



All That Glitters

Assaying S. H. Logan's "Trip to the Gold Fields"

By Stephen H. Dew

During the spring of 1849, Captain Randolph B. Marcy and a contingent of soldiers from Fort Smith led a large wagon train of gold-seeking, California-bound emigrants across Indian Territory along a route parallel to the southern bank of the Canadian River. Marcy and his force escorted the wagon train as far as Santa Fe, from which the emigrants took various branches of the southern route along the Gila River toward San Diego and ultimately the California gold fields.

TRIP TO THE GOLD FIELDS

In 1939 noted Oklahoma historian Grant Foreman published a work which proved to be the most authoritative account of Marcy's expedition and the experience of emigrants along the southern route to California. Foreman's *Marcy and the Gold Seekers* is a well researched and fascinating book which includes a full transcription of Marcy's official journal and report as well as excerpts from other journals and diaries, letters and newspaper accounts, interviews, and other types of information relating to the trek.¹

In January, 1941—ninety-two years after Marcy's expedition and only two years after the publication of Foreman's *Marcy and the Gold Seekers*, the *Arkansas Gazette Sunday Magazine* began publishing a series of articles entitled "Trip to the Gold Fields."² The series ran in twenty-four weekly installments and claimed to be compiled from "an old journal kept by A.D. King (an emigrant with the Marcy expedition) and others during a wagon trip to California in 1849."³

"Trip to the Gold Fields" presents a daily account of the activities of the Clarksville (Arkansas) and California Mining Association from April 1 through December 22, 1849. In the story the narrator claims to develop a close and friendly relationship with Marcy and other soldiers and he provides an array of information about the flora, fauna, geography, and geology of the regions traversed. There are moments of high adventure in the story as several characters on the trek experience remarkable escapades. Along the way they confront or kill several panthers and bears, saddlebreak wild and vicious horses, escape almost certain death when trapped before stampeding buffalo herds, pass a haunted cabin, and weather furious storms. One lucky soldier miraculously escapes from a mire of quicksand, they encounter mountain men and wild Indians, two murderers meet frontier justice and are executed, and love blossoms between a "soldier boy" and "a fine young lady."

"Trip to the Gold Fields" is an intriguing story which is a lot of fun to read. But is it real history? Can it be trusted to be a true transcription of an "old journal kept by A.D. King and others during a wagon trip to California in 1849?"

Since its publication in 1941, "Trip to the Gold Fields" has been used by at least three historians who have cited it as a primary resource in at least one master's thesis, two articles, and two books.⁴ This article will assay "Trip to the Gold Fields" by measur-

ing details of its narrative against information available in other sources and ultimately will judge whether "Trip to the Gold Fields" can be trusted as a true transcription of "an old journal kept by A.D. King."

Before an essay is undertaken, it is appropriate that the reader know some basic information about its compiler. The "Forward" to each entry credited S.H. Logan for compiling all of "the material for publication," and beginning with the second entry in the series, each article was accompanied by the notation, "Copyright S.H. Logan, 1941."

Born in 1871, Stephen Hackney Logan was reared in Johnson County, Arkansas, and at the age of fifteen he quit school to learn the printing trade. Over the years he operated several small businesses in Clarksville and Coal Hill, among them a print shop, a telephone exchange, a mercantile business, and two newspapers, *The Clarksville Taxpayer* and *The Coal Hill Democrat*.⁵ During his career Logan frequently worked as a free-lance writer for magazines and other newspapers, including service from 1889 until 1940 as a local correspondent for the *Arkansas Gazette*.⁶ As a writer Logan displayed a particular interest in local and family history, publishing a large number of articles in newspapers and two articles in the *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*.⁷ Several of his newspaper articles concerning local history have been republished in the *Johnson County Historical Society Journal*, which began publication after Logan's death.⁸ Mary Maude Gallagher, one of the *Journal's* editors, praised Logan as "the father of Johnson County History" and an "intellectually superior" man. She also declared, "He probably carried more history in his head than we shall ever be able to record."⁹

After reading several of Logan's articles, it is evident that Logan was not a trained historian. He was a newspaper reporter, a local history buff, and a storyteller who thoroughly enjoyed telling "quite a yarn." He obviously loved to talk and write about local and family history. He knew a lot about local history and folklore from years of reading, from innumerable interviews with local residents during his years as a reporter, and from his personal experience as a life-long resident of Johnson County. As a writer of history, however, he had some significant limitations.

Logan was largely a self-educated man who had no official training as a historian. He apparently never searched out all of the available primary and secondary sources on the subjects about

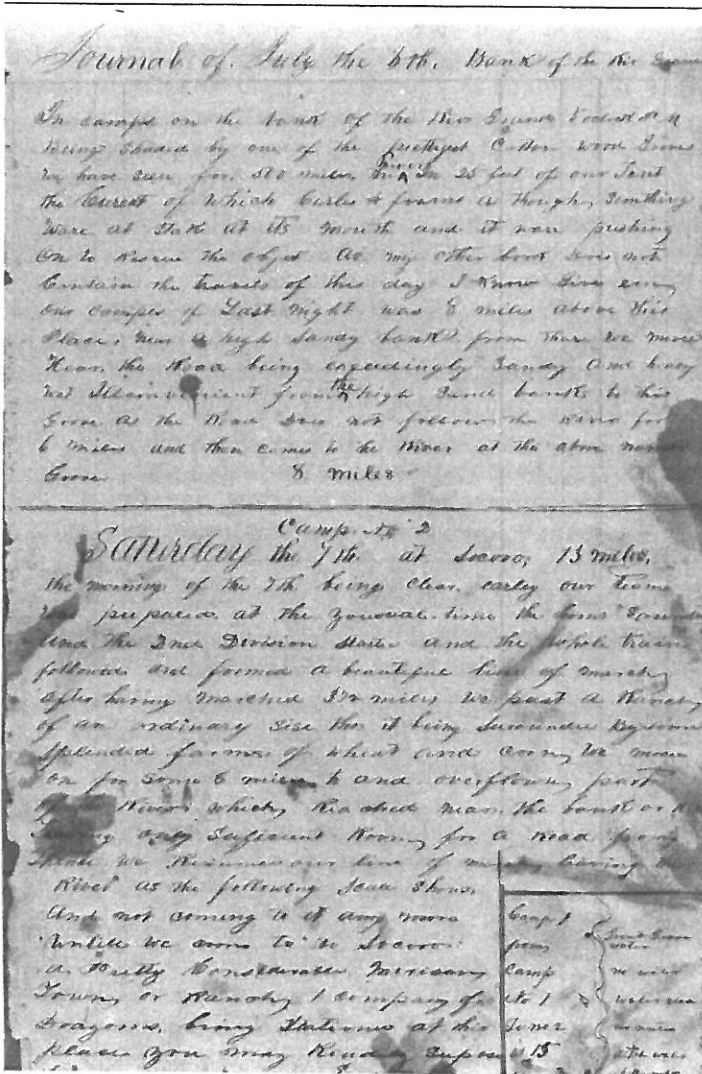
which he wrote, as a trained historian would, and he never used footnotes or bibliographies so that details of his accounts could be verified. The only instances in which he reported sources involved those when he referred to a particular local resident or himself as the source and then Logan was essentially writing oral history. Logan was a fairly good storyteller, presenting lots of details and adding color to keep his reader's attention. His work, however, can not be labelled as historical scholarship. When reading "Trip to the Gold Fields," it is important to keep in mind Logan's limitations as a writer of history.

In assaying "Trip to the Gold Fields," reference to Grant Foreman's *Marcy and the Gold Seekers* is of paramount importance. While conducting research for the book, Foreman evidently interviewed Logan and several other Johnson County residents about relatives who began their trek to the gold fields with the Marcy expedition. Logan's father, David Logan, and uncle, James Logan, who were both teenagers at the time, were involved in the trek, and no doubt Logan knew several stories relating to their experiences. Apparently one of the subjects covered by Foreman and Logan during their interview was a murder trial and execution which occurred during the Clarksville company's trip. Foreman identified Logan in a footnote as the authority for the following:

[T]he entire company from Clarksville voted to sustain the verdict and the execution took place at 3 o'clock that afternoon. David Logan was the man selected to draw the 12 rifles and hand them to the firing squad.¹⁰

The original A.D. King journal, on which "Trip to the Gold Fields" is based, provides the reader with a great deal of information about the murder and it carries a full description of the proceedings of the trial. But Foreman declared in *Marcy and the Gold Seekers*, "The proceedings of the trial are not available."¹¹ Since he never mentions the King journal, it is probable that at the time of the interview neither Foreman nor Logan was aware of the existence of the King journal. Most likely Logan found out about the existence of the King journal later, and after borrowing it from the owner, Alice Latta Smith—King's great-granddaughter—decided to transcribe the document, leading ultimately to the publication of "Trip to the Gold Fields."

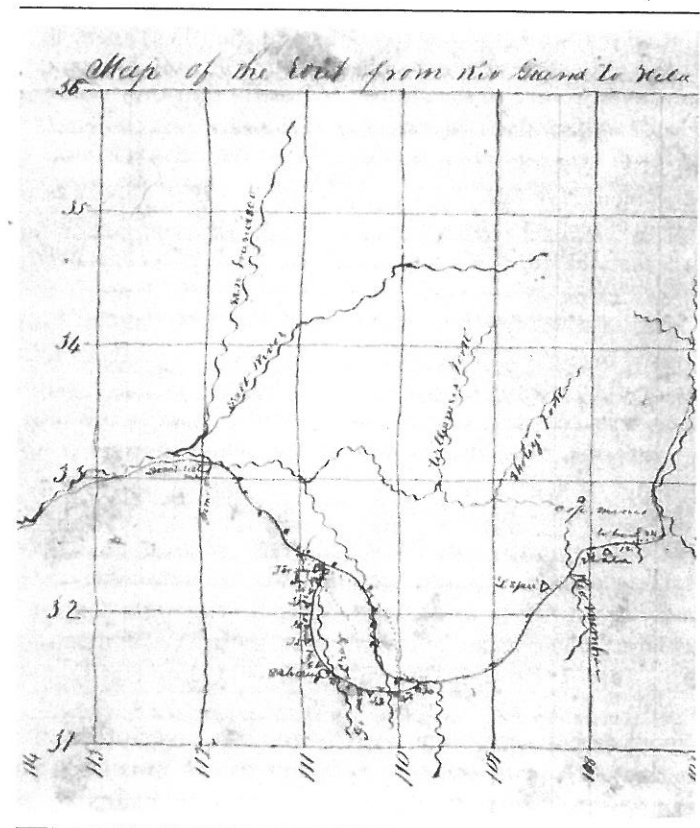
In 1944, three years after the publication of "Trip to the Gold Fields," Smith donated what is apparently the second part of the King journal to the University of Arkansas Libraries.¹² This part of



The first entries in the second part of King's journal, written on the banks of the Rio Grande, discuss the number of books in which the journal was written and his camp numbering system. King also included several small sketches in the journal (above and opposite) (Alfred D. King Journal, Special Collections Division, University of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville).

the journal covers the dates July 6 through December 22, 1849. No one knows what happened to the first part of the journal. Over the years historians, librarians, and King family members have searched in vain trying to find the missing portion. Curiously, "Trip to the Gold Fields" covers the dates April 1 through December 22, 1849, and the "Forward" for each entry in the series claims, "the original journal is in his (S.H. Logan's) possession." Did Logan actually have both parts of the A.D. King journal in his possession when he compiled "Trip to the Gold Fields?" If he did, what happened to the first part during the three years between the publication of "Trip to the Gold Fields" and Smith's donation of the second part to the university?

In fact, then, only the second part of King's journal is available for direct comparison to Logan's story. In comparing the second



part of the story (covering the dates July 6 through December 22) with the original King journal, the reader immediately recognizes that Logan has edited the entire text by correcting misspellings and grammatical errors. He also frequently organized a grammatically correct flow of full sentences out of entries that are simply a free flow of King's thoughts. King consistently misspelled many words and committed numerous grammatical errors. One gets no feel for this from reading "Trip to the Gold Fields." A desire to make the material more understandable to the readers of the *Arkansas Gazette* certainly could have been part of Logan's reason for editing the journal in this fashion. If this were so, however, accuracy was sacrificed for the sake of clarity, leading the reader into the misconception that King was a more articulate man than he actually was. The following is one example of how Logan edited his transcription of the journal:

King, August 5

Some womans has fell in our company and tha [they] appear to pay a Greatdeal of Respect to the members of our company & should those womans ever Return to the states I am certin that they would youse [use] their influence . . .¹³

Logan, "Trip to the Gold Fields," August 5

Some women have fallen in our company and they appear to pay a great deal of respect to the members of our company, and should these women ever return to the States, I am certain that they would use their influence . . .¹⁴

Occasionally full phrases have been deleted. Obviously the phrase "old squaws breasts looking like an old Sows more than a human" was censored by either Logan or the *Arkansas Gazette* editors, but there appears to be no clear reason why Logan left out other phrases such as "The ducks & water fowles kept us a wake all night."¹⁵

Another problem with Logan's transcription is that he renumbered all of the camp sites from the original journal. In the King journal, the camps are numbered only for the dates July 6 through November 25 and they run from "Camp 1" through "Camp 76." In "Trip to the Gold Fields," however, the camps are numbered for each date, July 6 through December 22, and they run from "Camp 70" through "Camp 217."

The most serious problem with Logan's transcription, however, rests in the portion of the text relating to the murder, trial, and execution which occurred within the Clarksville company in early

September, 1849. As noted earlier, King provides his readers with a great deal of detail concerning the murder and a full account of the proceedings of the trial. His description of the execution, however, is quite brief. In the final paragraph for his entry for September 7 King records:

[A]fter having taken the vote and the verdict was sustained by an overwhelming majority he was to be exicuted at 3 oclock Liew J May was apointed to Select the Ground which was done. All this time the poor criminal apeared to make lite of this proceeding as if he thought it was a hoax. Just before the hour of his exicution The Rev Mr. Gwin Delivered a Lecture then he was marched to his Grave in his every day Garb on & shot and expired Instantly.¹⁶

Logan's transcription of the paragraph has corrected the misspellings and grammatical errors, but in this case he did not stop with this type of editing. Logan also deceptively inserted nine paragraphs of his own creation. These paragraphs describe the execution in great detail and in addition they place thoughts and emotions into King's writings which were clearly not there. This insertion includes the following information about the execution:

The rifles were stacked and Dave Logan was selected as the one to reach into the stacked rifles and hand them one at a time to one of the firing squad. . . . Dave did not like the job he had been selected to do, but he went ahead and performed his duty. . . . The execution of Hicky brought back to me the execution of the Choctaw Indian, Raymond Howard, which I had witnessed at the Indian Agency just after leaving Fort Smith, and I must say, although Howard was an Indian, I am sure that he should not have been executed, and I am sure that Hicky deserved to be executed.¹⁷

Although Logan's information about his father's participation in the execution may well have been true (It is the same story he told to Foreman), one has to question why Logan inserted this information, as well as other details, into "Trip to the Gold Fields" in order to make it appear as though King had written it. The reference to the execution of the Choctaw Indian, Raymond Howard, also is intriguing. The second part of the original King journal never mentions Howard. In fact it never mentions any specific events which occurred prior to July 6, 1849, its beginning date. But this misleading reference to the Howard execution is the only one made in the second part of "Trip to the Gold Fields" to a particular event which occurs in the first part of the story. Why would Logan want to deceive his readers into believing that King was thinking about

a particular event covered in the first part of "Trip to the Gold Fields?" Was the reference to Howard a beguiling attempt by Logan to tie the two halves of "Trip to the Gold Fields" together? To find possible answers to these queries one must turn to the first part of Logan's story.

Critical examination of the first part of "Trip to the Gold Fields" shows that the style of writing is clearly more articulate than the style in the second part. The narrator also provides an array of intelligent observations about the environment. Furthermore, the first part is packed with thrilling adventures and colorful characters which are significantly missing in the second part and curiously Logan's relatives always play an active and favorable role in the story.

The first part of "Trip to the Gold Fields" also reveals a couple of odd contradictions within the story itself. One concerns the exact day the emigrant group left Clarksville. In the first entry, the narrator reports, "[We were] ready for the first of April, the day set to make the start to Fort Smith. The first of April soon rolled around and we left for Fort Smith."¹⁸ In the second entry, April 2, the narrator reports, "We left Clarksville this morning."¹⁹ The narrator never explains how or why the group left Clarksville on two successive days. In another internal contradiction the story provides two distinctly different and rather long entries for April 6, May 9, and June 4, and none of these contradictions is ever explained.²⁰

Any comprehensive assay of "Trip to the Gold Fields" must take into consideration a comparison of some of the details of its narrative against information available in primary resources related to the trek. One early conflict concerns the date and place of an election held by the Clarksville and California Mining Association to choose its officers. Since Redmond Rogers was responsible for directing the organizing efforts of the company as well as pledging his money toward financing its formation, he apparently was always recognized as the company's leader or commander.²¹ His title of captain, however, was bestowed upon him by an election among the members, at which time the company also elected a first lieutenant. In "Trip to the Gold Fields" in the first entry, April 1, the narrator reports that even before the Clarksville company left town, "Redmond Rogers was elected captain and John May, first lieutenant."²² John May himself, however, contradicts this information about the place and time of the election. In a letter to his

wife written from Fort Smith and dated April 11, 1849, May reports, "We organised yesterday [April 10] and Elected our officers. I was elected 1st Lieutenant. Rogers Capt."²³

Another early conflict between "Trip to the Gold Fields" and a reliable source concerns the route the Clarksville company took toward Fort Smith and the date on which they arrived there. In "Trip to the Gold Fields" the narrator gives the following description of the company's movement toward Fort Smith:

We were quite a while in crossing the Arkansas River this afternoon [April 2]. . . . We decided to cross the river here at Roseville and come south of the river to Fort Smith instead of going up the north side and crossing at Van Buren, as there is better range for our stock.²⁴

In other words, the Clarksville company intentionally avoided Van Buren, traveled up the south side of the Arkansas River, and arrived in Fort Smith on April 4. In his later entries for April 5-7 the narrator describes in great detail events occurring in Fort Smith among his company, other emigrants, and the military escort who were preparing for the expedition.²⁵ All of this information, however, is apparently contradicted by the *Arkansas Intelligencer*, a newspaper published in Van Buren. Under the headline "Clarksville Californians" the *Intelligencer* reported that the Clarksville company, headed by Redmond Rogers and composed of approximately fifty wagons, passed through Van Buren on its way to Fort Smith on April 7.²⁶ Therefore, according to the newspaper account, the Clarksville company must have come up the north side of the river to pass through Van Buren and it could not have arrived in Fort Smith prior to April 7.

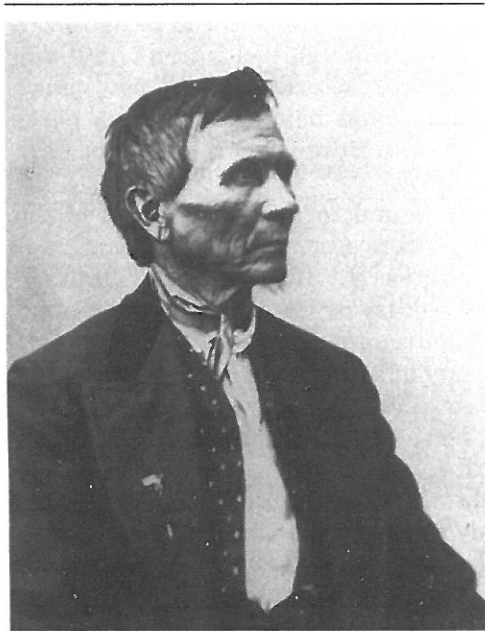
Additional conflicts are to be found in the descriptions of the activities of two of the military officers accompanying the emigrant wagon train—Lieutenant James H. Simpson and Captain Frederick T. Dent. In the April 5 entry in "Trip to the Gold Fields" the narrator reports that "Lieutenant Simpson was sent out several days ago with a company of soldiers and they are digging down the banks of the creeks so we can get over."²⁷

This account is impossible, however, since Simpson did not even arrive in Fort Smith until April 7; he did not leave Fort Smith until April 11; and he did not join Marcy's expedition until April 14 when the emigrant train was already well past the Choctaw Agency and encamped at Camp Creek (present Coal Creek) twenty-six miles west of Fort Smith.²⁸ Later, in the May 9 entry for "Trip to the Gold Fields," the narrator reports, "Captain Dent left this morning to

confer with Captain Marcy who is ahead of us and will await us some miles on."²⁹ This account appears to be impossible as well, since Dent had already left the emigrant train one week earlier on his return trip to Fort Smith, where he arrived on May 13.³⁰

There is another apparent conflict of evidence involving the individual who was hired by the Clarksville company to serve as their interpreter for encounters with the Indians. According to "Trip to the Gold Fields," while the Clarksville company was encamped at the Choctaw Agency (later known as Scullyville, near present-day Spiro in LeFlore County), Captain Redmond Rogers hired a mysterious Indian named Rover as the company's interpreter. Without a doubt, Rover is the most amazing character in the entire story of "Trip to the Gold Fields." He is described as:

... an educated man ... who claims to speak most of the Indian dialects as well as Spanish ... a free man of the forests ... educated at Dartmouth College ... a splendid gentleman, a finished scholar, a critic on English and Roman literature, a politician, a trapper, and an Indian ... originally from New Hampshire ... [one who] sees in everything all that science sees ... [with] a capacious intellect ... This Indian has been trapping among the Rocky mountains for many years



Black Beaver, Marcy's widely-known Delaware Indian guide, probably served as the model for Logan's Rover (Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology).

... crossing mountains that neither Indian or white man dared attempt to scale.³¹

Later, the narrator informs the reader that Rover also is a student of medicine and that he was once employed in the Hudson Bay country.³² In subsequent entries the reader is told about Rover's encyclopedic knowledge of prairie dogs, antelopes, rattlesnakes, horned frogs, and buffaloes.³³ John May contradicts this information about the amazing Rover being the company's interpreter, however, when he reports dryly in a letter to his wife, "We have a Texian for an interpreter for the Commancies."³⁴ A "Texian" was one of the few qualities not attributed to Rover.

Another instance of an apparent contradiction between "Trip to the Gold Fields" and reliable sources concerns the experiences that several members of the military escort had with a buffalo herd. In the June 1 entry the narrator reports, "Captain Marcy, Lieutenants Simpson and Harrison and Beaver [Black Beaver, Marcy's Indian guide and interpreter] of the soldiers went out on a hunt," and in the June 3 entry the narrator further reports that Black Beaver had been missing for two days and that no one had seen him since the hunting party ran into "a herd of buffaloes."³⁵ The narrator declares, "Captain Marcy says something is wrong ... he fears something serious has happened." Marcy then reportedly sends out search parties. Luckily, a search party returns that night with Black Beaver, who is "certainly in a pitiful looking condition." The narrator is excited by Black Beaver's adventure and he reports, "I want to get the facts in my journal while it is fresh in my mind." The narrator interviews Beaver that night and the next day, filling his journal with a long account of Beaver's deadly confrontation with "a monster buffalo bull."

According to the story, after shooting the monster buffalo and only succeeding in increasing its fury, Black Beaver was attacked by the "maddened brute" and temporarily knocked unconscious. "Fortunately, [he] had sustained no bodily injury beyond aching bones and bruised flesh," so Black Beaver quickly climbed into a tree for safety, but after nearly two days in the tree Beaver faced the prospect of dying of thirst and exposure as he lay "helpless under the vigilant eye of [his] bovine guard." The plucky Indian guide, however, eventually devised a scheme in which he tied one end of his lasso to the tree trunk and roped the bull by the neck with the other end. He then darted out of the tree beyond the reach of the infuriated bull and eventually coaxed it to wrap itself around

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

the tree so that Black Beaver was able to retrieve his rifle safely and dispose of the beast. Afterwards Black Beaver was spotted by a search party headed by Captain Marcy and returned to camp.³⁶

There are several problems with this story. First, Lieutenant Simpson was supposedly a member of the hunting party with Black Beaver when it came upon a large "herd of buffaloes," but in his official report for the trek, Simpson declared the following:

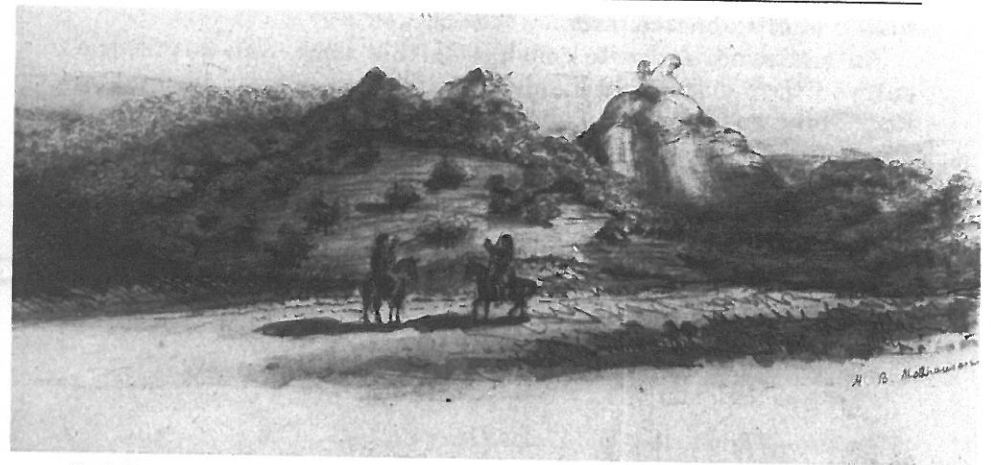
In regard to the buffalo, there can be no question that they have been in the habit of infesting the route in places, during certain seasons of the year. . . . During our journey, however, I did not see more than two from the beginning to the end of the trip.³⁷

In Marcy's journal there is no mention of anything even remotely related to this event, and this is an important point considering that Marcy was a very conscientious commander of the emigrants and his troops. For the date of June 1, the day on which the narrator of "Trip to the Gold Fields" declares that the emigrant train halted all day, thus allowing Marcy, Black Beaver, Simpson, and the others time for the buffalo hunt, Marcy reports instead that he and his men marched fourteen miles during the day and then during the evening he and Black Beaver met with four Kiowa Indians.³⁸ In the following entries Marcy notes nothing about Black Beaver being missing from camp.

Later during this expedition, while Marcy was making the return trip to Fort Smith, an officer was reported missing one evening and Marcy dutifully and conscientiously noted the absence in his journal. Marcy ordered cannons fired in hopes the lost officer would find his way back and he sent out several search parties immediately the next morning.³⁹ But over the three days in which, according to "Trip to the Gold Fields," Black Beaver was missing, Marcy reports Black Beaver to be in camp on the evening of the first day, he fails to mention Black Beaver's absence on the second day, and for the third day when Marcy was supposed to be so deeply concerned and sending out search parties (one headed by himself), Marcy merely wrote one short sentence in his journal, "This being Sunday, we stopped to recruit our men and animals."⁴⁰ If Black Beaver, upon whom Marcy depended heavily, were indeed missing, and had Black Beaver experienced events such as those described in "Trip of the Gold Fields," Marcy most certainly would have mentioned it in his journal.⁴¹ To ignore such developments would have been totally out of character for Marcy.

TRIP TO THE GOLD FIELDS

One of the most intriguing conflicts between "Trip to the Gold Fields" and reliable sources involves a romantic affair which developed between Lieutenant Montgomery P. Harrison and a certain "Mary" who was a member of the emigrant train. In "Trip to the Gold Fields" the reader is introduced in the first entry to Mary Barton of Clarksville, "a fine young lady."⁴² In the entry for May 22 the narrator describes an exciting moment when Lieutenant Simpson, one of Harrison's comrades, scrambled to the summit of a prominent, pound-cake-shaped hill in west-central Indian Territory and names the landmark "Rock Mary" in honor of Mary Barton.⁴³ In following entries for June 14, 20, 25, and 27 the



H.B. Möllhausen sketched the natural mounds known as Rock Mary during the 1853-1854 Whipple Survey (Courtesy Oklahoma Historical Society).

narrator describes a blossoming romance between Mary Barton and Lieutenant Harrison, who end up spending "every chance" they can together. The romance ends in a tearful departure, however, as the soldiers are eventually ordered to leave the emigrant train. Harrison had "tears in the eyes . . . from thinking of Miss Mary," and Mary's eyes are "red from weeping."⁴⁴

There are a number of reliable sources which document that Harrison did indeed fall in love with a "Mary" on the emigrant train and that Simpson did name Rock Mary after the same "Mary." For both men, however, that "Mary" was Mary Conway of the Fort Smith company, not Mary Barton of the Clarksville company.

In *Marcy and the Gold Seekers*, Foreman provides an interesting description about how Harrison first courted and then proposed marriage to the seventeen-year-old Mary Conway and, although she accepted his proposal, her parents demurred to the plans "on account of her youth." The Conways told the couple that "they would have to wait until, after the journey's end, the Lieutenant could come to California and claim his bride."⁴⁵ Therefore, in order for the account in "Trip to the Gold Fields" to be true, Harrison would necessarily have to have been two-timing Mary Conway and Mary Barton during the trek across Oklahoma, Texas, and New Mexico while managing to keep everyone in the Fort Smith and Clarksville companies unaware of his womanizing—a totally improbable scenario.

An additional factor to consider in this same vein is that the entry in "Trip to the Gold Fields" which describes Simpson naming Rock Mary was actually plagiarized from Simpson's official report. The following example shows how it was edited to fit into the story of "Trip to the Gold Fields":

Simpson, May 23, 1849

A person present suggesting that it be named after an Arkansas young lady (as much esteemed by the emigrants with whom she was in company as she is by the officers), I immediately fell in with the suggestion, and thereupon with waving flag, proclaimed it to all concerned, that henceforth, in honor of the said lady, the rock shall be known as Rock Mary.⁴⁶

Narrator, "Trip to the Gold Fields," May 22, 1849

A person present suggested it be named after a Clarksville, Ark., young lady (as much esteemed by the emigrants with whom she is in company as she is by the officers). Lieutenant Simpson immediately fell in with the suggestion, and thereupon, with waving flag, proclaimed it to all concerned, that henceforth, in honor of said lady, the rock should be known as Rock Mary.⁴⁷

There is an additional point to be made about the tearful farewell between the soldiers and the Clarksville company that is supposed to have happened on June 27. The narrator of "Trip to the Gold Fields" reports on June 26 that "the road to Santa Fe leaves our road here, and while the soldiers could go on as it is early in the day, they have decided to spend one more night in camp with us."⁴⁸

This delay by the soldiers therefore set the scene for their tearful departure on the next day. Marcy, however, contradicts this

information. He reported in his journal that on June 26 the soldiers under his command marched twelve miles early in the day, reaching the fork in the road, and then in the afternoon they took the trail toward Santa Fe, marching all the way to Gallestia and encamping that night twenty-one miles from the fork (where they had supposedly spent the night with the Clarksville company).⁴⁹

Another important discrepancy between "Trip to the Gold Fields" and reliable sources concerns the method that the Clarksville emigrants used in crossing the Rio Grande at Albuquerque. In "Trip to the Gold Fields" the Clarksville company crosses the Rio Grande on July 2 and the narrator reports:

We crossed at the ford. The river at this point is probably 300 yards wide, the stream rapid, its depth four feet, and its bottom of a somewhat quicksand character. During the higher stages of the water the river is too deep to ford; but, though this is true of several fords along its course, I am told boats seem never to be resorted to by the Mexicans. Indeed I have not seen a single boat since I have been in the country.⁵⁰

At least five reliable sources contradict this account by reporting that the Clarksville and Little Rock companies joined together to construct a ferry boat to carry their wagons across the swollen Rio Grande.⁵¹ Construction of a boat was a rare occurrence around Albuquerque and the emigrants took special note of it. In a letter to his wife dated June 18, 1849, John May wrote, "Capt. Rogers & others has gone on to the rio grande to build a ferry boat," and in a following letter dated July 7, May reported:

We Built a boat and crossed the river in 3 days from the commencement of the Same. . . . [W]e got our Boat gunnels timbers & planks 25 miles from the River which we hawled to the River where we bilt our ferry boat which very much astonished the Natives. They came from all quarters to See the Steam Boat as they caled it. We got planks at the pinery where we got the Boat timbers at 2\$ pr. 100 feet.⁵²

Several odd circumstances would have to have occurred in order for the account from "Trip to the Gold Fields" to be true. First, the narrator would have to have been daily present among the Clarksville company but totally unaware that the company's captain left the emigrant train two weeks before their arrival in Albuquerque specifically for the purpose of building a ferry boat. Second, the narrator would have to have been unaware that many of the members of his company were involved in the building of the boat. Third, the narrator would have to have been unaware that everyone else in the Clarksville company crossed the Rio Grande

aboard the ferry while he somehow managed to cross the swollen river at the ford having never seen a boat, a scenario which certainly strains logic.

An additional factor to consider is that much of the description of the Rio Grande the narrator provides in "Trip to the Gold Fields" appears to have been borrowed from the journal of Lieutenant Simpson, who crossed the Rio Grande a month and a half later on August 17 at a time when the river was no longer swollen and could be forded. Simpson described the Rio Grande at the ford as "about three hundred yards wide . . . between three and four feet deep, and . . . full of bars. Its bottom, in spots, is of quicksand character."⁵³

In addition to all of these contradictions, additional points need to be made about the transition which occurs in "Trip to the Gold Fields" from the first part of the story to the second part. First, as mentioned earlier, Logan changed the camp numbers when he transcribed the second part of the original King journal. Why did he do this? In the first part covering the dates April 1 through July 5, the camp sites are numbered 1 through 69 and in the July 5 entry the narrator states, "The account of this day's travel which should be numbered Camp No. 70 will be found in the new book that I found and I will commence on it tomorrow."⁵⁴ Sure enough, in Logan's transcription, as the narrator promised, the entry for July 6 contains the notation "Camp 70," but in the original King journal that camp site is actually identified as "Camp 1."⁵⁵ This camp re-numbering brings two important questions to mind. If A.D. King was indeed the narrator in the first part of "Trip to the Gold Fields," why did he not follow the camp numbering scheme that he promised he would use? On the other hand, why would Logan be more interested in continuing the numbering scheme promised by the narrator of the first part instead of transcribing the actual camp numbering scheme which King did use?

There also appears to be a discrepancy as to whether the first part of the King journal was contained in several different books or in just one book. In the July 4 entry in "Trip to the Gold Fields" the narrator declares:

Before leaving Clarksville I gathered up some old account books from the store of John May in each of which was many blank pages, it being my intention to keep a journal of our travels. I had no idea of it getting so voluminous, . . . on the way Captain Marcy furnished me with a large blank book that he had. I now find I am nearing the end of this

book . . . I had the good luck today to come across another old book that I had overlooked . . . perhaps it will hold everything I shall write about our travels from now on through.⁵⁶

Here the narrator definitely implies that in writing about the Clarksville company's travels up to that point, he has already filled up several books that he obtained from John May plus one book that he obtained from Marcy. Therefore, if "Trip to the Gold Fields" is true, the first part of King's journal is to be found in several books, not just one. This information, however, is apparently contradicted by A.D. King himself, for he clearly implied that he used only one book in writing about the company's travels up to July 5. The first entry in the second part of the original King journal reads as follows:

July 6th Rio Grand New Mexico where we are Incamped This evening.
Our travel up to the presant time is contained In an other Book. . . .
As my other book Does not contain the travels of this day I know [now]
Give em . . .⁵⁷

Another curious point about the transition from the first to the second part of the journal concerns the mysterious Indian Rover supposedly leaving camp with the books that contained the first part. In the July 5 entry in "Trip to the Gold Fields" the narrator informs his readers that he is about to give the books that contain the first part of his journal to Rover who has decided to leave the emigrant train and go to Santa Fe. In Santa Fe Rover is supposed to give the journal to Captain Marcy who will forward it to Washington to be stored in "the archives of the War Department" where the narrator claims, "They will be taken care of . . . and I can get them at any time I wish." Finally, in the last paragraphs of the entry the narrator mourns Rover's decision to leave the emigrant train and he becomes sentimental about giving up his journal.⁵⁸ If this last entry were indeed true, one would fully expect King to note in his next entry that Rover actually did leave the emigrant train with the journal, but instead King's entry for July 6 is the very dry and matter-of-fact statement provided above. Rover is never mentioned in the original King journal and there is no mention of the "other Book" ever leaving King's possession.

In assaying the first part of "Trip to the Gold Fields," a paramount point must be made about the massive amount of plagiarism which appears in the story. At least some of the plagiarism can be explained by the fact that the original sources of information were either written or published *prior* to July 5, 1849,

the date that the narrator reportedly finished the first part of his journal and sent it away with Rover to be housed in "the archives of the War Department." A very large number of entries from "Trip to the Gold Fields" contain verbatim copies of information from the two separate daily journals kept by Captain Marcy and Lieutenant Simpson during the trek and at least one entry contains verbatim information copied from Josiah Gregg's *Commerce of the Prairies*.⁵⁹ Since Gregg's work was originally published in 1844, someone could easily have copied from the book during the trek to California in 1849. The verbatim information from Marcy's and Simpson's daily journals can be explained somewhat by an admission from the narrator which appears in the July 5 entry:

Captain Marcy and I have often exchanged data, he taking some of my notes to use in his report and I in turn taking notes from his report . . . [I]n drawing my maps I had access to his maps as well as the maps drawn by Captain [Lieutenant] Simpson. . . . I will also say that Rover . . . has written much of the material contained in my journal.⁶⁰

If one accepts this scenario, it is possible that the journal represented in the first part of "Trip to the Gold Fields" was written by two separate individuals—A.D. King and Rover—and that during the trek to California Marcy and Simpson allowed King and Rover access to their official accounts from which information was copied verbatim. If true, however, the copying was done on a massive scale (Table 1, p. 263).

Several of these plagiarisms are extremely curious because they have been edited to include members of the Clarksville company and particularly notable are those that have been edited to include the mysterious Indian Rover and relatives of S.H. Logan. The following are just a few examples:

Simpson, June 4, 1849

Thus the next stream of any consequence, after leaving Dry River,⁶¹ I have called Valley river, and this because after a long and rather uninterestingly hot, parched, and scenically uncompensating day's march, when both man and beast were almost fagged out from fatigue and want of water, and I was several miles in advance in search of the longed-for element, this river, with its beautifully verdant valley, burst upon my view.⁶²

Narrator, "Trip to the Gold Fields," June 5, 1849

Thus the next stream where we are encamped is the next stream of any consequence after leaving Dry river and the largest affluent of the Canadian we have passed since leaving Spring Creek, I have called it

TABLE 1
Comparison of "Trip to the Gold Fields"
with works written or published
prior to July 5, 1849

Gregg OU Press, 1954		"Trip to the Gold Fields" June 29, 1849		Simpson		"Trip to the Gold Fields"	
Page	Paragraph	Date	Paragraph	Date	Paragraph	Date	Paragraph
103-104	3	May 23	1-2	May 22	1-2		
107, 111-112, 114	5	May 23	3-4	May 26	1-2		
165-166	7	May 29	1	May 26	1		
115	8	May 30	1-2	May 28	1-2		
118-119	9-10	May 31	1	May 29	2		
186-187	11	June 4	1-2, 4	June 4	(1st)	39-41	
194	12	June 4	5	June 5	1		
198-199	13	June 4	6-7	June 11	2-3		
201-202, 208	14	June 15	1-3	May 9	2-3		
106	15	June 19	1-5	June 19	1, 8-10		
		June 22	1	June 22	1		
		June 23	1	June 23	1		

Marcy		"Trip to the Gold Fields"		Marcy		"Trip to the Gold Fields"	
Date	Paragraph	Date	Paragraph	Date	Paragraph	Date	Paragraph
May 5	1 & 3	May 7	1	June 5	1	June 4	(2nd)
May 5	2	May 5	1			June 5	1
May 6	1	May 8	1	June 6	1	June 5	1
May 7	1	May 9	(Wed.)	June 8	1	June 8	1-2
		May 10	1	June 9	1	June 8	3-4
May 9	1	May 9	(Thurs.)	June 9	2	June 9	1
May 10	1	May 15	1-2	June 9	2	June 10	11
		May 16	1	June 10	1	June 10	1 & 5
May 14	1	May 17	1	June 11	1-2	June 11	1-2
May 15	1	May 18	1	June 12	1	June 11	3
May 17	2	May 19	1	June 13	1-5	June 12	1, 4-6, 11
May 18	1	May 20	1-2	June 14	1-2	June 13	1-2
May 20	1-2	May 21	1	June 15	1	June 14	1
May 21	1	May 22	3-4	June 15	2	June 13	2
May 22	1-2	May 23	1	June 16	1-3	June 15	1-3
May 23	1-2	May 24	1	June 17	1-4	June 16	1-3
May 24	1	May 25	1-2	June 18	1	June 18	1
May 25	1-2	May 26	3	June 19	1-8	June 19	1-6
May 26	2	May 27	1	June 20	1	June 20	1
May 27	1	May 28	3	June 21	1-2	June 21	1
May 29	1	May 29	3	June 22	1	June 22	2
May 31	1	May 30	1-2	June 23	1-2	June 23	2-3
June 1	1	May 31	1	June 24	1	June 24	1
June 2	1	June 4	(1st)	June 25	1	June 25	1
June 4	1-2		41-43				

"Valley River" on my map, and this because after a long and rather uninterestingly hot, parched and scenically uncompensating day's march, when both men and beasts were almost fagged out from fatigue and want of water, and I was several miles in advance in company with Jim and David Logan, in search of the longed-for element, this river with its beautiful verdant valley, burst upon our view.⁶³

Marcy, May 10, 1849

[P]utting spurs to his horse, he [Black Beaver] started after [the turkey] at full speed. I thought this a novel method of hunting wild turkeys, and I looked on the chase with a good deal of interest. . . . The hunter [Black Beaver] followed on till the turkey alighted and ran into a timber ravine.⁶⁴

Narrator, "Trip to the Gold Fields," May 9, 1849

Putting spurs to his horse, Rover started after the turkey at full speed. I thought this a novel way of hunting wild turkeys, and looked upon the chase with a good deal of interest. . . . Rover followed on till the turkey alighted and ran into a timber ravine.⁶⁵

Marcy, June 11, 1849

We started this morning, our road continuing over the elevated plateau, destitute of water, until we reached here, where there is a fine spring creek. There has been but little game seen for the last three days. I killed a turkey this evening, which is the first we have seen for a week.⁶⁶

Narrator, "Trip to the Gold Fields," June 19, 1849

Today our road continuing over the elevated plateau, destitute of water until we reached here, where there is a fine spring. There has been but little game seen for the last three days. Jim Logan and Captain Marcy each killed a turkey this evening, which is the first we have seen for a week.⁶⁷

Marcy, June 24, 1849

After our long march of yesterday, I determined to remain here to-day, and rest our animals. This is St. John's day, and with the Mexicans a gala day. In the evening I visited a fandango for a few minutes, where I saw the Mexicans in their favorite national amusement, the dance; . . . They are really very graceful.⁶⁸

Narrator, "Trip to the Gold Fields," June 24, 1849

After our long march of yesterday, we decided to remain here today and rest our animals. This is St. John's Day, and with the Mexicans a gala day. In the evening Jim Logan, Carl Jarnagin, and I visited a fandango for a few minutes, where we saw the Mexicans in their

favorite national amusement, the dance; . . . They are really very graceful.⁶⁹

Given the scenario suggested by the narrator of "Trip to the Gold Fields," it is possible, if not probable, that during the trek through Oklahoma, Texas, and New Mexico, Marcy and Simpson allowed King and Rover to copy material from their official journals. However, it would have been clearly impossible for King or Rover to have had access to the journals or other works written by Simpson or Marcy after July 5, 1849. But a considerable amount of plagiarism from the later writings of Simpson and Marcy appears in the first part of "Trip to the Gold Fields." These include Simpson's official report of the trek dated August 13, 1849, Simpson's journal kept during a later expedition through the Navaho Territory during August and September, 1849, Marcy's journal kept during his return trip to Fort Smith during September and October, 1849, Marcy's final report dated November 20, 1849, and, most intriguing, Marcy's journal kept during his expedition to discover the source of the Red River in 1852—a full three years after the emigrants' trek to California.⁷⁰

Curiously, Grant Foreman's *Marcy and the Gold Seekers*, published in 1939—two years prior to the appearance of "Trip to the Gold Fields," contains all of Marcy's journal and report for 1849 and most of Simpson's journal and report for that year. In addition, *Adventure on Red River*, published by Foreman in 1937—four years prior to the appearance of "Trip to the Gold Fields," contains all of the information from Marcy's journal of 1852. Almost certainly during his interview with Foreman, Logan found out about *Adventure on Red River* and the impending publication of *Marcy and the Gold Seekers*. Did Logan borrow material from these two works in order to create the story of "Trip to the Gold Fields?" A careful comparison of "Trip to the Gold Fields" with Simpson's and Marcy's later writings reveals the significant plagiarisms (Table 2, p. 266).

Like the plagiarisms discussed earlier, several of these are extremely curious because they too have been edited to include members of the Clarksville company, Rover, and the relatives of S.H. Logan. The following are just a few examples:

Marcy, *Final Report*, November 20, 1849

[W]e were visited by some of the Shawnees, who live in the vicinity, and I discovered much to my surprise, that their language was very similar to that of the Chippawas; indeed many of their words are the

TABLE 2
Comparison of "Trip to the Gold Fields"
with works written or published
after July 5, 1849

Simpson Final Report Aug. 13, 1849				Simpson Navaho Exp. Journal, 1849			
Page	Paragraph	Date	Paragraph	Date	Paragraph	Date	Paragraph
4	4	April 11	1	Aug. 17	8	July 2	2
4	4	April 20	1	Sep. 21	1 & 5	July 3	2
4	4	April 30	1	Sep. 22	2-3	June 29	1-2
5	1-3, 5-7	April 30	1-3				
6	1	April 30	3				
6	3-5	May 10	2-3				
7	1-2	May 11	1				
18	6	June 25	1				
19	8	April 5	4				

Marcy Return Trip to Ft. Smith 1849				Marcy Final Report Nov. 20, 1849 <i>Marcy and the Gold Seekers</i>			
Date	Paragraph	Date	Paragraph	Page	Date	Paragraph	
Sep. 21	1	July 2	2	152, 155	April 5	1-2	
Oct. 14	6	July 2	3	153	April 30	10	
				157-159	May 2	1	
				157-158	May 25	1	
				195	May 4	1	
				196-197	May 5	1	

Marcy Red River Journal, 1852				Marcy Final Report Dec. 5, 1852 <i>Adventure on Red River</i>			
Date	Paragraph	Date	Paragraph	Page	Date	Paragraph	
May 17	4-5	June 10	3-4				
May 18	4-5	June 10	1-2	153	April 6	1	
June 11	2-4	June 10	6-8				
June 17-							
19	2	June 9	1				
June 28	5-6	June 12	2-3				
July 8	3	June 10	11				
July 9	3-4	June 10	9-10				
July 15	5	May 25	10				

same: for instance, they both call fire "scota," water "nepish," tobacco "sama," bear "mucqua," . . .⁷¹

Narrator, "Trip to the Gold Fields," May 2, 1849

[W]e were visited by some of the Shawnees who live in the vicinity. Our man Rover talked to them and he says that their language is very similar to that of the Chippewas; indeed many of their words are the same; for instance, they both call fire "scota," water "nepish," tobacco "sama," beer (sp) "mucqua," . . .⁷²

Marcy, *Red River Journal*, July 15, 1852

John Bushman,⁷³ our interpreter, was much surprised to-day, on calling a doe towards him with a deer-bleat . . . behind the fawn came a huge panther bounding rapidly towards him. . . . John, with a spirit of indignation that would have done credit to the better feelings of any man, raised his rifle, and . . . planted the contents in the side of the panther.⁷⁴

Narrator, "Trip to the Gold Fields," May 25, 1849

Jim Logan was out hunting today, on calling a doe towards him with a deer-bleat . . . behind the fawn came a huge panther bounding rapidly toward him. . . . Jim, with a spirit of indignation that would have done credit to the better feelings of any man, raised his rifle, and . . . planted the contents in the side of the panther.⁷⁵

Marcy, *Red River Journal*, June 28, 1852

As Capt. McClellan⁷⁶ and myself were passing to-day along the bluffs, we saw in advance of us a herd of antelopes. . . . [T]he idea occurred to me of attempting to call them with a deer-bleat, which one of the Delawares had made for me. . . . I took out my bleat and commenced exercising my powers in imitating the cry of the fawn. . . . I saw a tremendous panther bounding at full speed directly towards me. . . . I immediately abandoned the antelope, and, directing my rifle at the panther, sent a ball through his chest. . . . [O]n returning to the spot where I had fired upon the panther, we discovered him on his feet, making off. The Captain gave him another shot as he was running, and then closed in with his rifle clubbed, and it required several vigorous blows, laid on in quick succession, to give him his quietus. . . . This was a large specimen of *Felis concolor*, or North American cougar, measuring eight feet from his nose to the end of the tail.⁷⁷

Narrator, "Trip to the Gold Fields," June 12, 1849

As young Dave Logan and myself were passing today along under the bluffs, we saw in advance of us a herd of antelopes. . . . [T]he idea occurred to me of attempting to call them with a deer-bleat, which I had obtained from Rover . . . I took out my bleat and commenced



Marcy's meticulous records and reports provide substantial evidence for the thesis that Logan's "Trip to the Gold Fields" is based partially on borrowed material. A portion of the California Road through Indian Territory is still visible in Red Rock Canyon State Park (opposite) (Courtesy OHS, left, and Jim Argo, opposite).

exercising my powers in imitating the cry of the fawn . . . I saw a tremendous panther bounding at full speed directly towards me. . . . I immediately abandoned the antelope, and, directing my rifle at the panther, sent a ball through his chest. . . . [O]n returning to the spot where I had fired upon the panther, we discovered him upon his feet making off. Young Logan gave him another shot as he was running and then closed in with his rifle clubbed and it required several vigorous blows, laid on in quick succession, to give him his quietus. . . . This is a large specimen of the North American cougar, measuring eight feet from his nose to the end of his tail.⁷⁸

Marcy, Red River Journal, Final Report, December 5, 1852

The history of the Quapaws, a minute remnant of what was once a large and powerful nation of Indians, called the "Arkansas," but now only numbering a few lodges of miserable half-starved beggars, is truly melancholy. Father Charlevoix⁷⁹ . . . says of them: "The Arkansas, or Quapaws, are reckoned to be the tallest and best-shaped of all the savages of this continent, and they are called, by way of distinction,

'the fine men' . . ." [T]hey were the first nation that succeeded in conquering the warlike and numerous Chickasaws.⁸⁰

Narrator, "Trip to the Gold Fields," April 5, 1849

Col. James Logan, Indian agent at the Creek Indian Agency . . . says the history of the Quapaws, a minute remnant of what was once a large and powerful nation of Indians, called the "Arkansas," but only numbering a very few lodges of miserable half-starved beggars, is truly melancholy. Colonel Logan says that they "are reckoned to be the tallest and best-shaped of all the savages of this continent and are called by way of distinction, 'fine men' . . ." [T]hey were the first nation that succeeded in conquering the warlike and numerous Chickasaws.⁸¹

In "Trip to the Gold Fields" S.H. Logan has definitely succeeded in telling "quite a yarn," an intriguing tale which is a lot of fun to read. But it is clearly not a true transcription of "an old journal kept by A.D. King and others during a wagon trip to California in 1849." "Trip to the Gold Fields" is at best good historical fiction; it is at worst a blatant fraud and a cruel hoax. Although the second part of "Trip to the Gold Fields" is a somewhat close transcription of the events described in King's original journal, the text has been edited so much that it should never be relied upon as a primary



source. Through Logan's editing the true feeling of the King journal has been substantially changed—misspellings and grammatical errors have been corrected, many words and some phrases have been edited out, the camp numbers have been intentionally changed, and nine paragraphs have been deceptively inserted into the text.

More significantly, however, the first part of "Trip to the Gold Fields" was almost certainly concocted by Logan. Using Foreman's *Marcy and the Gold Seekers* as a guide, borrowing material from the writings of Marcy, Simpson, Gregg, and others, and possibly utilizing several stories and myths told over the years by his relatives and untold numbers of Johnson County residents, Logan evidently pieced together a fascinating and epic account of the Clarksville company's heroic trek toward the gold fields. This account, however, is without a doubt not true; it is the creative writing of a master yarn-teller.

Certainly there are historians who will accept the probability that Logan concocted the first part of the tale but will argue nonetheless that "Trip to the Gold Fields" can be studied as oral history, the supposition being that Logan used stories told by his father, his uncle, and other local residents who were with the emigrant train. Trying to treat "Trip to the Gold Fields" as oral history, however, runs head-on into the fact that Logan clearly never intended for the story to be studied as an oral history of the emigrants' experiences. He obviously intended to pass the story off as a transcription of "an old journal kept by A.D. King and others during a wagon trip to California in 1849." Never in the "Forward," in the text itself, or in any aside does Logan ever suggest that any of the information was obtained from anything other than the King journal. Besides, it would be impossible to pick out which items or events should be treated as oral history. Many of the entries which include accounts of David Logan, James Logan, and other Clarksville residents were plagiarized from the journals of Marcy, Simpson, and Gregg, and clearly the Clarksville emigrants could not have experienced those events described. Even given the massive number of plagiarisms revealed in this article alone (over 50 percent of the text for the first part), one can never be certain that all of the plagiarisms have been discovered. One simply can never determine which, if any, events from "Trip to the Gold Fields" should be treated as oral history.

Over the years several historians have fallen for the beguiling tale. Future historians should certainly beware—"All that glitters is not gold." By mining Logan's story as a primary resource, they will only end up with fool's gold.

ENDNOTES

* Stephen H. Dew is a reference librarian at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte and a doctoral student in history at the University of Arkansas, Fayetteville. The author would like to thank Dr. Susan Pauly and Dr. Elliott West for their assistance in the completion of this article.

¹ For biographical information on Foreman see Edward E. Dale, "A Dedication to the Memory of Grant Foreman, 1869-1953," *Arizona and the West*, 6 (Winter, 1964): 271-274; Stanley Clark, "Grant Foreman, 1869-1953," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 31 (Autumn, 1953): 226-242; Angie Debo, "A Dedication to the Memory of Carolyn Thomas Foreman, 1872-1967," *Arizona and the West*, 16 (Autumn, 1974): 214-218; Grant Foreman, *Marcy and the Gold Seekers: The Journal of Captain R.B. Marcy, With an Account of the Gold Rush Over the Southern Route* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939).

² S.H. Logan, "Trip to the Gold Fields," *Little Rock Arkansas Gazette Sunday Magazine*, January 19, 26, February 2, 9, 16, 23, March 2, 9, 16, 23, 30, April 6, 13, 20, 27, May 4, 11, 18, 25, June 1, 8, 15, 22, 27, 1941.

³ *Ibid.*, January 19, 1941.

⁴ Francile Battenburg Oakley, "Arkansas' Golden Army of '49," (M.A. thesis, University of Arkansas, 1946), 46, 55-56, 63-65, 76, 93-96, 99, 105, 131; Francile B. Oakley, "Arkansas' Golden Army of '49," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, 6 (Spring, 1947): 37, 42-43, 51, 62-65, 67, 71; Patricia A. Etter, "The Southern Route—1849 Journals: A Bibliography," *Bulletin of Bibliography*, 43 (September, 1986): 142-143; Patricia A. Etter, ed., *An American Odyssey: The Autobiography of a 19th-Century Scotsman, Robert Brownlee* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1986), 78-81, 217, 230; Priscilla McArthur, *Arkansas in the Gold Rush* (Little Rock, Arkansas: August House, 1986), 7, 19, 58-61, 63-69, 72, 78-80, 83-95, 98-99, 203, 236-238, 241-244, 253.

For a number of years the manuscripts card catalog at the University of Arkansas Libraries has informed researchers that "the complete" A.D. King journal could be found in Logan's "Trip to the Gold Fields." "King, A.D." and "Clarksville and California Mining Association," Manuscripts Card Catalog, Card 1, Special Collections Department, University of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville, Arkansas (hereafter cited as UAL).

⁵ Unfortunately no issues of either newspaper are known to be preserved. See Shirley J. Brendel, ed., *Arkansas Newspapers* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Libraries, 1987).

⁶ At different points in his life Logan also held positions as lawyer, deputy sheriff, and justice of the peace and he was the inventor of something called a "permutable padlock." *Arkansas Gazette*, November 15, 1889, March 18, 1955; *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, 14 (Autumn, 1955): 283.

⁷ S.H. Logan, "From Sarber to Logan," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, 12 (Spring, 1954): 90-97; "Sarber to Logan," *Arkansas Gazette*, April 15, 1945; S.H. Logan, "Mysterious Footprints in a Rock Near Clarksville," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, 1 (December, 1942): 355-357.

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

⁸ S.H. Logan, "The Days of the Old One-O-One," *Johnson County Historical Society Journal*, 1 (January, 1975): 32–34; S.H. Logan, "Century Old Residence Destroyed," *Johnson County Historical Society Journal*, 1 (August, 1975): 32–33; S.H. Logan, "What I Know About Coal Hill," *Johnson County Historical Society Journal*, 1 (August, 1975): 25–29.

Although another article is not attributed to any author, it appears almost certainly to have been written by Logan. The article describes how David Logan (S.H. Logan's father) was captured during the Civil War by Union troops who were set to execute him, but wily old Aunt Arbelle Turner happened to come down the road just in time to stage a terrible tirade aimed at David, deceiving the Yankees into believing that he was a traitor to the Southern cause. The Union soldiers naively let David go, "thinking that he would continue to supply information for the Federals." (S.H. Logan?), "Old Garrett Place," *Johnson County Historical Society Journal*, 9 (October, 1983): 56–57.

⁹ *Johnson County Historical Society Journal*, 1 (August, 1975): 25, (January, 1975): 32.

¹⁰ Foreman, *Marcy*, 299.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Smith also was the granddaughter of John May, lieutenant of the Clarksville company. The book which she contributed to the university includes a sales-and-purchasing ledger used by May before the trek, King's journal kept during the last part of the trek, and a humorous but forlorn account of the Clarksville emigrants' first few months in the gold fields. The entry for the King journal in the Special Collections Department's manuscripts catalog at the University of Arkansas Libraries curiously refers to S.H. Logan as the sole donor of the King journal. An inspection of the department's donor file concerning the King journal, however, reveals the original library card which lists only Smith as the donor. Also included are two letters from Boyd L. Murphy verifying Smith as the sole donor. A telephone conversation between Murphy and this author also verified that Smith was the sole donor. Murphy was a close Smith family friend who inherited the John May letters which he later donated to the university and which will be referred to later in this article. "King," Manuscripts Catalog, Card 2, UAL; A.D. King Journal—Donor File, Special Collections Department, UAL; Interview with Boyd L. Murphy, Greenville, South Carolina, February 20, 1990.

¹³ A.D. King Journal, August 5, 1849, Special Collections Department, UAL.

¹⁴ Logan, "Trip," May 25, 1941.

¹⁵ King journal, August 28, 1849, October 12, 1849.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, September 6, 1849.

¹⁷ Logan, "Trip," June 8, 1941. In her discussion of the trial and execution, McArthur erroneously informs her readers that two pages are missing from the original King journal. All pages are there. McArthur, *Arkansas in the Gold Rush*, 92.

¹⁸ Logan, "Trip," January 19, 1941.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*, January 26, February 23, March 16, 23, 1941.

²¹ *Fort Smith (Arkansas) Herald*, February 14, 1849; *Arkansas Gazette*, February 15, 1849.

²² *Arkansas Gazette*, January 19, 1941. Francile Oakley apparently is responsible for initiating one common misconception about King. In her writings Oakley refers to King as being one of two captains of the Clarksville company; Redmond Rogers is recognized as the other. This error no doubt occurs because in the first entry of "Trip

TRIP TO THE GOLD FIELDS

to the Gold Fields" a photograph of King appears with the captain, "Capt. Alfred D. King." The title of captain, however, does not refer to King's status on the trek, for nowhere in "Trip to the Gold Fields," nor in any reliable source, is King ever referred to as being an officer in the Clarksville company. King's title of captain no doubt stemmed from his service as a captain in the Confederate militia during the Civil War. Others who have erroneously identified King as a co-captain of the Clarksville company include historians Patricia Etter and Priscilla McArthur and the Special Collections Department at the University of Arkansas Libraries. Oakley, "Arkansas' Golden Army," (thesis), 112; Oakley, "Arkansas' Golden Army," (*AHQ*), 75; Logan, "Trip," January 19, 1941; U.S., Department of War, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (70 vols., 128 books, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880–1901), Series I, LIII: 1019–1020; *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Western Arkansas* (Chicago: Southern Publishing, 1891), 306; Etter, *An American Odyssey*, 217; Etter, "The Southern Route," 142; McArthur, *Arkansas in the Gold Rush*, 19; "King," Manuscripts Catalog, Card 1, UAL.

²³ John May, Letters to Caroline May, April 11, 1849, Special Collections Department, UAL.

²⁴ Logan, "Trip," January 19, 1941.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, January 26, 1941.

²⁶ Van Buren *Arkansas Intelligencer*, April 14, 1849.

²⁷ Logan, "Trip," January 26, 1941.

²⁸ James Harvey Simpson, *Report and Map of the Route from Fort Smith, Arkansas, to Santa Fe New Mexico*, in U.S., Senate, 31st Cong., 1st sess., *S. Ex. Doc. 12* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1850), 2; *Fort Smith Herald*, April 11, 1849; Robert H. Dott, "Lieutenant Simpson's California Road Across Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 38 (Summer, 1960): 154–179, especially 161.

²⁹ Logan, "Trip," February 23, 1941. According to this entry Dent was still with the emigrant train when it reached a point on the Canadian opposite Old Fort Holmes or Chouteau's Fort (essentially where the town of Purcell is presently located). Foreman, *Marcy*, 200.

³⁰ Dent, who was a West Point classmate and brother-in-law of Ulysses S. Grant, left the emigrant train when it reached Tokpafkee, or Topofki, Creek (presently Sandy Creek near Ada in Pontotoc County). Foreman, *Marcy*, 140–141, 197; Simpson, *Report*, 24.

³¹ Logan, "Trip," February 2, 1941.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*, March 2, 9, 30, 1941.

³⁴ May letters, April 28, 1849.

³⁵ Logan, "Trip," March 9, 16, 1941.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, March 16, 1941.

³⁷ Simpson, *Report*, 20.

³⁸ Foreman, *Marcy*, 219–220.

³⁹ The officer was Lieutenant Montgomery P. Harrison and the search parties discovered that he had been brutally murdered by a band of Indians. Foreman, *Marcy*, 366–371; see also Randolph B. Marcy, *Thirty Years of Army Life on the Border* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1866), 19–20; Randolph B. Marcy, *The Prairie Traveler* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1859), 206–207; W.B. Parker, *Through Unexplored Texas* (Philadelphia: Hayes and Zell, 1856), 28–30. For another example of Marcy's concern over a missing party member being dutifully noted in his journal see Grant

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

Foreman, *Adventure on Red River* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1937), 65.

⁴⁰ Foreman, *Marcy*, 219–221.

⁴¹ A famous Delaware Indian, Black Beaver was hired by Marcy as his guide and interpreter while the expedition was encamped at Shawneetown near Edwards' Trading Post (presently a point in the valley between Atwood and Allen in Hughes County). During this trek and several subsequent expeditions, they became close friends and learned a great deal from each other. Foreman, *Marcy*, 157–159; Dott, "Lieutenant Simpson," 164–167. For more information on Black Beaver see Marcy, *The Prairie Traveler*, 188–196; Baldwin Möllhausen, *Diary of a Journey from the Mississippi to the Coasts of the Pacific* (London: Longman etc., 1858), 92–106; Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Black Beaver," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 24 (Autumn, 1946): 269–292; D. Alexander Brown, "Black Beaver," *American History Illustrated*, 2 (May, 1967): 32–41.

⁴² Logan, "Trip," January 19, 1941.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, March 2, 1941.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, April 6, 20, 1941.

⁴⁵ Foreman, *Marcy*, 215, 292–293, see also 143–145, 288, 306–307, 337–338. The couple's wedding plans ended tragically, however, when Harrison was killed by Indians later during the expedition. See footnote 39.

⁴⁶ Simpson, *Report*, 8; Foreman, *Marcy*, 215. Rock Mary is located near Hinton in northern Caddo County. See "Rock Mary Report," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 38 (Summer, 1960): 130–153; Dott, "Lieutenant Simpson," 175–176.

⁴⁷ Logan, "Trip," March 2, 1941.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, April 20, 1941.

⁴⁹ Foreman, *Marcy*, 247.

⁵⁰ Logan, "Trip," May 4, 1941.

⁵¹ Little Rock *Arkansas State Democrat*, September 28, October 5, 1849; Foreman, *Marcy*, 287; Owen Cochran Coy, *The Great Trek* (Los Angeles: Powell Publishing, 1931), 236.

⁵² May letters, June 18, July 7, 1849.

⁵³ James H. Simpson, *Navaho Expedition* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), 10 [originally published as *Journal of a Military Reconnaissance From Santa Fe, New Mexico to the Navaho Country* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo and Co., 1852)].

⁵⁴ Logan, "Trip," May 5, 1941.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*; King journal, July 6, 1849.

⁵⁶ Logan, "Trip," May 5, 1941.

⁵⁷ King journal, July 6, 1849.

⁵⁸ Logan, "Trip," May 5, 1941.

⁵⁹ Gregg's book was originally published in 1844, but the information in this article refers to Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954).

⁶⁰ Logan, "Trip," May 5, 1941.

⁶¹ Presently Red Deer Creek in Hemphill County, Texas. Dott, "Lieutenant Simpson," 46.

⁶² Simpson, *Report*, 11.

⁶³ Logan, "Trip," March 23, 1941.

TRIP TO THE GOLD FIELDS

⁶⁴ Foreman, *Marcy*, 203. This turkey hunt occurred near the Cross Timbers and present Walnut Creek in either western McClain or eastern Grady County. *Ibid.*, 202; Dott, "Lieutenant Simpson," 174.

⁶⁵ Logan, "Trip," February 23, 1941.

⁶⁶ Foreman, *Marcy*, 228.

⁶⁷ Logan, "Trip," March 30, 1941.

⁶⁸ Foreman, *Marcy*, 245. This fandango occurred in the town of Anton Chico on the Pecos River in New Mexico Territory.

⁶⁹ Logan, "Trip," April 20, 1941.

⁷⁰ The determination of the source of the Red River had important implications in establishing the boundary between Oklahoma and Texas. Although there were two branches of approximately equal size, Marcy determined that the south branch was the main stream. In a famous law suit the U.S. Supreme Court finally settled the matter in 1896 when it agreed with Marcy, thereby giving the future state of Oklahoma the land encompassing Jackson, Greer, and Harmon counties as well as part of Beckham County. See Grant Foreman, "Red River and the Spanish Boundary in the United States Supreme Court," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 2 (September, 1924): 298–310.

⁷¹ Foreman, *Marcy*, 159. Marcy was referring to events that had occurred at Shawnee Town. See footnote 41.

⁷² Logan, "Trip," February 16, 1941.

⁷³ John Bushman was a renowned Delaware Indian guide and a neighbor of Black Beaver. For more information on Bushman see Foreman, *Adventure*, 27, 72, 120–122; Möllhausen, *Diary*, 92–94; Marcy, *Thirty Years*, 87.

⁷⁴ Foreman, *Adventure*, 107.

⁷⁵ Logan, "Trip," March 2, 1941.

⁷⁶ George B. McClellan, the future commander of the Army of the Potomac and Marcy's future son-in-law.

⁷⁷ Foreman, *Adventure*, 82–84. For another account of this incident see Marcy, *Thirty Years*, 282.

⁷⁸ Logan, "Trip," March 30, 1941.

⁷⁹ Pierre Francis Xavier de Charlevoix, a Jesuit priest and author who wrote of his travels across North America during the eighteenth century. His *Journal Historique* was especially influential.

⁸⁰ Foreman, *Adventure*, 153.

⁸¹ Logan, "Trip," January 26, 1941.