).
15. Chaim M. Rosenberg, *America at the Fair: Chicago's 1893 World's Columbian Exposition* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2008), 50.
 16. Eliza Allen Starr, aunt of Jane Addams's friend Ellen Gates Starr, had written a biography, *Isabella of Castile*, which served to popularize the queen.
 17. There was considerable suspicion that, in the end, women would be denied promised visibility. In the run-up to the 1876 Philadelphia Exposition, women's groups had been promised a site for a structure at the Fair, but were double-crossed late in the preparations after having raised \$33,000 to support the proposed building. This only fired up their supporters, and money flowed in to make up for the Fair's management's withdrawal of funds. A Women's Pavilion was built on the grounds of the Fair. See Weimann, *Fair Women*.
 18. One of the workers on the Fair project was a carpenter named Elias Disney. His son, Walt, would go on to be the greatest of the amusement park innovators; see Rosenberg, *America at the Fair*, 276–7.
 19. Donald Miller, *City of the Century: The Epic of Chicago and the Making of America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), 386.
 20. Charles C. Bonney was a prominent Chicago Yankee lawyer who came from Hamilton, New York. He was interested in the religious ideas of the Swedenborgians, and suggested that there should be sessions devoted to spirituality at the Fair. This led to the creation of the World Congress of Religions, September 11–18. Afterward, Bonney published a collection of the talks given at the Congress. See Rosenberg, *America at the Fair*, 249–50.
 21. Miller, *City of the Century*, 490–1.
 22. Edison persuaded the committee not to use arc lighting, arguing that his bulbs gave off a softer light. But Westinghouse then got the Fair to use AC current over Edison's favored DC. See Larson, *Devil in the White City*, 131–2.
 23. Gustaitis, *Chicago's Greatest Year*, 18.
 24. Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams*, 274, online at <http://www.bookwolf.com/Wolf/pdf/HenryAdams-The%20Education%20Of.pdf>.
 25. Jack Kerouac, *On the Road* (1957; New York: Penguin, 1991), part 2, chap. 3.
 26. Miller, *City of the Century*, 488.
 27. Gustaitis, *Chicago's Greatest Year*, 18. It was possible to hire a college student with a rolling chair for 40 cents per hour. As well, there was an overhead, electrically powered “intramural” railway available to carry passengers around the grounds. It was installed to get Chicagoans to get comfortable with a proposed electrical, “third rail” system planned for Chicago and its suburbs. See Mayer and Wade, *Chicago*, 196–7.
 28. The Buffalo Bill organization had applied to present the show within the fairgrounds, but was denied. Instead, it leased a large parcel of ground just outside the Fair along the Midway Plaisance and conducted its shows there.

29. Miller, *City of the Century*, 504.
30. See Larry McMurtry, *The Colonel and Little Missie: Buffalo Bill, Annie Oakley, and the Beginnings of Superstardom in America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005), chap. 9.
31. Sometime after the Fair, a visitor quipped that “Chicago is the wickedest city in the world!” The remark was so often printed in the local press that, to local reporters, it seemed to be a mark of civic pride. Paraphrased from Gustaitis, *Chicago’s Greatest Year*, 5.
32. Twelve years after the Fair, in 1905, some entrepreneurs created The White City Amusement Park on Chicago’s South Side; see Rosenberg, *America at the Fair*, 275. A newspaper reported that people flocked to the new “White City” to ride the Ferris Wheel, the scenic railroad, ...bumper cars, and the roller coaster. When I was nine, my family moved into a small but new house located a few blocks from Flint(amusement) Park, in Flint, Michigan, which had many of the attractions, albeit on a much, much smaller scale, than those in the Chicago Midway.
33. Miller, *City of the Century*, 499.
34. Chicago’s Midway Airport was named to commemorate the Second World War battle in the Pacific.
35. See Libby Hill, *The Chicago River: A Natural and Unnatural History* (Chicago: Lake Claremont Press, 2000), part II.
36. Federal Works Agency, *Illinois*, 203.
37. The system was designed by a Yankee, Ellis Chesbrough, who came to Chicago as chief engineer after having designed the Boston water system.
38. Federal Works Agency, *Illinois*, 41.
39. Based on Rosenberg, *America at the Fair*, chap. 15.
40. Maury Klein, *The Power Makers: Steam, Electricity and the Men Who Invented Modern America* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2008), chap. 19.

Chapter 2

1. Peter F. Drucker, *Concept of the Corporation* (1946; New York: John Day, 1972, with a new Preface and new Epilogue, xvi.
2. Chadwick was a British physicist who discovered the neutron. He reviewed American findings on the small size of fissionable material needed for an atomic bomb and confirmed them. See Richard Rhodes, *The Making of the Atomic Bomb* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1987), 355–6.
3. Denise Kiernan, *The Girls of Atomic City: The Untold Story of the Women Who Helped Win World War II* (New York: Touchstone, 2013), 258–9. Stimson made his “Statement on the bombing of Japan” on August 6, 1945.
4. Gerald J. DeGroot, *The Bomb: A Life* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 110.

5. Jonathan Raban, *Driving Home: An American Scrapbook* (New York: Picador, 1995), 409.
6. An interesting description of the reactor test is in Kiernan, *Girls of Atomic City*, 75–80. Another is in Craig Nelson, *The Age of Radiance: The Epic Rise and Fall of the Atomic Era* (New York: Scribner, 2014), 130–9.
7. He arrived with his family on January 2, 1939, and became an American citizen in 1944.
8. Some security-conscious bureaucrats and military people wanted to restrict information on nuclear research to enemy aliens until it was pointed out that they were in fact the ones who were producing much of the information.
9. The concept of fission was that a neutron might smash into a uranium atom, splitting it into smaller parts while releasing a considerable amount of energy. A k of 1.0 meant that each collision would result in another neutron flying off to hit another atom without any outside provision of neutrons. This is called a “chain reaction.”
10. Rhodes, *Making of the Atomic Bomb*, chap. 13.
11. Arthur Compton took responsibility for University oversight of the reactor project, but kept President Robert Hutchins in the dark about the risks; see DeGroot, *Bomb*, 45–6.
12. Besides the Germans, the United Kingdom, the USSR and Japan were also experimenting with nuclear energy, but none of them had the technical expertise or free economic capability to pursue constructing a bomb actively. As it turned out, neither did the Germans.
13. DeGroot (*Bomb*, 12) sees them mired in classical physics at this time.
14. For instance, a sugar cube contains a trillion trillion atoms.
15. At last count, 21 artificial elements have been created in the laboratory, including neptunium, #93 and plutonium, #94. These are heavier than uranium and called the transuranium or artificial elements
16. Lately, theories have been put forward about “dark matter” to compensate for some observed effects in the universe.
17. DeGroot, *Bomb*, 9.
18. Ida Noddack, a German physicist, suggested that Fermi’s results showed, not new transuranic elements, but lighter elements, proving that fission was possible. Everyone ignored her, including the Nazis. See DeGroot, *Bomb*, 14–15. Another version of Noddack’s influence is in Kiernan, *Girls of Atomic City*, 32–4, 323.
19. A short summary of Meitner’s influence is in Kiernan, *Girls of Atomic City*, 57–62, 293–4, 325.
20. Meitner was recognized only for her achievements after the war. She never received the Nobel Prize, presumably on account of her gender. President Truman, upon meeting her, joked, “Ah, so you’re the little lady who got us into this mess.” An artificial element, created in a reactor, was named meitnerium in her honor. See Nelson, *Age of Radiance*, 84–104, 189.

21. Rhodes, *Making of the Atomic Bomb*, 196.
22. Sachs confirmed this: “We really only needed Einstein to provide Szilard with a halo; see DeGroot, *Bomb*, 22.
23. A copy of the letter’s text is in Nelson, *Age of Radianance*, 116–18.
24. Briggs was born of Yankee parentage in southern Michigan, attended what is now Michigan State University and the University of Michigan, as well as Johns Hopkins University before joining the federal Department of Agriculture. In 1939, he was 65 and, except for the potential of war, probably would have retired.
25. Briggs has been criticized for this inaction — unfairly, I would argue. Outside of the émigré scientists, no one in the government in 1940 had a clue what the concern was about, and even whether a workable weapon was possible. All they had to go on was the “atomic bomb” in an old H.G. Wells story.
26. U-238 has a half-life of 4.5 billion years. A half-life means that half of the atoms in a sample would have naturally emitted a neutron in this time. See Nelson, *Age of Radianance*, 30.
27. Rhodes, *Making of the Atomic Bomb*, 323–4.
28. Nier pasted the sample of U-235 and U-238 on the margin of a handwritten letter and sent them off, special delivery, to Fermi’s team at Columbia University; see Rhodes, *Making of the Atomic Bomb*, 332.
29. Bush was born in Everett, Massachusetts, the son of a Universalist minister in Boston. The family came from Cape Cod, where Bush’s father had been a cook on a fishing boat before taking up the ministry. His ancestors had been in the Atlantic fishing business, but little is known of this Cape Cod family. Vannevar Bush rose from a working-class Boston neighborhood to be a graduate of Tufts University, an inventor, electrical engineer, academic administrator, and one of the founders of the Raytheon Corporation.
30. Hopkins was born in Iowa, the son of a Mainer and a woman from Halton County, Ontario, who, in turn, was the daughter of a Connecticut Yankee.
31. Like Vannevar Bush’s, James B. Conant’s Yankee ancestors were not a prominent family, but came from the country around Plymouth, Massachusetts. His father was a photoengraver in Dorchester, which is probably where James picked up an interest in chemistry. He studied chemistry at Harvard, was involved in poison gas research in the First World War, began a chemical manufacturing company in Boston, and eventually became a professor at Harvard before being selected as its president in 1933.
32. Henry Stimson grew up in a prominent surgeon’s family in New York City, but his family could trace its origins back to the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Stimson’s father, like previous generations, had studied at Yale, then joined his own father’s New York City banking firm, only to leave it to go to Europe to study as a surgeon. Son Henry also went to Yale and then became a lawyer, working with

- Elihu Root's firm. He became a diplomat and governor of the Philippines under Harding and then secretary of war under FDR.
33. Compton came from an academic family. His father was a dean at the (now) College of Wooster, on the southern border of Ohio's Western Reserve, and he and his two brothers all received PhDs from Princeton. Compton's family came from northern New Jersey and, before that, Long Island, which had been settled from Connecticut. Compton became a professor of physics at the University of Chicago in 1923, and won a Nobel Prize in physics in 1927, a rare honor for an American at the time.
 34. Jennet Conant, *109 East Palace: Robert Oppenheimer and the Secret City of Los Alamos* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005), 29; See also Nelson, *Age of Radiance*, 126.
 35. The following details about General Groves's involvement with the Manhattan Project come from Robert S. Norris, *Racing for the Bomb: General Leslie R. Groves, The Manhattan Project's Indispensable Man* (South Royalton, VT: Steerforth Press, 2002).
 36. Leslie Groves was born in Albany, New York, the son of a Presbyterian minister. He could trace his family to upstate New York, then back to a Huguenot/Jerseyman (not unlike Henry Thoreau's ancestor) who probably jumped ship in Salem, Massachusetts, about 1670. Groves's father, always restless, became an Army chaplain, and Leslie grew up on military posts. After a couple of years at MIT, he managed to secure an appointment at West Point. Upon graduation, he joined the Corps of Engineers, just as the First World War ended. Over the next 20 years, Groves developed a reputation for managing complex projects.
 37. Rhodes, *Making of the Atomic Bomb*, 424.
 38. Norris, *Racing for the Bomb*, 175. In 1945, when the bomb was successfully tested, Groves, Bush, and Conant were in the same observation trench. After they had shaken hands all around, Groves was heard to mutter, "Well, there must be something in nucleonics, after all." He had lived with his uncertainty through the whole project. See Conant, *109 East Palace*, 309–10.
 39. Norris, *Racing for the Bomb*, 178.
 40. Rhodes, *Making of the Atomic Bomb*, 426. A variation on this quote is in Norris, *Racing for the Bomb*, 210.
 41. The name of the project, like the MAUD Committee in Britain, was chosen more for its innocuousness than for a real description.
 42. Norris, *Racing for the Bomb*, 180.
 43. There are many descriptions about the creation and initial operations at Oak Ridge. A short summary is in DeGroot, *Bomb*, 48–50. An interesting perspective from the workforce angle is Kiernan, *Girls of Atomic City*. Jennet Conant's book on Los Alamos contains many similar details about women's life inside this secret site; see Conant, *109 East Palace*,
 44. Rhodes, *Making of the Atomic Bomb*, 431. Conant was also an advocate of going down different paths simultaneously; see Nelson, *Age of Radiance*, 160.

45. Norris, *Racing for the Bomb*, 210–13.
46. Admiral Hyman Rickover, the father of the nuclear Navy, worked at the Oak Ridge site during the war; *ibid.*, 314.
47. Groves and the scientists working on the Manhattan Project never really got along. They lived in a culture of open exchange of information; he was security conscious. They used blackboards; he built structures. “Your job won’t be easy,” he told his staff. “At great expense, we have gathered together the largest collection of crackpots ever seen”; see Degroot, *Bomb*, 36.
48. The world’s first actual atomic reactor, B-pile at Hanford, Washington, went active on 26 September, 1944. It failed a few hours later, but by the end of the year, it and D-pile were both active and producing plutonium. See *ibid.*, 53. After the war, Hanford continued to produce plutonium, but the reactors were decommissioned with the end of the Cold War. A notable replacement activity is one of two sites for the Laser Interferometer Gravitational-wave Observatory, which in 2016 proved the existence of gravitational waves, predicted by Einstein’s theories a century before.
49. In November 2015, the three main sites at Los Alamos, Oak Ridge, and Hanford became the Manhattan Project National Historic Park. The stories of the scientists, the people who worked at these sites, and the people displaced by the Project are all told. See www.nps.gov/mapr.
50. Similar activity was taking place at Los Alamos and Oak Ridge, with thousands of people being involved in construction. Groves had the initial group of scientists placed at Los Alamos in just over a month after the students and teachers at the boys’ school left. See Conant, 109 *East Palace*, 62.
51. DeGroot, *Bomb*, 26, 31-2; see also Norris, *Racing for the Bomb*, 304–6.
52. Even though Santa Fe was crawling with military security people, Klaus Fuchs was able to drive down from Los Alamos and deliver documents to a confederate there.
53. Norris, *Racing for the Bomb*, 315.
54. *Ibid.*
55. Kiernan, *Girls of Atomic City*, 230. It appears that the B-29 project cost 50 percent more than the Manhattan Project; see Nelson, *Age of Radiance*, 208.
56. The area selected for the test had been known for centuries as the *Jornada del Muerte*, “the Journey of Death,” for its waterless, bleak terrain — a fitting place. The date was politically motivated to coincide with President Truman’s meeting with Stalin and Churchill at Potsdam, Germany. “Trinity” might have come from Oppenheimer’s interest in Hindu mythology. See, for instance, Kiernan, *Girls of Atomic City*, 236.
57. Nelson (*Age of Radiance*, 210–11) notes that many more Japanese had been killed by firebombing than in the two nuclear attacks.
58. In 1946, MGM produced a film dramatizing the basic story of the development of the atomic bomb. It starred Brian Donleavy and Hume Cronyn, and was written

- by Robert Considine and directed by Norman Tauvos. *The Beginning or the End* was meant to be a cautionary tale about the perils of the bomb to future society.
59. The first obvious American atomic casualty was due to an industrial accident at Los Alamos in August 1945, when a young technician dropped a piece of U-235 onto a larger piece and received a fatal dose of radiation; see Conant, *109 East Palace*, 339–40. Kiernan (*Girls of Atomic City*, 207–8) notes that the couriers used to transport the small amounts of radioactive material from Oak Ridge and Hanford to Los Alamos were exposed to radiation, but the concern by the military was focused on the amount carried and whether it might set off a reaction, not about the material's regular radiation. Nelson (*Age of Radiance*, 270–4) notes that 250,000 American troops were exposed to nuclear tests, as well as thousands of civilians.
 60. See Titan Missile Museum, online at <http://www.titanmissilemuseum.org>.

Chapter 3

1. Timothy Dwight, *Travels in New England and New York New Haven CT*, self-published, 1821.
2. Quoted in Gordon L. Weil, *Sears, Roebuck, USA: The Great American Catalog Store and How It Grew* (New York: Stein and Day, 1977), 4.
3. See <http://phx.corporate-ir.net/phoenix.zhtml?c=97664&p=iro1-faq#14296>.
4. Like “Yankee,” the word “pedlar,” or peddler, was first used in North America by the officials of the Hudson's Bay Company after the mid-1750s and the English conquest of Canada. It was a label for the French fur traders who were now managed by Yankees and Englishmen out of Montreal. They were aggressively pushing north and west from the Great Lakes and taking market share from the Hudson's Bay Company. See Bernard DeVoto, *The Course of Empire* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1952), 252.
5. J.R. Dolan suggests that peddlers were bringing goods from the port of Boston to Plymouth and Salem shortly after Boston was founded in the 1630s; see J.R. Dolan, *The Yankee Peddlers of Early America* (New York: Bramhall House, 1964), 15.
6. Yankee peddlers were in the Carolinas as early as 1676. Richardson [Little] Wright, *Hawkers and Walkers in Early America* (1927; repr. New York: Arno Press, 1978), 40.
7. See, for instance, Joseph T. Rainer, “The Sharper Image: Yankee Peddlers, Southern Consumers and the Market Revolution” *Business and Economic History* (26) 1, Fall 1997, p28.
8. A classic description of the “Yankee peddler” and others plying the paths and roads of the first half of the 1800s is Wright, *Hawkers and Walkers*.
9. One of these was Bronson Alcott, a leading transcendentalist and the father of author Louisa May Alcott. In his youth, he turned down the opportunity to study at Yale in favor of going on the road as a peddler; see *ibid.*, 17–18.

10. An early such peddler was Ephraim Davis, who, in 1791, found an ideal spot in western New York, gave up the road, and settled down to farm; see *ibid.*, 26–7.
11. A short, but fascinating, first-person account of a Vermont man and his experiences as a peddler can be found at http://meckdec.org/images/Dandelion_September-October2011.pdf.
12. Gerald Carson, *The Old Country Store* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1965), 62; chapter 3 is devoted to the peddlers.
13. Joseph T. Rainer, “The ‘Sharper’ Image: Yankee Peddlers, Southern Consumers and the Market Revolution,” *Business and Economic History* 26, no. 1 (1997): 32. Rainer’s article is a good source for many of the Yankee practices and Southern resentments.
14. To see how the system of familial obligations worked, see Susan E. Gray, *The Yankee West: Community Life on the Michigan Frontier* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), chap. 4.
15. See Dolan, *Yankee Peddlers*, chap. 7.
16. *Ibid.*, 70.
17. See, for instance, Wright, *Hawkers and Walkers*, chap. 16.
18. The Rev. Sylvester Cochrane wrote in 1840 from western Michigan that “Money indeed scarcely exists in this western country. I have received but one five-dollar bill for ministerial services since I came to Mich[igan] (2½ years ago) except what I received from you [The American Home Missionary Society]” (Gray, *Yankee West*, 55). When Frederick Law Olmstead traveled the South in the 1850s, he heard of men in isolated districts who had never seen a dollar in their lives (Wright, *Hawkers and Walkers*, 37n).
19. Wright notes an advertisement by a Danbury, Connecticut, general store: “All kinds of country produce will be received in payment. . . Good rock salt exchanged for flax seed or rye, even” (Wright, *Hawkers and Walkers*, 37).
20. See *ibid.*, chap. 3.
21. Dolan, *Yankee Peddlers*, chap. 2.
22. Wright, *Hawkers and Walkers*, chap. 7.
23. Dolan, *Yankee Peddlers*, 231–3.
24. Rainer, “‘Sharper’ Image,” 28.
25. Dolan, *Yankee Peddlers*, 231.
26. William Nowlin, *The Bark Covered House; Or, Back in the Woods Again* (1876; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1966).
27. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Postage_stamp
28. Occasionally I have run across the claim that, in 1839, a William Harriden, of Boston, was the first to operate a railway express service, between Boston and New York City. He might have had a courier service at that date, but it would have been using the railroads of the time from Boston to a fast ship down Long Island Sound, or a stage along the Old Post Road, as no railroad then ran beyond Springfield, Massachusetts, or Providence, Rhode Island.

29. Butterfield Stage Coaches served as a model for many scenes in later Western movies.
30. Wells and Butterfield had been rivals earlier in the telegraph business, but eventually merged their interests. They then were pressured to join what became Western Union. Fargo had been involved, like the other two, in the express business, and the three formed American Express. Butterfield broke with his partners shortly after the merger over the desirability of expanding beyond St. Louis to San Francisco, and the other two created Wells Fargo. See, for instance, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/American-Express-Company>
31. Weil notes the gap between Allen's title and his content; see Weil, *Sears, Roebuck, USA*, 61–2. The tale of the origins of Allen's idea is recounted in Frank L. Mott, *A History of American Magazines* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1938; 4th printing 1970), 38–9.
32. Robert W. Lovett, "Publisher and Advertiser Extraordinary: The E.C. Allen Collection," *Bulletin of the Business Historical Society* 24, no. 4 (1950): 210–15.
33. See Wright, *Hawkers and Walkers*, 51.
34. There were also "peddlers of the Word," religious itinerants who went about distributing and selling religious tracts and bibles. The American Tract Society report for 1859 noted that its 650 employees and volunteers had visited 3 million families and distributed 8 million pieces of literature (*ibid.*, 162).
35. He also produced popular copies of famous paintings. In fact, he died from pneumonia in 1891 after returning from a European trip to look at paintings to add to his print offerings (Lovett, "Publisher and Advertiser Extraordinary," 211–12).
36. A change in the US postal law apparently made it uneconomic to continue.
37. Lovett ("Publisher and Advertiser Extraordinary," 215) acknowledges Allen's business as being the forerunner of the mail-order house.
38. Ward's family came from the Newark, New Jersey, area, where his ancestors had been among the earliest settlers, having moved west a relatively short distance from Connecticut in the late 1680s. In the early 1850s, when Montgomery Ward was nine, his family moved west. In Chicago, Ward encountered strong competition within the city from well-established Marshall Field, whose customer-centric approach Ward adopted for his mail-order business. Field grew up in Massachusetts.
39. A&P was founded in New York City in 1869 by a Mainer who saw an opportunity in importing Chinese tea via San Francisco and the new intercontinental railway, rather than the traditional clipper ships that came all the way directly to New York; see Marc Levinson, *The Great A&P and the Struggle for Small Business in America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2011), 26.
40. Weil, *Sears, Roebuck, USA*, 62–4
41. Weil (*ibid.*, 64–5) notes that Ward had a larger variety of goods available before 1919, but that Sears had an advantage in sales, in part due to Richard Sears's advertising abilities.

42. A general, though somewhat garbled, outline of Sears's life and the growth of the company can be found in *ibid.*, chaps 1–5.
43. This apparently was a common practice when a consignment was refused. Sometimes mail-order houses would deliberately send shipments to non-existent customers in hopes the station personnel would try to sell the goods to local people.
44. Clocks had been a major sales item for the Yankee peddlers, but pocket watches especially emerged as important after the railroads adopted standard time zones in 1883 and businesses began to run on “railroad time.”
45. Eaton's stores, long an institution in Canada but went bankrupt in 1999 with its assets purchased by Sears, began catalog sales in Canada in 1884, copying Ward's guarantee and cash-pricing policy.
46. Roebuck promptly changed the company's name to his. The Sears name apparently was added after the three-year agreement ran out.
47. In the mid-1900s, my father and many others used to affectionately call the company “Monkey Ward.”
48. Rosenwald's father arrived in Baltimore from Germany in 1854, and found work as a peddler in rural western Virginia. Two years later, he was working at a clothier's store in Baltimore, then married the boss's daughter and was sent to Springfield, Illinois, to manage a branch store for the family business. Julius was born there in 1862. By the time Julius was old enough, he was sent to New York City, where his uncles had moved their store, to learn the business. Then he, a brother, and a cousin headed to Chicago to open their own clothing wholesale business, which prospered. He met Sears when the mail-order businessman came in to contract for some men's suits.
49. Orders were coming in at the rate of 100,000 per day
50. 3.3 million square feet and fifteen stories at its peak.
51. There are at least two Bezos/Amazon biographies available: Robert Spector, *Amazon.com: Get Big Fast* (New York: Harper/Collins, 1997), and Richard L. Brandt, *One Click: Jeff Bezos and the Rise of Amazon.com* (New York: Penguin, 2011).
52. Brandt, *One Click*, 44.
53. *Ibid.*, 60.
54. Three days after the launch, Yahoo asked to put Amazon.com's website on its “cool list.” This publicity helped generate \$12,000 worth of orders in the first week; see *ibid.*, 83.
55. In 1998, the company was valued at \$5 billion (*ibid.*, 97). It is worth much more today.
56. Doug Stephens, “The Retail Revival” (lecture given at Saint Mary's University, Halifax, NS, October 16, 2014).

Chapter 4

1. William J. Bernstein, *Masters of the Word: How Media Shaped History from the Alphabet to the Internet* (New York: Grove Press, 2013), 7.
2. Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 7. This is a most interesting and enjoyable book.
3. Quoted in Douglas Coupland, *Marshall McLuhan* (Toronto: Penguin Canada, 2009), 16.
4. Samuel Miller, *A Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century, Part First, in two volumes: Containing a Sketch of the Revolutions and Improvements in Science, Arts and Literature in That Period*, vol. 1 (New York: T and J Swords, 1803); quoted in Paul Starr, *The Creation of the Media: Political Origins of Modern Communications* (New York: Perseus, 2004), 70.
5. Wyatt Rushton, "Joseph Medill and the Chicago Tribune" (MA thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1916), 9; online at <https://books.google.com/books?id=gc-c7AAAAMAAJ&pg=PA7-IA2#v=onepage&q&f=false>.
6. There is an old around-the-campfire game where a short message is given to one person around the circle, who is then supposed to whisper the message to his or her neighbor, and so on. When the last person receives the message, the recipient says it out loud to the group. Generally, after seven-to-ten receptions, the message has either become garbled or has been altered, much to the enjoyment of the participants. This points out the problem with oral messages over time.
7. Bernstein, *Masters of the Word*, 9–10.
8. See, for instance, *ibid.*, 7.
9. The difference is the continuity of Chinese logograms, while there are no extant alphabetic languages nearly as old. The revolutionary Mao Zedong tried to modernize Chinese with an alphabetic system, but even he met with too much resistance.
10. On a Mediterranean cruise in 2013, my wife and I visited the ruins of ancient Ephesus, in Turkey. Our guide was a noted archaeologist. At one stop at what was once a terraced Roman apartment building, he commented that one of the last inhabitants of the now ruin must have been a teenaged boy. When asked by one of our party how he could guess that, he had us bend down so we could see the upper inside wall of one of the apartments. High on the inside wall there was faint writing in Latin, saying "Antonio loves Claudia," most probably written by the last occupant of this room.
11. Wood block printing was known in China as early as the 600s; see Mark Kurlansky, *Paper: Paging Through History* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2016), 99.
12. F.D. Harvey, "Literacy in Athenian Democracy," *Revue des Études grecques* 79, no. 376–8 (1965): 585–635.

13. A book bound in today's format was once called a "codex"; the value of a codex in medieval times was that the pages could be written or printed on both sides, saving valuable parchment or paper (Bernstein, *Masters of the Word*, 110).
14. Paper and papermaking were introduced into western Europe in the 1200s; see Eisenstein, *Printing Revolution*, 30.
15. The rushing water lifted a trip hammer that gradually ground wood or other vegetation waste into sheets of pulp that dried into paper.
16. Alexander Munro, *The Paper Trail: An Unexpected History of a Revolutionary Invention* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 2016), 222–5. Munro's familiarity with Chinese literature as well as writing materials and techniques is very impressive.
17. The oldest example of the use of moveable type, as opposed to carved blocks, dates to 1040 in China. Using carved blocks predated this by centuries (*ibid.*, 228).
18. Alix Christie, *Gutenberg's Apprentice* (New York: Harper-Collins, 2014).
19. By 1470, the same text in print, rather than in manuscript form, sold for about 20 percent of its pre-printing price (Starr, *Creation of the Media*, 24).
20. A hand-written periodical newsletter focused on commercial happenings was produced in Venice in 1550 and called a "Gazette" (*ibid.*, 30).
21. *Ibid.*, 32.
22. Kurlansky, *Paper*, 222.
23. One of the most interesting innovations in the scribal culture was the development of word spacing. The Romans and many cultures before them normally ran all the letters in a message or history together. Some languages also did not write vowels. The combination of the two slowed the process of writing copies of manuscripts considerably and often resulted in errors of understanding or translation. Especially in theological texts, this could be consequential; see Bernstein, *Masters of the Word*, 111–15.
24. Marshall McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962).
25. A concise, sympathetic, but useful explanation of McLuhan's mosaic approach and related ideas can be found in Elena Lamberti, "Marshall McLuhan and the Modernist Writers' Legacy," in *At the Speed of Light There Is Only Illumination: A Reappraisal of Marshall McLuhan*, ed. John Moss and Linda M. Morra, 63–83 (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2004).
26. Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, who has written an important history about this media shift, is a severe critic of McLuhan's approach to the importance of what printing did to medieval readers and to the society that has developed. She traces some of McLuhan's ideas about media to the French *Annales* school of history, including Lucien Febvre's argument concerning the shift from the age of the "ear" to the age of the "eye" in late medieval Europe. See Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 1:40–1.
27. Paul Starr estimates that male literacy in New England rose from 60 percent in 1660

- to 85 percent in 1760, while female literacy reached around 60 percent in the latter year.
28. Eventually, he sold his farm and moved south to St. Charles, Missouri, an area that had been settled by French families decades before. He apparently worked as a ferryman, taking people and goods across the Mississippi River.
 29. The river was later diverted inland and its mouth into the Lake replaced by a dredged canal that took Chicago sewage into a westward-flowing river system that carried it down to the Mississippi River and on southward, as noted in the previous chapter.
 30. As noted elsewhere, paper was commonly made from rags and it was both relatively expensive and often hard to get, sometimes causing circulation cutbacks. Once wood pulp became possible to process into paper, shortages disappeared, except possibly in wartime.
 31. See “The New International Encyclopædia/Medill, Joseph,” Wikisource, online at https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/The_New_International_Encyclopædia/Medill,_Joseph.
 32. See “Stark’s Famous: Joseph Madill,” CantonRep.com, March 4, 2016, online at <https://www.cantonrep.com/news/20160304/starks-famous-joseph-medill>.
 33. “Edwin Cowles,” *National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, vol. 2 (1895), 224.
 34. Michael Stamm notes that the proportion of large circulation dailies devoted to advertising appears to have grown over the decades from over 40 percent of a paper (in a New York City survey) in 1922 to over 50 percent in 1945 to over 60 percent in the 1960s. The ability to generate commercial revenue depended on subscriber numbers; this, in turn, argued for low-cost home subscriptions. See Michael Stamm, *Dead Tree Media: Manufacturing the Newspaper in Twentieth-Century North America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2018), 5–6. I am indebted to Professor Stamm for many insights into the development of the American newspaper industry, particularly that of the *Chicago Tribune* and its relation to the Canadian economy.
 35. On this use of resources by Chicago industry, see William Cronon, *Nature’s Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1991).
 36. *Bloomberg Businessweek*, February 20, 2020, 26.

Chapter 5

1. Federal Works Agency, Works Progress Administration, *Illinois: A Descriptive and Historical Guide* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg, 1939), 222.
2. Victoria Bissell Brown, *The Education of Jane Addams* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 277.
3. Kate Thayer, *Chicago Tribune*, January 19, 2012.
4. Robert Reed, *Chicago Tribune*, September 1, 2017.
5. James F. Davis, *Frontier Illinois* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), chap. 3.

6. *Ibid.*, xvi. Davis has a Prologue in which he describes the impressions of a teenage girl's life as she and her Yankee family move from Keeseville, New York, near the shores of Lake Champlain, to Peoria, Illinois, in 1833, just after the end of the Blackhawk War.
7. Davis (*ibid.*, 168) notes that the number of steamboats plying the Mississippi River and its tributaries jumped from 23 in 1818 to 1,300 by 1848.
8. Pope was a lawyer/politician who was instrumental in the campaign for Illinois statehood in 1818. He was from a politically influential Kentucky family (*ibid.* 160–4).
9. Freeport was named following a sarcastic jibe by Elizabeth Phoebe Baker, who was unhappy with the generosity of her husband in helping westward-moving emigrants cross the river in his growing village. She made the wisecrack that the place ought to be named “Freeport,” and the name stuck. Phoebe, who was married four times and died an octogenarian, was from New Hampshire, about sixty miles from Freeport, Maine, which suggests a more commonplace origin of the town's name. Her generous husband (number three), “Tutty” Baker, was a Kentuckian. See <http://robertbike.com/polaris/1850.cpm>
10. Davis, *Frontier Illinois*, 225.
11. In the 1700s, both British Canadians and Americans tended to name people from the various German states and duchies as “Dutch,” perhaps from their language, *Deutsch*. There is a Dutch Village Road near me in Halifax, Nova Scotia, where I live, that dates back to the late 1700s, but the name has nothing to do with the Netherlands; rather, it is a reference to German immigrants who came to the area.
12. In the terminology of the nineteenth century, “immigrants” were commonly identified as people who came from Europe or China, while “emigrants” were American citizens moving west, often to California or Oregon.
13. See Edward T. Dunn, *A History of Railroads in Western New York*, 2nd ed. (Canisius, NY: Canisius College Press, 2000), chap. 2.
14. A German immigrant, Peter Schuttler, came to Chicago in 1843 and set himself up as a wagonmaker, becoming known as “The Wagon King” by the time of his death in 1879. It could be that the Weber-Addams group had dealt with this German-speaking wagonmaker. See “Peter Schuttler Wagon Works II,” *Chicagology.com*, online at <https://chicagology.com/rebuilding/rebuilding038/>.
15. William Cronon notes that the railroad was never finished from Chicago to Galena because the Illinois Central, a major north-south line, reached there first. Thereafter, the two lines merged; see William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1991), 65–70.
16. William S. Brown, writing in Rockford on February 5, 1856, captured the tone of Yankee society there. He claimed the town's population was about 7,000 and, with approval, he noted, “a large portion of which is composed of *young men*, from 18 to 35 years of age, most of them keen, *trading* Yankees, full of great *projects* and *hopes*, and working faithfully to accomplish them” (Davis, *Frontier*

- Illinois*, 421). In 1856, John Huy Adams was thirty-four, and culturally part of this “portion.”
17. With acknowledgment to Victoria Bissell Brown for this heading.
 18. Until almost the twenty-first century, Rockford was the largest city on US 20 going west from Chicago. Boise, Idaho, has now taken Rockford's place.
 19. The word “seminary” was used in the nineteenth century to designate a college that provided a religious as well as a practical education, but did not have degree-granting privileges. Some were male-oriented and others female-oriented.
 20. *The History of Dubuque County Iowa* (Chicago: Western Historical Company, 1880), 770.
 21. Starr came from an old Massachusetts Yankee family. Her father came west to improve his fortunes, but had not succeeded.
 22. Apparently, Starr had taken a year's leave from the school where she was teaching and part of her trip was covered by her chaperoning/guiding two girls named Kales, from a prominent Chicago family, in return for part of her expenses. See Mary Lynn McKee Bryan, Barbara Bair, and Maree de Angury, eds., *The Selected Papers of Jane Addams*, vol. 2, *Venturing into Usefulness, 1881–1888* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 494–500.
 23. See, for instance, Robert Reinders, “Toynbee Hall and the American Settlement Movement,” *Social Service Review* 56, no. 1 (1982): 39–54.
 24. Ellen had taught for some years at Miss Kirkland's School for Girls on Chicago's North Side. She was well liked by her students and their parents, and she used these connections to help Hull-House. Jane joined the Woman's Club of Chicago upon her return from Europe as a means of contacting potential supporters. See Donald Miller, *City of the Century: The Epic of Chicago and the Making of America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), 416–43.
 25. Like the settlement house, this was a British innovation, a romantic/socialist community that tried to marry craftsmanship to artistic design and focused on the dignity of hand-crafted household or decorative objects. The movement spread from Britain with the founding in 1895 of the Roycroft Colony near Buffalo, New York. The American version was sponsored by Elbert Hubbard, a wealthy promoter of inspirational literature and an associate of architect Frank Lloyd Wright. The Roycroft campus exists today in East Aurora, New York, on US 20A.
 26. “Graham Taylor (1851–1938,” in Virginia Commonwealth University, VCU Libraries Social Welfare History Project, online at <https://socialwelfare.library-vcu.edu/people/taylor-graham/>.
 27. She had three children by a Polish-Russian medical student, who ran up heavy debts and physically abused her. Unable to get a divorce in Europe, she fled to America, where the law was more understanding.
 28. Brown, *Education of Jane Addams*, 255.

29. Jane Addams, "A Function of the Social Settlement," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 13 (May 1899): 35.

Chapter 6

1. <https://www.valleytable.com/vt-article/short-history-wheat>
2. Agnes Arber, *The Gramineae: A Study of Cereal, Bamboo and Grass* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934), Introduction.
3. William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1991), 99.
4. See "Leonard Andrus," online at <http://illinoisancestors.org/ogle/leonardandrusbio.html>.
5. There is a John Deere Historic Site in Grand Detour.
6. "Demarius Lamb Deere," *Green Collectors.com*, online at <https://greencollectors.com/library/34-2/demarius-lamb-deere/>.
7. The cast iron moldboard plow was invented by Jethro Wood of Massachusetts and the Finger Lakes area of New York, who received a US patent for one in 1819. He spent most of his inherited fortune defending his patent.
8. Legend has it that Deere fashioned his first steel plowshare out of a broken steel saw.
9. A modern small tractor demonstration of plowing a field is available online at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gFF3AoZw45o>.
10. The manufacture of steel had been known for a long time, but it was not until Englishman Henry Bessemer took out a patent for the mass production of steel in 1856 that it became a commonly available product.
11. Banash, *Roadside History of Illinois*, 260.
12. As an aside, while growing up in Michigan, the large couch in our Michigan family living room was called a "Davenport," probably because the Iowa City was then a major source of family furniture in the Midwest.
13. "David Benton Sears Sr.," *Find A Grave*, online at <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/31395723/david-benton-sears>.
14. For a short description of this "war," see Joseph Frazier Wall, *Iowa: A History* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1942), 8–12.
15. In 1929, a folk song about the line began to gain popularity; in 1940, Huddie Ledbetter, known as "Lead Belly," was one of the first to record it.
16. Works Progress Administration for the State of Iowa, Federal Writers' Project, *Iowa: A Guide to the Hawkeye State* (New York: Hastings House, 1938), 222–3.
17. See Albert Perry Brigham, "The Development of Wheat Culture in North America," *Geographical Journal* 35, no. 1 (1910): 42–56.
18. <https://www.valleytable.com/vt-article/short-history-wheat>
19. Ibid. ¹⁰⁰.

20. Harold B. Gill, Jr., "Wheat Culture in Colonial Virginia," *Agricultural History* 52, no. 3 (1978): 380–93, online at <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3742230?seq=1>.
21. William Nowlin, *The Bark Covered House; Or, Back in the Woods Again* (1876; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1966), 44.
22. Brigham, "Development of Wheat Culture in North America," 45.
23. Mitchell Wilson, "Cyrus McCormick: American Industrialist and Inventor," *Britannica.com*, online at <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Cyrus-McCormick>.
24. <https://ironsolutions.com/agriculture-equipment-value-guides/a-brief-history-of-the-combine/>
25. <https://historylink101.com/lessons/farm-city/combine.htm>
26. Henry Ford produced a farm tractor that was popular in the Soviet Union in the 1930s called the "Fordson." See vol.2.
27. Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis*, 105; the insert is my recapitulation of a longer tale.
28. See "The Buffalo-Grand Island War of 1819," *Buffalo History Gazette*, May 27, 2011, online at https://www.buffalohistorygazette.net/2011_05_01_archive.html
29. "Grain Elevators — As They Were (Part One)," *Buffalo History Gazette*, September 28, 2010, online at <https://www.buffalohistorygazette.net/2010/09/grain-elevators-as-they-were-part-one.html>.
30. As an aside, a few blocks from where I live is a row of giant grain elevators, abandoned after the Canadian government stopped subsidizing the transportation of Western wheat to the East Coast at Halifax. Another subsidized and now abandoned route sent Western Canadian grain northward to Churchill, Manitoba, for export in late summer to Europe through Hudson Bay.

Chapter 7

1. Brian W. Dippie, "The Visual West," in *The Oxford History of the American West*, ed. Clyde A. Milner, Carol A. O'Connor and Martha Sandweiss (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 675.
2. Benita Eisler, *Dead Man's Bones: George Catlin: Artist and Showman* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2013), 197.
3. Bierstadt sent this letter back from an encampment on the Salt River near the continental divide; see Peter E. Palmquist and Thomas R. Kailborn, *Pioneer Photographers of the Far West: A Biographical Dictionary* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000), 109–10.
4. Charles M. Russell, *Trails Plowed Under*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1927. Introduction.
5. Mark Wyman, *The Wisconsin Frontier* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1998), 40–1.
6. A competing, though less glamorous, story is that there were dogs living in the prairie, giving the settlement its name. This name raises the question of why many docu-

ments refer to Prairie du Chien, which is a singular construction. Regardless, the early settlement was French in name and culture and later British in sympathy rather than American. See Mary Louise Antoine, *Prairie du Chien* (Charleston SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2011), Introduction. Antoine also notes that the earliest fort built there by the French was named Fort St. Nicolas.

7. Wyman, *Wisconsin Frontier*, 98. Prairie du Chien had its first US licensed fur trader in 1801, and the first US official flag was flown in the town when Zebulon Pike arrived in 1805 (118–9).
8. Pike was sent in 1805 to find the headwaters of the Mississippi. The aim, besides “showing the flag,” was to explore the wider area given over to the United States in the Jay Treaty.
9. Ted Morgan, *A Shovel of Stars: The American West, 1800 to the Present* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995), 121.
10. Joseph Frazier Wall, *Iowa: A History* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1942), 18–19.
11. Pike witnessed a lacrosse game between the Sioux and a Winnebago/Fox team in 1806 and commented: “It is an interesting sight to see two or three hundred naked savages contending on the plain who shall bear off the palm of victory” (Wyman, *Wisconsin Frontier*, 52).
12. A few years later, this intrepid soldier was killed in an American attack on York (now Toronto) during the War of 1812.
13. There was an American gunboat anchored in the river, but it left under fire from a lone cannon when the fall of the fort was seen as inevitable. See Wyman, *Wisconsin Frontier*, 122–3; see also Robert C. Nesbit, *A History of Wisconsin*, vol.III 73, 81; and <http://umbrigade.tripod.com/articles/wisconsin.html>.
14. Antoine, *Prairie du Chien*, 2.
15. In 1806, the United States imported 5 million pounds of lead. In 1842, it exported 14 million. The nation owed its change in status to the lead mines of southern Wisconsin. The southwest corner where Wisconsin touches Iowa and Illinois has been a plenteous resource of the mineral ever since.
16. The story of the miners is told in *Galena Guide* (Galena, IL: Community Development Fund of Galena and WPA Federal Writers’ Project, Illinois, 1937).
17. Wall, *Iowa*, 6–8. As told in the previous chapter, the so-called war was mostly a chase of men, women, and children up the Rock River as they followed old Black Hawk, who apparently wanted to reach Indiana, where he had fought in the War of 1812, twenty years before. Wall (8–12) provides a concise history of the “war.”
18. Daniel T. Joyce and Jonathan T. Beckum, “Ground Penetrating Radar Survey of Selected Portions of First Fort Crawford: An Early 19th Century Military Post, Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin,” *Wisconsin Archaeologist* 96, no. 2 (2015): 214–32.
19. Malaria and dysentery were endemic at the fort, as elsewhere in the first half of the nineteenth century. Their causes were unknown at the time.
20. In 1829, a fur trader had been accidentally shot in the stomach, and Dr. William

- Beaumont got the first accurate description of gastric juices at work in a live subject. He was also able to measure the digestibility of different foods. His work became famous among American and European medical people; see Wyman, *Wisconsin Frontier*, 128.
21. In the heyday of the fur trade, in 1820, the town had no more than a couple of hundred permanent residents besides the military contingent (Nesbit 81). The 1830 census showed fewer than 3,300 non-Indians in the whole of Wisconsin. This would change radically in the next decade.
 22. Perhaps the first to paint portraits of Western Indians was John Bird King, a Yankee from Rhode Island, who did portraits of chiefs who came to Washington, DC, to discuss matters with US government officials and posed for King while there. He never did venture, however, very far west.
 23. Eisler, *Red Man's Bones*, 9–13.
 24. Another source says the move took place in 1800. See Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, "George Catlin Artist Timeline," online at <https://www.vmfa.museum/learn-archive/microsites/george-catlin/george-catlin-artist-timeline/>.
 25. Most of this biographical information on Catlin is taken from Eisler, *Red Man's Bones*.
 26. There is a short biography of Charles Wilson Peale's gallery/museum in C.J. Arlotta, "America's First Museum: Charles Willson Peale's 'Novel Idea That Stuck,'" *Saturday Evening Post*, March 13, 2018, online at <https://www.saturdayeveningpost.com/2018/03/americas-first-museum-charles-willson-peales-novel-idea-stuck/>.
 27. Her father was a Connecticut Yankee prominent in New York politics.
 28. Eisler, *Red Man's Bones*, 4.
 29. *Ibid.*, 102.
 30. Aubrey L. Haines, *The Yellowstone Story*, vol. 1 (Niwot: University of Press of Colorado, 1977), xx, xxi.
 31. Dippie, "Visual West," 682.
 32. Altogether, his collection of drawings and paintings came to 610 pieces.
 33. These were designs drawn on paper such that, as they were placed in front of a "magic lantern," they appeared to dissolve and reform into new images. In a way, they were predecessors to moving pictures.
 34. See Alan Fraser Houston and Jourdan Moore Houston, "The 1859 Lander Expedition Revisited," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 49, no. 2 (1999): 50–71, online at <https://mhs.mt.gov/Portals/11/education/docs/CirGuides/Houston%20Yellowstone.pdf>
 35. By 1866, after the Civil War, photography had become the standard way to represent Western landscape and people; see Dippie, "Visual West," 687–8.
 36. Colonel (later General) Frederick Lander was a Yankee from Massachusetts, noted for both his intelligence and physical toughness. He was considered possible future presidential material, but was killed in a Civil War battle in 1862.

37. By 1866, after the Civil War, photography had become the standard way to represent Western landscape and people. Dippie, pp. 687-8
38. Jack von Euw and Genoa Shipley, *"Drawn West": Selections from the Robert B. Honeyman Jr. Collection, Bancroft Library of the University of California* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 2004), 56.
39. Dippie, "Visual West," 690.
40. Much of the detail about Remington's life is derived from Ben Merchant Vorpahl, *Frederic Remington and the West: With the Eye of the Mind* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978).
41. Dippie ("Visual West," 678) claims that Remington's fascination with combat and militaristic images derived from his hero worship of his father when he was growing up.
42. There is some discrepancy in the published accounts. It would appear that his first school might have been the Vermont Episcopal Institute, and he soon transferred to the Worcester school thereafter.
43. The value of his inheritance was \$10,000 in 1880, about \$250,000 in today's currency — good for two average houses in Canton today, but not enough for a ranch or mine property.
44. Theodore Roosevelt also heard the call of the West. He bought a ranch in North Dakota in 1883, when he was twenty-four, roughly the same age as Remington and Russell.
45. Dippie, "Visual West," 690-1.
46. Biographical details of Russell's life are from John Taliaferro, *Charles M. Russell: The Life and Legend of America's Cowboy Artist* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1996).
47. Though he does not mention the Bent family's move west and south, a sense of the early movement west by late-eighteenth-century Yankees is described in David McCullough, *The Pioneers: The Heroic Story of the Settlers Who Brought the American Ideal West* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2019).
48. Works Progress Administration, *Missouri: The WPA Guide to the "Show Me" State* (1941, repr. Missouri History Museum Press, 1998), 172.
49. Taliaferro, *Charles M. Russell*, 57.
50. *Ibid.*, 66-8.
51. Taliaferro, *Charles M. Russell*, 117.

Chapter 8

1. Larry McMurtry, *Sacagawea's Nickname: Essays on the American West* (New York: New York Review Books, 2001), ix; her nickname on the Lewis and Clark expedition was "Janey."
2. Walt Whitman, selection from "O Pioneers! O Pioneers," reproduced in Willa Cather, *O Pioneers!* (New York: Barnes and Noble Classics, 2003), 166.

3. Joanna L. Stratton, *Pioneer Women: Voices from the Kansas Frontier* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1981), 24.
4. Wallace Stegner, *The Sound of Mountain Water: The Changing American West* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1946), 149.
5. The Land Office was normally moved from an area where most of the land had been sold to one where land was still available, thus keeping the process of registering claims geographically accessible.
6. Josiah Copley, *Kansas and the Country Beyond, on the Line of the Union Pacific Railway...* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1867), quoted in Robert G. Athearn, *High Country Empire: The High Plains and Rockies* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1960), 153.
7. McMurtry (*Sacagawea's Nickname*, 11) suggests that the most important features of the West are aridity and erosion. Aridity constrains the productive ability of the plains and erosion creates the watercourses and levels the plateaus and mountains.
8. See, for instance, the discussion of climate in Walter Prescott Webb, *The Great Plains* (New York: Ginn, 1931), 17–19. Webb was writing about this climate just as the “Dust Bowl” tragedy was beginning to unfold on the Plains. The “hundredth,” therefore, is an imaginary line that bisects North Dakota and Texas, and states in-between.
9. See, for instance, Frederick Merk, *History of the Westward Movement* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), 472–4.
10. McMurtry (*Sacagawea's Nickname*, 9) notes that the “West” as a North American idea was for centuries a moving target. For instance, the University of Michigan fight song, written in 1898, but still in use, refers to their being the “Champions of the West.”
11. For a fictional account of the Comanche meeting with the horse and the revolution it made in the lives of these people, see Mike Blakely, *Comanche Dawn* (New York: Forge Books, 1999).
12. See, for instance, Thomas W. Kavanagh, *The Comanches: A History, 1706–1875* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 269, 455–6, 458.
13. This sentence does not express the details of Garland’s father’s restlessness, as the family actually moved a total of four times in this period; see Keith Newlin, *Hamlin Garland: A Life* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 17–22.
14. *Ibid.*, 7.
15. Hamlin Garland, *A Son of the Middle Border* (1917; New York: Penguin Books, 1995). Garland coined the term “middle border” to describe an ever-shifting area defined by the movement of settlers into the grasslands of the northern Great Plains.
16. Stratton, *Pioneer Women*, 19.
17. Lillian Schlissel, *Women's Diaries of the Westward Journey* (New York: Schocken, 1982), 66.

18. Miriam Davis Colt, *Went to Kansas* (Ann Arbor, MI: University microfilms: March of America Facsimile series #91, 1966).
19. The town is named for railroad executive Octave Chanute, who built the line south from Kansas City in the 1870s. Chanute acted as a mentor for the Wright brothers in their flying experiments.
20. Malaria was finally eradicated in the United States in 1951.
21. A recent edition is Laura Ingalls Wilder, *Little House on the Prairie* (New York: Harper, 2010).
22. The core book was *Pioneer Girl*, an account of Wilder's life from ages two to eighteen. *Pioneer Girl* was excerpted and otherwise mined for material that became a line of *Little House*... and other books. Her daughter, Rose Wilder Lane, recognized the commercial potential of her mother's straightforward remembrances and stories that detailed life on the Plains frontier from 1870 to 1888. See Pamela Smith Hill, ed., "Introduction," in *Laura Ingalls Wilder, Pioneer Girl: The Annotated Autobiography* (Pierre: South Dakota Historical Society Press, 2014).
23. The Indians had been receiving money and food from the US government, which stopped as a result of the Civil War, as southwest Missouri and Oklahoma were considered a secessionist war zone. By the end of hostilities, the Indians were impoverished and starving. An Osage village was located some three miles from the Ingallses, and it was the habit of the Indians to make demands on the settlers for food and tobacco in addition to regular payments for occupancy. See Hill, "Introduction," 2.
24. While Red Cloud was half a continent away, it was less than 150 miles north of the Cather household in Virginia.
25. McMurtry, *Sacagawea's Nickname*, xii.
26. Willa Cather, *O Pioneers!* (1913; New York: Barnes and Noble Classics, 2003). The title is taken from the Walt Whitman poem. Wallace Stegner (*Sound of Mountain Water*, 237–49) considers *My Antonia* a more fully realized story of the immigrant-pioneer experience than *O Pioneers!* Maybe so, but it is the "pioneering" aspect of her earlier novel that attracts me.
27. These simple details of Anna's life are noted in David McCullough, *Brave Companions: Portraits in History* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992), 223–4.
28. Mari Sandoz, *Old Jules* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1935).
29. Mari Sandoz, *Crazy Horse: The Strange Man of the Ogalalas* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1942).
30. A useful, short biography of both Jules and his daughter, Mari, can be found in Candy Moulton, *Roadside History of Nebraska* (Missoula, MT: Mountain Press, 1997), 349–54. As well, another travel book centered on US 20, written by the late Mac Nelson, a New York State University English professor, contains pages of interesting information about Mari and the Sandoz family. See Mac Nelson, *Twenty West: The Great Road Across America* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2008), 130–8.

Chapter 9

1. Amelia made her first public address to a temperance convention in Rochester, New York, in 1852 and had her first lecture tour in 1853.
2. Lorie Porter, "Amelia Bloomer: An Early Feminist's Sojourn in the Way West," *Annals of Iowa* 41, no. 8 (1973): 1249.
3. You can hear a contemporary (2011) song about Amelia Bloomer at https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&ved=2ahUKEwivwZvtsJDUAhXDxFkKHehBCGUQwqsB-MAN6BAgEEAo&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.youtube.com%2Fwatch%3Fv%3DPP_3H2do-uVw&usq=AOvVaw1gfmsMl-3rliD-c3jkdos8h
- 4.

This item consists of an email Posted by: Fred Nickols In Reply to:
Re: Dr. W. Edwards Demings parents by Debi Gagliardi Bottom of Form

'I recently came into possession of a Deming genealogy, published in 1904 and authored by Judson Keith Deming of Dubuque, Iowa. (The book I have is No. 245 of 300 copies of a first edition.) It traces the Deming family line from John Deming of Wethersfield, CT (c. 1641). William Edwards Deming is of John's line. W. Edwards Deming's line traces from John and his wife, Honor Treat. The lineage is as follows:

John (b. Unknown)
Samuel (b. 1646)
John (b. 1694)
John (b. 1728)
Prosper (b. ~ 1760)
William (b. 1800)
Amos (b. 1825)
William Albert (b. 1869)
William Edwards Deming (b. 1900)'

5. In the 1960s, I spent five summers working in different GM manufacturing plants in southern Michigan. In an assembly plant where I worked once, the practice was to push cars with defects out onto the apron behind the plant and to one side, where the defect could be fixed. This is where the practicality of Deming's ideas resonated with me.
6. See American Society for Quality, "About ASQ: W. Edwards Deming," online at <https://asq.org/about-asq/honorary-members/deming>.
7. "24 famous Siouxlanders," *Sioux City Journal*, January 13, 2021.
8. The Hoover-Minthorn House is a historic building dedicated to Dr. Minthorn, who

was highly regarded in Oregon and to his nephew, who rose from a poor orphan to become president of the United States.

9. Editorial, Chicago Tribune, April 17, 1936, quoted in Nick Taylor, *American-Made: The Enduring Legacy of the WPA: When FDR Put the Nation to Work* (New York: Bantam, 2008), 216.
10. Quoted in Robert Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins: An Intimate History* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1950), 49.
11. Harry L. Hopkins, *Spending to Save: The Complete Story of Relief* (New York: Norton, 1936), 184.
12. See Wall, *Iowa*, chap. 5.
13. In the 1800s and into the early 1900s, the term “Academy” was commonly used instead of “high school” or perhaps “junior college.”
14. See Virginia Commonwealth University, VCU Libraries, Social Welfare History Project, “Christodora Settlement House,” online at <https://socialwelfare.library.vcu.edu/settlement-houses/christodora-settlement-house/>. Hopkins met his future wife, Ethel Gross, at the settlement house four months after he arrived in New York. They were married in 1913.
15. <https://magazine.grinnell.edu/news/conversion-edward-steiner>.
16. <file:///Users/jamesmcniven/Desktop/Iowa%20Chapter%20Misc./Harry%20Hopkins.webarchive>.
17. My late father-in-law worked on a forest management project for the Civilian Conservation Corps in northern Michigan. Although he was a Republican in later life, he looked upon the experience with great nostalgia.

Chapter 10

1. Leckie, p.xviii
2. Jeffrey D. Wert, *Custer: The Controversial Life of George Armstrong Custer* New York: Simon and Shuster, 1996, p.9. Wert’s detailed reconstruction of the Battle is a very reasonable one. In other accounts, Custer is said to have been preoccupied with the timing of his Presidential ambitions with the Democratic Party in 1876 and in others, he is the victim of failures and cowardice of the leaders of other columns.
3. Ted Morgan, *A Shovel of Stars: The Making of the American West: 1800 to The Present*, New York: Simon and Shuster, 1995, p.271.
4. Wallace Stegner, *The Sound of Falling Water*, Lincoln: The University of Nebraska Press, 1946, 1980. p.15.
5. Nelson Horatio Darton, *Preliminary Report on the Geology and Water Resources of Nebraska West of the 103rd Meridian*, : Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1903, P.62 <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433084028517&view=1up&seq=19>
6. Federal writers’ Project of the Works Progress Administration for the State of

Nebraska, *Nebraska: A Guide to the Cornhusker State*, New York: The Viking Press, 1939, p.320.

7. WPA *Guide*, p.320.
8. I found a number of pieces that purported to tell the life story of what a PBS Nebraska film called ‘ ‘The Unwickedest Outlaw’ <https://www.pbs.org/video/nebraska-stories-nebraska-stories-doc-middleton-unwickedest-outlaw/>. There are considerable contradictions in their stories and I have tried here to put together a timeline and some credible events out of this small mass of tales. An example is of his birthplace being Texas in one story and Mississippi in another. See also, A.J. Bartels, in *Nebraska Life*, 2011 <http://academic.csc.edu/esp/cap46gc/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Outlaw-of-the-Wild-Midwest-The-Story-of-Doc-Middleton.pdf> ; <https://www.legendsofamerica.com/we-docmiddleton/> and https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Doc_Middleton <http://www.leadersand-legends.com/docmiddleton/lifestory.html>. See also, *Candy Moulton, Roadside History of Nebraska Missoula* MT: Mountain Press Publishing Co. 1997, pp. 288-93.
9. Another source claims he was born in MS.
10. The ‘Doc’ seems to have come because Riley was adept at ‘doctoring’ the brands on the horses he and his gang stole.
11. He was also known as ‘Texas Jack’ ‘Gold-Tooth Jack’ and others.
12. The Sioux called the river ‘Niobrara’ or ‘Running Water’, because it ran all year when most streams and rivers on the plains did not.
13. Apparently, the Indians were so incensed that they began to steal horses in retaliation, which caused the military and lawmen to put up a \$1000 reward for his capture.
14. WPA *Guide* pp.310-11
15. Lykins was later shot and killed in the Johnson County War between the Association and the small ranchers, which is discussed in the next chapter.
16. WPA *Guide*, p.320.
17. Johnstown still exists. It is about 200 miles east of Chadron on US 20.
18. I am grateful to Anne Wood, of Victoria, British Columbia, for relating this as part of her family’s history.
19. Not so, in the case of ‘civilized’ Army leaders. Shortly after Little Big Horn, Buffalo Bill encountered a Sioux leader, Yellow Hair and in a running gunfight, Yellow Hand was killed. Buffalo Bill scalped the corpse and declared to soldiers he met afterwards, ‘That’s one more scalp for Custer!’
20. It makes interesting reading to compare Dee Brown’s version of the Battle at Little Big Horn, which comes from an Indian perspective, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, New York: Henry Holt, 1970, pp.284-298, with that of Jeffry Wert, which comes from an American military perspective, in chapter 19. They are but a small sample of the many perspectives about the Battle.

21. Robert J. Athearn, *High Country Empire: The High Plains and Rockies*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1960 p.119.
22. As in the death of Custer noted in the previous note, it is instructive to read the stories about Crazy Horse's murder at Ft. Robinson. See Mari Sandoz, *Crazy Horse: The Strange Man of the Ogalalas*, Lincoln NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1942, 1992, chapter 7 from the Indian perspective, as well as Win Blevins, *Stone Song: a Novel of the life of Crazy Horse*, New York: A Forge book, 1995. Ian Frazier also presents a dramatic account of crazy Horse's death in his, *The Great Plains* New York: Farrar Strauss and Giroux, 1989, Chapter 6. From a more military perspective, an interesting portrayal of Crazy Horse's murder is in Stephen A. Ambrose, *Crazy Horse and Custer: The Parallel Lives of two American*, Warriors New York: Anchor books, 1975, Chapter 23.
23. Robert J. Athearn, pp. 168-9. Charles Russell Lowell was a scion of the famous Lowell family of Boston. He was killed in the Civil War.
24. Shirley A. Leckie, Elizabeth Bacon Custer and the Making of a Myth Norman OK: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1993, pp. 10-11.
25. A similar school in Rockford Illinois had Jane Addams as one of its graduates a generation later. See Ch41 in this volume.
26. Custer was part of the Class of 1862, but, because of the outbreak of hostilities, the class was given some intensive training and courses and was graduated in late 1861.
27. Leckie, pp.223-227, 233.
28. Neil R. Peirce, *The Great Plains States of America*, New York: Norton, 1973.pp.212-3.
29. <https://valleynewsnow.com/2011/09/daniel-halladay-the-remarkable-connecticut-inventor-i-ll-bet-you-never-heard-of/>
30. https://patentpending.blogs.com/patent_pending_blog/2004/09/technology_triv.html
31. <https://books.google.nl/books?id=7M9C1Adp0yQC&pg=PA5#v=onepage&q&f=true>
32. http://archives.datapages.com/data/bull_memorials/033/033001/pdfs/116.htm
See also Note #4
33. Neil R. Peirce, p.211.
34. Robert J. Athearn, p.170.
35. See also, Candy Moulton, pp. 264-7.
36. Paul A. Johnsgard, *The Fragile Land: A Natural History of the Nebraska Sandhills*, Lincoln: The University of Nebraska Press, 1995, pp.138-142.
37. https://bismarcktribune.com/news/columnists/curt-eriksmoen/custer-statues-did-not-fare-well/article_7bca5882-64ba-11e1-8849-001871e3ce6c.html
38. See Note #21.
39. <http://bibliosity.blogspot.com/2008/11/custer-speaks.html>.

Chapter II

1. Quoted in John Mack Faragher, *Women and Men on the Overland Trail* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 1979), p.5 A more extensive version of this quote may be found in Gregory M. Franzwa, *The Oregon Trail Revisited* (Gerald MO: The Patrice Press, 1972), p.3
2. Lyrics from a traditional 'cowboy' song, 'Git along little dogies'
3. <http://wyoshpo.state.wy.us/trailsdemo/bessemerbend.htm>
4. <https://www.pbs.org/weta/thewest/resources/archives/two/whitman2.htm>
5. There is a reason for using the word 'emigrant' in this context that distinguishes such people from 'immigrants'. An immigrant is a foreigner coming to America. An emigrant is a citizen travelling from one part of the United States to another. Generally, in the late 1840s and 1850s, \$5 per wagon and 50 cents a head for oxen were standard fees. Schlissel, p.77. The Mormons in 1847-9, charged \$1.50 per wagon, payable in supplies at Missouri prices.WPA, pp. 174-5.
6. In Volume 1, the story of the Mormon colonization of Utah, and the pressing need, as in all other colonial experiences, to provide things of value to offset their unfavorable balance of trade, is noted.
7. WPA Writers' Program, *Wyoming: A Guide by workers of the Writers' Program of the Works Projects administration in the State of Wyoming* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1941), p.68-9.
8. <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/66260034/william-oliver-collins>. Fetterman's background is disputed, as he was born in Connecticut, but his father may have been of Pennsylvania Dutch origin.
9. The name of the State appears to have confusing origins. There were a number of names proposed in 1865, when Congress decided that the Territory should be formed. Apparently, a Congressman from Ohio, James M. Ashley, proposed the name. Ashley was said to have been born in the Wyoming territory of north-eastern Pennsylvania and liked the name. There seems to be agreement that Ashley made the proposal. However, Ashley is also said to have been born in Pennsylvania near Pittsburgh. He was said to have run away from his over-religious parents and to have worked on Ohio riverboats. He is elsewhere said to have gone to Yale University, which is located in Connecticut. Connecticut'sIt is agreed that he died in Ann Arbor MI, where he had become President of the Ann Arbor Railroad.
10. For a colorful history of the Salt Creek field, see 'First Wyoming Oil Wells' <https://aoghs.org/petroleum-pioneers/first-wyoming-oil-well/>
11. See Carroll Wegeman, *The Salt Creek Oil Field Wyoming* USGS Bulletin 670, 1918 <https://pubs.usgs.gov/bul/0670/report.pdf>
12. WPA Writers' Program, *The Oregon Trail: A Guide by workers of the Writers' Project of the Works Projects administration* (New York: Hastings House, 1939), pp.179-80.

13. There was another 'war' in New Mexico that preceded the Wyoming violence that lasted longer than the Johnson County War. The Lincoln County 'War' lasted from 1878 to 1881 and was only marginally concerned with cattle.
14. Interestingly, both Jim Averill and Ellen Watson (Cattle Kate) were both from Ontario, Canada. Averill had volunteered in the Civil War and Watson was a divorcee. She was the only woman ever hung in Wyoming history.
15. US 2 is more northerly yet, but it ends in Vermont and begins again hundreds of miles to the west in St Ignace MI, then going on to the west coast. US10 begins in Detroit and, after crossing Lake Michigan, likewise continues west.
16. I am indebted to retired Prof. Anne Wood, of Victoria BC, for her insights into the early settlement of what is now British Columbia.
17. Turner's famous paper, 'The Significance of the Frontier in American History' has been published in many subsequent collections, including this one. Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (Mineola NY: Dover Publications, 1996), p.3.
18. A fascinating account of an English family who sold their possessions and bought family passage to New Orleans and upriver to central Illinois in 1831-2 to farm the prairie is Chapter 4 of Sara Wheeler, "Is This America?: Rebecca Burland goes to Illinois". Sara Wheeler, *O My America: Six Women and their Second Acts in a New World* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2013), pp.160-178.
19. An implicit discussion of the factors that may have led to the interest in western land, and the interest in free land in Oregon is in Stanley Lebergott, 'The Demand for land: The United States: 1820-1860' *The Journal of Economic History*, 45(2) June 1985, pp.181-212. See especially, p.205.
20. Frank McLynn, *Wagons West: The Epic Story of America's Overland Trails* (New York: Grove Press 2002), p.1
21. Faragher, p.25
22. One such alternate, Goodale's Cutoff, consisted of a route that crossed the Snake River and went along its north bank from Ft. Hall ID to Boise. It became popular during the Civil War when the local Indians were beginning to attack wagons taking the usual south bank passage. Today, this cutoff is the general location of US 20 in that part of Idaho.
23. Franzwa, pp.9-11
24. Two interconnected ideas were used to justify the notion that the aridity of land west beyond the 100th meridian was a temporary phenomenon. The first was that the action of plowing vast stretches of prairie grassland would release moisture from the soil that would, in turn, raise the humidity of the air such that rainfall would increase. The second was that drilling for water would produce enough to irrigate the prairies. Interestingly, the second proved to be somewhat more practical than the first, but only after the development of a cost-effective windmill and the drilling techniques that would enable farmers to reach the the huge Ogallala reservoir. The settlers were decades too early for these technologies to be available, to their sorrow.

25. John Mack Faragher, *Women and Men on the Overland Trail* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 1979), p.7.
26. Lillian Schlissel, *Women's Diaries of the Westward Journey* (New York: Schocken Books, 1982), p.53
27. It probably should not have been called the 'Oregon Trail', but the 'California Trail', given the figures produced by John D. Unruh Jr., *The Plains Across: The Overland Emigrants and the Trans-Mississippi West* (Urbana and Chicago, The University of Illinois Press), 1982. Table 2, p.85
28. It was ABCFM practice to allow women to go to 'foreign' missions only if they were married.
29. The publicity about the Whitmans' journey proved that family units could feasibly move across the country successfully. Faragher, p. 6.
30. DR. John McLaughlin was the long-time factor of the HBC operations in the north-west. He was under orders to discourage American settlement, but was also a devout Christian and saw the early missionary settlers in need and had to help. Also, what he was doing did not seem to interfere with the fur business that was his main concern. See David Dary, *The Oregon Trail: An American Saga* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), chapter 4. Dary's book is, along with Unruh's, perhaps the most coherent and comprehensive work of those I have consulted amongst the large number of works about or connected with the Oregon trail.

Chapter 12

1. Irving Wallace, *The Fabulous Showman: The Life and Times of P. T. Barnum* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1959), p.5
2. Phineas T. Barnum, *Life of P.T. Barnum, written by himself, including his golden rules for money-making. Brought up to date. Illustrated.* (Buffalo: The Courier Company, Printers, 1888), title page. Barnum kept updating his autobiography from about 1855 on. This version was made three years before his death.
3. Reproduced in Joy S. Kasson, p.272.
4. Quoted in Neal Gabler, *Walt Disney: The Triumph of the American Imagination* (New York: Knopf, 2006), p.273.
5. Louis S. Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America: William Cody and the Wild West Show*, (New York: Knopf, 2005) devotes chapter 16 to the effort to develop the Bighorn Basin.
6. Don Russell, *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill* (Oklahoma City OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), pp.168, 426. Much of the detail in the section on Buffalo Bill comes from Russell, who seems to be the best researched book that I consulted.
7. It was renamed the Buffalo Bill Dam in 1946. Ibid. p.426.
8. Ibid. p.427.

9. There are suggestions that there were animal exhibitions and racing contests in early Greece and Egypt. See, for instance, Rupert Croft-Cooke and Peter Coates, *Circus: A World History* (New York: Macmillan, 1977) pp. 7-13.
10. Earl Chapin May, *The Circus from Rome to Ringling* (New York: Dover Publications, 1932), reissued 1963, pp. 1-6
11. May, pp. 12-13. See also, Rupert Croft-Cooke and Peter Coates, pp. 39-50.
12. George Chindahl distinguishes between circuses, with their performers, and menageries, which were collections of animals displayed by a travelling group, with no performances. In the 19th Century, these two increasingly merged. See his, *A History of the Circus in America*, Caldwell Idaho: The Caxton Printers Ltd., 1959, pp. 1-5.
13. Janet M. Davis *The Circus Age: Culture and Society Under the American Big Top* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, pp. 15-16.
14. See George G. Goodwin, 'The Crowninshield Elephant' *Natural History Magazine* (October, 1951). http://www.naturalhistorymag.com/htmlsite/master.html?http://www.naturalhistorymag.com/htmlsite/editors_pick/1951_10_pick.html There are many conflicting stories about how many elephants were brought to America, when and where they were. Many of these seem to describe the same animal with differing histories. The average lifespan of an elephant in captivity is estimated today at 20 years. Old Bet would have been about 23 when she died.
15. Sources differ on whether Frederick was related. He apparently encouraged the notion.
16. Quoted in Irving Wallace, p. 40
17. May, pp. 119-121.
18. Oddly, lotteries were seen in conservative, religious Connecticut as acceptable, as a portion of the funds derived went to support the church. Neil Harris, *Humbug: The Art of P.T. Barnum* (Boston: Little Brown, 1973), pp. 12-13.
19. Barnum himself had helped generate doubt about Joice Heth, as he perceived that controversy led more people to come and see the old slave woman than would any statement of fact. Harris, pp. 20-27.
20. Wallace, p. 40.
21. Harris, p. 33-39.
22. The Vanderbilts and other steamship owners had combined their efforts to prevent the construction of a railroad from New York City to Albany. Only when the line from Boston to Albany and beyond had been completed, did the steamboat owners see the writing on the wall; that Boston might capture the economy of upstate New York.
23. Barnum had found the name as part of the Arthurian legends of a small mythical warrior, Sir Tom Thumb, and a real midget knight, famous in the 1600s. Wallace, pp. 73-75.
24. Harris, pp. 50-1.

25. Wallace, pp. 80-84.
26. No relation to 'The Great Houdini', who was a Hungarian immigrant brought up in Wisconsin 75 years later.
27. The first circus to cross the country and play both coasts passed the spot where the golden spike was driven only 45 days after the ceremony. Don Russell, pp. 168-9. The railroad circus was a much larger and logistically more complex business than the old wagon circuses. Davis, ch.1.
28. Coup was fifteen when he joined the Barnum organization in 1851 and served as Barnum's financial manager until Barnum's death in 1891. See Chindahl, p.68, 92-3.
29. Harris, p.250.
30. 1885 was the peak year for circuses in America, with more than 50 circus troupes on the road. Russell, p.292.
31. Don Russell's book was published in 1960 and Louis Warren's book was published 45 years later. I found Russell better at straight biography and Warren better at pointing out deficiencies in previous works and in providing the social context of the Wild West Show itself.
32. Russell, p.36-41.
33. The pro-secessionist irregular bands were called 'bushwhackers'.
34. Russell, pp. 89-90.
35. When she arrived in New York from Europe in 1867, her publicist had her legs insured for \$ 100,000 as a publicity stunt, which was copied for the next hundred years. Mlle. Morlacchi introduced the can-can to New York City. Russell, pp.193-6.
36. Dime-novels were just that, fiction parading as fact and available at a price almost anyone could afford, including older children. Some of the most popular were part of the New York Publisher, Beadle and Adams, who produced Beadle's New York Dime Library, with titles like 'The Dead Shot Nine', by Buffalo Bill, 1890, which was ghost-written. Cody did write a few of them, but the 'Buffalo Bill series' was largely done by Col. Prentiss Ingraham, an ex-Confederate soldier and mercenary, who became the advance man for Cody's Wild West Show. He wrote around 1,000 of these dime novels.
37. There were a number of names given to the 'Buffalo Bill Wild West' show over the years, so my nomenclature is likewise varied and not necessarily accurate at all times. However, they all consisted in a large-scale western-themed action show with Cody at the center of it all.
38. Russell, p.294
39. Russell,p.297.
40. Russell, p.291.
41. Joy S. Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, New York: Hill and Wang, 2000,pp. 51-55.
42. Russell, p.313. Sitting Bull called her Little Sure-Shot and adopted her into the Hunkpapa Sioux..p.315-6
43. Russell, p.331
44. Two useful books outlining Walt Disney's life are Neal Gabler *Walt Disney: The*

Triumph of the American Imagination (New York: Knopf, 2006), and Leonard Mosley, *Disney's World* (Lanham MD: Scarborough House, 1990). The former is more detailed than the latter, which is a straightforward biography, and it pursues a number of themes lightly touched upon in the latter.

45. Ellis is north of Dodge City and very near to the 100th meridian, where rainfall becomes too scarce to support dry (unirrigated) farming.
46. The story is told that Elias and the Congregational minister were friends and as the families were expecting babies about the same time, they agreed that they should trade each other's first names if both were boys. This did happen and Walter Elias Disney got his name. There is another possibility; that Walter may have come down as a name from Flora's German mother's side.
47. The town has a Museum and other attractions related to Walt. It takes in part of Chariton County, a place visited by the Ingalls family in 1870 before they moved on to their 'Little House on the Prairie'. The Mormon War of 1838 also involved Chariton County.
48. Mosley. P.30.
49. Gabler, pp. 32-33. He felt he could do good caricatures.
50. Gabler, pp.77-8.
51. Gabler, p.102.
52. Judith A. Adams, *The American Amusement Park Industry* (Boston, Twayne Publishers,1991), p.137
53. Much of the material about the Disney World creation and growth is based on Adams, Chapter 7.
54. Gabler, p.76.
55. See Chapter 2 in Volume 2.

Chapter 13

1. Elizabeth Brayer, *George Eastman: A Biography* (Rochester NY: University of Rochester Press, 2006), p.27.
2. <https://www.loc.gov/collections/edison-company-motion-pictures-and-sound-recordings/articles-and-essays/history-of-edison-motion-pictures/>
3. Evan I. Schwartz, *The Last Lone Inventor: A Tale of Genius, Deceit and the Birth of Television* (New York: HarperCollins, 2002), pp. 62-3.
4. David Fisher and Marshall John Fisher, *Tube: The Invention of Television* (Washington DC: Counterpoint), p.309_
5. The road goes for a few miles in Montana until it meets the Montana/Idaho border at the Targhee Pass, the highest altitude on US 20 at 7072 feet.
6. Curt Conley, *Idaho for the Curious*, Cambridge, Idaho, (Backeddy Books, 1982), pp. 155-6.
7. There are a number of conflicting claims about who came up with the name and why. Wikipedia has as good an explanation as any.
8. I have the 1950 revision of the 1937 Idaho *WPA Guide*. This revision did not include the

- changes made in the US highway system to incorporate US 20 in place of a number of other US and State highways where the route numbers and designations were changed.
9. Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: an Economic History of the Latter-Day Saints, 1830-1890* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press), Chapter 7.
 10. Senator Frederick DuBois expressed the tactic well in his autobiography: "Those of us who understand the situation were not nearly so much opposed to polygamy as we were to the political domination of the Church. We realized however that we could not make those who did not come actually in contact with it what this political domination meant. We made use of polygamy." Richard N. Ostling and Joan K. Ostling, *Mormon America: The Power and the Promise*, San Francisco: Harper San Francisco, 1999, p.78.
 11. Bill London, *Country Roads of Idaho* (Castine ME: Country Roads Press, 1995), p.120.
 12. Robert H. Blank, *Individualism in Idaho: The Territorial Foundations* (Pullman WA: Washington State University Press, 1988). Pp. 54-57.
 13. In 1854, GW moved his growing school into the top floor of the Reynolds Arcade. See Volume 1, Chapter 17.
 14. https://www.libraryweb.org/~rochhist/v52_1990/v52i1.pdf p.4. His 'salary' was either \$2.50 or \$3.00 per week, depending on the source. See also, Brayer, p.20.
 15. That is why so many pictures were taken after a Civil War engagement was over; landscapes and dead soldiers and dead animals were featured because only rarely would a live scene remain motionless for up to a minute otherwise.
 16. Eastman invented the word 'Kodak' as an artificial term, so he could trademark it and it would not be confused with other companies' products.
 17. Much of this section relies on Brayer's biography of Eastman.
 18. I remember as a teen-ager, visiting relatives in Canada and helping my cousin set up a movie projector in a number of community halls across the rural Manitoulin Island, where we then showed a film to the local audiences. We always had to be careful when unpacking the film reels and loading them into the projector, having been warned that careless handling could damage the films and disappoint the paying customers.
 19. Brayer, p.49.
 20. Reichenbach was fired by Eastman at the beginning of 1892 for disloyalty. Brayer, p.89.
 21. Brayer, p.109.
 22. The location of a plaque is alongside Macy's south wall on 34th Street. It is contested, because it was not the first, but the first to attract paying customers. See, for instance, <https://www.roadsideamerica.com/story/13147>
 23. Schwartz, p.22.
 24. This account is from Evan I. Schwartz, Chapter 1.
 25. One might think that someone who had never been closer than a thousand miles from saltwater (The Great Salt Lake not included.) would choose a 'landlocked' service, but in my experience it is the same on the Canadian prairies as in the

- American West; given a choice people from these areas disproportionately seem to choose a naval service.
26. Daniel Stashower, *The Boy Genius and the Mogul: The Untold Story of Television* (New York: Broadway Books, 2002) p.137.
 27. A useful, brief layout of the competing claims can be found in Peter Singer, 'The Philo T. Farnsworth Circus and other stories', *Semiconductor International*, 25 (14), September 2002, p.15.
 28. Fisher and Fisher, p.306.
 29. The Nipkow disc is cogently described in Alexander B. Magoun, *Television: The Life Story of a Technology* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), p.8
 30. In 1964, Bell Telephone demonstrated a 'picturephone' at the 1964 World's Fair. From New York, a caller could place a call to a receiving station located in either Chicago or Washington DC and both the caller and recipient (arranged in advance) could see each other at the same time. A short call would have cost over \$100 in today's money. Calling home was not an option...

Chapter 14

1. T. A. Larson, *Wyoming: A Bicentennial History* (New York: W.W. Norton 1977), p.80
2. William H. Hooper, 'The Phrenological Journal and Life Illustrated, Jan-June 1870, p.328
https://books.google.ca/books?id=SB0DAAAAYAAJ&pg=RA1-PA328&redir_esc=y&hl=en#v=onepage&q&f=false
3. https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Grover_Cleveland%27s_First_State_of_the_Union_Address
4. <https://history.house.gov/the-first-women-in-congress-advocating-for-women/>
5. The Willamette River is one of only two major rivers in the western United States that flows to the north, instead of to the south. The other is the Red River of the North, flowing between Minnesota and North Dakota on its way into Canada.
6. Perkins claimed his grandfather had served under Lafayette in the Revolution. <https://oregonic.com/oregon-historical-markers/joel-perkins/>
7. I would hazard that about a quarter of the emigrants whose family members were not born in Oregon were from areas in the East settled by Yankees. See William A. Bowen, *The Willamette Valley: Migration and Settlement on the Oregon Frontier* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1978), p.25.
8. You can get some details on the 1843 wagon train in David Dary, *The Oregon Trail: An American Saga* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), chapter 6.
9. There were a lot of sexual tensions in frontier Territories, especially in the Far West before the completion of the transcontinental railway in 1869. The demographics of early Oregon, say 1850, suggest that fully 60% of the migrants were male and that a lot of the female migrants were, like Abigail Duniway either children or already married. Bowen, Chapter 1.
10. <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/35926278/benjamin-charles-duniway>

11. Under the land claim law, both a husband and wife could claim equal acreages of land, which effectively doubled the size of a farm and its potential for income. This encouraged the men, especially, to seek out wives before claiming land, since contiguous pieces of farmland gave some scale economies.
12. Writers' Program of the Works Progress Administration in the State of Oregon, *Oregon: The End of the Trail* (Portland OR: Binford and Mort, 1940). P.113. (WPA Guide)
13. By 1940, the town had declined to only 350 people. In its heyday, before 1900, it had been called 'The Athens of Oregon, for the eloquence and learning of some of its residents, who lectured at the Lafayette Academy. *WPA Guide*, p.489.
14. <http://digitalcollections.lclark.edu/exhibits/show/a-guide-to-digital-resources-f/susan-b--anthony-s-visits-to-o/part-i--1871>
15. Abigail Duniway, *Path Breaking: An autobiographical history of the Equal-Rights movement in the Pacific Coast States* (Portland OR: James, Kern and Abbot, 1914), pp. 150-1. <https://www.washington.edu/uwired/outreach/cspn/Website/Classroom%20Materials/Reading%20the%20Region/Writing%20Home/Texts/14.html>
16. Larson, p.79
17. This was the case in 1890 at least. Larson, p.96
18. Dorothy Gray, *Women of the West* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press), Chapter 6
19. Larson, p.77
20. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Louisa_Swain
21. Utah had, in the meantime, also legalized female suffrage and some women did vote in municipal elections there a few months earlier.
22. Larson, p.99
23. Wallace Stegner, *Mormon Country* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1942), 1970, p.94. Stegner was brought up in Salt Lake City of non-Mormon parentage.
24. The Woman's Exponent, April 1, 1894, vol.22, #15 <https://collections.lib.utah.edu/details?id=422397>
25. Richard Ostling and Joan K. Ostling, *Mormon America: The Power and the Promise* (Harper San Francisco: 1999), pp. 76-77. See also, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Martha_Hughes_Cannon
26. Frances A. Groff, 'A Woman Pathfinder, *Sunset* August 1911, pp.161-165. https://archive.org/stream/sunseto2sout/sunseto2sout_djvu.txt
27. <https://www.sos.wa.gov/elections/timeline/suffrage.htm>
28. With all due respect to Jimmy Buffett's song writing.
29. https://books.google.ca/books?id=Q85tHVOJR50C&pg=PA5&source=gbs_toc_r&cad=3#v=onepage&q&f=false. Norma Smith, *Jeannette Rankin: America's Conscience* (Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 2002).
30. <https://history.house.gov/the-first-women-in-congress-advocating-for-women/>.

Chapter 15

1. <https://www.captaincooksociety.com/home/detail/the-coast-of-oregon>
2. See Eric Jay Dolin, *Fur, Fortune and Empire; The Epic History of the Fur Trade in America* (New York, Norton, 2010). P.217 (Dolin I)
3. Dale L. Morgan, *Jedediah Smith and the Opening of the West* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1953) p.7
4. Part of the dedication of Obookiah's tombstone in CT. Sarah Vowell, *Unfamiliar Fishes* (New York; Riverhead Books, 2011)
5. <https://orexplorer.com/newport-history>
6. This first military road apparently connected inland to the north-south road to California. In 1919, the federal government approved the building of the 'Roosevelt Military Highway along the coast, which connected the coastal communities. Bill Gulick, *Roadside History of Oregon* (Missoula MN Mountain Press Publishing Co. 1994), pp.102-108.
7. See, for instance, <http://www.onlinebiographies.info/or/benton/bayley-jr.htm>
8. The original Ocean House in Newport RI was built in 1841 and was replaced in the late 1860s by a bigger building.
9. http://genealogytrails.com/ore/lincoln/biographies/bio_1.html#case_mary
10. Portrait and Biographical Record of Western Oregon *Containing Original Sketches of many well known Citizens of the Past and Present* (Chapman Publishing Company; Chicago, 1904) Transcribed by Alona Planca. <https://www.access-genealogy.com/oregon/biography-of-eugene-f-skinner.htm>
11. Earl Pomeroy, *In Search of the Golden West*, (University of Nebraska Press, 1990) pp.116-7
12. <https://oceanhouse.com/history/>
13. There are numerous versions of the 'Col. Hogg' story. Some of the details are in: http://oceanscape.aquarium.org/explore/general_articles/colonel-hoggs-great-rail-road-to-the-pacific-and-other-engineering-disasters. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Willamette_Valley_and_Coast_Railroad. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Steamboats_of_Yaquina_Bay_and_Yaquina_River <http://www.offbeatoregon.com/Hog12a-newport-almost-ate-portlands-lunch.html>.
14. The creation of the number system for highways where the federal government cost-shared in their construction was discussed in Volume 1. The main highways going east-to-west were numbered 1, 10, 20,30, etc.
15. <https://www.fhwa.dot.gov/infrastructure/longest.cfm>
16. The two companies were sometimes allies and sometimes rivals. The HBC had been created in the 1600s and the Northwest Company was 1770s to 1821, when it merged with the HBC. This merger came just as Astor and Gen. Ashley were becoming active in the fur trade after the boundary questions were being settled, at least to the Continental Divide.

17. The word 'purchase' means, in this context, that the various European powers of the day recognized the 'buyers' property rights. It was assumed that the native tribes and bands were not involved, either as proprietors or citizens. The 'purchaser was a sovereign and, while 'citizens' had rights, the natives residing there did not have them until the sovereign bestowed them. They were not personal property, like slaves, but 'wards of the State' akin to orphan children as far as the law was concerned.
18. It should be noted that the 'purchase' was simply the guarantee that one party (French) was recognizing that the second party (Americans) had exclusive ownership of the territory as far as the group of European states were concerned. The possible rights of non-states, such as Indian nations, were ignored.
19. The fur trade was part of the broader trade between America and China. In this, the Yankee ships were only following the Europeans' lead, but their success was critical to the growth of the cities and towns on the Atlantic seaboard after the Revolution. See, Eric J. Dolin, *When America First Met China* New York: Liveright Publishing, 2012, esp. the Introduction (Dolin II)
20. The ship had been sent to the Pacific by a group of Boston merchants in 1789 to first get sea otter skins and then trade them in China. The 'Columbia Rediviva', besides discovering the mouth of a great river on the Pacific coast, was also the first American ship to circumnavigate the globe. See Dolin II, p109. A more detailed account of this voyage is in Dolin II, pp. 147-156.
21. *bid*, pp.152-154.
22. Calculated from Dolin II, p.155. The Indians referred to the Yankee ship-borne traders as 'Boston men'.
23. <?>Robert H. Vine and John Mack Faragher in their *The American West: A New Interpretive History* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 181-184.
24. Beginning in the 16th Century and lasting for two centuries, hats and other garments made of beaver pelts were a key fashion ingredient among European, American and Chinese wealthy people
25. Peter Stark, *Astoria: A Story of Wealth, Ambition and Survival* (New York: Harper Collins, 2014), p.55. Another source claimed it was at knifepoint. The captain himself claimed it was due to a shift in the winds, or he would have left them.
26. Most of the fur traders at Astoria had been recruited from the Northwest Company's ranks by Astor, so, with war as a deciding factor, it was not surprising that some ex-Northwesters would sell to other ex-Northwesters rather than have the fort wrecked by cannon fire before it surrendered. As well, many of them on both sides were aware that Astor had previously offered 1/3 of his company's shares to the Northwest Company, a deal that, unknown to them, had fallen apart in the meantime. The war was a complicating factor in this activity. See Nisbet, Chapter 10.
27. Dolin II, chapter 11,
28. *Across the Great Divide: Robert Stuart and the Discovery of the Oregon Trail* (Waterville ME: Thorndyke Press, 2004)

29. A Quebecois, Etienne Provost, was the most ambitious of these traders, going up the Arkansas River, being imprisoned by the Spanish and then later making a three-year journey through the west, until he met with Ogden in what is now Utah. Provo, Utah, is named after him.
30. <https://www.legendsofamerica.com/william-ashley/>
31. The trappers could either be free traders or employees, depending on the risk they were willing to take. Dolin estimates there were no more than 3,000 of all categories in the period of 1820-1840. Most grew up in remote frontier areas and understood the risks. Dolin II pp.227-231.
32. A party of Northwest Co. trappers had crossed the international border and trapped the area of the South Pass in 1820-21, so it is reasonable to infer they had trapped areas to the north of this as well. Morgan, p.93
33. The reason for the hostility is that two members of the Lewis and Clark Expedition killed two Blackfoot warriors they caught trying to steal guns and ammunition from their camp in what is now northern Montana. This led to the Blackfeet maintaining good relations with the British fur companies while they remained hostile to Americans. See Jack Nisbet, *Sources of the River: Tracking David Thompson across North America* (Seattle: Sasquatch Books, 1994), p.77-8. Eventually, the Blackfeet became hostile towards the British/Canadian trappers as well, accusing them of selling guns to their Indian enemies.
34. The British companies had been using the rendezvous system for almost 50 years before Ashley's 'innovation', holding an annual rendezvous on the north shore of Lake Superior.
35. Quoted from earlier sources listed in Robert M. Utley, *A Life Wild and Perilous: Mountain Men and the Paths to the Pacific*. New York: Henry Holt, 18
36. A shorter version of Smith's career and life may be found in Dolin II, pp.227-233.
37. Morgan, p.138
38. Robert H. Vine and John Mack Faragher call him 'a clean-cut, blue-eyed boy who neither swore or smoked'. pp.151-2.
39. Shortly after the British ejected the Dutch from New Amsterdam in 1664, a party of Connecticut and Long Island Yankees met with the British authorities to get permission to buy land from the Indians on the New Jersey shore across from the re-named town of New York. They bought 500,000 acres and established the town of Elizabeth. A female ancestor of Peter Ogden was said to have been the first off the boat carrying the new settlers to shore. The family remained loyal to the Crown in the American Revolution and fled to Quebec when the British evacuated New York, eleven years before Ogden was born. This was not unlike the story of Edison's ancestry.
40. Morgan, p.131. Morgan's focus was on the US lands, or he would have had to include David Thompson, an early fur trader, who explored much of the northern half of the continent a generation before Smith and Ogden.
41. The British knew that the land to the south of the Columbia River would be

- American, because of the American discovery of the River. They hoped to be able to hold on to the northern side of the River.
42. The story of Henry's impact on the religious people of early 19th century New England is told in more detail in Jeffrey K. Lyons, 'Memoirs of Henry Obookiah: A Rhetorical History' *Hawaiian Journal of History* 38 (2004) pp. 35-57. <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/5014847.pdf>
 43. Lightly different stories are given by Moore in 'Paradise.', Sarah Vowell, *Unfamiliar Fishes* New York: Riverhead Books, 2011, pp.18-50 and James L. Haley, *Captive Paradise: A History of Hawaii* (New York: St. Martin's Press), chapter 3.
 44. There are varying estimates of the size of Hawaii's population when the missionaries arrived, but as with the populations of the American continents, Hawaiians were unable to resist most imported diseases and the population steadily declined until it was a minority. See, for instance, Liliuokalani, *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen*, Honolulu Hawaii: Mutual Publishing, 1999. (First published, 1898.) also see Helena G. Allen, *The Betrayal of Liliuokalani: Last Queen of Hawaii*, Honolulu Hawaii; Mutual Publishing 1982. Also see Susanna Moore, *I Have Seen it Myself: The Myth of Hawa'ii* Washington DC: National Geographic Directions, 2003. P.91.
 45. In 1840, John Sutter brought 10 kanaka men and women with him to California to help build his fort and other facilities. See Irving Stone, *Men to Match my Mountains : The Opening of the Far west, 1840-1900*. Edison NJ: Castle Books, 2001, p.4
 46. Stark, pp. 64-5.
 47. A good exposition of Thompson's life and travels is Jack Nisbet, *Sources of the River: Tracking David Thompson Across Western North America* (Seattle: Sasquatch Books, 1994)
 48. <http://www.historylink.org/File/8413> Jack Nisbet, 'First Hawaiian to visit the Inland Northwest reaches Spokane House on August 13, 1811.'
 49. I want to credit Jim Hamilton of Tucson AZ for pointing this out to me.
 50. https://oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/hawaiians_in_the_oregon_country/#.XIrBGC3Myu4
 51. https://oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/hawaiians_in_the_oregon_country/#.XIrGAY3Myu5
 52. Jean Barman, "NAUKANA, WILLIAM, Likameen, Lakamine, Lackaman," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 13, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003-, accessed March 14, 2019, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/naukana_william_13E.html.