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Park, Susan

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**CONTRIBUTIONS
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH FACILITY**

Number 28

1975

**STEPHEN POWERS, CALIFORNIA'S
FIRST ETHNOLOGIST**

and

**LETTERS OF STEPHEN POWERS TO JOHN WESLEY POWELL
CONCERNING TRIBES OF CALIFORNIA**

ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH FACILITY

Department of Anthropology

University of California

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

This is second number of the present series published within a year concerning Stephen Powers. First was the reprinting in Contribution No. 25 of 18 articles on California Indians published by Powers between 1872 and 1877, and portions of one article written in 1875 but not published until 1970. These articles, after rearrangement, some rewriting and with some additions, formed the text of Powers' Tribes of California which was published by the Government in 1877. Long out of print, and now rare, this important volume is now being reprinted by the University of California Press.

Also published by Friends of the Bancroft Library in 1975 was The Bancroft Library Keepsake Volume No. 23 in which Powers' "Californian Indian Characteristics" and "Centennial Mission to the Indians of Western Nevada and California" are reprinted, with a preface by N. Scott Momaday and an article "Stephan Powers as Anthropologist" by R. F. Heizer.

Now, in Contribution No. 28 we have Susan Park's biography of Stephen Powers. She has done a talented job of digging out the life history of this remarkable and talented man who can be called the father of California ethnography.

Appended to Powers' life story are copies of correspondence between Powers and John Wesley Powell or his aides on the subject of the publication of Tribes of California and sundry matters. Powell did not keep copies of his letters to Powers, and the originals were presumably destroyed in a fire when Powers' home burned. No commentary is provided for these letters beyond that offered in Susan Park's biography (pp. 19-36) except to explain the reference to Lewis Henry Morgan in Powers' letter to Powell of December 18, 1881. In the Introduction to Vol. 2 of H. H. Bancroft's Native Races there is an indirect criticism of Morgan's Ancient Society and its "ethnical periods". Morgan was invited to review the five volumes of Bancroft's Native Races, and did so in his famous 44 page essay entitled "Montezuma's Dinner," published in the North American Review, April, 1876. Morgan was strongly critical and wrote that the commendation which Bancroft's work was receiving was "nothing less than a crime against ethnological science." Morgan received supporting letters from such notable figures as Frederick W. Putnam, Francis Parkman and Henry Adams. This little controversy and the reception of Bancroft's voluminous writings (which have nothing to do with Powers) can be followed in B. Keen, The Aztec Image in Western Thought (Rutgers University Press, 1971) and H. Clark, A Venture Into History (University of California Press, 1973).

Robert F. Heizer
December 23, 1975

PART I

The Life of Stephen Powers

by Susan Park

Introduction

Stephen Powers provided anthropology the first systematic ethnological material on the California Indians. The contribution he made in his Tribes of California is invaluable to the student of these cultures. Although Powers wrote proudly of his pioneer forebearers, he was himself also something of a pioneer. The body of literature about the Indians which existed at the time of his travels in California (1871-1875) consisted largely of haphazard observations of the early explorers, hunters and trappers, civil and military authorities -- Spanish and American -- various missionary groups, early emigrants and settlers, and "travelers." These writings cannot be entirely discredited since they portray cultures which at that time had had little contact with the western world and hence were not much affected by it, and as such they are of definite value. However, in these writings it is often difficult to ascertain precisely which tribe and in what location the group being described referred to. Often, for example, the various tribes were referred to collectively as "Diggers." Further confusion stemmed from descriptions of geographical locations. It was common for a writer to speak of a group's being situated so many miles distant from his last camping place. In the case of navigating explorers localities were often defined in terms of longitude and latitude. Many of these calculations have subsequently proved incorrect. To this chaos, Powers brought order, at least for the northern two-thirds of the State.

Armed with the Smithsonian alphabet for transcribing languages, "a wild sense of adventure", and great perceptiveness, Powers "traveled many thousands of miles on foot and on horseback" among the California Indians. He graduated from the University of Michigan in 1863 at a time when anthropology was still in its infancy and had, as he himself wrote, no training in ethnology. His observations reflect this. His often accurate and often inaccurate work was completely subjective. Some of the Indians he liked; some he disliked heartily. He wrote of the "lively Klamath" and of the "churlishly exclusive Modocs."

Powers was aware of and acknowledged the horrible treatment accorded the Indians by the whites. A number of times he mentioned the abuses suffered by the Indians at the hands of the Indian agents. Generalizing about the California Indians, he wrote: "It has been the melancholy fate of the California Indians to be more vilified and less understood than any other of the American aborigines ... The California Indians are a sly, foxy, secretive race... This singular secretiveness has kept the great body of whites in profound ignorance of their ideas, whatever may have been observed of their customs." Powers' subjective approach added to his work the quality of being fresh and alive. He allowed himself to write of the Indians as people, rather than as groups to which certain culture elements were ascribed.

Powers' observations were made at a time when the California Indian cultures were considerably more intact than when Kroeber and later trained ethnologists made studies of these people. This fact adds greatly to the value of his accounts. Much of

what he wrote was based on personal observation. A great deal of material was also gathered from settlers and squaw-men. With the exception of a reference to the Spanish missionaries and the suggestion contained in a letter to an associate that early writers be consulted to determine the accuracy of his map, Powers did not acknowledge the writings of those who preceded him in this field. His reference, as follows, to the Franciscan (not Jesuit) missionaries is of interest because it perhaps reflects his attitude toward those earlier writers whom he largely ignored.

Pity for the California Indian that he was not a Christian born, instead of a 'Gentile' as the good God made him, for therefore he was written down by the Jesuit padres near to the lost levels of humanity, that the more conspicuous might appear that self-sacrificing beneficence which reached down to pluck him up to salvation.

Much of Powers' real contribution, that of defining tribes and linguistic areas, is amazingly accurate. Based on his linguistic research, he differentiated among the California tribes that had been grouped together by earlier writers and classified them accordingly. Although later research has invalidated many of his linguistic groupings, his map is a clear indication of his understanding of the method of tribal groupings based on linguistic relationships. The maps of both H. H. Bancroft and A. S. Taylor indicate no such tribal affiliations, each tribe appearing on their maps as separate and complete entities, bound by no inter-tribal ties, linguistic or otherwise. On his map, Powers grouped the tribes regionally, each grouping in his opinion belonging to a common linguistic classification.

In 1925, Professor A. L. Kroeber, considered the greatest authority on California Indians, wrote in the preface to his Handbook of the Indians of California:

I should not close without expressing my sincere appreciation of my one predecessor in this field, the late Stephen Powers, well known for his classic "Tribes of California", one of the most remarkable reports ever printed by any government. Powers was a journalist by profession and it is true that his ethnology is often of the crudest. Probably the majority of his statements are inaccurate, many are misleading, and a very fair proportion are without any foundation or positively erroneous. He possessed, however, an astoundingly quick and vivid sympathy, a power of observation as keen as it was untrained, and an invariably spirited gift of portrayal that rises at times into the realm of the sheerly fascinating. Anthropologically his great service lies in the fact that will all the looseness of his data and method he was able to a greater degree than anyone before or after him to seize and fix the salient qualities of the mentality of the people he described. The ethnologist may therefore by turns writhe and smile as he fingers

Powers' pages, but for the outlines of the culture of the California Indian, for its values with all their high lights and shadows, he can still do no better than to consult the book. With all its flimsy texture and slovenly edges, it will always remain the best introduction to the subject. It is a gratification to remember that there was once a time when an unendowed periodical published in California felt able to command the support of its public by including among its offerings almost the whole of a work of this merit. The "Tribes of California" was first issued in the Overland Monthly of San Francisco.

Although Kroeber, after the fashion of many critics, gives with one hand what he takes away with the other, in the bibliography of his Handbook wrote of Tribes of California:

The value of this remarkable work has been discussed in the preface. It is fundamental.

Powers' writings on the Indians of California, well known as they are to ethnologists are not readily accessible to the interested reader. They are found in some libraries in the well guarded issues of the Overland Monthly or, in its more complete form, in the physically unwieldy publication of Volume 3 of the United States Geographical and Geological Surveys.

Youth and Background

Stephen Powers was born in Waterford, Washington County, Ohio in July of 1840, "the son of a farmer;" he died in Jacksonville, Florida in April 1904. The material for his biography has been drawn from numerous sources: handwritten manuscripts, autobiographies, autobiographical excerpts from his published works; biographies, cemetery records, letters, family reminiscences, records in county archives in Ohio, California and Florida; Government documents, and the obituary article published in the Jacksonville Times-Union at the time of his death. In so far as is possible, the following account of his life is in Powers' words:

Birth and Education

"I was born in Waterford, Washington County, Ohio, July 20, 1840, the son of a farmer. My early education was obtained in the district school in a little log school house which was built a few rods up the river. It was here that I first went to school and sat on backless slab benches through which the wooden legs protruded in an inconvenient fashion.

"When sufficiently able-bodied to plow corn, committed to memory while doing so, two books of Paradise Lost, the book lying on the fence corner for reference every alternate row.

"I prepared for college at Beverly, Ohio [a town directly across the Muskingum River from Waterford] under the tuition of Rev. Wm. Pied and Rev. E. F. Baird. Entered the University as a Scientific Freshman in 1858 and in 1859 transferred to the Classical Freshman Class. Graduated from the University of Michigan in 1863 [with a BA degree] and was selected by the faculty from a class of forty to be offered the assistant professorship of Latin, but an older graduate applied for and secured the position."

In this succinct manner, he wrote of his birth, youth and education. His deep love of his birthplace and of the rich farm lands of Ohio, he described in lyrical prose in a sketch entitled "Federal Bottom," included in his first book, Muskingum Legends, published by Lippincott in 1871.

"Among the tributaries of the Beautiful River which flow down through the Buckeye State, there is one celebrated for its picturesqueness which flows past my father's house. It is known by the Indian name of Muskingum, and a jolly, twinkling little river it is on a summer's day ... winking at the sleepy villages, and the many fields of dark-green maize ... winking at the huge eyes of the coal-mines, which glower blackly down on the little river.

"Oh beautiful valley of the Muskingum, in thy summer wealth of farms between the green and sunny rims of thy hills, with thy evergreen embowered houses, amid the golden fields... did ever human eye behold lovelier."

All Stephen Powers' writings, including his ethnological accounts of the Indians of California, as well as his book on sheep breeding (The American Merino for Wool and Mutton, Orange Judd Company, New York, 1887) reflect his training in the classics, as well as his experience as a farmer.

He left the family farm after graduating from the University because of his "wild love of adventure," but when he was "satiated" by adventure and discouraged by his lack of success as a writer, he returned to his birthplace and became, like his father, as successful farmer.

The Census of 1850 for Waterford Township, Washington County, Ohio lists the Powers family thus:

Family	Name	Age	Sex	Color	Profession or Trade	Value of Real Estate	Place of Birth
206	Wm. H. Powers	43	m		Farmer	\$8,000	Ohio
	Susan G. Powers	35	f				New Hampshire
	Stephen Powers	10	m				Ohio
	Josephine Powers	7	f				Ohio
	Deborah Powers	73	f				Connecticut
	Sarah Hamilton	21	f				Ohio

The Powers family farm was the most valuable in Waterford Township; the value of the majority of the farms in this region was given in the low hundreds of dollars; and only two farms, one valued at \$6,000, the other at \$3,500 nearly approached the Powers property in Census valuation.

Tombstone records, from a small neglected cemetery near Waterford show that Andres Powers, Stephen Powers' grandfather, died August 28, 1825 at the age of 50, and that Deborah Powers, his wife -- listed in the 1850 census as part of William Powers' household -- died June 11, 1967 at the age of 85.

In an article entitled "Federal Bottom," in The History of Washington County, confusing his tenses and mixing the first with the third person, Stephen Powers wrote of his pioneer forebearers and of his parents with evident pride:

"There were squatters on the bottom [Federal Bottom on the Muskingum River, Washington County, Ohio] at a very early day...In 1802 Theophilus Powers of New Canaan, Fairfield County, Connecticut came out and settled at a point up the river [about 50 miles from Zanesville]. But he soon came down to the bottom, married,... and built a log house, close to the river, about one hundred and fifty yards below Still Brook.

"In 1805 Andres Powers [Stephen Powers' grandfather] followed his brother to Ohio. The two seemed to have bought together the upper third of the bottom; and November 20, 1805 Andres bought...the lower portion, two hundred and thirty five acres, for one thousand three hundred and eighty dollars. The brothers now owned the entire bottom.

"Andres settled first in the log house at the mouth of Still Brook. He lived here for a year or so, then moved down into the house occupied by Stephen Devol... In this house William H. Powers [Stephen Powers' father] was born in 1807.

"After several removes, Andres Powers finally built a plankhouse on the brow of the second plateau...with a cellar under it and provided with the first well on the bottom.

"The pioneers had little variety in their bill of fare, except what they procured with the gun. The deer frequently came in and ate their pumpkins all hollow for the sake of the seed. Theophilus Powers used to shoot them from his door. Wild turkey abounded...Theophilus once killed seven at one shot.

"Andres Powers threw a dam diagonally nearly across the river at the head of Dana's island, and built a grist-mill and saw-mill at the mouth of Congress Run. The people came to this mill from places twenty-five or thirty miles distant, long lines of pack-horses wending their way through the forest. The grinding went so slowly that the men sometimes had to wait for their grists several days, subsisting the while on raw wheat, papaws, apples and nuts.

"My father remembers that the children from the other side crossed the river to school a whole three months' term on the ice. The first school on the bottom was probably taught by Reuben Culver in the little log house at the mouth of Still Brook. An old school-bill shows the following number of scholars: A. Powers, eight; T. H. Powers, three; T. Featherston, two; P. Palmer, two; William Crawford, one [?]. The teacher got ten dollars a month. All the sons of Andres were like him in character -- quiet, hardworking, God fearing -- except Stephen. He loved his gun, and loved the girls, a jolly soul, and when a boy he was sometimes set to plowing corn with an old man named Lyons, who kept him at it early and late. In passing a stump, he would slip down off the horse on the stump, and take to his heels, the old man in hot pursuit...

"Theophilus Powers, was a noted politician, a keen observer, a great reader of the Bible, and a heated controversialist, always defending Calvin in religion (notwithstanding his loose practice), and a Federalist in politics. During the War of 1812 political discussion waxed hot. There were some noted Democrats at Waterford... and Theophilus would frequently stay up there long until after midnight, waging a wordy battle with them... His delight knew no bounds when he could worst them, which he generally did, for he was a man of large information. His prominence and the number of other Federalists on the bottom procured for it its present name.

"Keel-boating was much followed in these early days... sometimes they [the keel-boats] would come up this side [of the river] when they would probably fall foul of Andres Powers' dam and then would ensue much cursing and they would get out and rip up the dam. This caused considerable trouble, but the dam was maintained.

"Andres was not a miller (he was a cooper by trade), so he did not make head with his mills. He left his farm to be carried on by his boys, and they did as boys will, and he became involved in debt. May 15, 1817, he sold the two mills and thirty acres of land... for four hundred and fifty dollars...

"As early as June 1814, Andres Powers had a carding machine in the garret of his mill, and it was managed by one Samuel Andrews, who carded wool at ten cents a pound. It did not continue many years in operation.

"In 1825 Andres Powers worn out with many and arduous labors went to his premature death. He was a simple, sincere Christian; one of those strong men who are builders of the States. Deborah, his wife [born in 1777 also in New Canaan Connecticut] was a worthy helpmate to him, a genuine type of Puritan wife and mother. She ruled her house in the strictest fashion; she would allow but one cooked meal be eaten on the Sabbath, that was breakfast; the remaining meals must be bread and milk lunch. When she came to live with us my mother never ventured to transgress this tradition of the house; and even when my wife [Stephen Powers' wife -- Margaret Freeman of "New Jersey" whom he married in Philadelphia in 1875] ascended the throne, long after grandmother had gone to her grave [in 1867 at the age of 85], although she gradually introduced a cooked dinner, she never dared wholly to break over this family usage; and to this day [1881] the pitcher of milk standing on the table at our Sunday dinners bears silent but eloquent testimony to the strong will and rigorous creed of this revered mother in Israel...

"In 1828 Stephen Devol sold to the trustees of the Methodist church, for one dollar, a lot near the river, on which, largely through his efforts a church was erected... The church was built close to the land of Theophilus Powers who chose to consider it an affront; and he assailed it in eccentric ways, with profane and bitter hostility, boasting to his dying day that he had never entered it.

"Daniel Gage and his large family of daughters were of the more genial New England type -- genuine money-loving Yankees, but fond of gaiety, and several of them artistically and poetically gifted. The arrival of so many blooming girls in the new country was very refreshing to the young men, and they straitaway laid siege to them. They furnished an even half-dozen of the best wives and housekeepers in the whole countryside."

In 1836 William Powers married Susan Gage, one of the "blooming" girls. Of this marriage two children were born, Stephen in 1840 and his sister, Josephine in 1843. Susan Powers held a teachers certificate from Unity College, New Hampshire, dated May 23, 1832. She died of tuberculosis at an early age when her children were very young. It may be that as a result of her educational background that both of her children went to colleges.

After her death, William Powers married again; first in 1854, Lucy Strong, who is undoubtedly the woman to whom Stephen Powers referred as his "mother" in one of the chapters of Afoot and Alone. He married Mrs. Lois Deming in 1874 -- a marriage which broke up when William Powers decided to move to Florida with his son.

Of William Powers, his admiring son wrote in a biography (really more of a character assessment than a true biography) published in the History of Waterford County (1881):

William H. Powers was born [in 1807] within a gunshot of his present residence; and with the exception of a few visits, he has never been off the farm above two weeks at a time. In him was strongly developed that earth-hunger which is one of the best characteristics of the Angle-Saxon race -- not only the laudable ambition to add field to field, which is common to the American pioneer, but also that better ambition, so seldom seen in this class, to preserve the rich patrimony of the soil intact. To him the soil was ever sacred, and not only was it his constant study to conserve its virgin fertility, but he wished to retain its original physical outlines and with careful, tireless industry he sought to heal the wounds and rents with which the elements, assisted by the necessary operations of agriculture, are always prone to gash the earth...

"Coming to manhood at a time when the settlers were unavoidably plunged into the deepest poverty, and without the guidance or assistance of a father [William Powers' father was Andres Powers who died in 1825 when his son was 18] he made his own little share of the inheritance purchase seven others in succession. A deep and abiding fear of God, an inexorable sense of duty, rigid economy, an iron constitution, an industry which absolutely knew no rest throughout the year, save the rest of sleep and of the Sabbath -- these were the secrets of his success.

"Too confiding in the honesty of others, and too busy in earning money to concern himself greatly about the fate of it after it was earned, he made many business mistakes. But all his mistakes he at once set himself to correct. All the eddies in his life-current he turned into the steadily widening channels of success.

" After reaching manhood he was never known, even under the bitterest provocation to speak an angry word to a human being. Strictly just and impartial to his [two] children he regarded them with an affection which was sincere but so entirely undemonstrative that they knew nothing of its depth until they grew up and the hour of parting arrived. [This seems to suggest death, but since William Powers did not die until 1888 it may perhaps mean parting in the more literal sense; when Stephen Powers left to go to college in Michigan; when his sister, Josephine, left to attend Lake Erie College for Women; or possibly when either of his children left on trips or to marry.] The most harmless and innocent of men, he is regarded by the gay and frivolous with a sentiment approaching awe. He has the proverbial taciturnity of the farmer.

"...a very pillar in the councils and finances of the church (Presbyterian), minding his own business, wronging no soul -- a plain self-contained man -- he has borne well his part amid that remarkable race of pioneers, now almost passed away, and of which this region will behold the like no more."

In sum a rather grim man whose greatest influence on his son was in giving him a love of land and of farming and perhaps of religion. Stephen Powers' love of life and catholicity of interest seem to have been derived more from his great-uncle Theophilus and his mother.

William Powers must also have placed great value on education for both his children went to college -- which was most unusual for the children of farmers in the 1850's and 1860's.

Journalistic Career

"Soon after graduation, on November 11, 1863, I entered the service of the Cincinnati Commercial [now the Cincinnati Enquirer] as an army correspondent. Continued in the service until the close of the [Civil] war, during which I witnessed (at a safe distance) the battle of Kennesaw Mountain; followed Sherman's Army in the Atlanta Campaign, Canby's Army at the capture of Mobile; reported Lincoln's funeral. Subsequently I visited all of the Gulf States and reported the proceedings of the Reconstruction Conventions in Mississippi, Georgia, Florida, and Texas, having written in the capacity of correspondent several hundred letters under the signature of Q. P. R. Then went to Washington and was summoned to testify before the Reconstruction Committee -- that section on Florida, Louisiana, and Texas presided over by Senator Williams of Oregon."

Powers appeared before Senator George H. Williams of Oregon at one session of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, on April 9, 1866. [39th Congress, First Session of House of Representatives, Report No. 30, Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction; Congressional Series Volume No.1237, pages 145-150.] He was questioned on the attitude of the southerners towards the north, the condition of the negroes and at some length on the Freedman's Bureau. He testified that the Freedman's Bureau by and large had done a good and essential job, though in some places there was evidence the Bureau was run by "incompetent and speculating officers who made it a by-word and unnecessarily obnoxious to the white people of Texas," as well as elsewhere in the southern states. It was Powers' opinion that by 1867 there would be no further need for the Bureau. Powers' testimony shows him to have been a keen and sensitive observer of conditions.

In both Muskingum Legends and Afoot and Alone he writes of the ravages of war in the south. In a sketch entitled "Freedman's Bureau," in Muskingum Legends, (p. 360 ff) he wrote: "...the bureau opened his eyes [the negro's] to a self-understanding, to freedom, to restlessness, to amenities which can never be fulfilled as long as he remains among the whites, and this planted the greatest amount of seed for Liberian Colonization which has ever been scattered in the South.

"In 1866 I went to Europe as a correspondent of various papers, principally the New York Times and Nation. I made pedestrian tours through Bavaria, along the Rhine and through Switzerland. Was arrested at Naumburg, Saxony as an Austrian spy (the Prusso-Austrian war was then in progress) but was released the same day after a searching examination."

This episode of roughly two hours duration seems to have been so important to Powers, that it, along with his learning Milton by heart when he was ploughing corn at the age of ten, is included in every available biography, autobiography, and family reminiscence. In a sketch entitled "Student Rambles in Prussia," in Muskingum Legends he describes the affair in great detail. The following is an abridged version:

"At Naumburg I had two hours to wait in the station, and imprudently took out my map and newspaper and commenced reading the war news from Bohemia. Presently a broad faced gendarme . . . asked to see my 'papers,' meaning my passport, but as he could read no word of it . . . he requested me to accompany him to police headquarters.

"As nobody there could read English, we went next to the Burgomaster . . . he questioned me pretty sharply. He could by no means comprehend what any rational individual should be doing walking over Prussia and writing down matters in his book, without some ulterior Zweck [i. e. purpose].

"I explained to him, as well as I could, that my Zweck was to acquire useful and interesting information for myself, and also to impart the same to inquiring minds. But he was not satisfied and presently bethought himself to call in his wife who could speak English.

" . . . at his command she perused my note-book pretty thoroughly, but when she found, instead of descriptions of fortresses intended for the use of the wicked Austrian, such peaceful and innocent observations as that the King of Prussia, for instance, squinted when he laughed . . . she . . . handed the notebook back . . .

" . . . and so . . . they sent me away with very sweet and bland apologies and expressions of regret."

"Arrived at the battle-field of Custozza, just after the battle was concluded, but in time to report the same [Custozza, a village of Northern Italy in which on June 24, 1866 the Italians were defeated by the Austrians under the leadership of Archduke Albert]. I remained in Europe, principally in Germany, fifteen months, and came back to New York."

Much of his experience in Europe was written in sketches in Muskingum Legends and in articles for the Overland Monthly. These show, as does so much of Powers' writing, an ability to describe briefly the dominant characteristics of a people. His analysis of German traits is as valid today as when he wrote. He was able to make gentle fun of their weaknesses, deplore their warlike qualities, the need of people to be regimented, and pay tribute to German education and their "universality of thought." Curiously, his descriptions of a people as a nation, a tribe or a group are alive while his descriptions of single fictional characters are wooden and unreal.

Walk Across the Continent

"I came back to New York and on January 1, 1869 started from Raleigh, North Carolina on foot . . . on a 'Walk from Sea to Sea.' Packing a shirt in a hat . . . [and] placing

in a traveling bag the following articles: a diamond edition of Longfellow, the Harper's text of Horace, a manifold notebook for the res-gestae [things done], a change of flannel, a toothbrush, my sister's spool of thread, my mother's [his step-mother, for his own mother had died and his father remarried] hussif [a very small sewing kit]...dressed in a pair of doeskin trousers, light top boots, with the ends of the trousers inserted therein, a shortish frock coat and a planter's hat...thus rigged out and equipped with a mighty jack-knife, I left Raleigh on New Years day, and walked to Charleston, South Carolina, thence to Savannah, Georgia, and here taking leave of the Atlantic Ocean I walked across the continent via Macon, Columbus, Montgomery, Selma, Meridian, Vicksburg, Shreveport, Athens, Marchail, Waxahatchie, Franklin (El Paso), Tuscon, Los Angeles, and San Bueneventura where I reached the shores of the Pacific, October 14th. Here stooping and dipping my hand into the brine, I said: 'The Sunrise to the Sunset Sea, through a weary footman, Greeting.' Thence to San Francisco, arrived November 3. This journey of about 3,700 miles, the whole of which I religiously accomplished on foot, occupying with stoppages nearly ten months. It was not a remarkable feat in any respect, as the only qualities required were health and persistence; at no time did I accomplish over forty miles a day, generally only twenty or twenty-five. I subsequently wrote and published a book containing an account of this journey, entitled Afoot and Alone; A Walk from Sea to Sea (Columbian Book Company, Hartford, 1872).

"The walk from sea to sea...was undertaken partly from a love of wild adventure, partly from a wish to make a personal and ocular study of the more diverse races of the Republic [and possibly as suggested by one of his granddaughters, Dorothy Lance of Indianapolis, because he feared he was suffering from a "weakness of the lungs;" his mother died at the age of 33 of tuberculosis]...Tramping month after month...these were the happiest days of my life, and there comes to me sometimes an insatiable longing to roam again.

"The book makes no pretension to learning in ethnology or geology, but seeks simply to give some picture of men and places, with a narrative of the incidents attending the journey. [It is] a graphic but in [my] own estimation, a valueless work. [The book] had a very limited sale, and I have long ago consigned it to oblivion without regret. It was the one capital fault of my book that it was written too soon after the termination of the journey, while the impression of all these wearisome minutiae was yet so vivid that it obscured the general view, the general results made the book a tedious record of the various regions transversed, as if it had been a transcript from some podometer, daily wound up and set agoing. If I had waited six or eight years, until the memory of the journey had become hazed over by long recedence into the past, and all the multitude of special views had softened and blended into a single picture, so that I might have generalized upon it, the book might possibly have possessed some value.

"As a mode of travel I cannot recommed such an extended pedestrian tour, except in one particular. As a means of stamping, as as it were burning the geography of a region upon the tablets of the memory so that it will never perish, there is nothing

equal to the process of toiling wearily over it, day after day, month after month on foot. There is a line crossing the Southern United States and territories, from sea to sea with all the rivers, forests, hills, mountains, valleys, deserts, springs, boulders which it intersects, so graven upon my memory as with a pen of iron, that the picture of them will survive among the latest recollections of my life.

"When I arrived in San Francisco so buoyant were my spirits, so penetrated was I with the almost passionate joy of seeing constantly new men and lands, that I seriously contemplated walking across Asia and Europe, and so passing on foot around the globe. And indeed there never was a period of equal length in my life that passed so happily away and the ten months of that grand, lonely walk from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The savage sullen deserts, and the vast plains of Arizona, the trackless prairies of Texas, the many-colored mountains of California -- all these have for me an inexpressible fascination, and I sometimes long with a great and almost homesick-longing to go back and wander again, free and glad. Nothing so quickens the senses, so intensifies the enjoyment of the wonderful color-glory of California and the gorgeous celestial phenomena of Arizona, as to stroll on foot among them. I can truly say with Wordsworth:

'The tall rock
The mountain, and the deep and gloomy wood,
Their colors and their forms, were then to me
An appetite, a feeling and a love
That had no need of a remoter charm.' "

Yet later he wrote of himself: "We have written Stephen Powers a farmer, and to-day he is. He has also been that which taught him the valuable lesson he improved by returning to his farm after exhausting years of wild adventure or all that he obtained from them...he looks back on those vagabondizing days, sometimes with unspoken contempt, and sometimes with infinite commiseration and sometimes with a great yearning to wander again free and glad."

California 1869-1874

"I roved around California nearly six years; part of the time herded sheep; part of the time wrote for the Overland Monthly, Atlantic Monthly, and other magazines and newspapers.

I bought 160 acres of Government land in the foothills of the Sierra Nevada [at Sheridan, Placer County]¹ on which I kept a flock of Angora goats and studied Indians. They tattooed me¹ and their old men called me 'Oah-koi-tupeh,' prophet

¹ According to the Powers' family tradition, Powers was "captured by the Indians," on his overland walk, and was tattooed on his face with a sun, a moon, and some stars; marks which he later had removed. Actually the tattooing took place in California;

or deliverer. Getting tired of this style of life, I sold out and with 'miner's luck,' a little too soon as a valuable quartz mine was soon after by the purchaser discovered on the ranch.

"During this time published Muskingum Legends (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1871) in imitation of Irving's 'Sketch Book;' [The book is subtitled, "With other sketched and papers, descriptive of the young men of Germany and the old boys of America." The title is derived from the name of "the little Indian river, the little winking river which flows past my father's house." The first section is composed of legends, concerning the inhabitants, both Indian and white, who lived near the river in "Federal Bottom," so-called because of the Federalists who lived in the area. Here is found the first expression of Powers' interest in Indians. The scenes of the other sketches "range from the Elbe to the Sacramento."] also Afoot and Alone, A Walk from Sea to Sea by the Southern Route [subtitled, "Adventures and Observations in Southern California, New Mexico, Arizona, Texas, etc."] (Hartford, Conn., Columbian Book Company, 1872) a graphic but mainly valueless narrative which seeks simply to give some pictures of men and places with a narrative attending the Journey.

"During the summers of 1871 and 1872, traveled some thousands of miles on foot and on horseback among the California Indians [during which time] I collected a mass of original material and prepared an elaborate account of the habits, customs, legends, geographical boundaries, religious ideas, etc., of the California Indians of which the principal portion I published serially [in articles entitled Northern California Indians] in the Overland Monthly, and one chapter in the Atlantic, in the years 1872-1875.

"In its completed form the Government published this work in 1877, as Volume Three of Contributions to North American Ethnology The Tribes of California."

Up to the time of the publication of the series on the Northern California Indians, Powers' contributions to the Overland consisted of essays on a variety of subjects -- some serious, some humorous -- short stories and a poem translated from the German. Nearly all of these were published under the curious pen-name of Mr. Socrates Hyacinth, a name he renounced shortly before the appearance of the Indian series. As has been noted, many of these sketches and stories were included in his two books, Muskingum Legends and Afoot and Alone.

he was not captured by Indians but was fearful of the possibility at the time of his encounter with a band of Tonto Apaches in Arizona. The episode is described in a sketch which appeared in the Overland Monthly, Volume 2, Number 2, May 1869, After Romance Reality and appears again as Chapter Fifteen in Afoot and Alone.

In order to avoid capture he first gave the chief a mirror and then "played the lunatic as well as I could."

Powers was in illustrious company in that quite extraordinary magazine, The Overland Monthly; which was "Devoted to the Development of the Country," published in San Francisco from 1868 to 1875, and after a hiatus of several years was published again. Fellow contributors included John Muir, Louis Agassiz, Bret Harte, Joaquin Miller and Mark Twain.

It was at the end of his first summer tour among the Indians that Powers wrote on November 11, 1871 from Healdsburg, California to W. C. Bartlett of the Overland indicating his interest in publishing the material he had collected:

"About three months ago I set out on a pedestrian tour among the Northern California Indians, and have just now gone into winter quarters here. My success was so considerable that I have determined to go on next year, or two years if necessary, and collect the material for a book on the habits, customs, traditions, and tribal organizations of the California Indians. I have already gathered up from old pioneers, 'squaw-men,' and the Indians themselves, names and facts of some fifty tribes, together with a dozen or so curious and interesting legends, of the Creation, the Flood, the origin of salmon, the origin of fire, the Coyote's dancing with the stars, etc. , and as many more little stories (not mere bloody brawls between whites and Indians, but short tales illustrative of Indian Character).

"I shall write this winter five or six articles, having material for so many, perhaps more. Of course, the Overland would be my first choice for this publication for several reasons, but Lippincott has usually paid me a trifle more than the Overland. I wish therefore to ask if you think you could give me some little more than heretofore for such articles as might be acceptable."

The Overland acceded to Powers' request, for their account books show that the Indian articles were paid for at a substantially higher rate than he had heretofore received. The largest sum he received, \$67.00 for the article on the Yocuts, the smallest sum was \$14.22 for an essay on sheep raising, entitled A Flock of Wool. It might be of interest to note that Bret Harte's famous story, "Tennessee's Partner," brought its author a mere \$15.00, though his later contributions were paid for at the rate of \$100, the highest sum paid by the Overland for any single story. There is no record in Lippincott's files of any correspondence with Powers; thus, there is no way of ascertaining what he meant by "a trifle more." The Overland account books show that Powers' total earnings from material published by them amounted to slightly in excess of \$1,000 of which roughly \$600 was for the Indian series.

In a further effort to increase his earnings, Powers wrote to the A. L. Bancroft Publishing Company of San Francisco, offering his services in the collecting of material. It was from this press that the monumental 39 volume work of the historian H. H. Bancroft,

was issued. The existing correspondence between the Bancroft Company, Bancroft himself, and Powers is fragmentary but enough remains to show that it was initiated by Powers, was extensive, and that Powers' contributions to Bancroft were substantial. On May 14, 1872 from Berryessa, Powers wrote:

"I am making a horseback tour over the State on my own account, collecting information respecting the Indians. I shall be out five or six months, and have occasion to converse with many old pioneers. Some of these have told me that you are preparing a book on the Pioneers of the Pacific Coast; and it has occurred to me that I might be able to do you some service, while carrying forward my own work.

"If you think so and will make me an offer, and at the same time forward some kind of credentials and instructions I will serve you to the best of my ability.

"If you are inclined to entertain the proposition, a letter directed to Marysville will reach me.

"It is possible that you have seen my name as a contributor to the Overland Monthly; I beg also to refer you to Mr. Williams of the [San Francisco] Bulletin."

The inclination "to entertain the proposition," must have been great, for judging from Powers' next letter Bancroft answered by return mail. On May 28th from Shasta City Powers replied:

"Your letter of the 16th was forwarded to me at Colusa.

"I will gladly do you any service in my power and herewith send you a couple of brief items. [These "items" were brief biographical sketches of pioneers, none of whom is well known except John A. Sutter.]

"You inquire about my Indian sketches. Part of them will be published in the Overland and at least one article in the Atlantic, in the course of time. As to the book itself, I have not yet advanced sufficiently far with it to have offered it to any publisher."

On January 16, 1874 from Sheridan, Powers wrote to Bancroft, as a covering letter for several vocabularies (these lists are in the mss. files in Bancroft Library or the Smithsonian Institution):

"I have been so pushed for time lately that I could not make out any vocabularies.

"I encountered 29 languages and countless dialects, and got discouraged in taking them down. In fact some are so difficult that one can not reduce them to writing without a study of some weeks at least. Then again, it is rare to find a Cal. Ind. intelligent enough and [free?] of suspicion to give a stranger a vocabulary that is trustworthy.

"I have many fragmentary and special lists that I took for grammatical purposes, or for their curious nature, but they would be of small service to you.

"I once had some thoughts of making a small grammar of the Healdsburg [Pomo] language, which I thought would be of more value as showing the Chinese origin of all the languages, than a multitude of lists taken from petty tribes. I may yet do so.

"If the legends will do you any good three or four weeks hence, I can send you some; but I hardly have time now."

As a P. S. to the above he added:

"The lists in pencil are my own, and I would like duplicated in proof or the MS returned. Perhaps you had better send me all the proofs for correction."

Bancroft found the legends were of value in volume 3 of the Native Races, Myths and Languages. He wrote (p. 545): "The following myths, for which I am indebted to the kindness and industrious investigation of Mr. Powers, having come to hand too late for insertion in the proper places, I avail myself of the opportunity to give them here." These were legends from the Neeshenams, the Shasta and the Palegawonam, of Kern River.

Of the vocabularies furnished by Powers, Bancroft wrote: "From Mr. Powers I have the following vocabularies, which never before have been published: Cahroc, Meidoo, Palegawonap, Meewoc, Yocut, Neeshenam." The vocabularies in the Bancroft files include a list of Wintoon words taken at Shasta City, Cahroc from Scott's Bar, Meidoo from Oroville, Shastica from Yreka, Palegawonap from Kern River, Meewok at Garrote. Of the Wintoon and Gallinomaro vocabularies Powers wrote they were "arranged after your lists of words." The other lists were recorded and arranged according to a system of his own.

The first five volumes of Bancroft's works are entitled "The Native Races" and it is in these that one finds the bulk of Powers' contributions. Bancroft meticulously acknowledged the source of every single fact (or theory) which he used. To Powers he acknowledged indebtedness not only for the published articles in the Overland Monthly

but of several manuscripts. One of these, The Shasta and their Neighbors, has not been published, nor was this material included in The Tribes of California. Another manuscript from which Bancroft apparently drew heavily, The Pomo manuscript, seems untraceable, and there are numerous manuscripts on languages and grammar in the files of the Smithsonian and in the Bancroft Collections which were used extensively in The Native Races. In Volume 18 of The Collected Works, which is also Volume I of the Series "The History of California," Powers' contributions, biographical material on a number of "pioneers," was included.

In his last volume, entitled Literary Industries, Bancroft wrote of Powers: "Mr. Stephen Powers gave me the use of an unpublished manuscript on the manners and customs of certain native California tribes among which he had spent much time."

In a letter dated March 25 [probably 1873 or 1874; Powers seldom added the year to his dating] it would appear that Powers was doing a little juggling with his Indian material. In this letter, written from Sheridan, addressed to B. P. Avery of the Overland, he wrote:

"I have lent all my mss. to Mr. Bancroft at his request and furnished grammatical notes, vocabularies, etc., to be used in his forthcoming Cyclopaedia. He assured me I could do it without impairing my obligations to the Overland, as his work will not appear for some time to come yet."

"In October 1873, was elected a corresponding member of the California Academy of Sciences [for one year]. During this time wrote with Prof. [Henry N.] Bolander a paper on Aboriginal Botany."

This paper, over Powers' name, was published in the Proceedings of the California Academy of Sciences, Volume 5, New Series, 1874, pages 373-379. Professor Bolander identified the botanical specimens and Powers described their uses. These were the plants and trees used by the "Neeshenams" (Nishenams) of the Bear River country and "the flora is that of the extreme lower foothills of Placer County."

In a letter (cited above) to B. P. Avery of the Overland Powers wrote regarding this paper:

"I shall presently send to the Academy of Sciences a paper on 'Aboriginal Botany,' for which I have made studies assisted by Prof. Bolander, who kindly offered to identify for me the plants I was not acquainted with. The above is nearly as comprehensive a title as suggests itself, for the paper will give some account of all the plants used by the Indians for medicine, food, utensils, etc. It would be too technical for the average magazine reader, but if it were popularized a little and I had some way to illustrate it (alas, I am no artist) it might be rendered acceptable perhaps..."

"Recurring to the topic, I would ask if you think, in case I should send you plants, utensils, medicines, etc., that if you could have them put into the shape of cuts without too much expense, or is the Indian topic getting stale?"

For whatever reason, for there is not further available correspondence on this subject, the ethnobotany article was not printed in the Overland.

In the same volume of the Proceedings of the California Academy of Sciences is another paper by Powers entitled California Aborigines (pages 392-396). This is in part a defense of the articles published in the Atlantic of March 1874 in which he sought to prove the relationship of the Chinese and the California Indians -- proof of which he attempted to establish through what he found to be a similarity in languages (a theory which he toyed with for many years) and in part a theory concerning the possible "degeneration" of the Indians of the present times from a group which had earlier lived in California.

Of his election to the California Academy of Sciences and his later election to the American Association for the Advancement of Science he wrote in one of his autobiographical sketches:

"I was elected a member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and a corresponding member of the California Academy of Sciences, but I did not undertake the obligations of membership because I did not believe that my occupation as a farmer would permit me to do anything for the promotion of their objects."

In 1874, Powers left California -- before the publication of the last of the Indian series in the Overland -- and after a brief visit to the family farm he went to New York and Philadelphia, where "he was made to feel his infinitely small importance while dancing attendance in a publisher's ante-room."

In the Bancroft Collection "Autobiographical Sketch" he wrote: "Am at present the owner of a small ranch near Sheridan, Placer County, engaged in rearing Angora goats.

"Having done, or attempted many things in my life. Have published books, herded sheep in San Luis Obispo; have managed a large farm in Ohio, and put my luck to the touch at mining in Placer; have been a private tutor in Greek, reported battles in Georgia and Italy, plowed with oxen in Texas and camped with Indians in Siskiyou. I seem to myself to have done nothing well, unless it is that I have demonstrated well the folly of aimless and purposeless vagabondizing. If any young man in quest of a vocation should chance upon this sketch, I would earnestly impress upon him the following piece of advice: Find out early in life what you can do well, then do that with your might, and do that while life endures. It is better, far better, to do something well than to make many experiments to discover what you can do best."

In a vein of still deeper self-deprecation he wrote (in the third person) in the Biographical Cyclopedia of Ohio: "We have written Stephen Powers a farmer, and to-day he is. He has been also that which taught him the valuable lesson he improved by returning to his farm after exhausting years of wild adventure of all that could be obtained from them. Like many others, in his early manhood he mistook a keen appreciation of profitable literature for the ability to produce it, and succeeded in all but the profit. Heir to a noble farm, he sought literary fame, and was made to feel his infinitely small importance, while dancing attendance at a publisher's ante-room, with a roll of poor sophomorical manuscript under his arm, and deference to insolence of position in his manners; and this continued for weeks before the folly of his literary conceit was pestled out of him. With subsequent ability to earn thirty-five dollars a day, he has been in a position where a scrap of mal-odorous meat begged from an Indian and toasted on a greasewood twig, has given him keen gustatory pleasure. To-day, under the growing sense of ownership, looking over broad acres of tasselled and silken eared corn, and through granaries filled with old wheat, hay and wool, he looks back on those prodigal, vagabondizing days, sometimes with unspoken contempt, and sometimes with infinite commiseration... His adventurous life offers a sage lesson, but a lesson nevertheless, that few possessing his youthful promptings and courage will profit by."

And yet, Powers' correspondence with Major J.W. Powell, written after this biography which was published in 1879, indicate that his yearnings for literary fame and wild adventures were far from "pestled out of him."

Ohio, 1875 - 1880

On March 28, 1875 he married Margaret Freeman, the daughter of a "shoe merchant," killed in the Civil War when Margaret was 5 years old. According to their marriage certificate Stephen Powers was 34 years old; his bride, Margaret -- Maggie -- was 23 years old and born in New Jersey. The ceremony was performed by a Methodist Minister, though the Powers family were devout Presbyterians. There were six children of this marriage of whom four survived Powers. One child, Marian, was burned to death at the age of nine, in Lawtey. The oldest son, William, named for his grandfather, became a doctor of some prominence in Florida.

Sometime in 1874 a correspondence between Powers and Major J.W. Powell of the Smithsonian Institution was begun. The available letters, found in Powell's files, indicate the loss of some of these and include only Powers' letters to Powell, for it was not until a later date that Powell made copies of his letters. Thus one can only hazard a guess as to who initiated the correspondence for the first letter indicated a previous exchange. One thing seems clear, however. It was Powers who made the first move concerning the possible publication by the Government of the Indian papers as a book.

On January 1, 1875 Powers wrote from New York:

"Thanks for your invitation, and if I should come to Washington I will accept it. . .

"As to matter of the animal stories of fables in vogue among the Cal. Ind., I will state in a word, that they have almost no other literature, not even songs of any meaning. . . [There follows an essay on the folklore of California.]"

The concluding paragraph of this part-letter-part essay, may well have been an attempt on Powers' part to obtain Powell's reaction to the possibility of the Government's publishing the Indian material as a book. Almost as an afterthought he wrote:

"Such are some of the points which occur to me at present. I could give many stories, but I hope some day to be able to put them in a book though I fear I shall not succeed in finding a publisher who would be willing to undertake it at his risk. I have the MS. for a book rather larger than Foster's 'Prehistoric Races of the U.S.' with 30 or 40 original photographs and sketches to illustrate it."

Powell must have risen immediately to this fairly obvious suggestion for in Powers' next letter dated January 28 and written from New York he answered:

"You ask about my manuscript, vocabularies, collections, etc., and what arrangements I have made for publishing them.

"I have about 650 pages of MS., 30 or 40 original photographs and sketches and a number of vocabularies (which, however, Mr. Bancroft will publish). I had hoped to secure a publisher here but I find it will be difficult if not impossible without incurring an expense which I am ill able to bear.

"Prof. Baird [S. F. Baird, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution] has kindly suggested that the book could probably be published by the Government through the Department of U.S. Territorial Surveys.

"Do you think you could bring out such a work in the Division which you have charge of? I should like it illustrated with about 30 cuts perhaps."

And, apparently almost certain of an affirmative answer, he added a post script in which he asked:

"In case you could undertake this for me, do you think it would be done within a year, and that I could be allowed the proof sheets."

A few days later, on February 4, Powers wrote again:

"Just before receiving your letter of January 29 this morning, I had made all my arrangements to go out of town [New York] for a time.

"I send you, per Adams Express, my Indian Mss. for your inspection. I have nothing more to add to it... my material for the illustrations is yet only partly in shape and can be prepared and sent in case of a favorable decision from you.

"The illustration will consist of about twenty photographs, chiefly of Indians in native costume; camp scenes, etc. and ten or fifteen sketches of various kinds of wigwams, dances, and the like. All will be original, none having been published before in any relation except perhaps two or three photographs...

"Perhaps the most valuable part of the matter as also that which has not appeared in the Overland, is the last four chapters [Miwok, the Yosemite, the Yokuts and] the second chapter of the Nishenoms.

"I will mention to you my views and these with the MSS. will perhaps enable you to decide without an interview. The whole extent of my pride and ambition is to have the book published in good shape, and to have copies get into the hands of men who are interested in the subject -- for I have never hoped or expected to make money from it. My friend, Mr. S. Wright Dunning of the 'Railroad Gazette' thinks that if my book is published by the Government... [and here a page is missing and the letter concludes:]

"Please inform me of your decision as soon as you can conveniently, for I shall probably wish to go home before many weeks."

As a post script he added:

"Prof. Baird wishes me to contribute models or sketches, or both, of the different varieties of wigwams of California for the Centennial. I suppose if you should be willing to bring out the book for me, that duplicate sketches could be made at the Government office for the Centennial."

Apparently the negotiations went forward. Powers wrote again on February 27th from Philadelphia:

"An errand of business has brought me thus far toward Washington and I may find time to come down before going home, though it is doubtful.

"Your letter of February 5 was forwarded to me today.

"You ask about the vocabularies. Mr. Bancroft has sent me proofs of portions of them -- all that he will print in his work -- but whether I could get from him the MSS containing the full lists is, I suppose doubtful. If you would like to have them embodied in the book, I will make the attempt.

"I think I could indicate on a map the more important tribes of California, at least in such a manner that an artist could color it properly; and I should like very much to have such a map accompany the book because I am not satisfied with Mr. Bancroft's map.

"If you deem it absolutely necessary that I should come down, perhaps I can find the time, but my plans and engagements are such [it is more than likely that at this point his plans and engagements involved his courtship and marriage since it was only a month later, on March 25th that he was married in Philadelphia] that I do not see very well how I can. I should like to learn your final decision as to the availability of my MSS soon so that I may get the assistance of an artist here to put some finishing touches on the illustrations before I go home where such services will not be within convenient reach."

On March 11, shortly before his marriage he wrote:

"I send you today, by Adams Express, all the photographs and sketches I have ready. Have been delayed by lack of good weather for copying.

"I should like to get up a few more drawings, done by Mr. Moran, which will cost about \$100. I wish to ask if you could allow me that amount for that purpose. I could pay it out of my own purse, but not without cutting in upon a little sum which I had consecrated to the god Hymen. I could not think of asking this if the book were to be a source of profit to me, or if I had not already expended a good deal on it. If the request is not unreasonable or impracticable I hope you will [illegible word] it."

And modestly in the post script he added:

"Perhaps I send herewith as many as you will wish."

On April 13 Powers wrote from Waterford, Connecticut:

"Just before leaving Philadelphia I was married; and I am now at home on my father's farm. This will be my permanent address henceforth, to which please send anything intended for me.

"Before leaving Philadelphia, I sent you a quantity of photographs and sketches for the book; but I have some imperfect sketches of wigwams, which might be used if desired. I did not send them as I thought perhaps I sent enough at that time.

"Please inform me as to the prospects of the book, and about when you can commence on it."

In the next letter dated May 30 Waterford, Powers begins to show some little signs of impatience:

"Some weeks ago I sent you a quantity of MS vocabularies for my Indian book, accompanied by a letter. I should be very glad to learn what progress is being made in the matter, and how soon you will commence sending me proof."

Sometime after May, 1875 Powell must have deemed it advisable for Powers to make another trip to California to gather more information and to put the finishing touches on his book. In order to make this possible, Powers was commissioned to collect Indian articles for the Centennial Exhibition. It has also been suggested that the original contact between Powers and Powell was established so that Powers might be persuaded to make just such a collection.

In August of 1875 Powers was officially appointed "Special Commissioner to make a collection of Indian manufactures &c., illustrative of Indian life, character and habits on the eastern slope of the Sierras, and also in California for the Centennial Exhibition [held in Philadelphia] in 1876."

The appointment was arranged by Major Powell, who in his turn was appointed by S. F. Baird of the Smithsonian Institution to collect Indian material in Utah and Wyoming.

In the Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for the year 1875, it is noted (page 58) "The President of the United States in 1874 called on the various Departments of the Government including the Smithsonian Institution to nominate one member each, to constitute a board, in behalf of the Executive Department, to which should be committed the preparation and adoption of a plan for a collective exhibition at the International Exhibition of 1876 [the Centennial to be held in Philadelphia] ...by the Smithsonian, S. F. Baird.

"The fifth division is intended to illustrate the past and present conditions of the native tribes of the United States or its Anthropology, and in view of the very great interest in subjects of this character it was determined to make a special effort to render the display exhaustive and complete... Prof. O. T. Mason of Columbia University was requested... to draw up a systematic schedule of the various articles of clothing,

ornaments, household utensils etc.,... a pamphlet was accordingly prepared by this gentleman embracing over 600 subjects. [Powers must have received a copy of the "pamphlet" but he nowhere refers to having used it.] Several gentlemen of much experience in ethnological research were also employed by the Bureau to secure complete collections from tribes within their reach. Among those appointed were... Mr. Stephen Powers for those [areas] of California and Nevada [p. 67]."

The Smithsonian Report for the following year contains Powers' account of the itinerary he followed while collecting objects for the Exhibition as well as fairly extensive notes on those Indians of Nevada whom he visited. Some of the information which he collected was incorporated in the book on the Indians of California. This trip which lasted from September to December of 1875 resulted in some revision of his Overland Monthly articles as well as notes for several studies which were not completed. Neil M. Judd in his The Bureau of American Ethnology, a Partial History (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1967) wrote (page 10) "It is recorded that Stephen Powers of Ohio who had devoted several years to study the various California tribes and after prolonged correspondence had been 'engaged' to prepare a paper on that subject."

Powers was given the sum of \$2000 for this work. Of this \$1000 was to be spent in California and the other \$1000 in Nevada.

On September 17, 1875 he wrote to John H. Carmany of the Overland Monthly:

"My Indian book was accepted some time ago by the Government, and will in the course of time be brought out as part of the Ethnological series of the Reports of the Territorial Surveys, in the section over which Major Powell has command. To enable me to put some finishing touches on the book, I have received an appointment as Special Commissioner to proceed to Western Nevada and California to purchase Indian objects for the Centennial. I am authorized to expend \$1,000 in Nevada and \$1,000 in California for such purchases. I shall visit the coast soon accompanied by an assistant to spend three or four months there."

From later correspondence with Powell, it would appear that Powers was also given a pass on the "subsidized railroads" which added substantially to the sum available to him for "purchases" of Indian articles.

In Powell's file there are only two letters of what Judd refers to as a "prolonged correspondence." These are of interest for they reflect the delay in the finalizing of arrangements for Powers' appointment, his warm relationship with Powell, and a little on his family life. In the first one, dated July 18, 1875 written from Waterford, he wrote:

"Your letter from Chicago is received and I reply at once.

"I hope you did not construe as a discourtesy my failure to go with you to Marietta. We were behind with our haying and help was difficult to get; hence I could ill be spared.

"As you suggest I shall write at once to Mr. Smith [Commissioner of Indian Affairs] at Washington. You speak of being in Green River on the first of September and suggest that it would be well for me to meet you there at that time in order to commence work. I shall be very glad to have the benefit of your advice and presence until I can get an idea of your methods...and become indoctrinated with your spirit; but would it not be practicable for you to set me at work a little earlier? If I do not get into the field before the 1st of September, that will throw me into the rainy season in the latter part of my work in California. I see nothing now to prevent me from being in Green River by the 10th of August, or if there should be no delay in the financial arrangements at Washington even by the 1st of August. We are now nearly through with the 'busy season' and I can get off within two weeks, so far as the farm is concerned.

"Your telegram of June 1st reached me via Ironton, only a few days ago--nearly six weeks old! If you wish to telegraph me again you had better send the dispatch to Waterford (via Marietta).

"All your suggestions as to maps etc. will be duly attended to.

"My wife sends her regards. She regretted very much that you were so unceremoniously snatched away from the breakfast table."

Powers' letter of August 11, indicated that bureaucratic delay in making financial arrangements slowed down his departure:

"In your second letter you express the hope that I have already made arrangements with Commissioner Smith for my trip. I have written him twice, but have not yet heard anything from him.

"Today I shall write to Prof. Baird to see if he can do anything for me."

The next several letters from the field are in the nature of "progress reports" and are of interest for this reason. The first is dated Wadsworth, Nevada., October 15:

"We spent four days at Pyramid Lake and had a very refreshing time. We were a little raw in the business, of course, but I think we [Powers and his assistant] did tolerably well for a beginning.

"I shall ship the first package today, 85 pieces. They tell me the express charges would be about \$20 so I send it as freight, and, according to the awkward arrangements of this country, it has first to go down to San Francisco.

"I send in today my first account. Will you be so kind as to look a little to it, and get them to arrange it promptly, as I had only \$1,000 when I started from home.

"The various tribes of the Piute nation are distributed as follows: Pyramid Lake and Truckee, Cooyu^uwee-^uweit (trout [eaters]), Walker River, Ahgi-^uweit (sucker [eaters]), Quinn's River, Cuh-pattec^utteh, (squirrel eaters); Mono Lake to Smoky Valley, Coza^ubyter^uutteh (worm eaters); Toyu^uweit (tule) at Sink o'Carson; Humboldt River Sai'tukabu^uweit; in Esmeralda county, Peteneg^uweit. What the syllable weit means I have not yet learned [weit = eaters]."

On November 11th he wrote from San Francisco:

"I go today north to the Round Valley and Hoopa Reservations. Have got about 175 specimens and hope to get about as many more. Have taken down six or seven vocabularies. If you will get this last set of accounts [attached] (which are in duplicate) put through, I think I shall need no more. I hope to get back to Waterford about New Years' and will come down to Washington soon thereafter."

But he did not finish as soon as he expected for the last letter from the west was dated San Francisco, January 19, 1876:

"This morning I shipped to Prof. Baird four boxes and an Indian trunk which will be substantially the last of my collections though I shall bring with me a number of articles, especially money. If I could have drawn money a little faster I should have done better and been better satisfied with the outcome of the mission. I was partly to blame at first for the slow transmission of money in not having a headquarters and an agent, but my last account was in two months before it was paid, through no fault of mine that I know of; and this delay has compelled me to give up one or two little expeditions that I hoped to make.

"For all that you have done for me in hurrying up the payments I am greatly obliged.

"While the dry season lasted, in Nevada things went swimmingly (excuse the paradox) with me; but in California I have had some

rough experiences. For instance, going down and up the Trinity (which has to be done on mules), through the failure of a man I depended upon I had to serve for days as a common packer, riding one mule and driving before me another laden with my collections. I was belated one night, and rode a couple of hours where it was so dark part of the time that I couldn't see the mule's ears, and where a misstep of the animal would have thrown both it and myself hundreds of feet down a steep cliff into the river. That I escaped without such a calamity was due to the mule's good eyes, for I knew nothing of where I was going.

"Have taken down about 20 vocabularies and dialects. Collected most of their articles of food and medicine and a tolerable good showing of dress and implements. If I had time and money, I could have got the Indians to make for my many curious and interesting articles which they had not on hand.

"I want to start home in the morning, but must stop at home ten days or so."

On February 2, 1876 from Waterford Powers reported:

"I arrived home day before yesterday, though the wet weather, breakdowns and delays of this trip attended to me to the last, and I could not find a single public conveyance from Marietta up here.

"Found the family all well, and very glad to welcome me home.

"It is not necessary for me to come down to Washington until the last of the packages I shipped get along, which will not be for a week yet, I think. If I could get along without it, I should greatly like to be excused from coming down at all; I am so contented and happy at home after all my years of vagabondage. But if the Centennial interests require it, I will try to come down a few days.

"Please write and tell me about how soon you wish me to come to Washington, and how long it will be necessary for me to stay. What it is that I will be required to do, except to assort and photograph such things as are needed for illustrations in the book, and bring home my MS?"

On March 27, he wrote from Waterford again:

"I send herewith my accounts up to March 20. Will you do me the favor to forward them, and, if you have not already done so, see

the Commissioner about the extension of my commission. [It was not extended.]

"I have nearly finished my chapters on the Nevada Indians. Shall set to work tomorrow, and finish and forward it in two or three days thereafter."

On October 7th Powers wrote of coming to Washington on his way to the Centennial: "will bring my manuscript and illustrations with me." There is no record of his having made the trip to Washington earlier to go over his pictures and the Indian objects he had collected. In the second paragraph of this letter he wrote:

"I have received a notification of my election as a member of the A.A.A.S. [American Association for the Advancement of Science]. For this I presume I am indebted to you, and I am grateful for the same."

The last letter in this particular file of Powell's was addressed to James C. Pilling of the Bureau and shows a friendly relationship between these two men, as well as Powers' concern about his book. The letter is dated Waterford, November 1, 1876:

"We all reached home last Sunday, October 29, in tolerably good condition; but the baby [his oldest son William, named for Powers' father; it was he who became a prominent doctor in Florida] caught a severe cold the first day we were at home, and is pretty sick with it now.

"...Have had no symptoms of a return of chills and fever as yet; but I discover when I get around on the farm and go to climb a fence or mount a horse, that the spring has gone out of my muscle in a deplorable manner.

"Enclosed herein are some designs of California tattooing which I should like to have in the book, and which I forgot to leave with you.

"There was one point in the map which I was in doubt; that was whether there was any relation between the Yu-ki and the Chim-a-re-ko or Chim-al-akew, I am sorry to be obliged to inform you, after examining my vocabularies, that there is not the slightest and that you will have to color them totally different.

"As to making out the 'synonymy' of the tribes, you do not need my vocabularies at all. At the outset of every chapter on a new tribe, I have given accurately their geographical boundaries, and all you have to do in the premises is to compare this statement with those of other authors, that is provided, they make any geographical statements at all.

"You may send me the vocabularies collected by others in California as soon as you please, and as many as you please, if the Major will pay for the expense...

"Please don't allow my Indian work to be overlooked. I want very much to see it printed.

"The Major finally decided to follow the schedule of groups of objects which I left with you, and for a descriptive text to take the catalogue of Indian relics which I made out for the Smithsonian and left in the hands of Dr. Foreman."

In the autobiography written in 1879, after the publication of Tribes of California he wrote:

"In 1877 there was issued from the Government printing press in Washington, my work on the California Indians, constituting Vol. III of Powell's 'Contributions to North American Ethnology,' a book of 635 pages. An edition of 2,500 copies was prepared at a cost of about \$6,500 for gratuitous distribution among scientific men and societies in America and Europe."

Elsewhere he expanded on the subject:

"In its completed form the Government published this work in 1877 at an expense of \$6,500, as a part of the United States Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain region, under the supervision of Major J. W. Powell, the explorer. It constitutes Vol. III of the 'Contributions to North American Ethnology,' a work that is intended to embrace about ten volumes from the pens of a number of writers. [Of the projected ten volumes, eight were actually published.] The third volume...included forty or fifty vocabularies of different Indian Tribes, [The vocabularies, edited by Powell, were collected by Powers and a number of other men, whose contribution to his volume Powers did not mention.] distributed gratuitously among prominent libraries and scientific men of both continents, and its author has been elected a member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science..."

Beyond the fact that he was farming in Ohio there is very little information about Powers' life during the years 1880-1884. He wrote no more autobiographies after 1879 and the last published biography was included in Fletcher Frannen's Biographical Cyclopedia and Portrait Gallery, published in 1880 in Cincinnati.

Some little light is thrown on his activities during this time by letters in Major J. W. Powell's letter files at the Smithsonian Institution. Though the correspondence between Powers and Powell, and Powers and James Pilling (also of the Smithsonian) is fragmentary, enough exists to indicate something of Powers' interests and yearnings as well as his failure to achieve his aims. It also becomes clear through these letters that neither his "wild love of adventure," nor his desire for literary fame has been "pestled out of" him.

In March of 1880 Powell wrote to Powers from Washington:

"We have just received from one of the officers of the Central Park Museum, a letter stating that that institution desires to make a collection of ethnological specimens on the Columbia River and northward into Alaska, asking who would be the best man for their purposes. Would you be willing to take the field again? The collector would also be expected to make a study of the habits, customs, mythology, etc., etc., of the Indians and to prepare such material for publication, probably by this office [Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology] -- such a volume for instance as your Vol. III. What do you say? If you think kindly of this proposition, I will be glad to confer fully with you on the subject."

The proposition apparently did not interest Powers, for although his answer is missing, there is nothing in the records to indicate the offer was accepted. One may venture to regret Powers' decision; another volume such as his "Vol. III" would have been a definite addition to the body of North American ethnological literature.

There is a gap in the correspondence after this for the next letter from James C. Pilling to Powers is dated August 9, 1881. It is in answer to a rather curious request on the part of Powers. Pilling wrote:

"Your letter of July 23 to Major Powell was duly received.

"The Major is about to start west and is extremely busy with his Annual Report, etc., and has turned your letter over to me for reply. Another reason, I suspect, was because he did not know just how to answer. He is out of 'Injuns' now and don't know just where to pick up two that would suit you.

"Seriously, my dear Powers, I think if we could get them they would prove an elephant, yes two elephants, on your hands. But the question is: Where to get them? We might induce Captain Pratt to let you have a boy and a girl from the [Indian] School at Carlisle; but I presume you want a man and a woman and there are none in Washington at present.

"There is an Indian named 'Numina,' a Washo -- one whom you probably know -- who is extremely anxious to come to Washington and you could get him and his wife, if he has one, I presume, by paying their actual expenses. If you think this is practicable write to J.H. McMasters, [Indian Agent at the] Pyramid Lake Agency, Wadsworth, Nevada."

There is no record of Powers' pursuing this project further. One wonders for what purpose he wanted two Indians!

There is another gap, this time of roughly six months' duration. In this case however, the loss of letters is clearly indicated for the text clearly shows that there has been correspondence during the intervening time. In a letter dated Waterford, December 18, 1881 Powers wrote to Powell:

"I received yesterday your Vol. IX by Mr. Morgan, on 'Houses and House-life, &c.,' and return sincere thanks for the same. I have been deeply interested by what I have read & I feel so sorry for poor good Mr. Bancroft that the Icarian fall which he is made to suffer touches me almost as a personal calamity. After reading Morgan's cool science, one can hardly repress a shudder as he turns the gorgeous pages of 'The Native Races.'

"Mr. Morgan's conjectural restoration of a Mound-Builder Pueblo is extremely ingenious and plausible, if we could put out of the way certain facts. For instance, here in this Muskingum Valley, 70 miles long from Marietta to Louisville, with no traces of village-ruins in it except those at Marietta, yet having isolated mounds throughout its entire extent. He reasons well that these mounds are the burial places of persons of eminence and that the clay basin is a place for the performance of cremation. But with no village except at the mouth of the river, why should they go 20, 30, 40 miles up the river to bury a chief, especially if the country was in a disturbed state? Nevertheless, his conjectures are fully as plausible as any I am acquainted with.

"For some years after settling down on the farm I tried to repress and starve out the pen-and-paper instinct; but I could not do it successfully. At the suggestion of Mr. [William Dean?] Howells, I have undertaken to write a novel on emigrant life, and I have it now two-thirds or more completed & I should like to ask you a few questions respecting some Western matters.

"Is it true that the Colorado, in its lower navigable reaches, say from the mouth of the Rio Virgin, is subject to whirlpools so strong that a skiff twenty feet long would be drawn down out of sight,

rearing up on end as it went down? I read such a statement in the Overland Monthly.

"In translating the Ute talk -- of one man to an equal, an Apache -- would you use the form 'thou sayest,' or 'you say' ?

"Have you read many accounts of the Mountain Meadow Massacre, and if so which do you consider the most trustworthy?" [The Mountain Meadow Massacre took place in Southern Utah in September of 1857. A group of 30 families of emigrants were murdered, it was thought, by Creek Indians. Later it was found that the massacre had been instigated by Mormons, a number of whom, dressed as Indians, actively took part in the slaughter. John D. Lee, who Powell knew and wrote of as a religious fanatic, was one of the leaders; he had promised protection to the emigrants.]

Powell's reply to this letter, dated Washington January 20, 1882 was addressed to "My dear Powers." (Powers on the other hand in addressing Powell used the more formal "Dear Sir," though when he wrote to James Pilling he usually addressed him as, "My dear Pilling." Perhaps the salutation in the letters to Powell indicates a mark of respect.) After a preliminary paragraph in which Powell explains his not answering more promptly because of an attack of iritis, he wrote:

"You might have known you could not keep from writing. Once attacked with the disease one never recovers and in your case it is well you should not. I have no doubt that your novel will contain quite as much of truth as fiction.

"To answer your questions: --

"First. It is not true that the 'Colorado River in its lower navigable reaches is subject to whirlpools so strong that a skiff 20 feet long would be drawn out of sight rearing up on end as it went down;' nor is it true of any other river in the world. My party on the first trip [In 1869 Powell made the first successful boat trip down the Colorado River through the Grand Canyon] continued with safety from the Rio Virgin where I left them, to Fort Yuma.

"Second. In translating Ute talk to an Apache, I should use 'You say.'

"Third. If you propose to write an account of the Mountain Meadow Massacre, I should be pleased to have you come and talk with me. I have spoken with many of the actors in that scene and have heard some

interesting facts concerning it. I have spent many days with John D. Lee, one of the principal actors, at his home in the Canon de Paria, and I think he was the most bigotted and most religious man I ever knew.

"It was his custom to devote many hours of the night to prayer and every act of his life was by his religion and his superstition. He observed the flight of birds, was something of an Astrologist, and studied his dreams and the dreams of his friends. In many respects he was a kind father, a generous man and a good neighbor, but when impelled by his superstitious and religious beliefs he was bloodthirsty and cruel -- cruel to everybody -- even his best friends and the members of his own family.

"Lee was really the principal character in this matter, though not the highest in authority and the last years of his life were exceedingly romantic.

"There is another matter of interest relating to the Mountain Meadow Massacre. The history of the circumstances which resulted in this terrible deed began back many years among the Creek Indians and some of these Indians who understand the very trouble are now in Washington."

Powers replied promptly from Waterford; on January 25th he wrote:

"In reply to your kind invitation to come down to Washington, I must say that if I felt certain of the acceptance of my novel, I should come down, but I do not quite like to be at the expense of the trip on uncertainties; although I have had expression from Mr. Howells which gave me great encouragement and he read the three opening chapters several months ago.

"Really, I think the U. S. Government owes me the amount that it would speak of, and when I came home from California the second time I did two months' work at home on my Report which the Department refused to recognize or pay for.

"I have never complained, nor do I now; and if you can detail a clerk long enough to 'interview' yourself and the Creeks, and write out a brief statement for me, I shall be well satisfied. [Powell, perhaps for lack of time, did not accede to this request.]

"One thing more, will you give me permission to use some words of your letter to me, also a few paragraphs from Exploration of the Colorado?

"The plot of my story requires two of my characters -- a young man and woman, with an Indian guide -- to escape from Mountain Meadow and reach California. I have thought it would be most in accordance with the probabilities to conduct them across the Rio Virgin, to the east side, then down across the plateau -- going around the Mormon settlements on that stream below Beaver Dam Mountains -- to stride it below those settlements, embark on it on a raft, and follow it down the Colorado, and this down to Fort Yuma. I think a tolerable resolute and hardy young woman of the frontier, bred on the Texas prairies, might be credited with this feat.

"I have never been across the plateau country of the Colorado, and I want to use some of your published descriptions."

There followed an exchange of several letters between Powers and Pilling on a number of points which Powers wished clarified for his novel. On February 17, 1882, in a letter acknowledging information sent by Pilling, Powers wrote to that gentleman:

"In the first one [letter] you piqued my curiosity by the statement as to the causes for the M.M. Massacre reaching back year among the Creek Indians. I have read up a considerable amount on the event and I own I am, with all due respect to the Major, a little sceptical on that subject. In the first place, communications and dealings of the Indians are not sufficiently national and far reaching to lead the Pah-Vants or the Pi-Edes to do any act for or against the Creeks. In the second place, the murder of the 'Apostle,' P. P. Pratt by a white man somewhere west of Fort Smith, Ark., and probably within the Creek Domain in Ind. Ter. was the principal crime laid by the Mormons against the ill-fated company; and, to my mind it seems likely that this is the circumstance that the Major had in view.

"But if there really were troubles among the Creek Indians which in any way led to massacre, I should be very glad to learn it. And I should be delighted to listen to the Major's recollections of John D. Lee and other actors in that tragedy with whom he was acquainted.

"I really cannot afford to come down unless in a case of necessity. The revenue of a farmer is small, and the demands of a growing family cut into the fat seriously. But if you or some other shorthand reporter would talk with him two or three hours, or even an hour, and write out the conversation -- editorialized, you know -- I would gladly pay for the service.

"I hope the Major has fully recovered his health. Please express to him my thanks for the facts he has already communicated.

"If I could get what the Major has to tell respecting Lee and the Massacre, I should not apply the boring apparatus to you any more."

But Powell was too busy to take the time to dictate the information Powers requested, and again in a letter dated February 23, 1882, Pilling filled in for him:

"He [Powell] bids me say...that he did not mean to imply that the Paiutes and the Pahvants had taken up the Creek quarrel and as I understand, his views are about this:

"Pratt, the Mormon Missionary, ran off with the wife of an Arkansas man, and sought refuge among the Creek Indians. The man followed and killed Pratt. This brought up a number of side issues in which the Indians were involved. Afterwards the Arkansas man was going through Utah with a party all of whom were murdered at the Mountain Meadow Massacre. Although a number of Indians took part in this massacre, a number of white men disguised as Indians also took part. This, I think, is about his idea of the matter."

There is no further reference to the novel; it seems to have dropped completely out of sight. There is nothing to indicate whether Powers submitted it to a publisher, whether he became discouraged and gave up before it was completed -- one can only speculate. In answer to a query for information as to the fate of the novel, Powers' only surviving daughter, Irma Powers Gibson, of Galion, Ohio, wrote in May of 1968, "About the novel -- I faintly remember hearing about it but I think the manuscript was burned in the Jacksonville fire along with the family Bible; also his books and Indian relics. The entire city went up in flames I believe in 1900 or 1901."

Perhaps the novel was "sophomorical;" certainly this term applied by Powers himself to some of his writings was applicable to his few rather unfortunate attempts at fiction writing. Lucid, delightful and informative as his essays are, his short stories are weak and singularly dull.

The last exchange of letters in these files concern a request for an assignment to go into the field to do ethnological work again. The first letter in which the subject was broached was dated March 28, 1882 -- roughly five or six weeks after the last letter concerned with the novel was written. From Waterford he wrote again to Powell:

"You once offered me \$2,000 a year and a pass on subsidized railroads, to go to California on Indian work. I understood you to make it a standing offer.

"The affairs of the farm are getting into such comfortable shape that I may be able to accept the offer if it still stands.

"Please tell me where you would want me to work, how often you would wish me to come East, whether I would require a considerable amount of capital to start on, what guarantees you have of permanence in the work in case of a change of administration, etc."

But unfortunately the moment had passed and one must once more regret that Powers' considerable talents as an ethnologist were not put to use. On March 31, 1882 Powell, writing again from Washington, replied:

"Your letter of the 28th duly received and I am sorry that I cannot answer it definitely at present.

"If Congress does no better for the Bureau of Ethnology the coming fiscal year than it has for the past, I am afraid I cannot increase my force. I have estimated for an increase and if it is made will accept your offer."

And again, and for the last time Powers tried to get back into ethnological work; on May 3, 1882 he appealed to Powell:

"Our Representative, General Dawes [Henry Laurens Dawes, U. S. Senator and at the time Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs] writes me that in the event of the Alaska bill passing, you would probably appoint me as one of the surveying party and to prevent any loss of time on your part, I will write you beforehand.

"I would prefer to work in California on account of the climate but would be willing to work one or two seasons in Alaska, though I think I should not wish to spend more than one winter there, and should prefer to escape even that if it would not interfere with the work.

"If a party made an expedition into the interior, I should expect of course, to accompany it, but on safe civilized ground I should want to be tolerably independent in my movements.

"As a family man, I could not go for a less compensation than on the California trip."

At the bottom of the page there is the tantalizingly cryptic note, "Ans'd May 10." Since there is no evidence that Powers went to Alaska, one can assume that this was one more disappointment which Powers suffered. And again one may regret that he was not given this assignment.

From this time until Powers moved with his family to Florida there are no records of his activities. One can only assume that his literary and ethnological aspirations were crushed and he turned his attention now entirely to farming.

Florida 1884 - 1904

In 1884, Stephen Powers, accompanied by his family, including his father, William Powers, moved to Florida where they settled in Lawtey, a small agricultural community in Bradford County about 35 miles southwest of Jacksonville.

Several reasons have been advanced for the move away from the Ohio farm to which Powers was so deeply attached. The elder Powers had been in ill health for some years; information supplied to the Alumni Records office of the University of Michigan gave Powers' reason for leaving California in 1874 and returning to Ohio as his father's ailing health. It has also been suggested that Powers' reason for leaving California was the imminent end of the Overland Monthly. Correspondence with members of the Powers family indicated too, that Maggie Powers was not in good health at the time and a move to a warmer climate was necessary. Powers himself hoped to return to California but for Maggie, this was "too far away."

Whatever the reason, the Powers family left Ohio for Florida and in November of 1884 Stephen and Margaret F. Powers bought "for \$3,400 in hand... a piece or parcel of land [of about 3 acres in extent]... with all the appurtenances thereto belonging." This property appears to have been within the town limits of Lawtey. The two "parcels or pieces" of land bought later were adjoining the original purchased land, but outside the town limits. Of these the first purchased in 1887 was for 6 acres for which \$1,200 was paid; the second purchased in 1889 was for ten acres at a cost of \$350.

This was orange grove country and it was also the first area in Florida in which strawberries were grown. Here was another complete change of pace for Powers; from farming and sheep raising on more than 600 acres in Ohio, he turned to intensive horticultural farming on less than twenty acres. In this too, he was successful until the "Big Freeze" of 1894-1895.

During the twenty years that Powers lived in Florida, he did not stop writing but his work was entirely concerned with various aspects of agriculture and horticulture.

In 1890 he bought into a journal called the Florida Dispatch Farmer and Fruit Grower. In 1895 he bought the publication in its entirety and shortened the title to Florida Farmer and Fruit Grower. Beginning in 1896 until his death in 1904 he was listed as "editor." In 1897 or 1898 he moved from Lawtey to Jacksonville where he lived in a boarding house until 1901.

In addition to this agricultural-journalistic interest Powers wrote many papers for various organizations. These included: "Strawberry Culture for Market and Home"

(Bulletin No. 39, Florida Agricultural Experiment Stations, July 1897). The author is described as an "Experimenter with Strawberries." For the Florida State Horticultural Society he wrote: On Bird Life; On Dwarf Orange Trees; On Fertilizers; On Strawberries.

A Secretary of the Florida State Agricultural Society, H.G. Hastings, whose reminiscences were included in the Proceedings of the Golden Jubilee Meeting of that Society held in Ocala, Florida in 1937 stated (page 17): "Stephen Powers was my successor [Powers was Secretary of the Society from 1899 to 1904] as Secretary... The strawberry crop was an early comer in the Florida horticultural picture. I don't know who was responsible for starting it but I am under the impression that... Stephen Powers was one of the early promoters. He lived at Lawtey, and for a great many years the Lawtey-Starke area was the center of strawberry production in Florida."

In 1898 he became the Agricultural Editor of the Jacksonville Times -- a position he held for the remaining six years of his life.

It was during the time that he lived in Florida that he wrote and published his book on sheep breeding, the only one of his writings that appeared in more than one edition. It was probably to this book that his granddaughter, Dorothy Gage Lance, referred to when she wrote: "I remember my mother used to get a small amount from a book of his." The American Merino; for Wool and Mutton: a practical treatise on the selection, care, breeding and diseases of the Merino sheep, in all sections of the United States. The book was published by the Orange Judd Company, New York, 1887, and went through several editions.

The book was written at the request of the Ohio Sheep Breeders Association, and was commissioned by "Mr. G. B. Quinn, and Mr. J.G. Blue, president and secretary respectively of the Ohio Sheep Breeders Association." The letter of request, undated, is printed as introduction as is Powers' acceptance of the task and his gratification at being thus selected. In his letter (also undated) Powers wrote:

"I tender it [the book] modestly and without comment, except the simple remark that my task has been conscientiously performed and that it is based on years of personal experience in sheep husbandry."

And, strange to say, the book has the same charm and freshness that is found in nearly all Powers' non-fiction writing, and even to the layman -- at least in part -- it makes delightful reading.

In response to a request for an appraisal of the book, Professor P.E. Loggins of the Department of Animal Sciences at the University of Florida wrote in April 1968:

"In reviewing the book, entitled 'The American Merino,' I find the contents very applicable as a text for producers in the period in which it was written. Mr. Powers' arrangement of the chapters and subject matter follow very closely many of the outlines used today in our modern texts. The popularity of the Merino breed in 1907 had a more favorable position in sheep production than is the case today in the United States."

Powers' real estate dealings in Florida are a bit difficult to follow. In 1889 he sold for \$600 six acres of land which he had acquired shortly before that time. The next sale made in July 1895 -- after the "Big Freeze" of the previous winter had irreparably damaged the orange groves in the area -- was for an exchange of property and \$1.00 for ten acres. The final sale of land, made in 1897, was for three acres for which he received \$600. So it would appear that exclusive of the unknown value of the "exchange" Stephen Powers sold for \$1201 what he had bought for \$4950.

Many farmers in the Lawtey area had been ruined financially by the freeze, and very possibly Powers' land too was affected, his earnings from the Florida Farmer and Fruit Grower and the money he realized from the sale of the Ohio farm kept him solvent.

In 1885 William Powers deeded as a gift, the whole of the Ohio farm to his son. Stephen Powers sold the more than 600 acres in "parcels and pieces," including 118 acres to his sister, Josephine Powers Jumper, over a period of years from 1886 to 1894. The last sale was of 227 acres for which he was paid \$7,000. In all, Powers realized slightly less than \$17,000 for the farm; this reflects a more than one hundred percent increase over the 1850 Census valuation of \$8,000. As Bernice Graham of Marrieta, who supplied the information on these sales, commented: "It looks like Stephen did real well financially with the farm."

Stephen Powers died on April 2, 1904. He was survived by his wife Margaret who died in 1912, and four children two daughters who married and settled in Ohio, and two sons, both of whom remained in Florida.

As a result of a fire in Jacksonville in 1900 or 1901, in which Powers' house was destroyed, most of his records, unpublished works and books were lost. Family tradition obtained through letters from his daughter, Irma Powers Gibson of Galion, Ohio, and his granddaughter, Dorothy Gage Lance of Indianapolis credit Stephen Powers with being a kind, loving man and one who was deeply religious. It was related that he spent his leisure time reading Chaucer and laughing delightedly at the humor. It was also recalled that he was very much concerned about his food and very careful of his diet.

The obituary article published in the Jacksonville Times-Union on April 3, 1904, the day after Powers' death and copied widely in the Ohio papers, was headlined:

"Stephen Powers Dead, Secretary of State Horticultural Society; Had an eventful career and was a writer whose opinion carried weight." The first paragraph read:

"Stephen Powers, the agricultural editor of the Times-Union, and for fourteen years editor of the Florida Farmer and Fruit Grower, died at his home in this city yesterday afternoon after an illness of several weeks. [His death certificate indicated the cause of death as cystitis.]

"Mr. Powers was secretary of the Florida Horticultural Society, and was without doubt the best posted man in the State upon all matters pertaining to agriculture and horticulture."

After this glowing and no doubt deserved tribute, the article continues with a resumé of Powers' life and concludes with the announcement of the time and place of the funeral services which were conducted by a pastor of the First Presbyterian Church.

The brief obituary in the American Anthropologist (New Series Vol. 6, No. 2, April-June 1904, page 357) read:

"Stephen Powers, author of 'Tribes of California,' published in 1877 as Volume III of Contributions to North American Ethnology and of numerous articles on the Indians of California which appeared in the Overland Monthly, died at Jacksonville, Florida, April 2. Mr. Powers was born at Waterford, Ohio in 1840 and was graduated from the University of Michigan in 1861 [actually 1863]. At the time of his death he was editor of the Florida Farmer and Fruit Grower and Agricultural editor of the Jacksonville Times-Union."

Powers probably had no idea of the value of his work on the Indians of California -- undoubtedly the most widely quoted and used work on the subject written up to 1925.

Sources of Material Used in Biography of Stephen Powers

I. Autobiographies, Biographies:

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1874 California; Bancroft Library, University of California; ms. collections.
- 1879 Autobiography
ms. (handwritten) 7 pages, dated, Waterford, Washington County, Ohio.
Alumni Records Office, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Copy
made available by courtesy of Professor Richard K. Beardsley.
- 1879 Cleaves, Biographical Cyclopedia and Portrait Gallery of Ohio.
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- 1880 Brannen, J. Fletcher, Biographical Cyclopedia of Ohio.
2 volumes, Cincinnati.
- 1881 Williams, H. Z., History of Washington County, Ohio. Cleveland.
- 1967 Curriculum Vitae, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Alumni
Records Office. Copy made available by courtesy of Nancy B. Kremkus.
- 1965 Belmont, John S., Stephen Powers 1840-1904. Museum of Anthropology,
University of Michigan. Copy made available by courtesy of Professor
Volney H. Jones, Curator.
- 1967 Schneider, Norris, Article in Zanesville Times Recorder, dated
November 12, 1967; headed: "Walked across the U. S. for Material;
Career as writer eluded Washington Co., Native."

II. Letter Files :

Bancroft Library, University of California

- 1871-1875 Powers Correspondence Files [C-H 97]
1872-1874 Bancroft Letter Files [C-E 65; C-E 162]
1869-1875 Overland Monthly Papers [C-H 97]

Smithsonian Institution Letter Files; Made available by courtesy of Professor Donald D.
Fowler, University of Nevada

- 1875-1876 Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories, Second Division,
Letters Received.

1880-1882 Bureau of Ethnology; letters sent and received 1880-1882, Smithsonian Institution, Office of Anthropology Archives.

III. Published Works of Stephen Powers:

- 1871 Muskingum Legends, J. B. Lippincott, Philadelphia.
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- 1887 The American Merino, Orange Judd Co., New York.

IV. Official Records:

- 1850 Census of Waterford Township, Washington County, Ohio.
- 1875 Marriage Certificate; Department of Public Health, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; dated March 29, 1875.
- 1875 & 1876 Record of purchase and sale of Land by Stephen Powers; Recorder of Placer County, California for land in Sheridan; Clayton J. Goodpastor, Recorder of Placer County.
- 1884-1889 Record of purchase and sale of property in Lawtey, Bradford County; from Circuit Court of Bradford County, Starke, Florida; Charles A. Darby, Clerk.
- 1886-1894 Deed of Record of gift of Ohio Farm to Stephen Powers by William H. Powers; Deeds of records of sale of this farm in parcels by Stephen Powers. Waterford, Washington County. Information supplied by Bernice Graham, Geneologist, Marietta, Ohio.
- 1904 Certificate of Death; Department of Vital Statistics, Jacksonville, Florida, dated April 2, 1904.
- 1967 Great Register of Voters for 1872; Stephen Powers, Sheridan, Placer County, California. From California State Library, Sacramento, California.

V. Obituaries:

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- 1904 American Anthropologist n.s. April-June, Vol. 6, No. 2.
Lancaster, Pennsylvania, p. 357.

VI. Miscellaneous:

Data supplied by individuals in Ohio, Michigan, California and Florida; reference books.

- Cincinnati Historical Society: Lee Jordan, Librarian.
Marietta, Ohio: Bernice Graham, Geneologist.
Ohio Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio: Lee Martin, Librarian.
Jacksonville Public Library, Haydon Berns Library: Dorothy Crews, Chief
of Library Services.
Jacksonville University: Audry Broward, Reference Librarian.
Florida State Horticultural Society, Lake Alfred, Florida: Hermann J. Reitz,
Secretary.
Central Florida Regional Library: Kathryn A. Donohoe, Reference Librarian.
University of Florida, P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History: Elizabeth
Alexander, Librarian.
University of Florida, Institute of Food and Agricultural Sciences: Hermann
J. Reitz, Horticulturalist and Head; also William B. Weaver and
P.E. Loggins.
Mrs. Roy V. Ott, Oklawaha, Florida -- excerpts from the Proceedings of the
Florida Horticultural Society.

Letters from:

- Irma Powers Gibson, daughter of Stephen Powers, Galion, Ohio.
Dorothy Gage Lance, granddaughter of Stephen Powers, Indianapolis, Indiana.
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- 1959 Cleland, Robert Glass, From Wilderness to Empire, A history of California.
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1877 Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for the year 1875. Washington, D.C., G.P.O., 1877.

NOTE: I should like to express my unbounded thanks to the staff of the Bancroft Library, University of California in Berkeley. Their help, enthusiasm and encouragement were unlimited; and deeply appreciated.

PART II

Letters of Stephen Powers to John Wesley Powell

Concerning Tribes of California

Edited by R. F. Heizer.

153 East 26th St. N. Y.
Jan. 1, 1875

Prof. J. W. Powell

Dear Sir:

Thanks for your invitation, and if I should come to Washington I will accept it.

I shall follow your articles in Scribner's with close attention.

As to the matter of the animal stories or fables in vogue among the Cal. Ind., I will state, in a word, that they have almost no other literature, not even songs of any meaning. Of the half a hundred or so that I collected, not half a dozen have any human element; though the fact that they are forbidden by their superstitions to mention the dead may partly account for this. In the whole body of their legendary literature the coyote is the central figure. All that the aboriginal imagination -- which seems to linger with delight on the subject -- can conceive of cunning, practical jokes and comical deviltry, is bestowed upon this astute beast. There is occasionally a tribe or an individual Indian who is willing to attribute a small part of the work of creation to some other animal, as the eagle, the crow, the turtle, and others: but generally the coyote does all the work himself from the beginning.

The Cal. Ind. as a matter of fact, practically anticipated Darwin by some centuries. They hold that the whole animal world once existed on the same plane of being, that they were all, including man, brothers and sisters together. All kinds of animals mated together promiscuously, and even if two of the same kind united, there was no certainty that their progeny would be. The idea of connecessity [?] of origin runs through the whole of their body of fables. A bear might give birth to a deer, a deer might find a bird among her children. But out of all this haphazard work it never came to pass that a man issued forth; the creation of him had to be specially undertaken by the coyote.

In some mysterious manner, which no Indian pretends to explain, the coyote preceeded all other living beings, and from him they spring. Whether he created them, or served merely as a sort of protoplasm out of which they developed, the Indians are not clear. In all the fables which I have heard he is not here represented as actually creating any of the inferior animals. They seem to proceed from him. Some old Indians say that all living beings including man, once existed in the form of coyotes. They are all agreed upon the fact that man was the last form of development which took place.

One very pretty fable, worthy of La Fontaine, represents all the animals assembled in council to deliberate on the form and attributes which they should give to man. All the other animals wanted to make man like themselves, but the coyote had wit enough to perceive that an improvement was possible, by combining the various excellences

of the beasts. The council finally broke up in a row, and each animal started to make a model like himself. But night intervened and suspended operations, and by a cunning trick the coyote got his model done first, and thereby established the pattern of the human race.

Another fable begins with the first appearance of man upon the scene. He marshals all the animals to give them their respective ranks by assigning to each a bow and arrows of a certain length.

From these facts you will readily conjecture that they have no conception of a Supreme Being. I am profoundly satisfied they had none whatever, with the exception of a few tribes near the Oregon border, and perhaps an occasional Indian of superior intelligence. True, they all nowadays talk of a "Big Man," the "Old Man Above," and they even have pure Indian names of this being) for they are quick to invent names for new objects); but the idea is manifestly an American graft, which remains unassimilated. Break through the very thin crust of modern origin and get down to the bedrock of the real, genuine, aboriginal legends and there is not the slightest trace of a Supreme Being to be found. The coyote did everything, made everything. They believe in a future state in the Happy Western Land, but this belief involves no conception of a God.

There are countless spirits, principally bad ones, who hover about the hills, and generally refuse to tell their names to mortals to whom they work much injury. Some of these spirits take up their abode in certain animals, as the grizzly bear, the black eagle, the rattlesnake, the coyote, the owl, etc.; some tribes even believe that the acorns and dry leaves whistling in the wind over their roofs in the night are instinct [?] with evil. When bad Indians die they are often punished by being over into grizzlies, rattlesnakes, etc. If a dead man is so unfortunate as to be buried instead of burned, some believe he will turn into a grizzly.

As all men spring from the coyote, and one at death returns to the form of that animal, he is considered to have suffered punishment, but a slight one, since the coyote is constantly regarded as the friend of the human race. Old pioneers tell me that in early days the coyote were allowed to come into their village and to frolic with the dogs.

One aboriginal philosopher informed me that there are numerous states of existence, through which all pass. In one stage we may all fly, in another we may all walk erect, in another crawl, or swim, or walk on all fours, etc. In another stage, good Indians may fly; bad ones may return to the shapes of animals. So we go -- some ascending, some descending. The greatest evil which can overtake one is, to be changed into a tree, rock, bush, or some other inanimate objects. This is in store for the desperately wicked, and constitutes the only conception they are able to form of annihilation, after which, as they say, "He will never live any more."

Such are some of the points which occur to me at present. I could give many stories, but I hope some day to be able to put them in a book though I fear I shall not succeed in finding a publisher who will be willing to undertake it at his risk. I have the MS for a book rather larger than Foster's "Prehistoric Races of the U. S." with 30 or 40 original photographs and sketches to illustrate it.

Very respectfully yours,

Stephen Powers

PS. If you have any illustrations of Cal. Ind. I should like to exchange with you.

S. P.

153 East 26th St.
New York Jan. 28. [1875]

Major J. W. Powell

Dear Sir:

You ask about my manuscript, vocabularies, collections, etc. and what arrangements I have made for publishing them.

I have about 650 pages of MS., 30 or 40 original photographs and sketches and a number of vocabularies (which, however, Mr. Bancroft will publish). I had hoped to secure a publisher here but I find it will be difficult if not impossible without incurring an expense which I am ill able to bear.

Prof. Baird has kindly suggested that the book could probably be published by the Government through the Department of U. S. Territorial Surveys.

Do you think you could bring out such a work in the Division which you have charge of? I should like it illustrated with about 30 cuts perhaps.

Very respectfully yours,

Stephen Powers

[P.S.] In case you could undertake this for me, do you think it could be done within a year, and that I could be allowed to read the proof sheets?

S. P.

153 East 26th St. N. Y.
Feb. 4, 1875

Major J. W. Powell

Dear Sir:

Just before receiving your letter of Jan. 29 this morning, I had made all my arrangements to go out of town for a time.

I send you, per Adams Express, my Indian MSS. for your inspection. I have nothing more to add to it. [Illegible word] my material for the illustrations is yet only partly in shape and can be prepared and sent in case of a favorable decision from you.

The illustrations will consist of about twenty photographs, chiefly of Indians in native costume; camp scenes, etc. and ten or fifteen sketches of various kinds of wigwams, dances and the like. All will be original, none having been published before in any relation except perhaps two or three photographs of the [illegible word].

Perhaps the most valuable part of the matter as also that which has not appeared in the Overland, is the last four chapters and the second chapter on the Nishenous.

I will mention to you my views and these with the MSS will perhaps enable you to decide without an interview. The whole extent of my pride and ambition is to have the book published in good shape, and to have copies get into the hands of men who are interested in the subject -- for I have never hoped or expected to make money from it. My friend Mr. S. Wright Dunning of the "Railroad Gazette" thinks that if my book is published by the Government it will be apt to be [illegible word] amid the mass of... [apparently on half a folded page is missing]... as the proof is sent on to me, so that it might be ready when the body of the book is in type.

Please inform me of your decision as soon as you can conveniently, for I shall probably wish to go home before many weeks.

Very respectfully yours,

Stephen Powers

P.S. Prof. Baird wishes me to contribute models or sketches, or both, of the different varieties of wigwams of California for the Centennial. I suppose if you should be willing to bring out the book for me, that duplicate sketches could be made at the Government office for the Centennial. S. P.

120 South 17th St.
Philadelphia. Feb. 27. [1875]

Major J. W. Powell

Dear Sir:

An errand of business has brought me thus far toward Washington and I may find time to come down before going home, though it is doubtful.

Your letter of Feb. 5 was forwarded to me today.

You ask about the vocabularies. Mr. Bancroft has sent me proofs of portions of them -- all that he will print in his work -- but whether I could get from him the MSS containing the full lists is, I suppose doubtful. If you would like to have them embodied in the book I will make the attempt.

I think I could indicate on a map the more important tribes of California, at least in such a manner that an artist could color it properly; and I should like very much to have such a map accompany the book because I am not satisfied with Mr. Bancroft's map.

If you deem it absolutely necessary that I should come down, perhaps I can find the time, but my plans and engagements are such that I do not see very well how I can. I should like to learn your final decision as to the availability of my MSS soon so that I may get the assistance of an artist here to put some finishing touches on the illustrations before I go home where such services will not be within convenient reach.

Address: As above, care of Mrs. Wood.

Respectfully yours,

Stephen Powers

120 South 17th St. Phil.
March 11 [1875]

Major J. W. Powell

Dear Sir:

I send you today, by Adams Express, all the photographs and sketches I have ready. Have been delayed by lack of good weather for copying.

I should like to get up a few more drawings, done by Mr. Moran, which will cost about \$100. I wish to ask if you could allow me that amount for that purpose. I could pay it out of my own purse, but not without cutting in upon a little sum which I had consecrated to the god Hymen. I could not think of asking this if the book were to be a source of profit to me, or if I had not already expended a good deal on it. If the request is not unreasonable or impracticable I hope you will [illegible word] it.

Very truly yours,

Stephen Powers

P.S. Perhaps I send herewith as many as you will wish.

Waterford, Wash. Co.
Ohio. April 13 [1875]

Major J. W. Powell

Dear Sir:

Just before leaving Philadelphia I was married; and I am now at home on my father's farm. This will be my permanent address henceforth, to which please send anything intended for me.

Before leaving Philadelphia, I sent you a quantity of photographs and sketches for the book; but I have some imperfect sketches of wigwams, which might be used if desired. I did not send them, as I thought perhaps I sent enough at that time.

Please inform me as to the prospects of the book, and about when you can commence on it.

Address: Waterford, Washington County, Ohio.

Yours respectfully,

Stephen Powers

Waterford, Washington Co. Ohio

May 30, 1875

Major J. W. Powell

Dear Sir:

Some weeks ago I sent you a quantity of MS vocabularies for my Indian book, accompanied by a letter. I should be very glad to learn what progress is being made in the matter, and how soon you will commence sending me proof.

Sincerely yours,

Stephen Powers

Waterford, Wash. Co. Ohio
July 3. [1876]

My dear Pilling:

I return you by tomorrow's mail pages 112 to 142 inclusive, first revise, and the cut of the sweat-house and bath.

The paragraph concerning the Reservation authorities might be considered in bad taste by the clerks referred to; but I do not intend any disrespect to the Indian Bureau. They express my sentiments, and I want them to stand, unless the Major strongly disapproves of them. It should not be considered disrespectful to the Bureau to censure the administration of a Reservation 3000 miles away.

"Cockagne" means a fabulous land of idleness and plenty.

On pages 62 & 63, second revise, correct "Wappeckquenow" to "Wappeckquemow," if not too late.

I hope you will succeed in your endeavors in regard to illustrations, where the artist draws large figures I like them, but his small ones are less praiseworthy.

Truly,

Stephen Powers.

Waterford, Wash. Co. Ohio
July 11 [1876]

My dear Pilling:

I return you today proofsheets from page 161 to 181 inclusive, with corrections.

The pictures of the "tule lodges" and "earth lodges" are unequal in merit. The first please me very well, but I am dissatisfied with the latter. The people are too large for the houses, and the latter are too steep for heaps of dry earth long exposed to wind and weather.

Couldn't you send me the artist's work before it is engraved, if there is any left yet?

I enclose a rude sketch of a wooden lodge, used in the high Sierra where the snow falls so deep. If you think there is any probability that they can be used. I will send you one of the Clear Lake lodge.

Very truly,

Stephen Powers.

Waterford, Wash. Co. Ohio
July 18, 1875

Major J. W. Powell

Dear Sir:

Your letter from Chicago is received, and I reply at once.

I hope you did not construe as a discourtesy my failure to go with you to Marietta. We were behind with our haying and help was difficult to get; hence I could ill be spared.

As you suggest I shall write at once to Mr. Smith at Washington. You speak of being in Green River on the first of September and suggest that it would be better for me to meet you there at that time in order to commence work. I shall be very glad to have the benefit of your advice and presence until I can get idea of your methods -- and become indoctrinated with your spirit; but would it not be practicable for you to set me at work a little earlier? If I do not get into the field before the 1st of September, that will throw me into the rainy season in the latter part of my work in California. I see nothing now to prevent me from being in Green River by the 10th of August, or, if there should be no delay in the financial arrangements at Washington even by the 1st of August. We are now nearly through with the "busy season" and I can get off within two weeks, so far as the farm is concerned.

Your telegram of June 1st reached me, via Ironton, only a few days ago -- nearly six weeks old! If you should wish to telegraph me again you had beeter send the dispatch to Waterford (via Marietta).

All your suggestions as to maps etc. will be duly attended to.

My wife sends her regards. She regretted very much that you were so uncer-
moniously snatched away from the breakfast table.

Sincerely yours,

St. Powers

Waterford, Wash. Co. Ohio
Aug. 11, 1875

Major J. W. Powell

Dear Sir:

In your second letter you express the hope that I have already made arrangements with Commissioner Smith for my trip. I have written him twice, but have not yet heard anything from him.

To-day I shall write to Prof. Baird to see if he can do anything for me.

Very respectfully yours,

Stephen Powers.

Wadsworth, Nev. Oct. 15 [5?] [1875]

My dear Major Powell:

We spent four days at Pyramid Lake and had a very refreshing time. We were a little raw in the business, of course, but I think we did tolerably well for a beginning.

I shall ship the first package today. 85 pieces. They tell me the express charges would be about \$20, so I send it as freight, and, according to the awkward arrangements of this country, it has first to go down to San Francisco.

I send in today my first account. Will you be so kind as to look a little to it, and get them to arrange it promptly, as I had only \$1,000 when I started from home.

The various tribes of the Piute nation are distributed as follows: -- Pyramid Lake and Truckee, Cooyu^uwee-weit (trout), Walker River, Ahgi^u-weit (sucker), Quinn's River, Chu^u-pattecutteh (squirrel eaters); Mono Lake to Smoky Valley, Coza^ubyterutteh (worm eaters); Toyuweit (tule) at Sink o'Carson; Humboldt River, Sai' takabuweit; in Esmeralda county, Petenegoweit. What the syllable weit means I have not yet learned.

Truly yours,

Stephen Powers

San Francisco
Nov. 11th [1875]

Maj. Powell

Dear Sir:

I go today north to the Round Valley and Hoopa Reservations. Have got about 175 specimens and hope to get about as many more. Have taken down six or seven vocabularies. If you will get this last set of accounts [attached] (which are in duplicate) put through, I think I shall need no more. I hope to get back to Waterford about New Year's and will come down to Washington soon thereafter.

Sincerely yours,

Stephen Powers

San Francisco
Jan. 19, 1876

Major J.W. Powell

My dear Sir:

This morning I shipped to Prof. Baird four boxes and an Indian trunk which will be substantially the last of my collections, though I shall bring with me a number of articles, especially models. If I could have drawn money a little faster I should have done better and been better satisfied with the outcome of the mission. I was partly to blame at first, for the slow transmission of money in not having a headquarters and an agent, but my last account was in two months before it was paid, through no fault of mine that I know of; and this delay has compelled me to give up one or two little expeditions that I hoped to make.

For all that you have done for me in hurrying up the payments I am greatly obliged.

While the dry season lasted, in Nevada things went swimmingly (excuse the paradox) with me; but in California I have had some rough experience. For instance going down and up the Trinity (which has to be done on mules), through the failure of a man I depended on. I had to serve four days as a common packer, riding one mule and driving before me another laden with my collections. I was belated one night, and rode a couple of hours where it was so dark part of the time that I couldn't see the mule's ears, and where a misstep of the animal would have thrown both it and myself hundreds of feet down a steep cliff into the river. That I escaped without such a calamity was due to the mule's good eyes, for I knew nothing where I was going.

Have taken down about 20 vocabularies and dialects. Collected most of their articles of food and medicine and a tolerably good showing of dress and implements. If I had time and money, I could have got Indians to make for me many curious and interesting articles which they had not on hand.

I want to start home in the morning, but must stop at home ten days or so.

Sincerely yours,

Stephen Powers

Waterford, Washington Co. Ohio
Feb. 2, 1876

Major J. W. Powell

Dear Sir:

I arrived home day before yesterday, though the wet weather, breakdowns and delays of this trip attended me to the last, and I could not find a single public conveyance from Marietta up here.

Found the family all well, and very glad to welcome me home.

It is not necessary for me to come down to Washington until the last packages I shipped get along, which will not be for a week yet, I think. If I could get along without it, I should greatly like to be excused from coming down at all; I am so contented and happy at home after all my years of vagabondage. But if the Centennial interests require it, I will try to come down a few days.

Please write and tell me about how soon you wish me to come to Washington, and how long it will be necessary for me to stay. What is it that I will be required to do, except to assort and photograph such things as are needed for illustrations in the book, and bring home my MS?

Very sincerely yours,

Stephen Powers

Waterford, Washington Co. Ohio
March 27 [1876]

Major J. W. Powell

Dear Sir:

I send herewith my accounts up to March 20. Will you do me the favor to forward them, and, if you have not already done so, see the Commissioner about the extension of my commission.

I have nearly finished my chapters on the Nevada Indians. Shall set to work tomorrow on the model, and finish and forward it in two or three days thereafter.

Sincerely yours,

Stephen Powers

Waterford, Wash. Co. Ohio.
June 12 [1876].

My dear Pilling:

I am very glad to hear that the work is at least begun. Never, since the manuscript was put in Major Powell's hands have I doubted that it would finally see the light; but I confess I did not expect to be quite so long delayed. Nothing but an abundance of work has kept me from worrying a little once in a while.

It is a little unfortunate for me that the proofs will come to me right in haying harvest and corn-plowing; but I shall read it thoroughly if we have to hire all the surplus Dutchmen on Federal Bottom.

I have not seen the proofs of the "tattooing," and of all the styles of wigwams, or of the music -- of the others I have and I supposed the Major would have some engravings made of the principal traps I bought on my last trip; is that the case? I made a schedule of groups of objects -- for instance, musical instruments, fishing implements, etc. -- with the Smithsonian numbers attached, so that the artist could find them, and left it with you. Did the Major decide not to engrave any implements at all?

One thing more. Do you want an index of topics for the end of the volume, or not? Of course, that would have to be made out from the proofs, so that reference could be made to the printed pages. I can find time to make one if you desire it, but should be glad if you could do it for me.

I suggested to the Major a full-page engraving for the Modoc chapter, consisting simply of Modoc chiefs and warriors in a circle, with Captain Jack in the center. I presume he has engraved as much as his appropriation would allow; I only make the above suggestions, to be submitted to his discretion -- and Congress' money.

Give my regards to your wife --

Truly yours,

Stephen Powers.

Waterford, Wash. Co. Ohio
June 19 [1876]

My dear Pilling.

The package came today, and I shall return it by tomorrow's mail.

I wrote you about the illustrations, stating what ones I have seen, and what not.

I have plenty of stamps.

Where is the last chapter, XL? There is nothing of it in the table of contents. Does the Major intend to omit it? If so, I think he ought to have told me of it, and given reasons for it. Of course, I submit to his better judgement; but I should like to know why he drops it out.

I don't quite like the word you suggest -- charmin -- because it is probably a Paiute word and unknown in California.

The style of the book pleases me well; I am especially glad to hear of your liberal intentions respecting the illustrations and only wish you had a few, at least, of the implements to fit in. Can you not do it yet?

Sincerely yours,

S. Powers.

Waterford, Wash. Co. Ohio.
June 22 [1876]

My dear Pilling:

The proof was received all right, and returned the next day.

I return herewith the illustration of the "Acorn Caches," with the suggestion that the artist had better let the poles show plainer in all except the cache which stands on the ground. That may be supposed to be made of tule, and will answer pretty well as it is.

As to wigwams, I meant to have written you some time ago, that there are two or three varieties which I believe are not yet provided for. One is that of Clear Lake, made of willow poles set perpendicular in the ground with others lashed on horizontal, making small square interstices, which are used for drying fish and this house is square and has a flattish roof of thatch. I made a small model of it, and Prof. Baird said he would have his carpenter enlarge. Another is the common conical lodge, seen in one of the photographs I sent you. A third is conical, but has a long covered way leading into it, intended for use in the high Sierra where the snows are so deep. There is a model of it in the Smithsonian -- or was.

I will make an index as the proofs come to me.

Very truly yours,

Stephen Powers.

Waterford, Wash. Co. Ohio.
June 25 [1876]

My dear Pilling:

The other package of proof I directed as usual -- to yourself, "Rocky Mountain Surveys." The printed certificate on it probably carried it to the printer. I addressed the second package as you requested.

I am satisfied as to "shamin," will use it hereafter.

The passage "besotted egotism" etc. is not in good taste, though it hardly sounds like a missionary, for I wrote it in special deprecation of that religious humbuggery which seeks always to find lurking in the savage's mind some reference to the Bible and the Christian scheme.

Did you get the Wa'-sho vocabulary?

I am making an index.

Anything you can add in the shape of illustrations will be thankfully received. I fear you will not be able to insert the additional wigwams I mentioned in very last, in addition to the pages of implements.

Is the Major in Washington? If so, present him my respects, also to your wife.

Truly,

S. Powers.

Waterford, Wash. Co. Ohio
June 28 [1876]

Mr. dear Pilling:

The tattoo pieces are in the package of proof, returned today to you.

I like the tattooing, it is done excellently well. The lodge is also good, but the woman accompanying is simply execrable; her face is skinny and hungry to a degree.

Tell the Major I may be able to write him a little account of the Mission Indians within a couple of weeks, though I don't know very much about them.

If you could put me in a new wigwam, I would willingly forego a couple of the scenes in Yosemite. Please tell me about what an engraving costs.

Truly yours,

Stephen Powers.

Waterford, Wash. Co. Ohio
Oct. 7, 1876

Major J. W. Powell

Dear Sir:

I expect to be in Washington, on my way to the Centennial, in a very few days and will bring my manuscript and illustrations with me.

I have received a notification of my election as a member of the A. A. A. S. For this I presume I am indebted to you, and I am grateful for the same.

Sincerely yours,

Stephen Powers

Waterford, Wash. Co. Ohio
Nov. 1, 1876

James C. Pilling, Esq.

My dear Sir:

We all reached home last Sunday, October 29, in tolerably good condition; but the baby caught a severe cold the first day we were at home, and is pretty sick with it now.

I made up a package of your clothing in Philadelphia and also wrote you a letter, but I didn't get rid of either until I got to Niagara. Hope they reached you safely.

Have had no symptoms of a return of chills and fever as yet; but I discover when I get around on the farm and go to climb a fence or mount a horse, that the spring has gone out of my muscle in a deplorable manner.

Enclosed herewith are some designs of California tattooing which I should like to have in the book, and which I forgot to leave with you.

There was one point on the map about which I was in doubt; that was whether there was any relation between the Yu'-ki and the Chim-a-re-ko or Chim-al-a-kwe, I am sorry to be obliged to inform you, after examining my vocabularies, that there is not the slightest, and that you will have to color them totally different.

As to making out the "synonymy" of the tribes, you do not need my vocabularies at all. At the outset of every chapter on a new tribe I have given accurately their geographical boundaries, and all you have to do in the premises is to compare this statement with those of other authors, that is, provided they make any geographical statements at all.

You may send me the vocabularies collected by others in California as soon as you please, and as many as you please, if the Major will pay the expense. Address them care of H. F. Devol, Waterford, Wash. Co. Ohio.

Please don't allow my Indian work to be overlooked. I want very much to see it printed.

The major finally decided to follow the schedule of groups of objects which I left with you, and, for descriptive text to take the catalogue of Indian relics which I made out for the Smithsonian and left in the hands of Dr. Foreman.

Sincerely yours,
Stephen Powers

Waterford, Washington Co. Ohio
Nov. 14, 1876

Major J. W. Powell

My Dear Sir:

The three letters of the 11th, from yourself and Mr. Pilling, are received.

I send the vocabularies at the same time with this letter.

When I parted from Mr. Pilling he said all the Ca. vocabularies would be sent to me to digest and consolidate with my own (which I should have preferred), hence I have been in no hurry about sending on mine. A few of mine, which I got when I was out there first, are quite short, and I had hoped to be able to fill them out to the Smithsonian standard by having before me the vocabularies taken by the others. Unless you can do so yourself, you may consider these few I speak of, too short, for insertion in the book.

Tell Mr. Pilling that the Chil-lu'-la belong in language to the Yu'rok.

He also asks for a list of illustrations, and refers to those of which you sent me the proofs as if there would be no others in the book and is this the case? I hope you will at least insert in an improved form, the rough sketches of the seven or eight different styles of California wigwams which I once handed to you.

Very sincerely yours,

Stephen Powers

Waterford, Washington Co., Ohio
Nov. 14, 1876

My dear Mr. Pilling:

I send the vocabularies by the same mail as this letter.

The order of the contents preface and introduction is a matter of indifference to me, so you preserve the substance of them as written. Nor do I care for the substance even, of the contents; if the custom of Govt. Reports requires brevity, put it in such shape as you like.

Do not slide the numbers of the chapters ahead, beginning at XX, as you suggest. I will correct all that when I have the proofs. There is a XX, if you will examine closely; that is to say, the whole number of chapters is correctly indicated by the numbering of the last one.

The Chil-lu'-la belong, in language to the Yu'-rok.

I think I wrote you, in regard of the Chim-a-ri'-ko, that they are absolutely independent of all others in language.

I enclose a letter of transmittal, but lest it should not be in the right form, I will at the same time write to Hollinshead for the letter you sent me there.

One of the vocabularies I forward (the Pai-u'-te) does not belong in my book unless for a comparison with the Pal-li-ga-wo-nap', showing the invasion of California by the Shoshone tribes and I intend to accompany the chapter on the Pai-u'-te which I prepared for the Major to be used at his pleasure.

The apparent lack of a XX chapter arose as follows: I had the chapters, I think, in this order:

That on the Yu'-ki	XIV
" " Pomo	XV
" " continued	XVI
" " Ta'-tu	XVII
" " Yo-Kai'-a	XVIII
" " Gal-li-no-me'-ro	XIX
" " Gua-la'-la	XX

I want to change them so as to throw the Ta'-tu next after the Yu'-ki. I had made some changes in the "contents" when the chills and fever interrupted me and I didn't finish. If you will take the Ta'-tu out of its present place, move it back next to the Yu'ki, then re-page it ant the two following chapters, I think you will have everything right, and you will not need to change the numbering beyond the XXI chapter.

Sincerely yours,

Stephen Powers

Waterford, Washington Co., Ohio
Dec. 15, 1876

My dear Pilling:

In regard of the enclosed sketch, I have to say that the general effect is good, and I am well pleased with it. I will suggest two or three points where improvement is possible.

First, the artist had done the tattooing rather too well. It is more artistic, the angles are truer, the lines more nearly straight and parallel, and the symmetry between the two sides of the face is more perfect than in the original. Most Indian tattooing is quite rude, and I endeavored to copy it exactly in my sketches I sent you. Tell the artist to reproduce the apparent crudities of my sketches.

The lower lip of the face is a trifle too full, being suggestive of a negro.

The whole face seems too long for the breadth, as the typical Cal. Ind. face, especially in a woman as young as this is quite round. Perhaps the effect is partly due, however, to the hair falling straight down the face. I should recommend the artist to adopt the true aboriginal mode of parting the hair. The Cal. Ind. woman, in dressing her hair a la mode, does not part it along the middle of the head (as in this case), but starting at the crown of the head, draws straight forward a triangular patch of hair, the other two corners of which are at the temples or corners of the forehead; this patch she brings down over the forehead, and cuts it off straight across about 1 1/2 inches above the eyebrows. The rest of the hair (of which there is a large mass in front of each ear) falls straight down nearly to the neck. The effect of this fashion is to give the face a square appearance.

I believe I have nothing else to impart at this present.

Very truly yours,

Stephen Powers

Waterford, Washington Co. Ohio
Jan. 15, 1877.

My dear Pilling:

The letter containing the tattoo sketch, with my comments thereon, I directed to P.O. Box 806 -- which appears to be the figure printed on your letterheads. Suppose you received it all right.

I am not impatient about the book, but I can not help wishing to hear occasionally what progress you are making. Can you spare time to tell me, in a word, what the present situation is?

Sincerely yours,

Stephen Powers

What is the Major doing with the Vocabularies?

Waterford, Wash. Co. O.
Feb. 24, 1877.

My dear Pilling:

Today is a rainy one, and I have got out my duplicate vocabularies, and looked, as you requested, over those of the Pomo and the Yuki, carefully.

Resemblances between the names for the parts of the body are probably the best test of linguistic affinity, and I find in these two tables three words -- which resemble each other enough to be classed as related.

Now it is my belief that all the non-Athabascan tribes of California are ultimately descended from the same stock, but they have always been such a liquescent, centrifugal and separatist race that they have diverged into a great number of tribes, whose languages are so utterly different that they have nothing in common except the two personal pronouns. When two tribes are so entirely unlike as to have only the two pronouns in common, I don't feel justified in giving them the same color on the map, or even two shades of the same. As I said above, for a map of continental proportions, I should have little hesitation in coloring a large part of California solid; but for the purposes of a special map, I think mine should have many colors. If I had two or three thousand words of each tribe in the State and were a color-artist, it would be a pleasing occupation for about a year's time to take some one color -- red, for instance -- and, by the use of several score of shades of that color, indicate the degrees of divergence in the various tribes of the State.

To recur then, I think that a special map should not color the Pomo and the Yuki alike or with any shades of the same color. But you can present this letter to the Major, and take his opinion, if you like.

Sincerely yours,

Stephen Powers

I hope the Major will publish full vocabularies where I was not able to get them, viz: Tolowa, Karok, Shasta, Wintoon, Viard, Mattole, Patween, Miwoc, Nozi.

Waterford, Wash. Co. Ohio.
May 8, 1877

My dear Pilling:

In reply to Mr. Gatschet's remarks I will say that I do not think he has discovered any serious error, except perhaps in one case. I will take them in order.

1. "Siwash" is a Jargon word, meaning simply "Indian;" and in Northern California it is loosely used by whites and Indians to denote any Indians of the North, or, more specifically (as their knowledge does not extend very far) of Oregon.

2. As to the Mission Indians of Southern California, I do not pretend to be informed in regard to them, for there is now nothing aboriginal about them except their language. I made no study of them.

3. Mr. Bancroft kindly allowed me to peruse his letter-book, and in it was a letter from Judge Rosborough in which, according to my recollection, the Judge signed his name "as oleave(?)." Mr. Bancroft's work contains many inaccuracies in orthography.

4. I do not remember exactly what I stated about sweat-houses among the Modocs and Shastas. They have no sweat-house proper, but only a small sweat-oven or sweat-bath. I was not aware of its use for mourning purposes, as stated by Mr. Gatschet.

5. I am indebted to Mr. Gatschet for the additional information as to the meaning of "Muckaluck," and shall incorporate it in the text.

6. There certainly is, as Mr. Gatschet suggests, much variability in the numerals within the same tribe in California, and they will sometimes vary when other words remain unchanged in different locations; still I think, all things taken together, they constitute about as good a test as any of the community of language. The California tribes are "low-graded," but they are not "isolated," except in a few remote mountain valleys; and they are, or were before the American conquest, as "sedentary" as any on the continent. The remark on page 423 was written before I had taken the fuller vocabularies; and since the latter is to accompany the work, the remark need not lead any one astray, at least.

7. The epithets here mentioned would perhaps apply better to the Iroquois or the Dakotas.

8. Nearly all California words, not ending with a consonant, terminate with an explosive or aspirate sound, which I know not how to represent better than by the letter h and in some words I am in doubt whether it is an aspiration, or simply the rising inflection, such as Englishmen are said to use in ending a sentence. Instead of obliterating the h terminal in my vocabularies, it might better be doubled, hh. And it is quite

possible that I have not appended the h to all words where it is needed.

Truly yours,

Stephen Powers.

Allow me to congratulate you on your fortune.

Pilling, James C.
Bureau
Jan. 5th, 1880

To: Stephen Powers

My dear Powers:

Your note of the 2nd inst. is just received. The Secretary of the Interior, by whom our publications are distributed has been requested to send a copy of Vol. III to Mr. Bowen; and though the edition is almost exhausted, I trust he will receive it promptly.

I do not know whether it will be possible to obtain a copy of Hall's "Second Arctic Expedition" for you, but if you will write a separate request for it addressed to Major Powell, I will have him endorse it and forward it to the Superintendent of the Naval Observatory. Perhaps you may be able to obtain a copy in that way.

Please convey my regards to your family, and believe me

Truly yours,

James C. Pilling

Pilling, James C.
Bureau
Jan. 26th, 1880

To: Stephen Powers

My dear Powers:

Yours of the 21st to Major Powell is just rec'd. Since writing you a few days ago, I have endeavored to get Hall's book with what success the enclosed circular will show you. There seems to be but one way to get it -- send \$2 to A. F. Childs Government Printing Office.

Regretting our non-success

I am

Truly yours,

James C. Pilling

Pilling, James C.
Bureau
March 23rd, 1880

My dear Powers,

We have just received from one of the officers of the Central Park Museum a letter stating that that institution desires to make a collection of ethnologic specimens on the Columbia River and northward into Alaska, and asking who would be the best man for their purpose. Would you be willing to take the field again? The collector would also be expected to make a study of the habits, customs, mythology, etc., etc., of the Indians and to prepare such material for publication, probably by this office -- such a volume, for instance, as your Vol. III. What do you say? If you think kindly of the proposition I will be glad to confer fully with you on the subject.

Cordially Yours,

J. W. Powell

Pilling, James C.
Bureau
May 28th, 1880

Stephen Powers, Esq.
Waterford, Wash. Co., Ohio.

My dear Sir:

In compliance with the request contained in yours of the 19th inst. we wrote to Prof. Baird, asking him to send you Dr. Leidy's Memoir. We have just received a letter from him, however, stating the work desired is out of print.

Regretting that such is the case,

James C. Pilling

Awful sorry but Rand says it is really impossible to print it. J.W.P.

Pilling, James C.
Bureau
Aug. 9, 1881

My dear Powers:

Your letter of July 23 to Major Powell was duly received.

The Major is about to start West and is extremely busy with his Annual Report, etc., and has turned your letter over to me for reply. Another reason, I suspect, was because he did not know just how to answer. He is out of "Injuns" now and don't know just where to pick up two that would suit you.

Seriously, my dear Powers, I think if we could get them they would prove an elephant, yes two elephants, on your hands. But the question is: Where to get them? We might induce Captain Pratt to let you have a boy and a girl from the School at Carlisle; but I presume you want a man and a woman and there are none in Washington at present.

There is an Indian named "Numina," a Washo -- one whom you probably know -- who is extremely anxious to come to Washington and you could get him and his wife, if he has one, I presume by paying their actual expenses. If you think this practicable write to J. H. McMasters, Pyramid Lake Agency, Wadsworth, Nevada.

James C. Pilling

Waterford, Wash. Co., Ohio

Dec. 18, 1881

Major J. W. Powell

My dear Sir:

I received yesterday your Vol. IX by Mr. Morgan, on "Houses and House-life &c.", and return sincere thanks for the same, I have been deeply interested by what I have read & I feel so sorry for poor good Mr. Bancroft that the Icarian fall which he is made to suffer touches me almost as a personal calamity. After reading Morgan's cool science, one can hardly express a shudder as he turns the gorgeous pages of "The Native Races."

Mr. Morgan's conjectural restoration of a Mound-Builder Pueblo is extremely ingenious and plausible, if we could put out of the way certain facts. For instance, here in this Muskingum Valley, 70 miles long from Marietta to Louisville, with no trace of village -- ruins in it except those at Marietta, yet having isolated mounds throughout its entire extent. He reasons well that these mounds are the burial places of persons of eminence and that the clay basin is a place for the performance of cremation. But, with no village except at the mouth of the river, why should they go 20, 30, 40 miles up the river to bury a chief, especially if the country was in a disturbed state? Nevertheless, his conjectures are fully as plausible as any I am acquainted with.

For some years after settling down on the farm I tried to repress and starve out the pen-and-paper instinct; but I could not do it successfully. At the suggestion of Mr. Howell, I have undertaken to write a novel on emigrant life, and I have it now two-thirds or more completed & I should like to ask you a few questions respecting some Western matters.

Is it true that the Colorado, in its lower navigable reaches, say from the mouth of the Rio Virgin, is subject to whirlpools so strong that a skiff twenty feet long would be drawn down out of sight, rearing up on end as it went down? I read such a statement in the Overland Monthly.

In translating Ute talk -- of one man to an equal, an Apache -- would you use the form "thou sayest" or "you say?"

Have you read many accounts of the Mountain Meadow Massacre, and if so, which do you consider the most trustworthy?

Please give my respects to Mrs. Powell and to Mr. Pilling.

Sincerely yours,

Stephen Powers

Waterford, Wash. Co., Ohio

Jan. 19, 1882

My dear Pilling:

Can you do me the favor to ask the Major a question or two for me, or perhaps you can answer them yourself? I wrote him, but he is probably so busy he forgot it.

Is there a wagon-road through from Santa Fe to the Seawaters [?] of the Rio Virgin in Southern Utah?

I read once in the Overland Monthly an account of the Rio Colorado, in which it was stated that, below the head of navigation, that river has whirlpools or "sucks" so strong that a skiff will be drawn down in them, turning up on end before it disappears. Do you know if that is true?

Are there high falls on the lower reaches of the Rio Virgin?

If you can answer any or all of these, I shall be greatly obliged.

Sincerely yours,

Stephen Powers

Powell, J. W.
Bureau
Jan. 20, 1882

My dear Powers:

Your letter of the 18th of December found me quite incapable of attending to business. Since early October I have been troubled with an attack of iritis which kept me confined to the house for some time. I am rapidly recovering, however, and am doing more or less work each day.

You might have known you could not keep from writing. Once attacked with the disease one never recovers and in your case it is well you should not. I have no doubt that your novel will contain quite as much truth as fiction.

To answer your question --

First. It is not true that the "Colorado River in its lower navigable reaches is subject to whirlpools so strong that a skiff 20 feet long would be drawn down out of sight rearing up on end as it went down;" nor is it true of any other river in the world. My party on the first trip continued with safety from the Rio Virgin where I left them to Fort Yuma.

Second. In translating Ute talk to an Apache I should use "You say."

Third. If you propose to write an account of the Mountain Meadow Massacre I should be pleased to have you come and talk with me. I have spoken with many of the actors in that scene and have heard some interesting facts concerning it. I have spent many days with John. D. Lee, one of the principal actors, at his home in the Canon of the Paria and I think he was the most bigotted and most religious man I ever knew.

It was his custom to devote many hours of the night to prayer and every act of his life was by his religion and his superstition. He observed the flight of birds, was something of an Astrologist, and studied his dreams and the dreams of his friends. In many respects he was a kind father, a generous man and a good neighbor, but when impelled by his superstitions and religious beliefs he was bloodthirsty and cruel -- cruel to everybody -- even his best friends and the members of his own family.

Lee was really the principal character in this matter, though not the highest in authority and the last years of his life were exceedingly romantic.

There is another matter of interest relating to the Mountain Meadow Massacre. The history of the circumstances which resulted in this terrible deed began back many years among the Creek Indians and some of these Indians who understand the very trouble are now in Washington.

J. W. Powell

Waterford, Wash. Co., Ohio
Jan. 25, 1882

Major J. W. Powell

My dear Sir:

In reply to your kind invitation to come down to Washington, I must say that if I felt certain of the acceptance of my novel, I should come down, but I do not quite like to be at the expense of the trip on uncertainties; although I have had expressions from Mr. Howell's which gave me great encouragement and he read the three opening chapters several months ago.

Really, I think the U. S. Government owes me the amount that it would cost to procure the information from the Creek Indians which you speak of, and when I came home from California the second time I did two months' work at home on my Report which the Department refused to recognize or pay for.

I have never complained, nor do I now; and if you can detail a clerk long enough to "interview" yourself and the Creeks, and write out a brief statement for me, I shall be well satisfied.

One thing more, will you give me permission to use some words of your letter to me, also a few paragraphs from "Exploration of the Colorado"?

The plot of my story requires two of my characters -- a young man and woman, with an Indian guide -- to escape from Mountain Meadow and reach California. I have thought it would be most in accordance with the probabilities to conduct them across the Rio Virgin to the east side, then down across the plateaus -- going around the Mormon settlements on that stream below Beaver Dam Mountains -- to stride [strike?] it below those settlements, embark on it on a raft, and follow it down to the Colorado, and this down to Fort Yuma. I think a tolerably resolute and hardy young woman of the frontier, bred on the Texas prairies, might be credited with this feat.

I have never been across the plateau country of the Colorado, and I want to use some of your published descriptions.

Stephen Powers

Pilling, James C.
Bureau
Jan. 30, 1882

My dear Powers:

Your letter of Jany 19 duly received. I wrote you a few days ago, over Major's signature I think, answering several of your questions.

Referring to the later ones -- there is a wagon road from Santa Fe to the headwaters of the Rio Virgen. There are no high falls in the Rio Virgen in its lower reaches. It is a broad, shallow stream and in the dry season has at times no water in the channel. In this portion of it, it is about as placid a river as you can well imagine -- the only danger being the quicksands.

James C. Pilling

Waterford, Wash. Co., Ohio
Feb. 17, 1882

My dear Mr. Pilling:

You have very kindly answered two of my letters for which I am sincerely obliged, and nonetheless so that this acknowledgement is this tardily made.

In the first one you piqued my curiosity by the statement as to the causes for the M. M. Massacre reaching back years and among the Creek Indians. I have read up a considerable amount on the event, and I own I am, with all due respect to the Major, a little skeptical on that subject. In the first place, the communications and dealings of the Indians are not sufficiently national and far reaching to lead the Pah-Vants or Pi-Edes to do any act for or against the Creeks. In the second place, the murder of the "Apostle," P. P. Pratt by a white man somewhere west of Fort Smith, Ark., and probably within the Creek domain in Ind. Ter., was the principal crime laid by the Mormons against that ill-fated company; and, to my mind, it seems likely that this is the circumstance that the Major had in view.

But if there really were troubles among the Creek Indians which in any way led to the massacre, I should be very glad to learn it. And I should be delighted to listen to the Major's recollections of John D. Lee and other actors in that tragedy with whom he was acquainted.

I really cannot afford to come down unless in a case of necessity. The revenue of a farmer is small, and the demands of a growing family cut into the fat seriously. But if you or some other short-hand reporter would talk with him two or three hours, or even an hour, and write out the conversation -- editorialized, you know -- I would gladly pay for the service.

I hope the Major has fully recovered his health. Please express to him my thanks for the facts he has already communicated.

If I could get what the Major has to tell respecting Lee and the massacre, I should not apply the boring apparatus to you any more.

Stephen Powers.

Pilling, James C.
Feb 23, 1882

Stephen Powers, Esq.
Waterford, Ohio

My dear Sir:

Your letters of January 30 and February 20 duly received. The Major has been extremely busy the last fortnight preparing for a meeting of the American Institute of Mining Engineers and this has resulted in another attack of iritis. He therefore finds it impossible to do as you request, i. e., dictate a chapter on the Mountain Meadow Massacre. He bids me say however that he did not mean in imply that the Paiutes and Pavants had taken up the Creek quarrel and as I understand his views are about these:

Pratt, the Mormon missionary, ran off with the wife of an Arkansas man and sought refuge among the Creek Indians. The man followed and killed Pratt. This brought up a number of side issues in which the Indians were involved. Afterwards that Arkansas man was going through Utah with a party all of whom were murdered at the Mountain Meadow Massacre. Although a number of Indians took part in this massacre a number of white men disguised as Indians also took part. This I think is about his idea of the matter.

James C. Pilling

Waterford, Wash. Co., Ohio
March 28, 1882

Major J. W. Powell

My dear Sir:

You once offered me \$2,000 a year and a pass on subsidized railroads, to go to California on Indian work. I understood you to make it a standing offer.

The affairs of the farm are getting into such comfortable shape that I may be able to accept the offer, if it still stands.

Please tell me where you would want me to work, how often you would wish me to come East, whether I would require a considerable amount of capital to start on, what guarantees you have of permanence in the work in case of a change in the administration, etc.

I hope you have fully recovered the use of your eyes.

Stephen Powers

Powell, J. W.
Bureau
March 31, 1882

My dear Powers:

Your letter of the 28th duly received and I am sorry I cannot answer it definitely at present.

If Congress does no better for the Bureau of Ethnology the coming fiscal year than it has for the past I am afraid I cannot increase my force. I have estimated for an increase and if it is made will accept your offer.

J. W. Powell

Stephen Powers, Esq.

Waterford, Wash. Co., Ohio
May 3, 1882

Major J. W. Powell

My dear Sir:

Our Representative, General Dawes, writes me that in the event of the Alaska bill passing, you would probably appoint me as one of the surveying party and to prevent any loss of time on your part, I will write you beforehand.

I would prefer to work in California on account of the climate, but would be willing to work one or two seasons in Alaska, though I think I should not wish to spend more than one winter there, and should prefer to escape even that if it would not interfere with the work.

As a family man, I could not go for a less compensation than on the California trip.

Stephen Powers

Answ'd May 10